THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

VOLUME V
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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INTRODUCTION BY
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THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION
INSTITUTE OF CULTURE
CALCUTTA
We have great pleasure in presenting to the reading public the long-awaited fifth volume of *The Cultural Heritage of India*. The delay in bringing it out is regretted, but the circumstances were such that it could not be helped.

The volume is a self-contained encyclopaedia of Indian languages and literatures from the Vedic to the modern times. It also includes a section entitled ‘Indian Literature Abroad’, which is devoted to a discussion of the influence Indian literature has exercised over the literatures of the lands beyond India’s borders.

Fifty-one distinguished scholars from different universities and research centres have enriched this volume with their contributions. This they have done entirely as a labour of love. We deeply appreciate this and express our sincere gratitude to them.

Barring three, all the articles in this volume are new. Even those three, taken from the first edition of *The Cultural Heritage of India*, have been thoroughly revised by our editorial team headed by Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji. Other articles also needed revision because of the time-lag between their preparation and publication. The revision was done by the same team, and, where possible, approval was obtained from the contributors to the changes so introduced. Among the scholars, other than Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji, who have been associated with the editorial work of the present volume, are: Dr Sukumar Sen, Dr R. C. Hazra, Dr D. C. Sircar, Dr Govinda Gopal Mukherjee, Professor Nirmal C. Sinha, and Dr Amitendra Nath Tagore. We deem ourselves greatly indebted to them for this.

The articles in this volume demonstrate the richness and variety of India’s linguistic and literary heritage, both religio-philosophical and secular. They also show that behind the baffling multiplicity which one sees in the Indian linguistic scene, there is a thread of unity which one can never miss. This fact has been ably brought out by the Editor in his Preface and by Dr K. M. Munshi in his Introduction. It is sad to think that both these great scholars are no more.

In spite of the present size of the volume, we do not claim to have been able to do justice to the subjects dealt with in it. We only hope that general readers as well as research students will find in it ample material to whet their appetite for further study.

We profoundly regret that Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Editor of this volume, did not live to see it in print. He had, however, completed his task before death.
snatched him away. This volume, together with his two articles in it, is a testi-
mony to his versatile scholarship.

We also record our deep sense of sorrow and loss at the death of some other
contributors, while the publication of this volume was in progress, namely,
Mr K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Dr Hiralal Jain, Dr A. N. Upadhye, Dr S. K. De,
Dr A. D. Pusalker, Professor H. D. Velankar, Dr Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti,
and Mr K. M. Jhaveri.

We are specially indebted to Dr R. C. Majumdar for his valuable guidance
and advice on matters connected with the publication of this volume. Mr R.
P. H. Davies, Regional Education Adviser, Eastern India, British Council,
Calcutta, has rendered us great help by brushing up the language of the
major portion of this volume for which we extend our grateful thanks to him.
Our gratitude is also due to Dr Biswanath Banerjee, Dr Bratindra Nath
Mukherjee, Principal Upendra Chhaganlal Pandya, Mr Jyotirmoy Basu Ray,
and Dr Heramba Chatterjee Sastri, who, amongst others, have helped us in
various ways. We thank the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore,
the Office of the Registrar General of India (Languages), New Delhi, and
the National Library, Calcutta, especially Mr Nachiketa Bharadwaj, Mr
Prabhakar Rao, Mr S. R. Gurnani, and Mr S. B. Joshi for their help
with reference material and advice. We also place on record our apprecia-
tion of the co-operation we received from the staff of the Sree Saraswaty Press
Ltd., particularly its Executive Director, Mr J. P. Guha, and Account Execu-
tive, Mr M. Majumdar. At our request, the Titaghur Paper Mills Co. Ltd.
manufactured a special type of paper for this volume. We consider it a great
favour.

Readers will please note that in giving diacritical marks to words of non-
English origin, we have generally followed the previous volumes of The Cultural
Heritage of India with minor adjustments here and there. No diacritical marks
have, however, been given to Urdu words and words of Arabic and Persian
origin.

In conclusion, we would like to point out that the views expressed by the
authors in their articles are not necessarily the views of the Ramakrishna
Mission Institute of Culture.

August 1978
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   Director, Prasuranga, Mysore University

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HINTS ON PRONUNCIATION AND SPELLING

a stands for अ and sounds like o in come
ā " " आ " " a " " far
i " " इ " " i " " bit
ī " " ई " " ee " " feel
u " " उ " " u " " fall
ū " " ऊ " " oo " " cool
ṛ " " रू " " may be pronounced like ri " " ring
c " " ए " " sounds like a " " cake
ai " " ऐ " " i " " mite
o " " ओ " " o " " note
au " " औ " " ou " " count
ṁ " " (anusvāra) and sounds like m " " some
ḥ " " (visarga) " " " " soft, short h

( apostrophe) stands for s (elided अ).
ṅ stands for न, ŋ for ऊ, and ṇ for ड; the first is to be pronounced like English ng in sin, or n in bank; the second like the n in English sin (a palatal n); and the third, the cerebral ṇ, is made with the tongue-tip up-turned and touching the dome of the palate.

c stands for च and sounds like ch in church
ch " " छ " " chh " " church-hill
ṭ " " ट " " t " " curt
ṭḥ " " टः " " th " " port-hole
d " " ड " " d " " bird
ḍḥ " " ढः " " dh " " bird-house
t " " त " " t " " pat (Italian t)
ṭh " " ठः " " th " " hit-hard
d " " ठ " " d " " had (Italian d)
ḍh " " ढ " " dh " " mad-house
v " " व " " v or w " " levy, water
ś " " श " " sh " " ship
ṣ " " ष " " sh " " should
l " " ल " " the cerebral l, made with the tongue-tip up-turned and touching the dome of the palate.
In connexion with the hints on pronunciation and spelling, the following points should also be noted:

(1) All Sanskrit words, except when they are proper nouns, or have come into common use in English, or represent a class of literature, cult, sect, philosophical system, or school of thought, are italicized.

(2) Anglicized common Sanskrit words like Ātman, Brahman, Yoga, etc. are Romanized with initial capitals. Exceptions have, however, been made in the case of words like avatāra, guru, sannyāsin, ahiṃsā, etc.

(3) Current geographical names, except in cases where their Sanskrit forms are given, or in special cases where the context requires it, and all modern names from the commencement of the nineteenth century are given in their usual spelling and without diacritical marks.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adi.</td>
<td>Ādiparvan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ait. Br.</td>
<td>Aitareya Brāhmaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Ś.</td>
<td>Arthaśāstra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASS</td>
<td>Anandashrama Sanskrit Series, Poona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. V.</td>
<td>Atharva-Veda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. G.</td>
<td>Bhagavad-Gītā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhav.</td>
<td>Bhavisya Purāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BI</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Indica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BORI</td>
<td>Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br. U.</td>
<td>Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chā. U.</td>
<td>Chāndogya Upaniṣad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHI</td>
<td>Cultural Heritage of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaut. Dh. S.</td>
<td>Gautama Dharma-Sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOS</td>
<td>Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Dh.</td>
<td>History of Dharma-śāstra by P. V. Kane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIL</td>
<td>History of Indian Literature by M. Winternitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIP</td>
<td>History of Indian Philosophy by S. N. Dasgupta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOS</td>
<td>Harvard Oriental Series, Cambridge (Mass.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSL</td>
<td>History of Sanskrit Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHQ</td>
<td>Indian Historical Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jai. S.</td>
<td>Jaimini-Sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JASB</td>
<td>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBBRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke. U.</td>
<td>Kena Upaniṣad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūr.</td>
<td>Kūrma Purāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liṅga</td>
<td>Liṅga Purāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mai. S.</td>
<td>Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manu</td>
<td>Manu Smṛti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Märk.</td>
<td>Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mat.</td>
<td>Mātsya Purāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbh.</td>
<td>Mahābhārata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mm.</td>
<td>Mahāmahopādhyāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu. U.</td>
<td>Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nār.</td>
<td>Nāradaṇiya Purāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nār. Smṛ.</td>
<td>Nārada Smṛti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pān.</td>
<td>Pāṇini (Aṣṭādhyāyī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parāśara</td>
<td>Parāśara Smṛti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām.</td>
<td>Rāmāyaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. V.</td>
<td>Rg-Veda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šat. Br.</td>
<td>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBE</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śve. U.</td>
<td>Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tai. Br.</td>
<td>Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tai. S.</td>
<td>Taittiriya Samhitā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSS</td>
<td>Travancore Sanskrit Series, Trivandram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāj. S.</td>
<td>Vājasaneyi Samhitā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vām.</td>
<td>Vāmana Purāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Var.</td>
<td>Varāha Purāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vas. Dh. S.</td>
<td>Vasiṣṭha Dharma-Sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāyu.</td>
<td>Vāyu Purāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viṣṇu</td>
<td>Viṣṇu Purāṇa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Viṣṇu Dh. S.</td>
<td>Viṣṇu Dharma-Sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāj.</td>
<td>Yājñavalkya Smṛti</td>
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PREFACE

THE present volume, fifth of the celebrated series, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, published by the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, attempts to make a systematic study of India’s great literary heritage preserved in various languages of the country, old as well as modern. A perusal of the articles in this volume enables one to appreciate the basic phenomenon that despite various diversities—geographical, political, ethnographical, and linguistic—the fundamental unity of India clearly shines forth, and India since time immemorial has formed a solid single unit not only on the cultural plane, but also on the intellectual and literary.

INDIAN LITERATURE : ITS BASIC UNITY

Indian life and thought and Indian literature in ancient, medieval, and modern times (until very recently) have remained imbedded in the Upaniṣads, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the Purāṇas. Without a knowledge and appreciation of these, no knowledge and appreciation of Indian literature, even for the modern age, is possible. These great works have exercised a tremendous fascination on the Indian mind for some 2,000 years and more, and left a profound influence on all Indian literatures. In fact, these works are India: and in all the languages of India and their literatures, it is the spirit and the content of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the Purāṇas, with the Upaniṣads and Dharma-sāstras in the background, that have found and are still finding their full play and their natural abode. They have moulded the life and literature of India and constitute the greatest literary heritage of the country. The cultural unity of India, ancient, medieval, and modern, has been primarily nurtured through them. There is, besides, the huge corpus of literature in Sanskrit that has grown round the six orthodox systems of Indian philosophy and various other aspects of human knowledge and interest, to which scholars and writers from different parts of India had contributed. This ‘matter’ of ancient India or of the Sanskrit world forms the bed-rock of the medieval and modern literatures in most of the modern languages of India. Even a brief perusal of the histories of Hindi, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Malayalam, Kannda, and Telugu literatures, as well as of those which have not been as yet recognized in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution (viz. Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri, Nepali, and Rajasthani), will show that, looming behind all these literatures not only as their background but also as their perpetual inspirer and feeder, there are the towering mountains of the
Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas (especially the Bhāgavata Purāṇa) and the philosophy of the Vedānta as in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavad-Gītā, the ideologies and the ritualism of the Yoga and Bhakti and of the Dharmashāstras, and the poetry of the classic writers of Sanskrit like Kālidāsa, Bāṇabhaṭṭa, and Bhavabhūti. (There is no lack of the 'matter' of the Sanskrit world in Sindhi, Kashmiri, Urdu, and even Tamil, either; but it is there in a comparatively restricted measure.) There are of course the special gifts of the Jaina and Buddhist literatures which are also regarded as priceless treasures of India, but the influence of the Brāhmaṇical literature of ancient India remains supreme. The streams of the Jaina and Buddhist literatures easily and naturally merged into the wider 'Hindu', i.e. Brāhmaṇical-cum-Jaina and Buddhist atmosphere, bringing some of their own elements to extend and diversify as well as unify the whole. One of the salient features of almost all the modern Indian languages is that they follow more or less the same pattern in the process of their literary development and growth. Thus, it may be said that if one passes from one modern Indian literature into another, there will be no sense of entering into a different climate. And this will be still more true if one passes from Sanskrit literature into that of any modern Indian language.

CHARACTERISTICS : ASSIMILATION AND INTEGRATION

Indian literature, like Indian civilization, is marked by its spirit of acceptance and assimilation. It has imbibed many features from other literatures over the centuries. In the modern period, many features of Western literature have found a welcome entry in the literature of this country. It may be asked to what extent the 'matter' of Islam has been assimilated in Indian literature. Sufistic Islam had many points in common with the Vedānta and Yoga and the essentials of higher Hinduism. The way of the Sufi (Sufyana tariqa) was, therefore, easily successful in bringing to the Hindus a closer understanding of Islam and vice versa. Through Sufism we find a considerable amount of spiritual understanding between Hindus and Muslims all over the country. Thus in literature, although the divergences in religious practices of the Hindu and the Muslim, when each tried to be specially orthodox in his own way, have been noticed, there have been the spirit of laissez-faire and a broad spirit of tolerance and compromise and integration which have never been absent in Indian literature.

The real integration of India into one single entity, in spite of some basic and fundamental racial, linguistic, and cultural diversities, has taken place through the Upaniṣads, the epics, the Purāṇas, the Dharmashāstras, and the philosophical literature in Sanskrit, in the ancient and medieval times; and on this integration stand the cultural oneness and the political unity of India.
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This has been strengthened during the last one hundred and fifty years by the impact of the mind of Europe on the Indian mind through the literature of English; and the inestimable service of this last in modernizing the mind of India and making it once again conscious of its great heritage of the past and of its stupendous unity cannot be too highly rated. English has been one of the greatest gifts of the modern age to India. The results of this we find in all the modern Indian literatures.

India is a multi-racial, multi-lingual, and multi-religious country, and in spite of this diversity in racial type, speech, and religious outlook, there has been all through history for the last 3,000 years a great tendency towards an integration of these diverse elements—integration into one single type which can be called pan-Indian. Of course, there has not been in many cases a complete assimilation. But the various elements have had their interplay in the evolution of Indian life, culture, and religion, as well as to a large extent of a common Indian physical type as of a common Indian mentality.

INDIAN LANGUAGES: THEIR CLASSIFICATION

The Indian people, composed of diverse racial elements, now speak languages belonging to four distinct speech families—the Aryan, the Dravidian, the Sino-Tibetan (or Mongoloid), and the Austro. It has been suggested by some that over and above these four groups, there might have been one or two more—there seems to be some evidence from linguistics for this idea. But nothing definitely has yet been found, and we are quite content to look upon these four groups as the basic ones in the Indian scene. People speaking languages belonging to the above four families of speech at first presented distinct culture groups; and the Aryans in ancient India were quite conscious of that. Following to some extent the Sanskrit or Indo-Aryan nomenclature in this matter, the four main ‘language-culture’ groups of India, namely, the Aryan, the Dravidian, the Sino-Tibetan, and the Austro, can also be labelled respectively as Ārya, Drāmiḍa or Dravida, Kirāta, and Niṣāda. Indian civilization, as already said, has elements from all these groups, and basically it is pre-Aryan, with important Aryan modifications within as well as Aryan super-structure at the top. In the four types of speech represented by these, there were, to start with, fundamental differences in formation and vocabulary, in sounds and in syntax. But languages belonging to these four families have lived and developed side by side for 3,000 years and more, and have influenced each other profoundly—particularly the Aryan, the Dravidian, and the Austro speeches; and this has led to either a general evolution, or mutual imposition, in spite of original differences, of some common characteristics, which may be called specifically Indian and which are found in most languages belonging to all these families: e.g. the cerebral or
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retroflex sounds of ṭ, ḍ, ṭr, ṭn, and ḷ; the use of ‘post-positions’ in the declension of the noun; points of similarity in the structure of the verb; compound verbs; ‘echo-words’; etc.

Overlaying their genetic diversity, there is thus in the general run of Indian languages at the present day, an Indian character, which forms one of the bases of that ‘certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin’, of that ‘general Indian personality’, which has been admitted by an Anglo-Indian scholar like Sir Herbert Risley, otherwise so sceptical about India’s claim to be considered as one people.

ARYAN

Of these linguistic and cultural groups, the Aryan is the most important, both numerically and intrinsically. As a matter of fact, Indian civilization has found its expression primarily through the Aryan speech as it developed over the centuries—through Vedic Sanskrit (Old Indo-Aryan), then Classical Sanskrit, then Early Middle Indo-Aryan dialects like Pali and Old Ardha-Māgadhī, then Buddhist and Jaina Sanskrit and after that the various Prakrits and Apabhramśas, and finally in the last phase, the different Modern Indo-Aryan languages of the country. The hymns and poems collected in the four Vedas, probably sometime during the tenth century B.C., represent the earliest stage of the Aryan speech in India, known as the Old Indo-Aryan. Of these again, the language of the Rg-Vedic hymns gives us the oldest specimens of the speech. From the Punjab, the original nidus of the Aryans in India, Aryan speech spread east along the valley of the Gaṅgā, and by 600 B.C., it was well established throughout the whole of the northern Indian plains up to the eastern borders of Bihar. The non-Aryan Dravidian and Austro-Iranian dialects (and in some places the Sino-Tibetan speeches too) yielded place to the Aryan language, which, both through natural change and through its adoption by a larger and larger number of people alien to it, began to be modified in many ways; and this modification was largely along the lines of the Dravidian and Austro-Iranian speeches. The Aryan speech entered in this way into a new stage of development, first in eastern India (Bihar and the eastern U.P. tracts) and then elsewhere. The Punjab, with a larger proportion of born Aryan speakers, remained true to the spirit of the older Vedic speech—the Old Indo-Aryan—to the last, to even as late as the third century B.C., and possibly still later. This new stage of development, which became established during the middle of the first millennium B.C., is known as that of Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit. The spoken dialects of Aryan continued to have their own lines of development in the different parts of North India, and these were also spreading over Sind, Rajasthan, Gujarat, and northern Deccan, as well as Bengal and the sub-Himalayan regions. The
whole country in North, East, and Central India was thus becoming Aryanized through the spread of the Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan dialects.

While spoken forms of the Aryan speech of this second stage were spreading among the masses in this way, a younger form of the Vedic speech was established by the Brāhmaṇas in northern Punjab and in the ‘Midland’ (i.e. present-day eastern Punjab and western U.P.) as a fixed literary language, during the sixth-fifth centuries B.C. This younger form of Vedic or Old Indo-Aryan, which was established just when the Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) dialects were taking shape, later came to be known as Sanskrit or Classical Sanskrit. Sanskrit became one of the greatest languages of Indian civilization, and it has been the greatest vehicle of Indian culture for the last 2,500 years (or for the last 3,000 years, if we take its older form Vedic also). Its history—that of Vedic-cum-Sanskrit—as a language of religion and culture has been longer than that of any other language—with the exception possibly of written Chinese and Hebrew. It may be noted that Vedic and later (Classical) Sanskrit stand in the same relation to each other as do Homeric and Attic Greek. Sanskrit spread with the spread of Hindu or ancient Indian culture (of mixed Austric, Mongoloid, Dravidian, and Aryan origin) beyond the frontiers of India: and by A.D. 400, it became a great cultural link over the greater part of Asia, from Bali, Java, and Borneo in the South-East to Central Asia in the North-West, China too falling within its sphere of influence. Gradually, it acquired a still wider currency in the other countries of Asia wherever Indian religion (Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism) was introduced or adopted. A great literature was built up in Sanskrit—epics of national import, belles lettres of various sorts including the drama, technical literature, philosophical treatises—every department of life and thought came to be covered by the literature of Sanskrit. The range and variety of Sanskrit literature is indeed an astonishing phenomenon, unmistakably testifying to the uniqueness of the wisdom and genius of the ancient Indian masterminds and the expressiveness of the language in a style which has been universally acclaimed as one of the richest and the most elegant the world has ever seen.

The various Prakrits or Middle Indo-Aryan dialects continued to develop and expand. Some of these were adopted by Buddhist and Jaina sects in ancient India as their sacred canonical languages, notably Pali among the Buddhists (of the Hinayāna school) and Ardha-Māgadhī among the Jains. The literature produced in these languages particularly in Pali (and also Gāndhārī Prakrit) migrated to various Asian countries where original contributions in them came into existence. The process of simplification of the Aryan speech which began with the Second or Middle Indo-Aryan stage, continued, and by A.D. 600 we come to the last phase of Middle Indo-Aryan, known as the Apabhramśa stage.
Further modification of the regional Apabhramśas of the period A.D. 600-1000 gave rise, with the beginning of the second millennium A.D., to the New Indo-Aryan or Modern Indo-Aryan languages, or bhāṣās, which are current at the present day.

The New Indo-Aryan languages, coming ultimately from Vedic Sanskrit (or 'Sanskrit', in a loose way), are closely related to each other, like the Neo-Romantic languages derived out of Latin. It is believed that in spite of local differences in the various forms of Middle Indo-Aryan, right up to the New Indo-Aryan development, there was a sort of pan-Indian vulgar or koine form of Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan. But local differences in Middle Indo-Aryan grew more and more pronounced during the centuries round about A.D. 1000, and this led to the provincial New Indo-Aryan languages taking shape and being born. Taking into consideration these basic local characteristics, the New Indo-Aryan speeches have been classified into a number of local groups, viz. (i) North-Western group, (ii) Southern group, (iii) Eastern group, (iv) East-Central or Mediate group, (v) Central group, and (vi) Northern or Himalayan group. The major languages of the New or Modern Indo-Aryan speech family are: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, and Urdu. Kashmiri, one of the major modern Indian languages, belongs to the Dardic branch of the Indo-Iranian group within the Aryan family. Although Dardic by origin, Kashmiri came very early under the profound influence of Sanskrit and the later Prakrits which greatly modified its Dardic bases. Most scholars now think that Dardic is just a branch of Indo-Aryan.

DRAVIDIAN

Dravidian is the second important language family of India and has some special characteristics of its own. After the Aryan speech, it has very largely functioned as the exponent of Indian culture, particularly the earlier secular as well as religious literature of Tamil. It forms a solid bloc in South India, embracing the four great literary languages, Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, and Telugu and a number of less important speeches all of which are, however, overshadowed by the main four. It is believed that the wonderful city civilization of Sind and South Punjab as well as Baluchistan (fourth-third millennium b.c.) was the work of Dravidian speakers. But we cannot be absolutely certain in this matter, so long as the inscribed seals from the city ruins in those areas like Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, etc. remain undeciphered. The art of writing would appear to have been borrowed from the pre-Aryan Sind and South Punjab people by the Aryan speakers, probably in the tenth century B.C., to which period the beginnings of the Brāhmī alphabet, the characteristic Indian system of writing connected with Sanskrit and Prakrit in pre-Christian centuries, may be traced.
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The Dravidian speech in its antiquity in India is older than Aryan, and yet (leaving apart the problematical writings on the seals found in Sind and South Punjab city ruins) the specimens of connected Dravidian writing or literature that we can read and understand are over a millennium later than the oldest Aryan documents. Of the four great Dravidian languages, Tamil has preserved its Dravidian character best, retaining, though not the old sound system of primitive Dravidian, a good deal of its original nature in its roots, forms, and words. The other three cultivated Dravidian speeches have, in the matter of their words of higher culture, completely surrendered themselves to Sanskrit, the classical and sacred language of Hindu India. Tamil has a unique and a very old literature, and the beginnings of it go back to about 2,000 years from now. Malayalam as a language is an offshoot of Old Tamil. From the ninth century A.D. some Malayalam characteristics begin to appear, but it is from the fifteenth century that Malayalam literature took its independent line of development. Kannada as a cultured language is almost as old as Tamil; and although we have some Telugu inscriptions dating from the sixth/seventh century A.D., the literary career of Telugu started from the eleventh century. Tamil and Malayalam are very close to each other, and are mutually intelligible to a certain extent. Kannada also bears a great resemblance to Tamil and Malayalam. Only Telugu has deviated a good deal from its southern neighbours and sisters. But Telugu and Kannada use practically the same alphabet, which is thus a bond of union between these two languages.

SINO-TIBETAN AND AUSTRIC

Peoples of Mongoloid origin, speaking languages of the Sino-Tibetan family, were present in India at least as early as the tenth century B.C., when the four Vedas appear to have been compiled. The Sino-Tibetan languages do not have much numerical importance or cultural significance in India, with the exception of Manipuri or Meithci of Manipur. Everywhere they are gradually receding before the Aryan languages like Bengali and Assamese. The Austric languages represent the oldest speech family of India, but they are spoken by a very small number of people, comparatively. The Austric languages of India have a great interest for the student of linguistics and human culture. They are valuable relics of India's past, and they link up India with Burma, with Indo-China, with Malaya, and with Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. Their solidarity is, however, broken as in most places there has been penetration into Austric blocs by the more powerful Aryan speech with their overwhelming numbers and their prestige. Speakers of Austric in all the walks of life (they are mostly either farmers, or farm and
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plantation, or colliery labourers) know some Aryan language. In some cases they have become very largely bilingual. Their gradual Aryanization is a process which started some 3,000 years ago when the first Austrics (and Mongoloids as well as Dravidians) in North India started to abandon their native speech for Aryan. But in the process of abandoning their own language and accepting a new one, namely the Aryan, the Austrics (as well as the Dravidians and the Sino-Tibetans) naturally introduced some of their own speech habits and their own words into Aryan. In this way, the Austrics and other non-Aryan peoples helped to modify the character of the Aryan speech in India, from century to century, and even to build up Classical Sanskrit as the great culture speech of India. As the speakers of the Sino-Tibetan and Austric languages had been in a backward state living mostly a rather primitive life in out-of-the-way places, their languages do not show any high literary development excepting, as already said, in the case of Meithei or Manipuri belonging to Sino-Tibetan, which has quite a noteworthy and fairly old literature. They had, however, some kind of village or folk-culture, connected with which there developed in all these languages an oral literature consisting of folk-songs, religious and otherwise, of folk-tales, and of their legends and traditions. And a literature, mainly of Christian inspiration, has been created in some of these speeches by translating the Bible in its entirety or in part. Songs, legends, and tales of the Austric languages have been collected and published, particularly in Santali and Mundari, and in Khasi. Munda and Santali lyrics give pretty, idyllic glimpses of tribal life, some of the Munda love poems having a rare freshness about them; and a number of Santali folk-tales are very beautiful. A few of the folk-tales prevalent in the Sino-Tibetan speeches are also beautiful (e.g. the Mikir tale of a young man who had a god's daughter as his bride, and the Kachari story of a young man who got a swan-maiden as his wife), but they do not appear to compare favourably with the Santali and Mundari languages in the matter of both lyric poems and stories. A systematic study of these languages started only during the nineteenth century when European missionaries and scholars got interested in them. I have discussed in detail the speeches of the Sino-Tibetan and Austric families prevalent in the country in my contribution to this volume, entitled 'Ādivāsi Languages and Literatures of India'.

CONCLUSION

There is, as already said, a fundamental unity in the literary types, genres, and expressions among all the modern languages of India in their early, medieval, and modern developments. The reason of this unique phenomenon is that there has been a gradual convergence of Indian languages belonging
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to the different linguistic families, Aryan, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan, and Austric, towards a common Indian type after their intimate contact with each other for at least 3,000 years.

This volume of The Cultural Heritage of India is indeed an encyclopaedia in its scope and range, and it will certainly provide an authentic and valuable contribution towards the study of Indian languages and literatures in their glory and grandeur; it will also afford a spectacular display of the genius of India reflected in various branches of knowledge. It is needless to add that the literary heritage of India constitutes a priceless possession covetable to any nation, however great it may be by any standard.

Calcutta
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SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

INDIAN culture has an organic unity, and this has been largely brought about by language movements, shaped and moulded by the Sanskrit language. Sanskrit, by its unique status and unfailing vitality, has been the most powerful formative agency from the very beginning of Indian history and civilization, giving them their special Indian character.

VEDIC LANGUAGE

The early Vedic Aryans inherited a noteworthy literature of hymns and songs from their ancestors, the Indo-Iranians in Iran, and, before them, the primitive Indo-European people who had their home in the steppe lands of Eurasia. The hymns of the Rg-Veda and the Atharva-Veda, their roots going back to the world of the Indo-Europeans, form the earliest available document of the Indo-Aryans.

These hymns, as used in the religious ceremonies of the Vedic Aryans, were chanted with meticulous regard for the proper pronunciation of the words in sounds and forms as well as in accent; and the hymns had acquired a remarkable sanctity in themselves. The priests who studied the hymns, and chanted them after getting them by heart, were men who were styled the Brāhmaṇas or the Śrotarīyas, and they were dedicated to preserving the hymns through oral tradition. As custodians of this sacred heritage of a national literature, they were accorded the highest status. Early in life, they had to go through a rigorous discipline, observing brahmacarya (continence and chastity) and mastering the voluminous mass of hymns with proper accent and intonation.

The tenth and last book (māndala) of the Rg-Veda and a considerable part of the Atharva-Veda show a later phase of Vedic Sanskrit; and the later exegetical and philosophical works, the Brāhmaṇas and the earlier Upaniṣads, have preserved considerable relics of the old Vedic language.

This vast literature of Vedic exegesis and Vedic speculation in philosophy, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āranyakas, and the Upaniṣads relating to each Veda, was connected by tradition with one or the other of the four Vedas. These works were composed through several centuries, and unmistakably indicate the continuous and gradual evolution of the Vedic language (Vedic Sanskrit) into its later phase, the Classical Sanskrit.

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

Classical Sanskrit received its first serious study and formulation with Pāṇini (c. fifth century B.C.). Before him, the Aryan language was in a fluid state,
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like any other spoken language. Pāṇini’s great Sanskrit grammar in some 4,000 aphorisms in eight chapters, called the Astādhyāyī, ushered in quite a linguistic revolution by stabilizing the norms of the language, leaving enough scope for the incorporation of later forms and modifications growing within the framework of the principles laid down by him.

A great many works in this later Classical Sanskrit, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇas, and other works, such as the Dharma-śāstras, acquired almost the same sanctity as the Vedic texts. Thus, Sanskrit with its expanding literature became a dynamic force to dominate, absorb, and direct most of the cultural and linguistic movements in the following centuries.

Pāṇini’s great influence standardized the Sanskrit language firmly; Sanskrit continued to be the mightiest force in the literary, linguistic, and cultural world of India. The later forms of the Indo-Aryan speech, the Prakrits (Pali and the rest), were taken up by the heterodox sects, the Buddhists and the Jains and their teachers, who created a great literature in these forms. But from the beginning the prestige and importance of Sanskrit almost overwhelmed them.

THE EFFLORESCENCE OF SANSKRIT

During the Gupta age, from the fourth to the seventh century A.D., Sanskrit attained a creative efflorescence. During this period, the Mahābhārata, in almost its present form (with Krṣṇa as its divine hero), emerged as the ‘fifth Veda’; the Mahābhārata is the greatest book in Sanskrit and Indian literature and, some would say, even in world literature. The older Purāṇas, such as the Vaiṣṇu, the Mātasya, and perhaps the Viṣṇu and the Mārkaṇḍeya, were composed or revised during the Gupta age. The study of the Dharma-śāstras (works on social customs, laws, and religious rituals) and the various sciences as well as philosophy in all its various branches and in the different schools received a great impetus. Among the sciences, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine were assiduously cultivated, while architecture, sculpture, and painting reached their highest level of artistic expression.

Secular literature—poems and romantic epics, dramas, and prose romances—reached its climax in the kāvyas (epics) and the nāṭakas (dramas). Sanskrit, already the medium of intercourse between the cultured sections of the people in the whole of India, became the great unifying force, the source and inspiration of culture in its manifold aspects. Sanskrit (along with some of its younger forms of speech, the Prakrits) spread outside India in the wake of Indian commerce and expansion and, with the spread of Indian civilization and religion (both Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism), all over Asia. Thus Sanskrit found new homes in Central Asia, Tibet, Indo-China, and Indonesia. It was also studied in China, Korea, and Japan, and round about A.D. 500-800 it was the great cultural language binding India with the greater part of Asia. A man knowing
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Sanskrit could travel from Central Asia to Java and Bali without experiencing any difficulty in language. As many scholars believe, Kālidāsa, one of the world’s greatest literary artists, flourished at the court of Candragupta II Vikramāditya (c. A.D. 400). Ever since they were written, his Raghuvamśa, Meghatūta, and Śakuntalā have been accepted as supreme models of literary art.

In spite of the Prakrits coming into use among the Buddhists and the Jains, Sanskrit continued not only as the medium of Brāhmanical (and even Buddhist and Jaina) religious ritual, but it was established also as the language of the élite (śīṣṭa) at the royal courts and academies of learning and as the medium of all higher studies in the various branches of philosophy and science. Caraka testifies that discussions in medical schools all over India were carried on in Sanskrit.

However, Sanskrit was never static. In its growth, it absorbed and assimilated many words and terms of expression from the regional dialects, both of Aryan and non-Aryan (Dravidian, Kol or Munda, and Tibeto-Burman) origin.

THE PRAKRITS, APABHRAMŚAS, AND BHĀŚAS

Pali and the Prakrits represent the Middle Indo-Aryan period (from after 600 B.C. to about A.D. 1000). These dialects came into existence as the result of certain phonetic changes and grammatical modifications which had naturally come in with the passage of time.

The Prakrits have come down to us in inscriptions (from the fourth to the third century B.C.) and literary works preserved at different times and places. Vararuci’s Purāta-prakāśa (fifth century A.D.) and Hemacandra’s Prakrit grammar (twelfth century) are two of the most famous Prakrit grammars.

In the course of time, the Prakrits were transformed into what are known as the Apabhramśa dialects, of which there are quite a number, which began to be used in literature, both folk or popular and ornate or scholarly, after A.D. 500. As a medium for folk as well as bardic poetry they were used from Bengal in the east to Saurashtra in the west. Voluminous epics like the Mahābhārata and noteworthy secular compositions like Sundesārāsaka, as well as dohās (distichs) by Brāhmanical, Buddhist, and Jaina writers, have come to us in Apabhramśa. Its regional varieties are seen in the rāsās in western India and in such works as those of poets like Vidyāpati in the east (fifteenth century).

We can trace the origin and development of the modern Indo-Aryan languages (the ‘Bhāśa’) to Apabhramśa. The evolution followed a pattern of its own. The dialects—desabhāsā or local speeches or forms of patois—standardized and enriched under the influence of Sanskrit, developed their literature. The spoken forms of Middle Indo-Aryan had their own normal development from decade to decade through the centuries, but at every stage Sanskrit re-
mained the perennial source of inspiration, ready to come to the rescue of the
desabhāṣās whenever they moved too far away from the old Indo-Aryan.

Prakrit and Apabhramśa disappeared. Sanskrit, strengthened by the genius
of Pāṇini, survived, and became a new source of inspiration for the modern
Indo-Aryan (as well as Dravidian) languages in the development of their
literature.

SANSKRIT AND THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

When the South received the impact of Sanskrit, it developed a devotional
literature of supreme quality first in Tamil, and then in Telugu and Kannada.
There was an earlier native Dravidian tradition of literature in Tamil—the
Saṅgam literature—but this literature from the very beginning received strong
Brāhmāṇical or Sanskrit influence and learning through sages, writers, and
grammarians like Agastya and Tolkāppiyam. A song by Kāri-kizhār addressed
to an early Pāṇdiyan king attests to the influence of early Vedic sages. The song
runs: 'May your head bend low before the upraised hands of Vedic sages when
they bless you.' The Jains and the Buddhists also brought North Indian Aryan
influence into the Dravidian speeches of the South.

The Saṅgam literature was overlaid by that of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints,
the Nāyanmārs and the Āḻvārs, and Tamil literature became saturated with
the spirit of the Purāṇas and of Sanskrit, as happened in all other languages;
the various versions of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata are national works
as much in the South as in the North.

The Sanskrit literature of the South, that is, of the Dravidian-speaking
States, has added lustre to the Sanskrit literature of India. Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja,
Madhva, and other philosophers, as well as poets and saints, who wrote in
Sanskrit, are as great in the history of Sanskrit as Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa,
Rājaśekhara and Bhavabhūti.

Sanskrit literature, and a sort of its understudy, the literature in Pali, Prakrit,
and Apabhramśa, were running their usual course when, by A.D. 1000, their
last transformations, the new or modern Indo-Aryan languages, came to the field
and became the rivals of Sanskrit, Pali, and the Prakrits.

BHAKTI MOVEMENT AND REGIONAL LANGUAGES

A new attitude in religion, that of bhakti—an abandon of faith in God—came
in, and very largely dominated Indian religious life and also Indian literature.
This was faith in some aspect of the Divinity—either Śiva, or the Great Mother
Goddess Śakti or Pārvati, or Viṣṇu (especially in his incarnations of Rāma
and Kṛṣṇa), or in some of the other gods like Gaṇeśa, Śūrya, and Kumāra.
Later, bhakti also permeated Buddhism and Jainism.

Mainly through bhakti, the great religious leaders played a notable part in
the development of the regional languages. Among them we may mention: Jñānesvara, Nāmadeva, Basava, Narāśī Mehtā, Guru Nānak, Mīrābāi, and Śāṅkara Deva. Great stimulus was given by the bhakti movement to Braja-bhāṣā, a Western Hindi dialect, and also to Awadhi or Kosali, an Eastern Hindi speech. The followers of Śrī Caitanya, through their writings, greatly influenced the development of Bengali.

Sacred cities like Vārāṇasi, Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Navadvipa, and Amṛtsar became centres of this new Indo-Aryan bhakti literature. From the fourteenth century onwards we have poets by the score.

Tulasīdāsa’s Rāma-carita-mānas, an early Awadhi (Eastern Hindi) version of the Rāmāyana, became a classic in its own right and, for the greater part of northern India, provided the gospel of righteous living in a language of perfect beauty. Śūradāsa and Mīrābāi wrote their lyrics on Kṛṣṇa in Braja-bhāṣā and in Rajasthani.

THE MODERN RENAISSANCE

The three universities established by the British in India in 1857 adopted English as the medium of instruction, but at the same time prescribed Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian as ‘classical languages’, besides Greek and Latin, one of which most students preparing for the ‘Entrance Examination’ had to take as a compulsory subject. In this way, through the English schools affiliated to the universities, the doors of Sanskrit were opened wide to all students, irrespective of caste or creed.

The study of English began seriously first in Bengal and then spread to other parts of India. The college-educated Indian élite soon came under the spell of Shakespeare, Milton, Scott, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Browning, Tennyson, and the rest; and then began, under the joint influence of Sanskrit and English, the modern literary renaissance in India.

Enriched by Sanskrit, and leavened by the expressive vigour of English, all the modern Indian languages acquired wider horizons and higher ranges of expression. Indian literary forms were inspired by those of the West; the two were interwoven to produce a rich expressiveness, a new technique, and quite a vast vision of beauty.

The modern spirit in literature first began to manifest itself in Bengali, for by 1850 Bengali had started on its modern career. It fell in line with English and European literature, but retained its native character and preserved fully the great heritage of Sanskrit and of the spirit of Indian civilization.

Since the days of Rammohun Roy (1772-1833), Bengali prose became a powerful medium with the help of Sanskrit. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, due to the influence of Persian as the official language of the Muslim rulers, Bengali had a large Persian vocabulary. However, from the first decades
of the nineteenth century, it retrieved its genius and its Sanskritic character. Rammohun Roy, 'the Father of Modern India', was at first a Persian and Arabic scholar and learned Sanskrit later in life. In his Bengali writings he scrupulously used a highly Sanskritized style.

In the hands of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Bengali prose took its final shape. After him, this tendency was continued by the three great literary figures who dominated the language in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and Rabindranath Tagore. With them were quite a host of other prolific writers.

A song in Bengali composed by Rabindranath Tagore has been adopted as the national anthem of the Indian Republic. The song is a majestic composition with its sonorous Sanskritic vocabulary, describing in a series of noble stanzas the ideals and ideologies of India as a country, which accepted the basic human values and looked upon God, the ultimate Reality, as the only Arbiter of the destinies of both India and humanity.

Modern Hindi also, during the last one hundred years, has acquired great expressiveness by drawing upon the vocabulary and other resources of Sanskrit. The first great writer in modern Hindi was Bharatendu Harishchandra of Vārāṇasi (1850-1883); it was he who gave the tone to modern literary Hindi. In spite of certain opposition, the reasons for which should be dispassionately looked into, Hindi can still be regarded as the representative language of India and it is most widely understood in the Aryan-speaking India and in the bigger towns of Dravidian India as well.

Hindi (or Hindustani or Hindusthani) is a great language. In various dialectal forms, the two most important of which are Braja and Awadhi, it has one of the richest medieval literature of India. In its modern colloquial form it is the link language of North India, and is also understood in many of the cities of the South.

The history of the other great languages of modern India, whether Aryan or Dravidian, follows the pattern we find in Bengali. These languages are: Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam, Oriya, Punjabi, and Assamese.

The modern renaissance in India has produced several eminent poets among whom we may mention Maithili Sharan Gupt (Hindi), Nanalal (Gujarati), Subrahmanya Bharati (Tamil), Gurudzadu (Telugu), and Vallattol Narayana Menon (Malayalam). Their works reflect the three elements of the renaissance—burning nationalism, a glorious view of India's ancient past, and faith in India's future.

URDU AND PERSIAN

Persian was the court language of the Muslim rulers, and Urdu came into
INTRODUCTION

existence in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries as the medium of communication between the people and the Persian-using court and army officials. Written in a modified Arabic script, though its basic structure was Indo-Aryan, it became a literary language by borrowing vocabulary, structure, idiom, imagery, and allusions from Persian.

Hindus connected with the courts had to master Persian. They performed the prescribed daily rituals and worshipped Hindu deities with Sanskrit *mantras*, but their want of familiarity with the Indian script (particularly in Punjab and western Uttar Pradesh) often made them write, and therefore read, these *mantras* in the Perso-Arabic script of Urdu. However, they regulated their personal, social, and religious life according to the *Sastras*, the Hindu scriptures.

Urdu is not the language of all the Muslims in India; a vast majority of them speak the local languages like Bengali, Marathi, Telugu, and Tamil. On the other hand, several sections of Hindus in Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, and Punjab speak and write Urdu as their first language; but Urdu is now a diminishing force among Hindus.

ENGLISH

When Persian ceased to be the language of the rulers, aspiring young men turned to the study of English, the official language of the British rulers. All that was left of Persian to the regional languages of North India (from Punjab to Bengal) was a legacy of some Persian words and idioms.

In the course of half a century, English gradually became the medium used by the *elite* all over the country to express their growing sense of national pan-Indian unity and solidarity.

The place which English occupies in India is now underestimated, if not ignored altogether—at least in some quarters. The whole texture of Indian constitutional and legal concepts has been woven with ideas represented by English words. Indian scholarship owes its high standard to close contact with western scholarship through the medium of English. For a long time to come, progress in science and technology in the country will be possible only through the medium of the English language because of its international character. Above all, as things are today, English is the only available medium for inter-State, inter-university, and international communication.

English is no longer the language of England alone; it is an international language. Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, Mahatma Gandhi, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Jawaharlal Nehru, and many other authors who wrote in English have contributed large Indian elements to the language. Modern Indian writers of English have made a distinct contribution to world literature by their works which bring the spirit and mentality of modern India in telling and forceful form before the entire civilized world. Such writers are Toru
Dutt, Romesh Chandra Dutt, and Rabindranath Tagore; and among other writers of creative literature we may mention Mulk Raj Anand, R. K. Narayan, Raja Rao, Bhabani Bhattacharya, and others. They are Indians, but at the same time, through the medium they are handling so effectively, the English language, they are also of the whole world.

Beneath the diversity of languages and literature in India flows an undercurrent of basic unity of culture and civilization rooted in the fusion of Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages with the Dravidian languages and other local dialects. This basic unity, I hope, will be elaborately brought out by the learned authors of the various chapters which follow.
PART I

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF ANCIENT INDIA
LITERATURE OF BRĀHMANISM IN SANSKRIT

THE Brāhmanic religion, in its different phases, has a vast and traditionally continuous literature which concerns itself, directly or indirectly, with the various aspects of that religion. We have made an attempt in the following two sections to present a connected historical account of this literature, from the age of the Vedas down to about the end of the medieval period, taking into account the more significant literary works, and paying special attention to some of the hitherto neglected works.

I

THE VEDIC LITERATURE

The literature of Brāhmanism begins with the Vedas. We should note, first of all, certain distinctive features of the Vedas. The term *veda* does not denote any single book; it denotes an entire literature, and a literature which is strikingly extensive from the standpoints of chronology, geography, and authorship. Composition of the various texts which are believed to constitute the Vedas was spread over many centuries and over different localities, and is ascribed to many generations of poets, priests, and philosophers. But ancient tradition connected with the genesis of the Vedas does not warrant the use of such words as ‘composition’ and ‘authorship’. For it is traditionally claimed that the Vedas are *apauruṣeya*, that is to say, no human agency was responsible for their creation. The Vedas have existed from time immemorial, and will exist for eternity. The activity of the various *ṛṣis* (seers) associated with the Vedas is restricted only to ‘seeing’ or ‘discovering’ them. Finally, the claim that the Vedas are *apauruṣeya* has naturally given rise to another claim, that of *veda-prāmāṇya*. The Vedas, being free from all the limitations and deficiencies usually associated with a human agency, possess absolute validity in the field of knowledge.

The Vedas have been transmitted from generation to generation through oral tradition. They are called the Śrutis because they were recited and ‘heard’, not written and read. (The word *śruti*, incidentally, is also interpreted as ‘the rhythm of the infinite heard by the soul’, its *apauruṣeyatva* thereby being confirmed.) Though the Vedas signify not any single specific text but a veritable library of texts which are remarkably diverse in form and content, there is a thread of logical development running through them, and it is this that imparts to them a distinctive unity.
Vedic literary history is usually divided into three main periods: the Samhitā, the Brāhmaṇa, and the Upaniṣad periods. Broadly speaking, these periods represent a chronological as well as a logical sequence.

Reference may also be made to another feature of the Vedas, which is important from the point of view of Vedic literary history. This concerns the emergence, in the course of time, of various Vedic śākhās (branches) which have sponsored their own recensions of the different Vedic texts.

THE PRE-VEDIC HOMELAND AND THE VEDIC RELIGION

It is believed that the ancient ancestors of the Indo-European-speaking people once had their common home in the North Kirghiz region. In the course of time some tribes amongst them migrated towards the south-east and eventually settled down in the Balkh region. There they developed a form of their original Indo-European language, which may be characterized as proto-Aryan, the direct ancestor of the Vedic language. They also developed a form of religion which may be characterized as proto-Aryan, for it was, in many respects, a direct precursor of the Vedic religion. From Balkh, there occurred further migrations and some tribes proceeded again south-east and finally reached Saptā-Sindhu, the land of the seven rivers. These tribes were the ancestors of the Vedic Aryans.

When the Vedic Aryans settled down in this new region and established their tribal dominions, a sense of security and prosperity gradually grew among them. One thing which they undertook to do in this new phase of life was to collect, revise, add to, and systematically arrange their stray and scattered mantras, which had been composed by the early Vedic seers. The word mantra denotes, on the one hand, the prayers addressed to the various divinities of the mythological religion of the classes within the community of Vedic Aryans, and, on the other, the formulas and incantations connected with the religion of the masses. All these mantras were now brought together, and two great collections (Samhitās) resulted: the Rg-Veda Samhitā (or the Rg-Veda) and the Atharva-Veda Samhitā (or the Atharva-Veda). Since the word samhitā means ‘collection’, it necessarily presupposes a former stage of stray and scattered mantras. Eventually, two more collections were also made: the Sāma-Veda Samhitā and the Yajur-Veda Samhitā. These four Samhitās are commonly referred to as the four Vedas.

1 The religion of the Vedic Aryans may be said to have been mainly twofold. On the one hand, they developed a cosmic religion [in which such concepts as Dvīpā-Pṛthivī (Heaven and Earth) and Varuna-Rta (the cosmic power by which all are covered) played the most prominent role], a hero-religion (which was dominated by the personality of Indra), an Agni cult, a Soma cult, and so on. This was the religious ideology of the ‘classes’ within the community of the Vedic Aryans. On the other hand, coeval with this, there was also the religious ideology of the ‘masses’, which was essentially magical in character. The early Vedic ṛtis composed mantras relating to both these types of religion.
LITERATURE OF BRÂHMANISM IN SANSKRIT
THE RÅG-VEDÅ SÅNHITÅ

The Råg-Veda Sånhitå which has come down to us belongs to the branch known as the Śåkala Śåkhå. It consists of 1,028 såktas (hymns) including eleven vâlakhilïya (additional) hymns. These hymns, which are made up of a varying number of mantras in the form of råks (metrical stanzas), are distributed in ten books called mandaḷas. The formation of the mandaḷas was governed mainly by the principle of homogeneity of authorship. Among the classes of the Vedic Aryans certain families had already acquired some measure of socio-religious importance. The mantras, or hymns, which the progenitor and the members of any of these families claimed to have ‘seen’ were collected in the book of that family. The nucleus of the Råg-Veda mandaḷas two to seven is formed of six such family books, which are respectively ascribed to the families of Gråtsâmåda, Viśvåmitra, Våmadeva, Atri, Bharadvåja, and Våsiśtha. The eighth mandaḷa largely belongs to the Kåṇvas. The ninth mandaḷa is governed by the principle of the homogeneity not of authorship but of subject-matter, for all the såktas in this mandaḷa relate to soma (an intoxicating juice). The first and the tenth mandaḷas, each of which has 191 hymns, are miscellaneous collections of long and short såktas.

Within a mandaḷa, the såktas are arranged according to the subject-matter. That is to say, the såktas are grouped according to the divinities to whom they relate, and then these devatå groups are arranged in some set order. Within a devatå group, again, the såktas are normally arranged in the descending order of the number of their stanzas.

The Råg-Veda has also been arranged by another method. In this the whole collection is divided into eight åṣṭakas (books). Each åṣṭaka is subdivided into eight adhyaåyas (chapters), and each adhyaåya is further subdivided into about thirty-three vargas (sections) consisting of about five mantras each. This arrangement, however, is obviously mechanical and intended mainly to serve the practical purpose of Vedic study.

Tradition requires that before starting the study of any såkta one should know four essential items about it: råṣ, authorship; devatå, subject-matter; chandas, metre; and viniyoga, ritualistic application. The poets of the Råg-Veda show themselves to have been conscious artists and they sometimes employed various stylistic and rhetorical devices. The majority of the såktas in the Råg-Veda are of the nature of prayers addressed to different divinities usually with background descriptions of their various exploits and achievements. Apart from these prayers and their mythology, however, we do get in some såktas of

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2 This last item is evidently an after-thought. The mandaḷa arrangement of the Råg-Veda clearly indicates that this Sånhitå is not at all ritual-oriented. It also becomes clear that the various hymns were not composed with any elaborate sacrificial ritual in view. The ritualistic purpose was superimposed on them in a later period.
the *Rg-Veda* intimations of the further development of Vedic thought in the directions of ritualism and philosophical speculation. In connection with the latter, special mention may be made of the *Hiranyakarbhisa-sūkta* (X. 121), the *Puruṣa-sūkta* (X. 90), and the *Nāsadiya-sūkta* (X. 129).

THE ATHARVA-VEDA SAMHITA

In contrast to the *Rg-Veda*, the *Atharva-Veda* is essentially a heterogeneous collection of *mantras*. It concerns itself mostly with the everyday life of the common man, from the pre-natal stage to the post-mortem. It portrays that life with all its light and shade, and highlights the generally obscure human emotions and relations. Truly, there is an aura of mystery and unexpectedness about it. The interest of the *Atharva-Veda* is varied and its impact is irresistible.

A distinctive feature of the *Atharva-Veda* is the large number of names by which it has been traditionally known. All these names are significant, and together give a full idea of the nature, extent, and content of this Veda. The name *Atharvaṅgirasaḥ* (an abbreviated form of this, *Atharva-Veda*, has, in the course of time, come to be the one most commonly used) is, for example, indicative of the twofold character of the Atharvanic magic: the wholesome, auspicious, ‘white’ magic of the Atharvans and the terrible, sorcerous, ‘black’ magic of the Aṅgirasaśas. The substitution of Bhṛgu for Atharvan in the name *Bṛgvaṅgirasaḥ* is presumably the result of the dominant role played by the family of the Bhṛgus in a certain period of India’s cultural history. The *purohita* (priest) of a Vedic king was expected to be an adept in both white and black magic, and in order to discharge adequately the duties of his responsible office he naturally depended on the *mantras* and practices of the *Atharva-Veda*. Thus it was that this Veda also came to be called the *Purohita-Veda*. It was also called the *Kṣatra-Veda*, because it included within its scope many practices specifically relating to the Kṣatriya rulers.

The *Atharva-Veda* consisted of brahmans (magically potent *mantras*) and was therefore, according to one view, called the *Brahma-Veda*. But there is another reason why it is called the *Brahma-Veda*, which is far more significant. On account of the peculiar character of the contents of the *Atharva-Veda*, it was, for a long time, not regarded as being on a par with the other three Vedas, called *trayi*. As a reaction against this exclusive attitude of the Vedic hierarchy, the Atharva-Vedins went to the other extreme and claimed that their Veda not only enjoyed, by right, the full status of a Veda, but actually comprehended the other three Vedas. The view had already been independently gaining ground that the *Rg-Veda*, the *Yajur-Veda*, and the *Sāma-Veda* were essentially limited in scope and that brahman alone was truly limitless. The sponsors of the *Atharva-Veda* claimed that this brahman was adequately embodied in their Veda, and that the *Atharva-Veda* was therefore the *Brahma-Veda*. 

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However, it is not unlikely that the name *Brahma-Veda* became stabilized because the priest of the *Atharva-Veda* in the Vedic ritual was called *brahman*. The *Atharva-Veda* is usually considered to be a Veda of magic, and magic becomes effective only through the joint operation of *mantras* and the corresponding practices. The *Atharva-Veda Sāṁhitā* itself contains only the *mantras*, while its various practices are described in its many ancillary texts, particularly in its five *kalpas*. The *Atharva-Veda* is accordingly sometimes referred to as the Veda of the five *kalpas*. But mystic and esoteric verses are there in the *Atharva-Veda*, and this justifies in a way its claim to be regarded as the *Brahma-Veda*, dealing specifically with Brahman, the supreme Spirit, the other three being more or less connected with the ritual of worship.

Nine (or sometimes fifteen) *śākhas* of the *Atharva-Veda* are traditionally known, but the *Sāṁhitās* of only two *śākhas*, the *Śaunaka* and the *Paippalāda*, have been preserved. It was once believed that the *Paippalāda Sākhā* was restricted to Kashmir and it was therefore called, though erroneously, the Kashmirian *Atharva-Veda*. It has now been established, however, that that *śākhā* of the *Atharva-Veda* had also spread in eastern India (Orissa and south-west Bengal) and in Gujarat. The entire *Paippalāda* recension was discovered some years ago in Orissa by the late Dr Durga Mohan Bhattacharyya and a small portion of it has been published.

The *Śaunaka Sāṁhitā* of the *Atharva-Veda* has been more commonly current. It consists of 730 *sūktas* divided into twenty *kāndas* (books). About five-sixths of the *sūktas*, which are called *artha-sūktas*, contain metrical stanzas, whereas the remaining *sūktas*, which are called *parāya-sūktas*, contain *avasānas* (prose-units). Unlike the *Ṛg-Veda Sāṁhitā*, the arrangement of the *Atharva-Veda Sāṁhitā* is not governed by any consideration either of authorship or of subject-matter. Indeed, it is understandable that the historical tradition regarding authorship was not preserved in respect of this ‘Veda of the masses’. Again, the *Atharva-Veda* shows considerable looseness in matters of metre, accent, and grammar, presumably because it was not subjected, as the *Ṛg-Veda* was, to deliberate revision and redaction.

The contents of the *Atharva-Veda* are remarkably diverse in character. There are in this Veda charms to counteract diseases and possession by evil spirits, *bhaisajyāni*. The *Atharva-Veda* presents perhaps the most complete account of primitive medicine. There are also prayers for health and long life, *āyusyāni*; for happiness and prosperity, *pausṭikāni*. There are also spells pertaining to the various kinds of relationship with women, *strikāni*. Another significant section of this Veda contains hymns which concern themselves with affairs involving the king, *rājakāraṇāni*, and others which are intended for securing harmony in domestic, social, and political spheres, *sāṁmanasyāni*.

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As for black magic, the Atharva-Veda abounds in formulas for sorcery and imprecation, for exorcism and counter-exorcism, āhicārīkāṇī and kṛtyāparī-\textit{harayāṇī}. Polarity may be said to be one of the most striking features of the Atharva-Veda; for side by side with the incantations for sorcery and black magic, it contains highly theosophical or philosophical speculations. These speculations, indeed, represent a significant landmark in the history of Indian thought.

As has been mentioned, the Rg-Veda and the Atharva-Veda are the only two primary Samhitas, the other two Samhitas being mostly derivative in character. Again, it is to be noted in the same context that the Sāma-Veda and the Yajur-Veda may be styled as Samhitas since they are, in a sense, collections of mantras, but in them are reflected tendencies which are not of the Samhita period but are of the Brāhmaṇa period.

THE SĀMA-VEDA SAMHITĀ

The Sāma-Veda Samhita is a collection of mantras prescribed for chanting at various soma sacrifices by the \textit{udgātṛ} (singer-priest) and his assistants: thus this Veda serves an avowedly ritualistic purpose. Though called Sāma-Veda, it is not strictly speaking a collection of sāmans (chants). The Sāma-Veda, as we have said, is essentially a derivative production in the sense that most of its mantras are derived from the Rg-Veda. Three distinct stages may be inferred in the evolution of this Veda. There is a specific mantra taken from the Rg-Veda in its original form. This mantra is taken into the Sāma-Veda with a view to its being made the basis of a proper sāman. The only change that is effected in this process concerns the marking of the accents, numbers, 1, 2, and 3 now being used to indicate accents instead of the vertical and horizontal lines used in the Rg-Veda. In this second stage the mantra is called sāmayoni-mantra.

The Sāma-Veda is actually a collection of such sāmayoni-mantras. The collection is in two main parts: the Pūrvaśāstra and the Uttarāśāstra. The Pūrvaśāstra consists of 585 single verses, of which the first 114 are addressed to Agni, the next 352 to Indra, and the last 119 to Soma. The Uttarāśāstra consists of 1,225 verses grouped into 400 units of connected verses which are mostly tṛṇas (strophes consisting of three verses). The total number of mantras in the Sāma-Veda, excluding the repeated ones, is 1,549, all of which except 78 are taken from the Rg-Veda, mostly from its eighth and ninth maṇḍalas (books).

It is, however, not in the form in which they occur in the Sāma-Veda Samhita that these mantras are employed by the \textit{udgātṛ} in the soma ritual. The sāmayoni-mantras are transformed into chants or ritual melodies called gānas. This is done by means of such devices as the modification, prolongation, and repetition of the syllables occurring in the mantra itself, and the occasional insertion of additional syllables known as stobhas. These gānas, which represent the third and final stage in the evolution of the Sāma-Veda, are collected in four books: the
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Grāmageya-gāṇa, the Āranyā-gāṇa, the Uha-gāṇa, and the Uhya-gāṇa. Of course, these gāṇa collections are quite distinct from the Sāma-Veda Samhitā. Normally, each gāṇa in these collections is given some technical name, for example, Byhat, Rathantarā, or Gotamasya Parka. Since one sāmayoni-mantra can be chanted in a variety of ways, it may give rise to several gāṇas. For instance, three gāṇas, Gotamasya Parka, Kaśyapaśāya Bāhriṣṭa, and another Gotamasya Parka, have evolved out of the first mantra in the Sāma-Veda Samhitā. Consequently, the number of Sāma-gāṇas is much larger than the number of sāmayoni-mantras. The number of gāṇas in the Jaiminiya school is 3,681 and that in the Kauthuma school 2,722.

Thirteen sākhās of the Sāma-Veda are traditionally mentioned, though only three sākhās, the Kauthuma, the Rāṇāyaniya, and the Jaimini, are well known today. Parāśjar, in his Mahābhāṣya, speaks of the Sāma-Veda having a thousand ‘paths’, sahasravartmā sāmavedaḥ. This characterization presumably suggests the large number of possible modes of sāma chanting, rather than a thousand sākhās of the Sāma-Veda, as is construed by some.

In the Bhāgavat-Gītā (X. 22) the Sāma-Veda is glorified as the most excellent of the Vedas. This may be due to the great efficacy of the magical potency engendered in the Vedic ritual by the chanting of the sāmans.

THE YAJUR-VEDA SAMHITĀ

Like the Sāma-Veda, the Yajur-Veda is essentially ritualistic in character. This is clearly indicated by Yāska’s derivation of the word Yajus from the root yaj, to sacrifice. But while the Sāma-Veda concerns itself exclusively with the soma sacrifice, the Yajur-Veda treats of the entire sacrificial system. Indeed, the Yajur-Veda may be regarded as the first regular textbook on Vedic ritual as a whole. It deals mainly with the duties of the adhvaryu (fire-priest), who is responsible for the actual performance of the various sacrificial rites. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that while the Sāma-Veda represents a very early stage in the history of Indian music, the Yajur-Veda marks the beginning of Sanskrit prose.

Tradition speaks variously of the Yajur-Veda having 86 or 101 sākhās. But for our present purpose we may consider only its two main recensions, the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda and the Śukla Yajur-Veda. The difference between these two recensions lies not so much in their content as in their arrangement. In the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda the mantras (mostly derived from the Rg-Veda) and the yajus (sacrificial formulas in prose) and their ritualistic explanations (called the Brāhmaṇa) are mixed up together. That is to say, in the matter of form and content, the Samhitā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda is not particularly distinguishable from the Brāhmaṇa or the Āraṇyaka of that Veda. As against this, the Samhitā of the Śukla Yajur-Veda contains the mantras and yajus only, reserving the corresponding ritualistic explanation and discussion for the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa which belongs to that Veda.
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From among the many schools of the Kṛṣṇa Tajur-Veda the Samhitās of only four schools are available today, either entirely or in fragments. These four schools are: the Tañtrirīya, the Kāṭhaka, the Maitrāyaṇi, and the Kapiśṭhala-kāṭha. The Tañtrirīya school is traditionally divided into two branches, the Aukhya and the Khāṇḍīkeya. The Khāṇḍīkeya is further subdivided into five branches: the Āpastamba, the Baudhāyana, the Satyāśādha, the Hiranyakesīn, and the Bhrāadvāja. The Tañtrirīya school has preserved its literature perhaps most fully amongst all the Vedic schools, maintaining its continuity from the Samhitā period, through the Brāhmaṇa, the Āraṇyaka, and the Upaniṣad periods, to the Śūtra period. It is presumably on account of this fact that the Tañtrirīya school is often equated with the whole of the Kṛṣṇa Tajur-Veda.

The name Tañtrirīya is variously explained. There is, for instance, the legend which narrates how Yājñavalkya, who had developed differences with his teacher Vaiśampāyana, vomited the Veda which he had learned from his teacher; how, at the instance of Vaiśampāyana, his other pupils, assuming the form of tīttrī birds, consumed the vomited Veda; how, consequently, the Veda so recovered by the tīttrī birds was called the Tañtrirīya-Veda; and how, finally, Yājñavalkya secured from the Sun-god another Veda which came to be known as the Śukla or bright Tajur-Veda. It is also suggested that, on account of the interspersion in it of the mantras and the brāhmaṇa portion, the Kṛṣṇa Tajur-Veda appears variegated like a tīttrī bird, and is therefore called the Tañtrirīya Samhitā. However, the most satisfactory explanation of the name seems to be that an ancient sage called Tittiri was traditionally regarded as the 'seer' of this Veda.

As suggested above, the Samhitā, the Brāhmaṇa, and the Āraṇyaka of the Tañtrirīya school form one single unit, and together cover the entire Vedic ritual. The Tañtrirīya Samhitā is divided into 7 kāṇḍas (parts), 44 prasānas or prābhāshas (chapters), 651 anuvākas (sections), and 2,198 kāṇḍikās (sub-sections). The principal sacrifices described in it include the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices and the agniśoma, the vājapeya, the rājasūya, the sattrāmaṇi, the agnyādheya, the agnihotra, the paśubandha, and the agnicayana. These are supplemented by the Tañtrirīya Brāhmaṇa which deals with the aṣvamedha, the puruṣamedha, the nakṣatra sacrifices, and others, and also by the Tañtrirīya Āraṇyaka which deals with the sarvamedha, the pītmedha, the pravargya, and others.

It may be observed that in the Tañtrirīya texts neither the different sacrifices nor the mantras are given in any rational order. In view of the peculiar arrangement of these texts, a special method called the sārasvata-pāṭha is adopted in connection with them which studies the mantras and the brāhmaṇa portion together.

For details of the rites and sacrifices mentioned in this article see V. M. Apte, 'Vedic Rituals', CHI, Vol. I, pp. 234-63.
The other Samhitās of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-VEDa agree substantially with the Taittirīya Samhitā in the matter of content and arrangement, and even verbally. The nucleus of the Kāṭhaka Samhitā consists of three kāṇḍas, called Iṣṭimikā, Mādyamikā, and Orimikā. Two more kāṇḍas are added to this nucleus, presumably, by way of appendices.

A comparative study of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-VEDa and the Śukla Yajur-VEDa shows that the Kāṭhaka Samhitā occupies a position intermediate between the Taittirīya Samhitā and the Vājasaneyi Samhitā. It may also be noted that the school of the Kāṭhaka seems to have been widely current in the days of Patañjali, as is evidenced by his statement that 'people used to talk about the Kāṭhaka and the Kālāpaka in every village'.

The Samhitā of the Maitrāyaṇi school (the school that is closely related to that of the Mānavas) may be said to be more systematic in its arrangement than either the Taittirīya Samhitā or the Kāṭhaka Samhitā. Its nucleus is made up of three kāṇḍas, but there are also a fourth kāṇḍa, of the nature of an appendix, khila, and a fifth kāṇḍa, which constitutes the Maitrī Upaniṣad. The Kapiṣṭhala-kathā Samhitā is available only in a fragmentary and more or less corrupt form. Out of its 48 adhyāyas (chapters) as many as 19 are lost. The text of this Samhitā shows but little divergence from that of the Kāṭhaka Samhitā.

A significant feature of the Śukla Yajur-VEDa Samhitā, which is also known as the Vājasaneyi Samhitā, is that the entire Samhitā and its Brāhmaṇa, called the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, have come down in two distinct versions, the Mādyandina and the Kāṇva. These two versions show essential agreement in content and arrangement: their only difference lies in the readings of some of the sacrificial formulas and in orthographical peculiarities, such as reading -ḍ occurring between two vowels as -ḍ.

As has been indicated above, the name Śukla Yajur-VEDa implies the presentation of mantras and yajus in a pure and lucid manner by separating them from the Brāhmaṇa portion. This Samhitā is called Vājasaneyi Samhitā after its traditionally accepted author, Yājñavalkya, who is believed to have been the son of Vājasani. It is also suggested, as another explanation of the name, that Yājñavalkya secured (san) this Veda from the Sun-god who had assumed the form of a horse (vājin). The word vājasani may even mean 'the obtaining of food or strength', which is, after all, the principal purpose of a sacrifice.

The Vājasaneyi Samhitā in the Mādyandina version consists of 40 adhyāyas, 303 anuvākas, and 1,975 kāṇḍikās. The first 25 adhyāyas, which perhaps originally formed the entire Samhitā, contain verses and formulas relating to the principal sacrificial ritiual. The next four adhyāyas include additions to these basic verses and formulas. Adhyāyas XXX—XXXIX deal with such sacrifices as the puruṣamedha, the sarvamedha, the pīṭhamedha, and the pravargya, while the last adhyāya

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constitutes what is popularly known as the Isa Upanishad. The Kaṇva Saṃhitā, which also consists of 40 adhyāyas, generally follows the same pattern of distribution of subject-matter.

Attention may be drawn here to some points of special interest in connection with the Śukla Taij- oder Saṃhitā. The sixteenth adhyāya of the Mādhyandina Saṃhitā, which forms the famous Šatarudrīya (one hundred hymns to Rudra), throws considerable light on the character of the ancient Śiva-Rudra religion. The thirtieth adhyāya, dealing with the puruṣamedha, is important in that it mentions a number of mixed castes. A mantra connected with the aśvamedha contains historically significant allusions to Ambā, Ambikā, and Ambalikā, and also to Subhadra of the city of Kāmpilya in the Pañcāla country. It is also noteworthy that the Mādhyandina Saṃhitā uses the word arjuna and the Kaṇva Saṃhitā the word phālguna in a formula relating to a sacrificial rite at the coronation of a king. Indeed, the latter Saṃhitā seems to show close familiarity with the Kurus and the Pañcālas and their country.

VEDIC RITUAL: SACRIFICE AND INTERPRETATION

The Śāma-Veda Saṃhitā and, more particularly, the Taij- oder Saṃhitā already reflect the stage in the evolution of the Brāhmanic religion when that religion had come to be more or less wholly identified with the Vedic sacrificial ritual. Sacrifice was then looked upon not merely as a means to an end, but as an end in itself. Indeed, sacrifice had become the very centre of the life of the individual and the community. The sacrificial system, which had already been rendered highly complex, continued to be made still more complex. It was naturally not possible for an ordinary individual to master all the increasingly complicated details of the ritual, involving the prakṛti sacrifices (the original or model, i.e. primary sacrifices, of which there is a complete enumeration of all the limbs), the vikṛti sacrifices (the derived or modified, i.e. secondary sacrifices, of which only some limbs are specially taught and others followed as in prakṛti), and also the nitya (obligatory) and kāmya (optional) sacrifices, the havis (corn and other offerings) and the soma sacrifices. It was consequently inevitable that in the Vedic society there should arise distinct classes of priests, whose main occupation was to officiate at the various sacrifices in different capacities, such as hotṛ, adhvaryu, udgātṛ, and brahman. It was also inevitable that these priests should produce manuals dealing with the different aspects of the theory and practice of sacrifice. The manuals are the Brāhmaṇas. A claim implied in the Brāhmaṇas is that all the mantras in the Rg-Veda, the Atharva-Veda, and the other Saṃhitās are intended to serve an essentially ritualistic purpose, and that the Brāhmaṇas prescribe the manner in which they are to be made to serve that purpose. Accordingly, each of the Brāhmaṇas is connected with one or other of the Saṃhitās.
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Broadly speaking, a Brähmana text consists of two main parts, the *vidhi* and the *arthavaśa*. The *vidhi* part sets forth the various details relating to a particular sacrifice, such as the proper time and place for that sacrifice, the rite of initiation, the priests, the sacred fires, the divinities, the *mantras*, the oblations, the utensils and other materials, the *dakṣinā* (sacrificial fee or gift), and the expiation rites. The corresponding *arthavaśa* part glorifies that particular sacrifice as a whole, or a specific rite or detail in it, by emphasizing its efficacy. It does so, firstly, by means of ancient legends, most of which have the conflict between the gods and the demons as their central theme. They narrate how the gods and the demons were engaged in a battle; how, in the initial stages of that battle, the gods were overpowered by the demons; how the gods then somehow acquired the knowledge of a particular sacrifice or a ritual detail; and how, finally, on account of their having performed that sacrifice or having practised that ritual detail, they became powerful enough to vanquish the demons. Another method of glorifying, justifying, or recommending any sacrifice or rite adopted by the Brähmanas is by etymologizing. Through an etymology, which is often fanciful, an item pertaining to the sacrifice is sought to be unfailingly connected with its promised fruit.

The *arthavaśa* sometimes lays stress on what is technically called the *rūpasamṛddhi* (perfection of form) of a sacrificial rite. It is often seen that, so far as the meaning of a *mantra* is concerned, the *mantra* and the ritual action which is to be accompanied by that *mantra* have hardly any rational connection with each other. Indeed, it is the sound of the *mantra*, and not its sense, which actually possesses the ritualistic potency. But when, in some cases, even the meaning of a *mantra* conforms to the ritual action, the *mantra* becomes, so to say, doubly efficacious and thereby brings about the *rūpasamṛddhi* of the sacrificial rite.

But perhaps the most common device employed in the *arthavaśa* for confirming the efficacy of a sacrificial rite described in the *vidhi* portion is *bandhutā*, the establishment of some kind of mystic tie between the various aspects of a sacrifice and their desired result.

THE BRÄHMANAS

Many Vedic texts are traditionally called Brähmanas, but the more important among them are the *Aitareya* and the *Kauśitaki* belonging to the Rg-Veda; the *Taittiriya* belonging to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*; the *Śatapatha* belonging to the *Śukla Yajur-Veda*; the *Jaininiya* and *Tāṇḍya* belonging to the *Sāma-Veda*; and the *Gopatha* belonging to the Atharvā-Veda.

The *Aitareya Brähmana*, which naturally concerns itself mainly with the duties of the priest of the Rg-Veda, namely, the *hotṛ*, is divided into eight *pañcikās* of five *adhyāyas* each. Clear evidence is available of Pāṇini’s having known all the forty *adhyāyas* of this Brähmana. The first twenty-four *adhyāyas* of the *Aitareya*
Brāhmaṇa deal with the haurtra (the function or office of the hotr) of the various soma sacrifices; the next six with the agnihotra and the duties of the hotr’s assistants; and the last ten, which show signs of being a later addition, with the paśuyāga and the rājasāya.

The Kaustubhi Brāhmaṇa, also known as the Śaṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, has thirty adhyāyas. It is a better-organized text and covers more or less the entire sacrificial procedure.

As has been indicated already, the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa is merely a continuation of the Taittiriya Saṁhitā. Its three kāṇḍas either supplement the discussion of the ritual in the Saṁhitā or give a more detailed treatment of some of the topics dealt with in it.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, on the other hand, must be regarded as an independent work and it is quite remarkable in many respects. Indeed, after the Rg- Veda and the Atharva- Veda, it is perhaps the most important Vedic text in both extent and content. The Mādhyandina version of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa consists of 14 kāṇḍas (each with a separate name derived from its contents), 68 prapāthakas or 100 adhyāyas (from which the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa presumably gets its name as ‘the Brāhmaṇa with a hundred paths or sections’), 438 brāhmaṇas, and 7,624 kāṇḍikās. In the Kāṇṭa version, the first, the fifth, and the fourteenth kāṇḍas are each divided into two kāṇḍas; thus the total number of kāṇḍas in that version is seventeen. Otherwise, the names of the kāṇḍas and their contents are generally the same.

The first nine kāṇḍas of the Mādhyandina-Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which seem to represent the older portion, fully correspond with the first eighteen adhyāyas of the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, and thus cover the basic sacrificial ritual. The tenth kāṇḍa, called Aṅgirahasya speaks of the mystical significance of the various aspects of the sacred fires; while the eleventh, called Āstādhyāyi, recapitulates the entire sacrificial ritual. The twelfth kāṇḍa is called Mādhyaṇa, which title clearly suggests that kāṇḍas X-XIV constitute a separate unit added later to the original Brāhmaṇa. This would seem to be confirmed by Patañjali’s reference to this Brāhmaṇa as Śaṭipatha (sixty paths), a name presumably derived from the fact that the first nine kāṇḍas together consist of sixty adhyāyas. The twelfth kāṇḍa concerns itself with expiation rites and the sautrāmaṇi sacrifice. The thirteenth kāṇḍa deals mainly with the aśvamedha sacrifice and also, rather briefly, with the puruṣamedha and the sarvamedha sacrifices. The first three adhyāyas of the last kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa are devoted to the consideration of the pravargya ceremony (introductory to the soma sacrifice); while the last six adhyāyas constitute the famous Bhadārvanyaka Upaniṣad.

One of the important features of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is the large number of legends it contains. Among them may be mentioned: Manu and the fish; the migration of Videgha Māthava from the region of the Sarasvatī to the
region of the Sadānirā; the rejuvenation of Cyavana; the romantic affair between Pururavas and Urvasī; and the contest between Kadrū and Vināṭā. Another important feature is that, while some portions of this Brāhmaṇa are intimately connected with the Kuru-Pāṇcālas, others have their provenance in Kośala-Videha. This fact clearly indicates that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is a composite work and that its composition must have extended over a wide range of time and area. In this connection it is noteworthy that the principal figure in kāṇḍas I-V and XI-XV is Yājñavalkya, whereas it is Śaṇḍilya in kāṇḍas VI-X.

The Śāma-Veda can boast of having the largest number of Brāhmaṇa texts, but only two or three of them can properly be called Brāhmaṇas; all the others are more or less of the nature of pariṣṭas (appendices). The Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa, which consists of 1,252 sections and which is thus one of the bulkiest of the Vedic texts, constitutes the best source of information regarding the technique of the sāmaṅgās (the priests who chant or recite the Śāma-Veda). It is also a difficult text, however, since the ritual and legendary data in it are more or less isolated.

Another Brāhmaṇa which belongs to the Śāma-Veda is the Tāndya Brāhmaṇa. It is also known as the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, for, as its name implies, it consists of twenty-five books. Its chief concern is of course the soma sacrifice in all its varieties, but of particular interest are its detailed description of the sattras (sacrificial sessions) organized on the banks of the Drśadvatī and the Sarasvatī, and its treatment of the vrāya-stomas (hymns of praise). Like the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, the Śāma-Veda has a Śadviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, the last book of which deals with omens and portents; it is called the Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa.

The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, which is the only Brāhmaṇa of the Atharva-Veda known to us, is perhaps the youngest of the Brāhmaṇa texts. It is also limited in extent, consisting as it does of only two books with eleven prapāthakas. The Caranaṇyāha, which is one of the pariṣṭas of the Atharva-Veda, says, however, that the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa originally consisted of one hundred chapters out of which only two have survived. This is quite plausible, since many statements referred to in other texts as being derived from this Brāhmaṇa are not traceable in its extant text.

A significant point about the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa is that, for the most part, it contains myths, legends, and parables which illustrate and explain various ceremonies in the Vedic ritual. The Atharvane character of this Brāhmaṇa becomes evident in several ways. For instance, it glorifies Aṅgiras as the 'sage of sages' and emphasizes that a Vedic sacrifice performed without the help of a priest of the Atharva-Veda is bound to fail.

In the literary history of ancient India, the Brāhmaṇas are important for the following reasons: (i) they represent the earliest attempts to interpret the Vedic mantras; (ii) they mark the beginnings of Sanskrit prose; (iii) they have
preserved many ancient legends; and (iv) they have in them the seeds of the future development of several literary forms and works, and of various branches of knowledge.

Moreover, the Brāhmaṇas contain an exclusive and comprehensive treatment of Vedic sacrificial ritual, and thus constitute a highly authoritative source for one of the most significant periods in the religious history of India. It is, again, the Brāhmaṇas which have prepared the background for the philosophical speculations of the Upaniṣads. And, finally, culture-historians can ill afford to lose sight of the various facts of socio-political history interspersed in the ritualistic lucubrations of the Brāhmaṇas.

THE ĀRANYAKAS

The Āraṇyakas may be said to have been regarded as independent Vedic texts only by courtesy. Actually, they are a kind of continuation of the Brāhmaṇas, textually as well as conceptually. They mark the transition from the ritualism of the Brāhmaṇas to the spiritualism of the Upaniṣads. While, on the one hand, most of the texts of the Āraṇyakas form the concluding portions of some of the Brāhmaṇas, on the other hand, some of the Upaniṣadic texts are either embedded in or appended to them. The Āraṇyakas, which are obviously esoteric, seek to present the true mystique of the ritual by glorifying the inner, mental sacrifice as against the external, material aspect of it. The study of the Āraṇyakas was traditionally restricted therefore to the solitude of the forest, arāṇya. That is why they came to be called the Āraṇyakas. It is also not unlikely that these texts derived their name from their schematic connection with Vānaprastha āśrama (the forest-dweller’s stage).

Only a few texts have come to be traditionally called the Āraṇyakas. The Aitareya Āraṇyaka, belonging to the Rg-Veda, consists of five books. The second and the third books are specifically attributed to Mahādāsa Aitareya, and are generally theosophic in their tendencies. The first three sections of the second book, which are said to be intended for persons who desire liberation in gradual stages, teach the prāṇa-upāsanā (worship of vital power). The last three sections of the second book constitute the Aitareya Upaniṣad which sets forth Vedāntic doctrines.

The third book deals with the saṃhitā-upāsanā (unified form of worship) and is meant for persons who are still attached to worldly possessions. In its other parts, this Āraṇyaka treats of such sacrificial ceremonies as the Mahāvṛata.

The Kaustitaki or Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, which also belongs to the Rg-Veda consists of three books, the first two of which are ritualistic in character while the third forms the Kaustitaki Upaniṣad.

As for the Taṅtiriya Āraṇyaka, it is, as already mentioned, a direct continuation of the Saṃhitā and the Brāhmaṇa of the Taṅtiriya school. In its first six
books it supplements the treatment of Vedic ritual in the Samhitā and the Brāhmaṇa by dealing with such sacrifices as the sarvamedha, the pitṛmedha, and the pravargya. Its next three books constitute the Taittirīya Upaniṣad, while its tenth and last book is known as the Mahā-śāraṇava Upaniṣad.

The first three adhyāyas of the fourteenth kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa are called Āraṇyaka and their subject-matter is the pravargya sacrifice. As already mentioned, the last six adhyāyas of this kāṇḍa make up the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.

THE UPAŅIṢADS

The word upaniṣad is interpreted variously. It is made to correspond with the word upāsanā which is understood to mean either worship (Oldenberg) or profound knowledge (Senart). Hauer understands the word in the sense of mysterious wisdom derived through tapas (religious austerity). The word is also connected with the Pali word upanissā and thus made to mean something like cause or connection. In his bhāṣya (commentary) on the Taittirīya Upaniṣad Śaṅkara interprets upaniṣad as that which destroys (sad, to destroy) ignorance. But the sense most commonly signified by the word upaniṣad is the esoteric teaching imparted by the teacher to the pupil who sits (sad), near him (upa), in a closed select (ni), group. The Upaniṣads are also called the Vedānta, because they represent the concluding portion of the apauruseya Veda or Śrutī, or the final stage in Vedic instruction, or the ultimate end and aim of the teachings of the Veda.

The importance of the Upaniṣads, however, as the first recorded attempt at systematic, though not systematized, philosophizing can hardly be gainsaid. They are one of the most significant sources of the spiritual wisdom of India, and are traditionally regarded as one of the three prasthānas (source books) of Indian philosophy. Also, one cannot fail to be impressed by certain notable features of the Upaniṣads, such as: their unity of purpose in spite of the variety in their doctrines; the note of certainty or definiteness which informs them; and the various levels at which they consider and represent reality.

Much need not be said here about the Upaniṣads as religious literature, because they are concerned with the contemplative-realizational rather than with the ritualistic-ceremonial aspect of the spiritual life of the people. They belong to philosophy rather than to religion. There are over 200 Upaniṣads, including such recent works as the Kṛṣṇopaniṣad and the Āllopaniṣad. The Muktikopaniṣad gives a traditional list of 108 Upaniṣads, of which 10 belong to the Rg-Veda, 19 to the Śukla Yajur-Veda, 32 to the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda, 16 to the Sāma-Veda, and 31 to the Atharva-Veda; but even out of these, many texts are called Upaniṣads only by courtesy. Usually, thirteen Upaniṣads are regarded as the principal Upaniṣads. They are traditionally connected with one Vedic sākhā or the other, and several of them actually form part of a larger literary complex.
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THE Earliest and the Most Important Upaniṣads

The Isa Upaniṣad belongs to the Śukla Yajur-Veda and is included in the Vājasaneyi Samhitā as its last adhyāya; that is, the fortieth. This Upaniṣad, which derives its name from its first word, emphasizes the unity of being and becoming, but in this connection it speaks of Isa, the Lord, rather than of Brahman. It elaborates the doctrine of vidyā (knowledge) and avidyā (ignorance), and sets forth the view that a fusion of both (samuccaya), is a necessary precondition for the attainment of amṛtāteja (immortality).

The Kena Upaniṣad, which also derives its name from its initial word, forms part of the fourth book of the Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa of the Śāma-Veda. It consists of four sections, of which the first two, which are in verse, deal with Brahman, parā-vidyā (higher knowledge), and sadyomukti (immediate liberation); while the last two sections, which are in prose, deal with Īśvara, aparā-vidyā (lower knowledge), and krama-mukti (gradual liberation). This Upaniṣad contains the famous legend of Umā Haimavatī.

One of the better-known Upaniṣads is the Kaṭha or Kāthaka Upaniṣad, which belongs to the Krṣṇa Yajur-Veda. It consists of two chapters which have three vallis (sections) each. For the background of its philosophical teaching it has the striking legend of Yama and Naciketas. A noteworthy point about this Upaniṣad is that it has many passages in common with the Bhagavad-Gītā.

The Praśna Upaniṣad, the Muṇḍa or Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad, and the Māṇḍūkyya Upaniṣad belong to the Atharva-Veda. The Praśna Upaniṣad, as its name suggests, deals, in its six sections, with six questions, prāṣnas, relating to such topics as the nature of the ultimate cause, the significance of Om, and the relation between the Supreme and the Word. The name Muṇḍa is suggestive of renunciation, and in its three chapters this Upaniṣad discusses sannyāsa (renunciation) and parā-vidyā as against saṁśāra (the world) and aparā-vidyā. Incidentally, India’s national motto satyam eva jayate (truth alone triumphs) is taken from this Upaniṣad (III. 1. 6). The Māṇḍūkyya Upaniṣad is a very small text consisting of only twelve stanzas, but it has attained a significant place in the philosophical literature of India on account of the fact that Gauḍapāda, Śaṅkara’s predecessor, wrote a commentary on this Upaniṣad, his famous Māṇḍūkyya-kārikā, which may be said to contain the first systematic statement of the doctrine of absolute monism, later elaborated upon and given full form by Śaṅkara.

The Taittiriya Upaniṣad is a part of the larger literature complex of the Taittiriya school of the Krṣṇa Yajur-Veda. As has been pointed out, the seventh, eighth, and ninth books of the Taittiriya Āranyaka constitute the Taittiriya Upaniṣad, the tenth and last being the Mahā-nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad. The Taittiriya Upaniṣad is divided into three sections called vallis: the Śikṣā-valli, the Brahmānanda-valli and the Bhṛgu-valli. The Aitareya Upaniṣad of the Rg-Veda is equivalent to the Aitareya Āranyaka (II. 4–6).
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By far the most important of the Upaniṣads are the Chāndogya and the Brhadāraṇyaka. The Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa, belonging to the Kauthuma Śākhā of the Sāma-Veda, consists of ten chapters. The first two chapters, which comprise the Maṇtra Brāhmaṇa, deal with ritualistic subjects, while the last eight chapters constitute the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. Some of the topics of particular philosophical interest in this Upaniṣad are the Śaṃdilya-vidyā (the technique taught by the sage Śaṃdilya); the saṃwarga-vidyā (the technique relating to the all-consuming cosmic wind), the vaiśvānara-vidyā (the technique relating to the all-consuming cosmic fire), and the teachings imparted by Prajāpati to Indra, by Ghora Āṅgira to Kṛṣṇa Devakiputra, by Uddālaka Āruṇi to Śvetaketu, and by Sanatkumāra to Nārada.

The Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, which belongs to the Śukla Tajur-Veda, is the biggest and perhaps the oldest of the Upaniṣads. In the Mādhyandina recension this Upaniṣad corresponds with Chapters IV–VIII of the fourteenth kāṇḍa and Chapter VI of the tenth kāṇḍa of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa of the same recension. The Kāṇva Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (which, incidentally, Śaṅkara chose for his commentary) is analogous to the last six chapters of the sixteenth kāṇḍa of the Kāṇva Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. There is, however, no material divergence between the two recensions so far as the subject-matter is concerned. The first two chapters of the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad constitute the madhu-kāṇḍa, the main purpose of which is to establish the identity of Jīva and Brahman. The next two chapters, which seem to form the kernel of this Upaniṣad, are dominated by the personality and the teachings of the greatest of the Upaniṣadic philosophers, Yājñavalkya; together they make up what is known as the yājñavalkya-kāṇḍa or the muni-kāṇḍa. The last two chapters form the khila-kāṇḍa which deals with various kinds of upāsanās.

Added to these ten traditionally recognized Upaniṣads are three others, making altogether the thirteen principal Upaniṣads. These three are the Śvetāśvatara and the Maitri, or Maitrāyani, both of which belong to the Kṛṣṇa Tajur-Veda, and the Kaushitaki which belongs to the Rg-Veda.

The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, which has six chapters and 113 stanzas, is essentially a theistic text. It presents the supreme Brahman as Rudra, the personal God, and teaches the doctrine of bhakti (devotion). This Upaniṣad is also remarkable for its use of Sāṁkhya terminology and its attempt to reconcile the different religious and philosophical views which were then in vogue.

The Maitri or Maitrāyani Upaniṣad has seven chapters, the last two of which are comparatively modern. It mentions the Trimūrti concept, and, in its references to the illusory character of the world and the momentariness of phenomena, seems to betray the influence of Buddhistic thought.

The Kaushitaki Upaniṣad, though also called Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, is not connected with the Kaushitaki (or Śāṅkhāyana) Brāhmaṇa. As we have already
seen, this Upaniṣad is the third chapter of the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka. Among other topics, it deals with the progressive definition of the Brahman, the course to Brahmāloka (the sphere of Brahman), and Indra as life and immortality.

Apart from these principal Upaniṣads there are many others, but they are essentially sectarian in character and pseudo-philosophical in content. They are usually divided into various classes, such as Sāmānyā-Vedānta, Yoga, Sannyāsa, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, and Śākta, in accordance with their main tendencies.

As for the age of the principal Upaniṣads, they may be said to extend roughly over a period from the eighth to the third century B.C., the older ones among them being decidedly pre-Buddhistic. As far as the relative chronology of the Upaniṣads is concerned, it is customary to speak of four classes, namely: ancient prose, early metrical, later prose, and later metrical.

The Upaniṣads can, no doubt, be said to represent the high watermark of Vedic thought; but it also needs to be realized that certain features of their teachings, such as Brahma-vidyā (knowledge of Brahman), were too subtle to be adequately comprehended by ordinary people. They demanded a high intellectual level and strict spiritual discipline on the part of the seeker. The Upaniṣads gave the people a philosophy but not a religion.

ANCILLARY VEDIC LITERATURE: THE VEDĀNGAS AND THE SŪTRAS

As we have seen, the Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, and the Upaniṣads are believed to be aparṇa-seva. Not so the Vedāṅgas, for in the re-organization of Vedic knowledge they present an attempt to systematize various aspects of that knowledge which are necessary for understanding the Vedic texts. The six Vedāṅgas are: śīksā (phonetics); kalpa (socio-religious practice and ritual); vyākaraṇa (grammar); nirukta (etymology, exegesis, and mythology); chandas (metrics); and jyotiṣa (astronomy). Each of these six Vedāṅgas is connected, in one way or another, with the Vedic religion, although only the Kalpa may be said to be directly religious in purpose. By the Kalpa-Sūtra is usually meant a whole literary corpus comprising the Śrauta-Sūtra, the Gṛhya-Sūtra, and the Dharma-Sūtra; these, broadly speaking, refer respectively to the religious, the domestic, and the social aspects of the life of the people. These Sūtras primarily seek to regulate and codify the practices which were already in vogue, but at the same time they also initiate new practices or modify the old ones in accordance with the times and the traditions of the school in which they originated.

There is reason to believe that each Vedic school produced its own Kalpa-Sūtra though not all of them are available today. The nature of a Kalpa-Sūtra will be clear from the following analysis of the contents of the Kalpa-Sūtra of the Āpastamba school of the Taïttriya Śākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda. This
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Kalpa-Sūtra consists of thirty praśnas (literally questions, chapters), the first twenty-three of which constitute the Śrauta-Sūtra. The twenty-fourth praśna is called the paribhāṣā-praśna and contains the paribhāṣā (general rules and definitions) connected with the ritual. In view of its character as ‘introduction’, this praśna should have been placed at the very beginning of the Kalpa-Sūtra; but, as the commentator Kapardisvāmin explains, this paribhāṣā is applicable to both the Śrauta-Sūtra and the Grhya-Sūtra and is therefore placed between the two. The paribhāṣā-praśna also comprises the pravara (the series of ancestors) and the hautra (the duties of the hotṛ). The twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth praśnas give the mantras to be employed for the various grhya rites, while the twenty-seventh praśna makes up the Āpastamba Grhya-Sūtra proper. The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth praśnas contain the Dharma-Sūtra, and the thirtieth praśna is the Śulva-Sūtra. To these thirty praśnas is sometimes added a thirty-first praśna which constitutes the Pitṛmedha-Sūtra.

Among such complete Kalpa-Sūtras which are available today may be mentioned those belonging to the Baudhāyana, the Hiranyakesī, and the Vaikhānasa schools of the Taïtirīya Śākhā. All these texts are called Sūtras because they adopted the unique literary form which was developed during this period, namely, the sūtra form. A sūtra is an aphoristic statement, at once brief, unequivocal, comprehensive, generally valid, and expressive of the essential point.

THE ŚRAUTA-SŪTRAS, GRHYA-SŪTRAS, AND DHARMA-SŪTRAS

As we have seen, the Śrauta-Sūtras contain injunctions regarding religious practices, the word ‘practices’ being understood in the restricted sense of ritualistic practices. Naturally, therefore, they are directly connected with the Brāhmaṇas, particularly with the vidhi portions. The Śrauta-Sūtras, however, present the procedure of the various sacrifices in a far more complete and systematic manner. Presumably, these Sūtras were composed as practical aids to the professional officiating priests. Closely related to the Śrauta-Sūtras are the Śulva-Sūtras which deal with such matters as the construction of the sacrificial altars, the measurements of the different kinds of fire-altars, etc.

The Śrauta-Sūtras generally treat of sacrifices in which the three sacred fires, the āhavanīya, the gārhapatya, and the daksīṇa (or sometimes more) are employed. These sacrifices usually require the services of several officiating priests from among the adhvaryu, the hotṛ, the brahman, and the udgātr, and their assistants. According to the traditional enumeration, the śrauta sacrifices include the seven havirvajña-saṁsthā sacrifices (with clarified butter), namely, agnyādhīeya, agnihotra, darśaptārnamāsa, āgrayāṇa, cāturnāya, nirūḍhapuṣtabandha, and sautrāmaṇi; and also the seven somayajña-saṁsthā sacrifices (with soma juice), namely, agniṣṭoma, atyagniṣṭoma, ukhīya, śoḍaśi, vājapeya, atirātra, and ṣāptoryāṇa.
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The śrauta sacrifices are also classified in three groups: (i) īṣṭis (corn sacrifices, with oblations of butter, fruits, and so on) of which the darsāpūrṇamāsa sacrifice is the norm; (ii) the pāśu (animal) sacrifices, of which the nirūdha-pāśu-bandha is the norm; and (iii) soma sacrifices of which the agniṣṭoma sacrifice is the norm.

The majority of the Śrauta-Sūtras known today belong to the Yajur-Veda (particularly to the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda). This is quite understandable, for the ādīvarya plays the most active role in the śrauta ritual, and the Yajur-Veda is essentially the Veda for the ādīvarya.

The Baudhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra belongs to the Taïtirīya Sākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda; it is perhaps the oldest among the Śrauta-Sūtras. Indeed, Baudhāyana is traditionally regarded as the foremost among the ācāryas. The Baudhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra is called a pravacana (sacred treatise) and is written more in the style of the Brāhmaṇas than of the Sūtras. Special mention may be made of two sections included in this Sūtra, the Dvaśiṅha and the Karmāṇa; the former critically records the views on ritualistic practices held by the various ācāryas of the Taïtirīya Sākhā.

The other Śrauta-Sūtras which belong to the Taïtirīya Sākhā are the Bhāradvāja, the Āpastamba, the Satyāśaṭha-Hiranyakesiṅ, the Vaikhānasas, and the Vādhūla. The Bhāradvāja Śrauta-Sūtra consists of fifteen praśnas, the Paitṛmedhika-Sūtra, and the Pariśeṣa-Sūtra. It does not give any hautra at all. The Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtra is the best known of the Śrauta-Sūtras. A Hauṭrapariṁśiṣṭa ascribed to Āpastamba is also available. There is considerable similarity between the Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtra and the Satyāśaṭha-Hiranyakesiṅ Śrauta-Sūtra so far as their ritual is concerned. A noteworthy feature of the Vaikhānasas Śrauta-Sūtra is that, unlike the other Śrauta-Sūtras belonging to the Yajur-Veda (which begin with the description of the Darsāpūrṇamāsa sacrifice) it begins with the agnyādheyā sacrifice, and this is followed by the agnihotrahoma. The extant text of the Vādhūla Śrauta-Sūtra is corrupt and fragmentary.

Of the two Śrauta-Sūtras belonging to the Maitrāyaṇī Sākhā, the Mānava and the Vārāha, the former is closely connected with the Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtra, while a pariṁśa of the latter is important for the expiation rites. The Kāṭhaka Śrauta-Sūtra has become known only through references to it in other Śrauta-Sūtras and commentaries. The Kāṭhaka Śrauta-Sūtra is the only Śrauta-Sūtra of the Śukla Yajur-Veda. It does not contain the hautra, but it has as many as ten pariṁśas. The two Śrauta-Sūtras of the Rg-Veda, the Āśvalayana and the Śāṅkhāyana, deal mainly with the hautra. The Sāma-Veda has four Śrauta-Sūtras, the Lāṭyāyana, the Drāhyāyana, the Jaiminiya, and the Gobhila. The Lāṭyāyana Śrauta-Sūtra deals with the chanting of the sāmans which relate mainly to the agniṣṭoma and other soma sacrifices. The Drāhyāyana Śrauta-Sūtra, which bears considerable similarity to the Lāṭyāyana Śrauta-Sūtra, consists of
thirty-two pāṭalas (chapters), but only the first fifteen of them have been published so far. The Gobhila Śrauta-Sūtra deals with the piṇḍa-pitr-yajña, among other rites. It may be noted that the Gṛhya-Sūtra of this school refers to the anvāṣṭakya rite as the norm of the piṇḍa-pitr-yajña and mentions only the distinguishing features of the latter. The anvāṣṭakya rite is a śrāddha or funeral ceremony performed on the ninth day in the latter half of the three (or four) months following the full moon in Agrahāyaṇa, Pauṣa, Māgha, and Phālguna. The Vaiśāṇa-Sūtra of the Atharva-Veda is a short text concerning the duties of the brahman and his assistants, and also of the sacrificer. The Kauśika-Sūtra, which also belongs to the Atharva-Veda, is essentially a Gṛhya-Sūtra, but it contains several passages relating to the śrāuta ritual. In this context the Atharva-Veda-prāyaścittāni may also be mentioned. It deals with expiation rites and the forty-fifth pariṣṭa of the Atharva-Veda, which is called Agniḥotra-homavidhi. Several other manuals dealing with ritualistic practice have been produced by different Vedic schools. These manuals are called paddhatis and prayogas, and are, of course, of a much later date.

The Gṛhya-Sūtras deal with the grhya (household) rites which broadly comprise the seven pāka-yajña-saṅsthās: aupāsanaḥhoma, vaiśvadeva, pāravana, aṣṭakā, māsiśrāddha, sarpabali, and iṣānabali; and also the rites connected with the various saṅskāras (sacraments). Some rites, like the āgrayaṇa, the madhuparka, and the obsequies are common to both the Śrauta-Sūtra and the Gṛhya-Sūtra. The Gṛhya-Sūtras have very little to do with the Brāhmaṇas, but they are directly connected with the Saṁhitās since they derive their mantras from them. It needs to be pointed out, however, that not all the mantras prescribed to be employed in grhya rites are traceable to the Saṁhitās. The grhya rites are generally performed with the help of only one fire, and in many of them the services of officiating priests are not required. Soma has no place in any of them. When they form part of a corpus, the Gṛhya-Sūtras presuppose and occur after the Śrauta-Sūtra. It is, however, difficult to say whether the Śrauta-Sūtra and the Gṛhya-Sūtra belonging to the same school can be ascribed to the same authorship. At the same time, one does come across many verbal repetitions in the two Sūtras of the same school.

Like the Śrauta-Sūtras, the Gṛhya-Sūtras show, to a certain extent, the influence of the specific Vedic schools to which they belong. The Saṁkhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra, which belongs to the Saṁkhāyana school of the Rg-Veda and which is based on the Bāṣkala recension of that Veda, consists of six chapters, the last two of which are presumably later additions. The name of the author of this Gṛhya-Sūtra is said to be Suyājña Saṁkhāyana. The Kauśitaka Gṛhya-Sūtra, which is attributed to Saṁbavaya, has five chapters and is almost a replica of the original Saṁkhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra. But perhaps the most important Gṛhya-Sūtra belonging to the Rg-Veda is the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra. It consists of four.
chapters and its author is traditionally believed to be Śaunaka's pupil Āśvalāyana. A few other unpublished Grhya-Sūtras of the Rg-Veda, such as the Śaunaka, the Bhāraviya, the Śākalya, the Paingi, and the Parāśara, are referred to in other texts.

Of the two Grhya-Sūtras of the Sūkla Yajur-Veda, one is published. This is the Pāraskara Grhya-Sūtra, which is also known as the Kātiya Grhya-Sūtra or the Vājasaneyya Grhya-Sūtra. The other one, the Bājavāpa Grhya-Sūtra, is known only through references to it in other works. The Pāraskara Grhya-Sūtra is connected with the Mādhyandina Śākhā.

The largest number of published Grhya-Sūtras belong to the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda. The Baudhāyana Grhya-Sūtra (with four praśnas), the Bhāravadāja Grhya-Sūtra (with three praśnas), the Āpastamba Grhya-Sūtra (with three praśnas, of which two give only the mantras for grhya rites while the third gives the injunctions regarding the performance of these rites), and the Satyāśādha-Hiranyakesī Grhya-Sūtra (with two praśnas) are included in the Kalpa-Sūtra corpus of their respective Vedic schools. The Vaikhānasā Grhya-Sūtra, which also belongs to the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda, presupposes (like the Āpastamba Grhya-Sūtra) a collection of mantras to which it refers only by pratikas (symbols). The Agnivesya Grhya-Sūtra is ascribed to Agnivesa who is said to have founded the Agnivesya school which forms a subdivision of the Vadhūla school of the Taittirīya Śākhā. However, in the matter of both style and content this Grhya-Sūtra differs substantially from the other Grhya-Sūtras of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda. It appears to have been largely influenced by the religious practices of a comparatively late date. The Maitrāyaṇī Śākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda has two Grhya-Sūtras, the Mānava Grhya-Sūtra and the Vārāha Grhya-Sūtra. The Mānava Grhya-Sūtra is divided into two main sections, called āyuṣas. Among the topics which seem to be peculiar to this Grhya-Sūtra, mention may be made of the worship of the four Virūyas, the śaśṭhikapta, vratacarvī, and sandhyā, and the several dīkṣās. The Vārāha Grhya-Sūtra has quite a large number of sūtras in common with the Mānava Grhya-Sūtra and the Kāṭhaka Grhya-Sūtra. The Kāṭhaka Grhya-Sūtra belongs to the Kāṭhaka Śākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda and, because it has five principal parts, it is known as Grhya-paṃcikā. It is also called the Laukākṣi Grhya-Sūtra.

Among the Grhya-Sūtras belonging to the Sāma-Veda, the Gobhila Grhya-Sūtra presupposes, besides the Sāma-Veda Saṃhitā, a collection of mantras known as the Mantra Brāhmaṇa. In fact, this Grhya-Sūtra and the Mantra Brāhmaṇa appear to have been composed side by side according to a common plan. The Khādira Grhya-Sūtra, which is almost identical with the Drāhīyāyaṇa Grhya-sūtra-vṛtti, is presumably an abridgement of the Gobhila Grhya-Sūtra. The Jaiminiya Grhya-Sūtra, which is divided into one part of twenty-four khaṇḍas and another of nine khaṇḍas, seems to presuppose the Jaiminiya Saṃhitā of the Sāma-
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Veda. The so-called Kauthuma Grhya-Sûtra of the Sâma-Veda is a corrupt text showing signs of being of a later date. Two other Grhya-Sûtras of the Sâma-Veda are not published, but are referred to in other texts; these are the Gautama and the Chândogya. The Kauśika-Sûtra, which belongs to the Śaunaka Śâkhâ of the Atharva-Veda, is traditionally regarded as the Grhya-Sûtra of that Veda. But apart from the grhya rites, the Sûtra deals with the various magical practices of the Atharva-Veda. It is suggested that the Kauśika-Sûtra represents a mixture of two separate Sûtras, the Atharva-Sûtra and the Grhya-Sûtra.

Compared with Śrauta-Sûtras and Grhya-Sûtras which are available, the Dharma-Sûtras are very few. It may be pointed out, however, that besides those published, many other texts of this category have become known through quotations from them found in other works. It is also possible to presume that some of the Dharma-Sûtras are now completely lost. There is another significant point about the Dharma-Sûtras. This is that although the different Dharma-Sûtras are traditionally believed to have been affiliated to different Vedic schools, the influence on them of those specific schools is almost negligible. It seems that while the śrauta and grhya practices varied from school to school—in some details at least—social practices, civil and criminal law, and polity, which constituted the principal subject-matter of the Dharma-Sûtras, had in general become common to the entire Vedic-Aryan community. Understandably, the connection between a Dharma-Sûtra and any particular Vedic school was often tenuous. Within a Kalpa corpus the Dharma-Sûtra usually follows the Grhya-Sûtra. It may also be noted that many topics, such as the âsrâma-dharmas (special duties of each period of life), are common to the Grhya-Sûtra and the Dharma-Sûtra.

The arrangement of the subject-matter in the Dharma-Sûtras is not at all orderly. In the light of the classification of topics in some of the later metrical Smrâtsis, however, it is possible to classify the topics of the Dharma-Sûtras under three main heads: âcâra (conduct), vyavahâra (dealings), including râja-dharma (a king’s duty), and prâyaścitta (expiation). As for the literary form of the Dharma-Sûtras, they contain sûtras interspersed with metrical passages; two exceptions to this are the Gautama Dharma-Sûtra and the Vaikhânasâ Dharma-Sûtra.

Of texts which may be characterized as Dharma-Sûtras, only six have been published so far. The best known among them, and perhaps the earliest, is the Gautama Dharma-Sûtra. It has twenty-eight chapters and belongs to the Sâma-Veda. Though there is nothing specifically Sâma-Vedic about this Sûtra, we may note that its entire twenty-sixth chapter is taken from the Sâma-vidhâna Brâhmana of the Sâma-Veda.

The Baudhâyana Dharma-Sûtra, which has four praśnas, forms part of the Baudhâyana Kalpa-Sûtra. It is doubtful, however, whether Baudhâyana is person-
ally the author of this Sūtra, for in it he is referred to in the third person and also as Bhagavān Baudhāyana. The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth praśnas of the Āpastamba Kalpa-Sūtra form the Dharma-Sūtra of that school. There are many indications to show that the Grhyā-Sūtra and the Dharma-Sūtra of the Āpastamba school are from the same hand. The so-called Satyāṣādha-Hiranyakesī Dharma-Sūtra (which corresponds to the twenty-sixth and the twenty-seventh praśnas of the Satyāṣādha Kalpa-Sūtra) is almost identical with the Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtra. This fact would suggest that the Satyāṣādha-Hiranyakesī school did not originally have any Dharma-Sūtra of its own, but that, in order to complete its Kalpa corpus, it adopted the Dharma-Sūtra of the Āpastamba school as its own Dharma-Sūtra.

The Vāishīṣtha Dharma-Sūtra, in its common version, has thirty chapters, of which the first twenty-three form the original part of the Sūtra while the last seven are later additions. In its present form this Dharma-Sūtra is full of repetitions and even inconsistencies. Vāishīṣtha, who is presumably the author of this Sūtra, is referred to in the Manu Smṛti and the Tājñavalkya Smṛti as an authority on dharma; but his relationship with the Rg-Vedic seer of that name is uncertain.

The Vaikhānasa Dharma-Sūtra, which is made up of praśnas VIII—X of the Vaikhānasa Smārta-Sūtra, deals, more or less exclusively, with the varṇāśrama-dharmas (the special duties of each caste and of each period of life). It is closely related to the Manu Smṛti, but does not have any sections on rāja-dharma and śrāddha (ceremony in honour of dead relatives and for their benefit). It is customary to include among the Dharma-Sūtras the Vīṣṇu Smṛti which, in the colophons of some of its manuscripts, is also called the Vīṣṇu Dharma-sāstra. The Vīṣṇu Smṛti has 100 chapters, and, as its name suggests, it claims divine authorship. Many of its verses are found also in the Manu Smṛti. It has been suggested that this work originally belonged to the Kāṭhaka Śākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Tajur-Veda and was later redacted by a Vaiṣṇava author. Actually, however, it seems to be a loose compendium on the Dharma-sāstra, produced in the period of transition from the Dharma-Sūtras to the metrical Smṛtis.

Dharma-Sūtras and Dharma-Sāstras

Broadly speaking, the Dharma-sāstras or metrical Smṛtis represent a later stage than the Dharma-Sūtras in the evolution of the literature on Dharma-sāstra. But it cannot be assumed on this account that every Smṛti had as its basis a Dharma-Sūtra, or that every Dharma-Sūtra developed in course of time into a metrical Smṛti. This point has special relevance in connection with the problem relating to the Manu Smṛti and the Mānava Dharma-Sūtra. It was suggested that the extant Manu Smṛti was a metrical redaction of the Mānava Dharma-Sūtra which belonged to the Maitrāyaṇī Śākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Tajur-Veda.
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But no Mānava Dharma-Sūtra has become available so far, nor is it even mentioned in any other work. Various arguments have been advanced to prove that the Mānava Dharma-Sūtra had once existed but was lost; there have also been counter-arguments to disprove the existence of this Sūtra. Neither of these claims is conclusive, and the question has to remain open.

By and large, the entire Vedic literature, both apauruseya and pauruseya, may be said to be directly religious in character. As against this, in the post-Vedic Sanskrit literature, which is by no means homogeneous either in form or content, religion is but one of the many fields covered. One may, nonetheless, hasten to add that there is hardly any ancient or medieval Sanskrit text, even of an avowedly secular type, which is not religion-oriented in one sense or other.

II

THE POST-VEDIC LITERATURE : A SURVEY

The logical and chronological sequence which characterizes the Vedic periods is absent in the post-Vedic Sanskrit literary periods. We have therefore to consider the post-Vedic Sanskrit religious texts not chronologically but in groups formed in accordance with their contents and tendencies.

The end of the period of the major Upaniṣads saw the gradual dwindling of the influence of the Vedic tradition. Four cultural movements emerged during this interregnum. Firstly, heterodox religions like Buddhism and Jainism began to assert themselves. Secondly, as a natural reaction to this challenge to orthodox Brāhmanism, attempts were made to consolidate the Vedic way of life and thought by reorganizing and systematizing all Vedic knowledge and Vedic practice. The Sūtra-Vedāṅga literature was the outcome of these attempts. Thirdly, for the purpose of countering the cult of renunciation generally encouraged by the Upaniṣads, there grew what may be called secular and materialistic tendencies best manifested in a work like the Artha śāstra of Kauṭilya. And, finally, there emerged a form of Hinduism which steered clear of the heterodoxy of Buddhism and Jainism on the one hand and the revivalism of the Sūtra-Vedāṅga movement on the other. It was a federation of tribal religious cults, most of which were originally non-Vedic in provenance and which tended to converge in the course of historical development—this federation being held together by the running thread of formal allegiance to the Vedas. The literature relating to the second movement, the Sūtra-Vedāṅga literature, has been already dealt with in the previous section on the Vedic

* The topics discussed in this section are dealt with more elaborately in the next three articles of this Part.
literature. Now we are concerned with the literature of the fourth movement which proved to be of the greatest consequence in the history of India, namely, Hinduism. The main characteristics of this new religious movement may broadly be set forth as follows: (i) The indigenous popular gods, such as Śiva and Viṣṇu and His various incarnations, superseded the Vedic gods, such as Indra and Varuṇa; (ii) The doctrine of bhakti or devotion to a personal God began to prevail, and the different religious practices associated with it, such as pūjā (worship), replaced the Vedic sacrificial ritual; (iii) The ideal of lokasaṅgraha (social solidarity) acquired as much importance as the Upaniṣadic ideal of ātma-jñāna (Self-realization). Consequently, Karma-yoga came to be encouraged as against Sannyāsa; (iv) The response of Hinduism to external and internal challenges was one of gradual assimilation and adaptation rather than of opposition and isolation, and the tendency to synthesize various religious practices and philosophical doctrines into a single harmonious way of life and thought became prominent; (v) A new polity and statecraft was sponsored.

The influence of some of these trends in Hinduism becomes evident even in the ancillary texts of the different Vedic schools, such as the pariśīṭas, the prayogas, and the paddhatis, all of which, of course, belong to a fairly late date. The Vaikhānasa-Sūtras, for instance, which claim to belong to a school of the Yajur-Veda, are actually related to a Vaiśṇava school in South India. Similarly, the Baudhāyana Gṛhya-pariśīṭa-sūtra deals with some aspects of Viṣṇu-pūjā. Such texts, though ostensibly Vedic, have taken over many non-Vedic beliefs and practices.

THE BHAGAVAD-GĪṬĀ AND THE EPICS

The characteristics of Hinduism, as just set forth, are best reflected in the Bhagavad-Gītā which may, indeed, be regarded as the principal scripture of this new religious ideology. They are also reflected in the character of Kṛṣṇa, its enunciator, as portrayed in the great epic, the Mahābhārata, which is in many ways a unique literary phenomenon. It is by far the biggest single literary work known to man. Its vastness is aptly matched by the encyclopaedic nature of its contents and the universality of its appeal. The claim is traditionally made, and fully justified, that in matters pertaining to dharma (religion and ethics), artha (material progress and prosperity), kāma (enjoyment of the pleasures of personal and social life), and mokṣa (spiritual emancipation), whatever is found in this epic may be found elsewhere; but what is not found in it will be impossible to find anywhere else.

The Mahābhārata, as we know it today, is the outcome of a long process of addition, assimilation, expansion, revision, and redaction. Presumably, it originated as a bardic-historical poem called Jaya, which had the eventful Bhārata war as its central theme. In the course of time, a large amount of
material belonging to the literary tradition of the sūtas (bards), which had been developing side by side with the mantra tradition embodied in the Vedic literature, was added to the historical poem, thereby transforming it into the epic Bhārata. This transformation of Jaya into Bhārata received added momentum from another and, from our point of view, more significant factor, the rise of Kṛṣṇite Hinduism. The protagonists of this religion realized that the bardic poem, which enjoyed wide currency, would serve as the most efficient vehicle for the propagation of their ideology. So they redacted the poem in such a way that the Bhagavad-Gītā became the corner-stone of the new epic superstructure, with Kṛṣṇa as its central character. Thus we find that this new literary product, Bhārata, had derived its bardic-historical elements from the ancient sūta tradition and its religio-ethical elements from Kṛṣṇite Hinduism, and upon this was gradually superimposed elements derived from Brāhmaṇic learning and culture and from other elements of Hinduism. The result was that Bhārata became the Mahābhārata. Indeed, it is on account of the contributions of Kṛṣṇaism, Brāhmaṇism, and Hinduism that the Mahābhārata became a veritable treasure-house of religious beliefs and practices.

The Mahābhārata, which must have assumed its present form in the first centuries before and after Christ, is traditionally believed to consist of 100,000 stanzas divided into eighteen parṇams. Some typical religious sections are: the Sūrya-nāmaṣṭa-stakā (Āranyaka-parvan), the Sanat-sujātiya (Udyogaparvan), the Bhagavad-Gītā and the Vāsudeva-stuti (Bhīṣmaparvan), the Śatarudriya (Dronaparvan), the Jāpakopākhyaṇa, the Nārāyaṇiya, and the Unchāvyutypākhyaṇa (Śanti-parvan), the Śiva-sahasranāmā-stotra, the Gaṅgā-stava, and the Viṣṇusahasranāmā-stotra (Anuśāsanaparvan), the Iṣvarā-stuti and the Anu-Gītā (Āśvamedhikaparvan). There is also the Harivaṁśa which is traditionally regarded as a khila-parvan of the great epic.

If the Mahābhārata (with the Harivaṁśa) glorifies the Kṛṣṇa incarnation, the other epic, the Rāmāyana, gives an account of the Rāma incarnation. This incarnation is traditionally believed to have been earlier than the Kṛṣṇa incarnation; composition of the Rāmāyana, however, which is largely the work of a single poet named Vālmiki, seems to have begun after that of the Mahābhārata, but ended before the Mahābhārata assumed its final form. The Ayodhyā episode in the Rāmāyana probably has some historical basis; but with the exile of Rāma, the theme of the poem is enlarged to epic proportions, and the prince of Ayodhyā becomes transformed into an incarnation of the highest God. Cleverly interwoven with these two strands is a third, that of an agricultural myth. Compared with the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana presents a more unitary structure; it is not too overloaded with extraneous sautric (bardic) material and is distinguished by several features of classical Sanskrit poetry. It has seven kāndas—the entire seventh kānda evidently is a later interpolation. It contains several sections of religious significance, such as the Sūrya-stava (which is also called Āditya-hṛdaya-
stotra) by Agastya and the Rāma-stuti by Brahmā (both in the Tuḍḍha-kāṇḍa). Its principal religious appeal, however, springs from the idealized domestic and social virtues which its characters embody. Indeed, this appeal has, through the centuries, proved to be direct and sustained.

THE PURĀNAS

As texts, the Purāṇas are chronologically of a much later date than the two epics; for, their final redaction was accomplished in the age of the Guptas. Conceptually, however, they belong to the ancient literary tradition of the sūtas, which is also known as the itīhāsa-purāṇa tradition. It is customary to divide the itīhāsa-purāṇa literature into three broad classes: itīhāsa or epic history, represented by the Mahābhārata; kāvya or epic poetry, represented by the Rāmāyaṇa; and purāṇa or epic legends, represented by the Purāṇas. Purāṇa is traditionally defined as comprising five main topics: sarga (creation),pratisarga (dissolution and recreation), vaṁśa (divine genealogies), manvantara (ages of Manus), and vaṁśānuvarta (genealogies of kings). This definition clearly indicates that the Purāṇas, in their original form, had very little to do with religious beliefs and practices. But none of the Purāṇas, as we know them today, strictly adhere to the five topics mentioned in the definition, the paṁca-lakṣaṇa. Nor do they adhere even to the five additional topics, altogether forming the daśa-lakṣaṇa (ten topics). The five additional topics are: vṛtti (means of livelihood), rakṣā (incarnations of gods), mukti (final emancipation), hetu (living beings), and apāsraya (Brahman). In the course of the growth of the Purāṇas many more subjects came to be incorporated into them, and these dealt with religious instruction, sectarian cults, and rituals. Some of the topics thus included were: dāna (gift), utras (vows), tīrtha (place of pilgrimage), śrāddha, bhakti, and avatāra (incarnation of God). It is these subjects which have given the Purāṇas their religious character, thus confirming their claim to be the Veda of the common people.

Tradition speaks of eighteen Mahāpurāṇas. These are: the Brahma, the Padma, the Viṣṇu, the Vāyu, the Bhāgavata, the Nārada, the Mārkaṇḍeya, the Agni, the Bhavisya, the Brahma-vaiśvarta, the Varāha, the Liṅga, the Skanda, the Vāman, the Kūrma, the Matsya, the Garuda, and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas. They are classified either as sāttva-ka, tāmāra, and rājas (as in the Padma Purāṇa), or in accordance with the divinity (such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, Devi) which they glorify (as in the Skanda Purāṇa).

Tradition also speaks of eighteen Upapurāṇas, upa meaning 'secondary'. These are: the Sanatkumāra, the Nārasimha, the Nanda, the Śivadharma, the Durvāsas, the Nārada, the Kāpila, the Vāman, the Uśanas, the Mānava, the Vāruṇa, the Kāli, the Mahēśvara, the Śamba, the Saura, the Pārāśara, the Mārica, and the Bhārgava Purāṇas. The Upapurāṇas are obviously of a later date.
than the Mahāpurāṇas and are more emphatically sectarian. Originally their number may have been much larger.

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which is of special interest, appears to have been produced in the Tamil country some time between the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is intensely religious in character and has wielded very great influence over the succeeding periods of the history of Vaiśṇavism.

Among other significant works may be mentioned the Brhat Samhitā of Varāhamihira (A.D. 550). Though it is a work on astronomy and astrology, it is almost encyclopaedic in scope and contains much material of a religious character, such as details of private and public worship, works of charity, iconography, and temple architecture. The Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa (fifteenth century), which is part of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, is usually treated as an independent work. It is an attempt to superimpose monistic Vedānta on the doctrine of devotion to Rāma. Among the manuals dealing with bhakti are: the Bhakti-Sūtras of Nārada (tenth century); the Bhakti-Sūtras of Śaṅkularya (earlier than the tenth century); the Bhakti-ratnāvali (A.D. 1400), an anthology compiled by Viṣṇu Puri containing passages relating to bhakti taken from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and Vallabha’s Bhakti-vardhini. Several imitations of the Bhagavad-Gītā were attempted. Among them the better known ones are the Iśvara-Gītā which occurs in the Kārma Purāṇa and is itself a Pāṣupata (Śaivite) redaction of a Vaiśṇava work, and the Avadhūta-Gītā which is regarded as one of the Sannyāsa Upaniṣads.

THE DHARMA-SĀSTRAS

The Dharma-sāstras, or Smṛtis, are religious in character and are more or less similar to the Dharma-Sūtras. They have preserved the traditional rules governing personal, domestic, and social behaviour. The best-known work among them is the Manu Smṛti. This work, which is also called the Bhṛgu Samhitā, seems to belong to the period when the Mahābhārata was undergoing its final redaction. Consisting of twelve chapters, it begins with a statement regarding the process of creation, and then proceeds to lay down, in the next five chapters, rules of conduct for persons belonging to the different varṇas and to the different āśramas. It then goes on to discuss the duties of kings, the administration of justice, and, at some length, eighteen sections of law. The final sections mention some prāyāscittas and include a desultory discussion of a few philosophical topics such as karma and the guṇas (qualities).

The other Smṛtis mostly follow the pattern of the varṇāśrama-dharma as laid down in the Manu Smṛti. It is only in the matter of vyavahāra (civil and criminal law) that these law books appear to differ from one another. For instance, the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, which belong to the fourth–fifth centuries A.D. is divided into three clear-cut sections: religious law; civil and criminal law; and expia-
tion. It puts greater stress upon private law than upon criminal law, and shows
great advance over the Manu Smriti in the law of inheritance. An interesting
work, of the nature of a 'digest of law', is the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi by Hemādri
(1260–1309). He deals especially with various topics of religious significance
such as vratas, dānas, śrāddhas, pilgrimages, and ritual.

In ancient and medieval India, religion and philosophy, generally speak-
ing, were not sharply demarcated. The literature relating to the various systems
of philosophy developed almost independently of religion. This literature,
which divides into three principal classes, the Sūtras, the expository works on
the Sūtras, and independent treatises, is quite extensive. We shall not deal with
it, however, in this survey of religious literature.

The ethico-didactic literature in Sanskrit (and not a little of the poetical
and dramatic literature) may be characterized as religious so far as theme and
ultimate purpose are concerned. However, for obvious reasons, this literature
too cannot be dealt with here. Thus we now come to two types of distinctively
religious literature in Sanskrit, the Tantras and the Sūtras.

THE TANTRAS OR ĀGAMA ŚĀSTRAS: THEIR DOCTRINES

Tantra is a generic term denoting the literature of certain religious cults
which began to come into prominence within Hinduism (and, for that matter,
within Buddhism) from A.D. 500. This literature did not necessarily arise to
oppose the Veda which, in Hinduism, claimed some kind of formal authority.
It averred, however, that while the Vedas sufficed for earlier ages, now, in the
kali-yuga (the last of the four ages), their doctrines and practices had lost their
appeal. The Tantras therefore claimed the place of the Vedas as the authorita-
tive religious literature of the new age. Their stand was, however, paradoxical.
On the one hand, the Tantras sought to democratize Hinduism by removing
the barriers of sex and caste; on the other hand, they laid down strict rules
regarding the initiation of sādhakas (aspirants practising religious discipline)
into their secret doctrines.

In the Kāmikāgama\(^1\) this definition of Tantra is given: 'The Tantra is so
called because it unfolds the manifold meanings of the Reality through formulae
of the science of religion, and also because by its own virtue it works out the
salvation of all.'

The Tantras comprise esoteric teachings and mystic practices of various
kinds. Their dogmas and ethics are more or less similar to those of Brāhmaṇic
Hinduism. But their distinctive feature is their religious practices which include
mantra (sacred formula addressed to a deity); bija (mystical letter or syllable

\(^{1}\) Tanote vijūlān arthān tattvamanyātrasamāśritān;
Trāṇoṣo kurote yasmat tantram iṣyabhidhiyare.

(Kāmikāgama)
which forms an essential part of the mantra; yantra (mystical diagram); nyāsa (mental appropriation or assignment of various parts of the body to tutelary deities); mudrā (particular positions or intertwinnings of the fingers); māndala (mystical diagram without bija letters); yāga (sacrifice); yoga (meditation) and upāsana (worship); and yātrā (going on a pilgrimage).

The Tantras also deal with the various details of pūjā and orgiastic rites as well as temple architecture and iconography. Many of the later sectarian Upaniṣads are of the nature of Tantras, while the influence of the Tantras on some of the Purāṇas is quite unmistakable. A Tantra text, whose authorship is usually anonymous, normally consists of four parts or pādas which deal respectively with vīrya or jñāna (soteriological theology); kriyā (practices of the cult); caryā (personal and social behaviour); and yoga (psycho-physiological discipline).

Unlike the Veda, the Tantras, whose number is indeed large, are emphatically sectarian in character. They relate mainly to three sects: the Śaiva, the Vaiṣṇava, and the Śākta. The Tāntic texts belonging to these sects are called respectively: the Āgamas, the Saṁhitās, and the Tantras. It is generally believed that the Āgamas originated in Kashmir, the Saṁhitās in various parts of India, but particularly in Bengal and South India, and the Tantras in Bengal and in eastern and north-eastern India.

In the Śabda-kalpadruma a (a lexicon) this definition of Āgama is given: ‘The Āgama is so called because it came from the lips of Śiva, the five-mouthed one; because it was listened to by Pārvatī, the daughter of the Mountain; and because it was honoured by Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu).’

There are twenty-eight Śaiva Āgamas, and they are traditionally believed to have originated from the five mouths of Śiva. Five of them came from the sadyojāta mouth (the mouth of the aspect of spontaneous manifestation). These are: Kāmika, Yogaja, Cintya, Karana, and Ajīta. Five of them came from the vāmadeva mouth (the mouth of the aspect of shining attractiveness). These are: Dīpta, Sūkṣma, Sahasra, Aṁśumāt, and Suprabheda. Five of them came from the aghora mouth (the mouth of the benign aspect). These are: Vijaya, Nīh ś vāsa, Svāyāmbhuva, Anala, and Vīra. Five of them came from the tatpurusa mouth (the mouth of the aspect of the supreme Person or Consciousness). These are: Raurava, Mākuṭa, Vimala, Candrajñāna, and Bimba. Eight of them came from the śāna mouth (the mouth of the aspect of the supreme Lord or supreme Power). These are: Prodga, Lalita, Siddha, Santāna, Sarvokta, Pārameśvara, Kirāṇa, and Vātula.

As many as 207 Upāgamas are also mentioned; and side by side with the basic Āgamas there exists an abundant literature pertaining to the

* Āgataḥ paścavakrīt tu gataḥca girijānaṁ;
  Mātaṅga vāsudevasya tasmād āgaman ucyate.

(Sabda-kalpadruma)
Śaiva ritual. These works were produced by such teachers as Aghora-sīvācārya and Soma-sambhu. The epoch of the redaction of the Āgamas is uncertain, but they have been profusely used by Tirumūlar and other Tamil writers and, accordingly, must have belonged to a period not later than the seventh century A.D. These texts have been carefully preserved in the families of guru-kaṇṭilaus who use them in connection with their religious rites. The tradition of temple architecture and iconography as taught in the Śaiva Āgamas is still living. Historically, the Āgamas also exercised deep influence in the ancient kingdoms of South-East Asia.

The principal Tāntric Vaiṣṇava cult is known as Pāñcarātra, a name that is variously interpreted. The best view is perhaps to understand it as alluding to the five nights during which five discourses were given by Nārāyaṇa to Śiva, Brahmā, Indra, the Rṣis, and Brhaspati, respectively. Traditionally, 108 Śaṁhitās of the Pāñcarātra are mentioned, though their number is sometimes given as 215 or even 290. The entire corpus of the Pāñcarātra literature is believed to consist of fifteen million verses. The Pāñcarātra Śaṁhitās are given various names such as Ekāyana-Veda, Mūla-Veda, Mūla-Śrutī, Pañcama-Veda, and Mahopanishad, and some of them are specially honoured. For instance, three Śaṁhitās, the Sāttvata, the Paśkara, and the Jayākhya Śaṁhitās, are said to constitute the ratna-traya (jewel-triad). The Ahirbudhnya Śaṁhitā is, however, better known since it was the first to have received critical treatment in modern times. This Śaṁhitā is believed to have originated in Kashmir early in the fifth century A.D. The major part of it is devoted to discussions of kriyā and caryā rather than of jñāna and yoga. In one section, however, it presents an interesting survey of various systems of religion and philosophy. The ratna-traya is presumably older than the Ahirbudhnya Śaṁhitā; the oldest work being perhaps the Sāttvata (third century). Among other well-known Śaṁhitās are the following: The Ṭīvara is perhaps one of the earlier ones produced in South India; it is quoted by Yāmuna, Rāmānuja’s teacher. The Parama and the Paśkara are quoted by Rāmānuja. The Bhadbrahma is believed to belong to what is known as the Nārada Pāñcaraṇa; it contains prophecies regarding Rāmānuja and must therefore be later than the twelfth century. The Jñānāṁṛta-sūtra also belongs to the Nārada Pāñcarātra and contains the glorification of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā; it is thus close to the Vallabha system. We may also mention the Kāśyapa, the Pārameśvara and the Laksmi Śaṁhitās.

Side by side with the Pāñcarātra there also developed the Tāntric Vaiṣṇava cult known as the Vaikhānasāś. The Vaiṣṇava temples in South India, and to a certain extent in Rajasthan and Orissa, are governed either by the Pāñcarātra canons or by the Vaikhanasāś canons. For instance, the religious rites at the Varadarāja temple at Kanchipuram and at the Śrīraṅganāṭha temple at Srirangam are performed according to the Pāñcarātra; while those at the
Venkatesvara temple at Tirupati are performed according to the Vaikhānasa (though, curiously enough, at the temple of Padmāvatī, Venkatesvara’s consort, the rites are performed according to the Pāñcarātra). Similarly, some specific Śaṅhitās are regarded as authoritative at specific temples, as for instance, the Pauskara and the Pārameśvara at the Śrīraṅganātha temple; the Jayākhya and the Pādma at the Varadārāja temple; and the Śāttvata and the Iśvara at Melkote, though the Pādma Śaṅhitā is seen generally to govern the Vaiṣṇava pūjā.

Though the Śākta Tantras are traditionally believed to exist in three groups of sixty-four texts each, their actual number, as known from several manuscript catalogues, is very much larger. The chronology of the Tantras is difficult to determine, but it may be pointed out that even in the Mahābhārata there are indications of the influence of the Tantras. Also, some elements of the Tantras have been epigraphically documented since a.d. 424.

The more important of the Tantras originated in the Kaula school. The Mahānirūṇa Tantra, which is perhaps next to the Bhagavad-Gītā in popularity, is a late work (eighteenth century) and was produced in Bengal. It may be regarded as presenting the Śākta doctrine and practices in the most representative manner. Brahman is identified with Śakti, the ultimate principle being necessarily female. Among the many topics dealt with in this Tantra are: pañca-tattva (the five principles); pañca-makāra, the five mī’s: matsya (fish), mudrā (parched grains used in tāntrika worship), madhya (liquor), māmsa (meat), maithuna (coition); cakra-pūjā (worship in a circle); and symbolic meditation on Śakti. Its metaphysics is not different from the Śāṅkhya and the Vedaṇta, and its dharma (social ethics) seems to have been adopted from the Manu Smṛti.

The Kulārṇava Tantra speaks of six forms of ācāra, but emphasizes that mokṣa is possible only through that ācāra ordained by kula (the community). It also insists that the five makāras must not be employed except in strictly esoteric circles. Among the other Tantras, the Tantra-rāja deals, in its first part, with the Śrī-yantra; the Kula-cūdrāṇaṇa serves as a popular manual on Tāntric ritual; the Prapañcā-sāra discusses the ‘essence of the universe’; the Jñānārṇava concerns kumāri-pūjana (worship of a maiden as the goddess), which it regards as the highest sacrifice; the Śāradā-tilaka expounds the esoteric significance of mantras and yantras; the Yogini includes the māhātmya (the peculiar efficacy or virtue) of the Kāmākhya temple; and the Gandharva speaks of images.

Other important Śākta texts are the Śricakra-saṁbhāra, the Kāmakalā-vilāsa, the Advaita-bhāvopanisad, and the Śaṭcakra-nirūpaṇa. The Devi-māhātmya (sixth century) is included in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa in which Devi is glorified as the eternal Universal Mother. A commentary on this Purāṇa, called Daśāṅga, gives a detailed description of the Śākta pūjā. The Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa (A.D. 1100) is a Śākta counterpart of the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Adbhuta-
Rāmāyaṇa is obviously a late work designed to introduce the Śakti cult into Vaiśṇavism by elevating Sītā over Rāma.

THE STOTRAS

Stotra literature in Sanskrit is very vast, for stotras are prayers or hymns. Indeed, one wonders whether any proper count has ever been made, or can be made, of the works belonging to this class. This literature enjoyed the widest currency among the people. The tradition of prayers and hymns is quite ancient and may be traced back to the Rg-Veda. Stotras have been included in the epics, the Purāṇas, and the Tantras; and some epic poems contain fine specimens of hymnal poetry. Among these are the hymn to Viṣṇu (Kālidāsa, Raghuvamśa, X); the hymn to Brahmā (Kālidāsa, Kumārasambhava, II); the hymn to Mahādeva (Bhāravi, Kīrātājuniya closing canto); the hymn to Kṛṣṇa (Māgha, Śīrupālavadha, XIV); and the hymn to Caṇḍi (Ratnakara, Haravijaya, XLVII). In a sense, the nāndī verses (invocations) in Sanskrit dramas may also be regarded as religious lyrics. But the larger part of the stotra literature originated independently. Apart from single works of more or less definite authorship, there are many collections of stotras available in print which include many anonymous stotras. Among these collections are: Brhat-stotra-muktāhāra, the two Brhat-stotra-ratnakaras, the Brhat-stava-kavaca-mālā, and some of the gučchakas of the Kāvya-mālā.

The major stotras usually relate to one of the five divinities: Gaṇapatī, Śūrya, Śiva, Śakti, and Viṣṇu, most of the prayers being addressed to Śiva who also receives most of the praise. Then there are stavas addressed to the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, either individually or collectively. Again, a substantial number of stotras are addressed to what may be called localized divinities, such as Veṅkateśa of Tirupati, Minākṣi of Madurai, Viśvanātha of Vārāṇasi, and Śrīraṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam. Minor divinities like Śaṣṭi, Śītalā, and Manasa, rivers, and holy places also have their share of stotras. Stotras have a twofold appeal, religious and literary. Actually, however, the majority of stotras, with a few noteworthy exceptions, are known for their religious appeal rather than for their lyricism. And even this spiritual appeal is characterized by conventionalized idiom rather than by an effusion of religious emotion.

An early stotra, attributed to Bāna (seventh century), is the Caṇḍi-śataka. It is in praise of Maheśvara-mardini (the goddess who slew the buffalo demon) and has one hundred and two verses, mostly in sravdhara metre. The Śūrya-śataka by Bāna’s contemporary and close relative Mayūra has, however, received greater approbation from literary critics. The great Śaṅkarācārya is traditionally said to have composed nearly two hundred stotras. Among those which seem to be genuinely his work we may mention the Ānanda-laharī (twenty verses in śikharinī metre); the Saundarya-laharī in praise of Śakti (one hundred
and three in śikharini, the last verse being in vasantatilaka metre); the Mohanud-gara which is also known as the Dwādaśa-pañjari; the Bhaja-govindam which is also known as the Carpaṣa-pañjari; the Harimīde; and the Śivāparādha-kṣamā-paṇa. In most of these, devotional fervour is well-matched by poetic elegance, and deep mysticism by musical rhythm.

The Pañcaśati describes the physical charms of Kāmākṣi, the Mother Goddess, in erotic terms, and is ascribed to the poet Mūka who is believed to be a contemporary of Śaṅkarācārya. The Śivamahimnāḥ-stotra, which is ascribed to Puṣpadanta (ninth century), is perhaps more philosophical than religious in tenor, and it has over twenty commentaries. To about the same period belongs the Devi-tataka of Ānandavardhana (A.D. 850); it seems to have been planned more as an essay in alaṅkāra than as a religious hymn. The hymnal literature produced by the Kashmiri poets includes: the Stava-cintāmaṇi of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa (ninth century); the Śiva-stotrávali of Utpaladeva (tenth century); the Bhāvopahāra of Gakrapāpīṭhā (eleventh century); and the Ardhanāriśvara-stotra of Kālhaṇa (twelfth century). The Śāmba-pañcāṭikā, which is a hymn to the Sun-god, and which is traditionally attributed to Kṛṣṇa’s son Śāmba, is also probably the work of a Kashmiri poet.

Coming from Kashmir to Kerala, we may mention the Mukunda-mālā of Kulaśekhara (A.D. 700). It has only about thirty verses (the number varies in different versions), but it is remarkable for its devotional earnestness and the author’s sense of style. Nārāyaṇiya by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Kerala (A.D. 1585), on the other hand, is an extensive poem of one thousand verses and is laboured in both form and content. It glorifies Kṛṣṇa of Guruvayur, who is said to have cured the author of his asthma. Among stotra texts belonging to the Viśiṣṭādvaita school are the Stotra-ratna of Yāmunācārya (eleventh century), the Gadāytraya of Rāmānuja (eleventh–twelfth century), and Nyāsa-dāśaka and Aṣṭabhu-jāṭakaka by Vedānta Deśika. Jagannātha Paṇḍita (seventeenth century) wrote five laharis (books of verse) which present a pleasing combination of sincere devotion, deep learning, and great poetic ability. They are: Amṛta, Sudhā, Gaṅgā, Kuruṇā, and Lakṣmi laharis. Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita of about the same period wrote a hymn to Minākṣi, called Ananda-ságara-stava; while his pupil Rāmabhadrā wrote three poems in praise of Rāma’s various weapons, and the Varṇamālā-stotra which is an alphabetically arranged eulogy of Rāma. Hymnmal literature was also produced in connection with the Caitanya movement, such as the Śikṣāṣṭaka by Caitanya himself (fifteenth century), the Stava-mālā of Rūpa Gosvāmin, and the Stavāvali of Raghunāthadāsa.

ARTISTIC RELIGIOUS POETRY

Besides such prayers and hymns, Sanskrit is rich in religious poetry which is very artistic. The inspiration for this kind of poetry is derived mainly from
the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta of Lilāśuka, who is also known as Bilvamaṅgala (twelfth century), is a striking collection of devotional lyrics in which the sentiment of bhakti for the youthful Kṛṣṇa is expressed through religio-erotic idiom and imagery. The work has come down in two main recensions, of which the south-western recension has three āsvāsas (sections) of over a hundred verses each; while the Bengal recension has only one āsvāsa of one hundred and twelve verses. The Gitagovinda by Jayadeva (twelfth century) is a unique work in many respects. It presents a series of what may be called musical monologues by three characters, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, and Rādhā's companion. The action takes place in Vṛndāvana in the background of the rāsa-krīḍā (the sportive dance of Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs, milkmaids). Its central theme is that rāsa, the realization of blissful personal communion with the Lord, is the final goal of all religious activity. This theme is vivified by Jayadeva through his masterly exploitation of the media of poetry, music, and abhinaya (gesture-dance). The Gitagovinda is variously described as a lyric drama, a pastoral, an opera, a melodrama, and a yātrā (a popular dramatic entertainment). It has twelve cantos, and each canto contains padāvalis (songs) set to different rāgas (melody patterns). These songs are introduced by one or two metrical stanzas which seem intended to be sung in chorus. The great popularity of the Gitagovinda is vouched for by its several imitations. In some of these, Rāma and Sītā or Śiva and Pārvatī take the place of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Vallabhācārya's son, Viṣṇuḥaleśvara (fifteenth century), wrote the Śrīgāra-rasamaṇḍana. It contains songs modelled on Jayadeva's compositions. Another work, the Kṛṣṇalilā-taraṅgini by Nārāyaṇatīrtha (A.D. 1700) also contains devotional lyrics set to different rāgas. But the truly glorious period of Sanskrit religious poetry—or, for that matter, of Sanskrit poetry in general—must be said to have ended in the twelfth century with Jayadeva himself.
THE GREAT EPICS

The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata represent both the ethos and the epos of ancient India. The Rāmāyaṇa, according to tradition, owes its origin to an extraordinary circumstance. A fowler’s arrow killed one of a pair of curlews. Moved to pity at this tragic incident, the sage Vālmīki cursed the fowler, but he did so in a verse which came out spontaneously from his lips. This poetical expression of profound grief is said to have been the first verse composed (in the epic period); and the sage, who became the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, is called the ādikavi, the first poet of the classical period of Sanskrit literature. Ānandavardhana (ninth century a.d.), the famous rhetorician, analysing Vālmīki’s state of mind as he reacted to the pathetic sight of the bird being killed, is of the opinion that the experience had not only culminated in the utterance of the first verse, but also gave rise to the idea of rasa in poetry. The origin of the Mahābhārata, according to tradition, is that it was penned by the elephant-headed deity Gaṇeśa and dictated by sage Vyāsa.

The epics had come into existence long before the art of writing was known. Down the centuries they were transmitted orally through, mainly, two classes of people: the sūtas (bards in the royal courts); and the kuśilavas (travelling singers). Before they were committed to writing, the epic stories gathered many accretions; and even after they were written down, additions and alterations continued. The diverse nature of the changes made explains the great popularity of the epics throughout the length and breadth of India.

Though the epic stories are very old and some of them hark back to Vedic times, their present forms are of a much later date. It is generally believed that the Mahābhārata had attained its present form by about the fourth century a.d. The Rāmāyaṇa probably assumed its present shape a century or two earlier.

THE RĀMĀYANA*

Tradition places the Rāmāyaṇa earlier than the Mahābhārata. The nucleus of the Mahābhārata may have been older than that of the Rāmāyaṇa, but in

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1 The subtle conception of rasa makes it difficult to express the notion properly in Western critical terminology. The word has been translated etymologically by the terms ‘flavour’, ‘relish’, ‘gustation’, ‘taste’, ‘geschmack’ or ‘savour’, but none of these renderings seems to be adequate. The simpler word ‘mood’, or the term ‘stimmung’ used by Jacobi may be the nearest approach to it, but the concept has hardly any analogy in European critical theories. Most of the terms employed have association of subtle meanings of their own, and are therefore not strictly applicable. S. K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. II, p. 135.

* The Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa and the Yogavāishṇava-Rāmāyaṇa are philosophical works and are, there-
their present forms the Rāmāyaṇa appears to be the earlier work. The Rāmāyaṇa is more ornate than the Mahābhārata, more refined and sophisticated; the ballad style of the Mahābhārata is not present here. The Rāmāyaṇa is more or less a unified work. Much shorter than the Mahābhārata, it does not show the jumble of diverse matters that is found there.

The main story of the Rāmāyaṇa is briefly this: Daśaratha, king of Ayodhyā, is about to install his eldest son, Rāma, on the throne. Kaikeyī, Rāma's step-mother, wants her own son Bharata to be crowned king, and Rāma to be sent into exile for fourteen years. The old and infirm king, though reluctant, has to agree. Rāma goes to live in the forest, accompanied by his consort, Sītā, and his brother, Laksmana. The demon-king of Lankā, Rāvaṇa,3 abducts Sītā. Rāma, determined to rescue Sītā, wages a dour war against Rāvaṇa who is ultimately vanquished and killed. Rāma comes back to Ayodhyā and assumes his position as king, with Sītā as queen. The story of the genuine portion of the epic ends here. In the last Book, which is suspected by many modern scholars to be spurious, it is narrated that the people of Ayodhyā speak ill of Rāma for taking back Sītā from Rāvaṇa's custody and Rāma banishes her in deference to public opinion.

Weber's suggestion that the Homeric story of Helen and the Trojan war exercised a deep influence on the Rāmāyaṇa is not substantiated by reliable evidence. Two allusions in the Rāmāyaṇa to Tavanas (Greeks, Ionians) have been proved to be spurious. As Winternitz says, 'there is not even a remote similarity between the stealing of Sītā and the rape of Helen, between the advance on Lankā and that on Troy, and only a very remote similarity of motive between the bending of the bow by Rāma and that by Ulysses.'4

Some scholars, notably Weber, think that the epic was based on an ancient Buddhist legend of Rāma, the Daśaratha Jātaka. Winternitz, Bülke, and others,

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3 The Rāmāyaṇa in its present form comprises 24,000 stanzas (ślokas), divided into seven kāngas (books), viz. Bāla, Ayodhyā, Aranyā, Kiśkindhyā, Sundara, Tuddha and Uttara; the extant volume of the Mahābhārata contains about one lakh stanzas distributed among eighteen parvas (sections): Ādi, Subhā, Vana, Virāṭa, Udyoga, Bhīma, Drona, Karṇa, Śalya, Saaptika, Srī, Śanti, Anudāvana, Āvamūdhiṇa, Āśramavāśika, Mauyā, Mahāprasthānaka, and Sarvgyārohaṇa. In addition to these eighteen parvas there is another book called the Hariyayena which is in reality a supplement or appendix (a khila) to the Mahābhārata proper. It contains more than 16,000 verses and does not seem to be the work of a single poet or compiler. As a literary production, it is a jumble of loosely connected mass of texts—legends, myths and hymns—professing to glorify Viṣṇu. The references to the Rāmāyaṇa, given in this article, are according to the Nirnaya Sagara Press Edition, and those to the Mahābhārata are according to the Critical Edition sponsored by the BORI, Poonam.

4 According to some, it is not the name of an individual king, but a title of distinction of the rulers of Lankā. See N. R. Navlekar, A New Approach to the Rāmāyaṇa, p. 267.

however, reject this theory. But it is possible that the tranquillity and mildness of Rāma's character may have been, to some extent, due to the influence of Buddhism, which was extremely popular. As 'Sītā' can be traced to the Tātāṁriya Brāhmaṇa, the Rg-Veda, the Atharva-Veda, and some of the Gṛhya-Sūtras, some zealous mythologists regard these as bearing the first germs of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa.

LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS

In the Rāmāyaṇa, as compared with the Mahābhārata, the art of poetry appears to have made great progress. To a great extent it appears to develop consciously, for content is no longer the sole concern of the poet; he is not a little concerned with form too. The poet is an adept in characterization, and this is displayed in a series of unparalleled portraits: Rāma's supreme sacrifice for the sake of his father; Lakṣmaṇa's obedience to his elder brother, at whose command he acts even against his conscience; the self-abnegation of Bharata in abjuring royal comforts during the absence of Rāma; and the unflinching loyalty of Hanūmān to his master at the cost of his personal comfort and even at the risk of life. Across the sea, in Lanka, we find Rāvana, of tremendous physical and mental vigour, falling a victim to the frailties flesh is heir to. Among the women, Sītā is the glowing example of chastity and highmindedness, the paragon of all domestic virtues. She spurns the pleasures of the royal palace in order to follow her husband and be with him in his perilous forest-life. Amidst the various temptations held out to her by Rāvana, who seeks her love, her fidelity to her husband is unshaken. King Rāma banishes her for no fault on her part; and, instead of accusing her husband, she accepts his decree without a word of protest, taking it as a decree of her own destiny. Kaikeyi, the typically designing and jealous queen, prevails upon Daśaratha, her husband, to banish Rāma and install Bharata on the throne. She gains her objective, but loses the respect of her noble son. The author of the Rāmāyaṇa has thus presented a magnificent life-gallery throbbing with profound human appeal, and in the centre of this gallery the character of Rāma shines and shines almost like the Pole Star. He is a model son, husband, brother, king, warrior, and man. Though occasionally dazzled by flashes from his superhuman nature, we are not 'blinded or bewildered' by them.

The use of simile and imagery in the Rāmāyaṇa is superb. King Daśaratha, overwhelmed with grief, is compared to the sun under eclipse, to fire covered by ashes, to a lake the water of which has dried up and so on. In the Aśoka

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8 Cf. Ibid., p. 510.
7 Rām., 11. 34.3.
grove, Hanûman catches a glimpse of the emaciated Sitâ. She looks, he thinks, like the thin line of the crescent moon (V. 15. 19), the flame enveloped in smoke (V. 15. 20), a lotus destroyed by the frost (V. 16. 30). The white moon moving in the sky is like a swan swimming in the blue waters (V. 17. 1). Held in the clutches of the dreaded Râvana, Sitâ warns him that temporarily he may overpower her, but he cannot subdue her just as a fly can swallow clarified butter but cannot assimilate it (III. 47. 48). The employment of other figures of speech too has been done with a masterly skill and effortless ease.

The poet’s description of nature is also masterly. The Râmâyana, unlike the Mahâbhârata, brings out the close relationship between external nature and internal nature expressed in the minds and moods of people. There is, moreover, a suggestiveness in the picture of nature drawn by the author of the Râmâyana. In the Mahâbhârata, descriptions are merely objective, but here the poet brings personal experience or his own interpretation to bear upon his depiction of nature. Unlike the other epic, the Râmâyana creates an idyll out of nature and produces a lyrical effect. The sad prospect of Râma’s going into exile casts a shadow of gloom not only on the minds of the people, but also on nature all around. The wind has lost its cool gentleness, the stars are devoid of radiance; gone is the brilliance of the moon, and all Ayodhya reels like an ocean agitated (II. 41).

The description of the rainy season in the Râmâyana (IV. 28) reveals the dexterous hand of a true artist. Flashes of lightning are fancied to be wounds on the body of the blue firmament. Vapour, rising from the summer-parched earth after it is wet with showers, appears to Râma like the tears shed by Sitâ.8 As Râma watches streaks of lightning, again his thoughts turn to Sitâ. The lightning tries to pierce the dark clouds and shines through them, but its dazzling brightness is dimmed by them as Sitâ, in Râvana’s captivity, is emaciated and bereft of all her lustre as she struggles to escape.9 Then the rumbling clouds, with their banners of lightning unfurled and garlands of cranes on, are described as frantic elephants on the field of battle.10 The earth, with luxuriant vegetation and small insects of red and velvety colour, is conceived as a damsel wearing a parrot-like green wrapper with pink dots of lac-dye (IV. 18. 24). The poet’s pen-pictures of winter (III. 16), spring (II. 56 IV. 1), and autumn (IV. 30) are equally charming. Vâlmîki’s descriptive art shows its unique power and charm also in describing the ocean (IV. 64), rivers (II. 1; II. 95), lakes (IV. 1), forests (I. 24; III. 15), hermitages (III. 11), gardens (V. 14-15), hills (II. 94), and so on.

8 Ibid., IV. 28. 7.
9 Ibid., IV. 28. 11-12.
10 Ibid., IV. 28. 20.
THE GREAT EPICS

Various sentiments have been introduced into the epic, but the main sentiment is the heroic. At the same time, pathetic scenes are described with masterly skill. Dāsaratha broken down by the separation from his dearest son, Rāma; the city of Ayodhya bereft of Rāma; Rāma separated from his beloved; Sītā pining in alien surroundings—these scenes are so poignantly described that the appreciative reader has to shed tears. The author’s capacity to delineate the fierce and the cruel is shown in his description of a grim battle, or of Bharata’s awful dream.\(^{11}\)

Although ornate, the style of the epic is racy, and not pedantic. In form and content it is a very near approach to the mahākāvya, as defined in poetics. It is thus a precursor of the vast and varied classical kāvya literature in Sanskrit. The epic is a kāvya of the romantic type, the element of romance being most marked in the Sundara-kānda. The language is simple, and yet dignified, and does not indicate that straining after literary exercise which characterizes some later poetical works, especially those of the decadent age. The author of the epic appears to have been the first poet to adapt anuṣṭūbha, the Vedic metre, to later Sanskrit literature, although with certain modifications. Vālmīki thus may aptly be described as the father of classical Sanskrit poetry.

Lassen and Weber, followed by some other scholars, consider the Rāma story to be allegorical. Rāma, they hold, symbolizes Aryan culture, and his expedition against Rāvaṇa represents the cultural domination of the southern regions by the Aryans. According to Wheeler, the epic symbolizes the conflict between Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism. Jacobi is one of those scholars who are of the opinion that this story is no allegory, but just an ancient Indian myth thus transformed into a massive narrative of earthly adventures. Monier Williams thinks that the story of the conflict between Rāma and Rāvaṇa contains a moral allegory. It seeks to typify the great mystery of the struggle ever going on between the forces of good and evil.

Some scholars have suggested that there is a philosophical allegory in the epic. Rāma and Sītā represent respectively Puruṣa and Prakṛti. Mārica, in the guise of a golden deer, is Māyā. Sītā, held in confinement by Rāvaṇa, is the lost human soul in the grip of illusion. Rāma’s search for her is the quest of the human soul by Puruṣa, the divine spirit. Sītā’s fire-ordeal symbolizes the redemption of Prakṛti from the taints of Māyā. Ultimately, both Puruṣa and Prakṛti enter into their original state*.

\(^{11}\) Ibid., II. 69. 8-11.

* Sri Ramakrishna imparted a new allegorical interpretation when he said: ‘Rāma, who is God Himself, was only two and a half cubits ahead of Lākṣmaṇa. But Lākṣmaṇa could not see Him, because Sītā stood between them. Lākṣmaṇa may be compared to the Jīva, and Sītā to Māyā. Man cannot see God on account of the barrier of Māyā.’ Vide Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna (tr.) by Swami Nikhilananda, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras, p. 101.

Swami Vivekananda said in the course of a conversation that Sri Rāma was the Paramātman
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

The epic is highly valuable in another respect. It seeks to hold out lofty ideals in the life of the individual, the family, and society; it also holds out high political and economic ideals. It is, in fact, an epitome of Indian civilization, for the highest spiritual and metaphysical ideals are also set forth, stressing the transience of life, so full of misery, and the eternal nature of the soul. While fate is recognized as extremely powerful, good actions and penances are stated to be the means of overcoming it. Complete surrender to God is laid down as the way to attaining the *sumnum bonum* of life, *mokṣa*. Verses 14-31 of the *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa* (chapter CV) are regarded as the *Gitā* within the epic.

ARTISTIC MERIT

In the view of some Western critics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a piece of literary art suffers from some defects, such as diffuseness, frequent use of hyperboles, and exaggerations. Frederick Rückert, for instance, who otherwise admits the intrinsic beauty and excellence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in comparison to the *Iliad*, describes it as a 'formless fermenting verbiage'. Such criticism appears too harsh to be justified. 'Verbiage' may be detected here and there in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but it can by no means be called 'formless'. As stated earlier, it has set the pattern of the later Sanskrit *kāvyā* in many respects, and matter is not the sole concern of the poet, the manner too counts very much with him. Besides, verbiage, hyperbole, exaggeration, diffuseness, etc. are natural in most poetical literature. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, therefore, could not be an exception. As Monier Williams puts it so beautifully, 'It (The *Rāmāyaṇa*) is like a spacious and delightful garden; here and there allowed to run wild, but teeming with fruits and flowers, watered by perennial streams, and even its most tangled jungle intersected with delightful pathways'. In fact, most of the artistic drawbacks of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are attributable to the later versifiers who added to, and altered the original production by Vālmīki. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, indeed, is a marvellous piece of art which India can legitimately be proud of. In the and that Sītā was the Jīvatman, and each man's or woman's body was the Laṅkā (Ceylon). The Jīvatman which was enclosed in the body, or captured in the island of Laṅkā, always desired to be in affinity with the Paramātman, or Śrī Rāma. But the Rākṣasas would not allow it, and Rākṣasas represented certain traits of character. For instance, Viśvāsena represented *sattva guṇa*; Rāvaṇa, *rajas*; and Kumbhakarṇa, *tamas*. *Sattva guṇa* means goodness; *rajas* means lust and passions, and *tamas* darkness, stupor, avarice, malice, and its concomitants. These guṇas keep back Sītā, or Jīvatman, which is in the body, or Laṅkā, from joining Paramātman, or Rāma. Sītā, thus imprisoned and trying to unite with her Lord, receives a visit from Hanūmān, the guru or divine teacher, who shows her the Lord's ring, which is *Brahma-jāma*, the supreme wisdom that destroys all illusions; and thus Sītā finds the way to be at one with Śrī Rāma, or, in other words, the Jīvatman finds itself one with the Paramātman. *Vide* Swami Vivekananda, *The Complete Works*, Vol. V, Advaita Ashrama, Calcutta, p. 415.—Ed.

14 *Cf. HIL*, op. cit.
THE GREAT EPICS

whole range of Sanskrit literature, there are very few poems more charming
than this one by the adikavi. "The classical purity, clearness, and simplicity of
its style, the exquisite touches of true poetic feeling with which it abounds,
its graphic descriptions of heroic incidents and nature’s grandest scenes, the
deep acquaintance it displays with the conflicting workings and most refined
emotions of the human heart, all entitle it to rank among the most beautiful
compositions that have appeared at any period or in any country."16

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

The kernel of the Mahābhārata story is briefly this: The Pāṇḍavas, headed
by Yudhīśthira, and the Kauravas, headed by Duryodhana, descended
from common ancestors. Duryodhana becomes jealous and, coveting the crown
invites Yudhīśthira to a game of dice. As the result of a rash wager,
Yudhīśthira loses his kingdom to Duryodhana and is then forced to go into
exile, together with his brothers and Draupadi, the common consort of the
Pāṇḍavas, for twelve years, followed by one year during which they must live
incognito. But even when the stipulated period is over, Duryodhana refuses
to give even a fraction of his territory to Yudhīśthira, the rightful owner.
A grim battle ensues. The Kauravas are routed and ruined, and the Pāṇḍavas
regain their lost kingdom.

LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS

The Mahābhārata has been characterized as a ‘whole literature’,16 a ‘reper-
tory of the whole of the old bard poetry of ancient India’.17 The nucleus of the
epic, as we have seen, is simple, but around this nucleus has gathered a diverse
mass of material dealing with innumerable topics—legendary, didactic, ethical,
heroic, aesthetic, philosophical, political, and so on. Of the legends, some are
califying and testify to the great literary skill of the author. This may be seen,
for example, in the legends of Nala and Damayanti, of Sāvitrī and Satyavān,
of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. Even a casual reader is struck by the wealth of
characters in the epic, and the way they have been so beautifully portrayed.
The composer is obviously a keen observer of human nature, and he can
depict a character with masterly skill. He knows the value of contrast, for he
shows how a good character shines brighter against a bad one. Each of the five
Pāṇḍava brothers has his own distinct traits of character. Yudhīśthira, the
eldest, never departs from the age-old path of virtue, however great his priva-
tion or humiliation, and however grave the provocation may be. Unflinching

16 Monier Williams, op. cit.
17 Cf. HIL, Vol. 1, p. 327. In the epic itself, it is described as Itihāsa (I. 2. 237), Artha-dāstra,
Dharma-dāstra, and Moksha-dāstra (I. 56. 21). Further on, it is told that whatever is in this epic
occurs elsewhere, but what is not therein will not be found anywhere else (I. 56. 33).
18 Cf. HIL, Vol. 1, p. 318,
in his devotion to dharma, he has an unshaken faith that dharma must ultimately triumph. Arjuna is the warrior par excellence. Bhīma, of tremendous physical vigour, is rather blunt and impatient; nevertheless, he is obedient to his eldest brother when he counsels patience and restraint. Nakula and Sahadeva are extremely loyal to their brothers and skilled in sword-exercise. Duryodhana is a designing and ambitious person. But he is well-versed in politics and statecraft and also in the art of warfare. Materialistic in outlook, he is concerned mainly with artha (wealth) and kāma (desire), and does not bother himself about dharma. He thus serves as an excellent foil to Yudhīśthīra. Karna, the faithful friend of Duryodhana, is a self-made man. Though contemptuously referred to as the ‘son of a charioteer’, he is a master of his craft, and in the art of warfare he can be matched only with Arjuna. His fidelity to the Kauravas, even after he learned of his close kinship with the Pāṇḍavas, is ideal. His charity even at tremendous personal sacrifice is proverbial.

The suffering caused by their enemies rouses the righteous wrath of Draupadī, the wife of the five Pāṇḍavas. Her speech⁰⁸ to spur the quiet Yudhīśthīra to action is fiery and imbued with the high Kṣatriya spirit. Gāndhārī, the mother of the Kauravas and wife of the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra, is similarly forthright. She condemns Dhṛtarāṣṭra as the one who is fully responsible for the rout and ruin of the Kauravas, thus clearly showing that she is not blinded by attachment to her husband or by affection for her sons. Her judgment is impartial and sound. Damayantī and Sāvitrī are models of chastity, ever solicitous of the welfare of their husbands for whose well-being no sacrifice is too great for them.

The dominant sentiment in the Mahābhārata is the heroic, but here too the pathetic sentiment is equally noteworthy. The battlefield is littered with corpses, some of them mutilated, others changed beyond recognition; the air is rent by the frantic wails of the bereaved women, in particular, of the aged queen-mother Gāndhārī, and the heart-rending laments of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Fate has afflicted him with blindness, and now, a forlorn father, he is doubly helpless. Such scenes cannot but draw forth the tears of the reader.¹⁹ The lament of Gāndhārī, is in fact a masterpiece of elegiac poetry. Some Indian critics, however, regard sāntarasā (the quietistic sentiment) as the central sentiment of the epic. They believe that, through its various episodes and incidents, the epic seeks to create in the mind of the reader an aversion to worldly pleasures.

The epic reveals the poet’s mastery of the art of description. The battle-scenes appear most vividly before our inward eye. The accounts of the forest life led by the Pāṇḍavas, the penances performed by Arjuna (III. 39), the svayamvara, self-choice, of Draupadī (I. 176-79), and many other such scenes

⁰⁸ Mbh., III. 28, 29, 31 and 33.
¹⁹ Ibid., XI.
are all equally graphic. The description of Dwaitavana (III. 25) with its wealth of flowers and foliage, birds and beasts, and its hermitages, reveals the poet’s eye for colour and his ear for music, and before the mind’s eye of the reader it presents an unforgettable idyll. The poet of the epic is, however, as aware of the violent aspects of nature as of the pleasant. A most realistic picture is presented of the devastating storm that confronted the Pandavas on their way to Mount Gandhamadana; the reader vividly sees the ravages caused by the storm as the rivers swell with the heavy rain.20

In general, the style is effortless. Unlike the writers of Sanskrit poems of the post-Kālidāsa period, particularly the decadent period, the composer of the epic is concerned more with matter than with manner. The long compounds, the difficult words, and the recondite allusions which disfigure the poetry of the age of decadence, are absent here. There is no attempt to use tour de force or to show off literary skill, verbal jugglery, etc. This absence of pedantry makes the epic eminently readable. However, a word is necessary regarding the so-called Vyāsa-kālas21 or difficult passages. There are, in places, passages containing sort of riddles. These do not impede the comprehension of the epic story in a general way, but they do constitute stumbling blocks to the serious reader.

The epic shows spontaneous use of figures of speech. Though the prevailing metre is anuvṛtī, which is common and most suitable in such a work, there occurs some metrical diversity also. The flowing ballad style of the epic conjures up the age of simplicity and reflects its popular character. Interest is also created by a mass of legends and the occasional inclusion of supernatural elements, such as the appearance of gods and their direct intervention in human affairs.

The epic contains beautiful imagery too. The mighty tree entwined by clusters of flowering creepers under which Yudhishṭhira with his brothers gathered, immediately reminds the poet of a huge mountain surrounded by leviathan elephants.22 Even in the philosophical Bhagavad-Gītā there are flashes of good imagery. Krṣṇa’s mouth is wide agape, and as the people enter into it, they are fancied as insects jumping into a burning flame to meet with certain doom.23 Again, the heroes of the world rushing into his flaming jaws are seen as so many currents of rivers flowing to merge into the

20 Ibid., III. 143.
21 The legend goes that when sage Vyāsa was about to dictate the epic to Ganesa, his amanuensis, he made it a condition that Ganesa was not to write a word without understanding the meaning of it. This was necessary because Ganesa, in turn, had agreed to write only on condition that Vyāsa would not falter or stop while giving the dictation. So the wise Vyāsa intentionally included these kālas because they would take Ganesa a long time to comprehend, and in the meantime the sage would get a breathing time to think of new passages.
23 B.G., XI. 29 (References to the Bhagavad-Gītā are according to the Nirmaya Sagar Press Edn., Bombay).
The effulgence of Viśvarūpa (the Lord’s universal form) assumed by Kṛṣṇa standing before the perplexed Arjuna, is conceived as the brilliant radiance of a thousand suns rising simultaneously. The description of the ocean in the Ādiparvan (I. 19) is a marvellously picturesque one. It is rich in detail, in colour, and in vividness. The imaginative touch also is very captivating. For example, the ocean with its huge billows and whirlpools is imagined to be dancing with arms, the waves, uplifted. The mighty rivers rush unto it with proud gait. It is as if the lovelorn ladies are coming eagerly to meet their beloved lord. At another place, the foam of the wavy sea is fancied to be its laughter (III. 102. 22). In describing the hermitage of Dadhiča (III. 98. 12-17), the epic poet refers to its heavenly calm and tranquillity where creatures which are by nature hostile to one another have now forgotten all enmity.

A noticeable feature of the love depicted in the epic is that it is sometimes motivated by material considerations rather than by the dictates of the heart. Śakuntalā, for example, is prepared to requite King Duśyanta’s love for her provided he promises to give the crown to her would-be son. Later, the king has no compunction in repudiating Śakuntalā in the royal court, probably in order to escape the calumny spreading among the people, and to escape, too, discord in the royal seraglio. Arjuna’s marriage with Citrāngadā is also a conditional one. Perhaps the age, rather than the poet, is responsible for such an attitude to life and love.

The conflict of emotions, common in life, has been described in the epic with great ingenuity. The prospect of war between Karna and the Pāṇḍavas, all of them being her sons, makes the heart of mother Kuntī tremble. She feels that, in this war, Arjuna is sure to be killed. A sense of shame, usual for a respectable lady like her, prevents her from disclosing to Karna that he is her son and, as such, he should avoid a fratricidal war. But the mother in her prevails upon her. After a wakeful night, she approaches Karna and divulges the closely-guarded secret. Karna is in a dilemma. He cannot desert Duryodhana, his saviour and patron. On the other hand, he should not slay his own brothers. Torn by these sentiments, he decides to fight on Duryodhana’s side but to a limited extent. He assures the worried mother that he would spare the four Pāṇḍava brothers and will encounter Arjuna alone; if Arjuna dies, Kuntī will have Karna as a son in his place; if Karna falls, Arjuna will continue enjoying her affection.

Some scholars have tried to find an allegory in the Mahābhārata. One has suggested that the Pāṇḍavas symbolize the seasons, and Draupadī (Kṛṣṇa) the dark earth possessed by five successive seasons. At times the seasons lose

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24 Ibid., 28.
25 Ibid., 12.
their wealth of lustre, as in the disastrous game of dice with Duryodhana when Kṛṣṇa is left with only a single garment, that is, the earth becomes denuded in winter. Another critic finds in Pāṇdu (literally pale or white) the name of a royal family of a white race that migrated into India from the north and was afterwards known as Arjuna (literally white). According to yet another scholar, the epic story is an account of the relationship and the conflict among the different systems of Hindu philosophy and religion.

The epic has been a veritable fount at which the people of India, and indeed, of all climes and times, have drunk deep in seeking to quench their insatiable thirst for the truth. The key to the universal popularity of the epic seems to lie in the fact that it has invaluable treasure to offer on three planes: the mundane, the ethical, and the metaphysical. On the mundane plane, it is a work of great art, transporting the reader to a new world vivified by intense imagination and masterly delineation. On the ethical plane, we find in it the eternal conflict between dharma and adharma, with dharma having temporary reverses but with the ultimate and inevitable triumph of good over evil. The Bhagavad-Gītā, the quintessence of the ethical teaching of the epic, teaches the philosophy of disinterested action, a philosophy highly prized by the wise of all ages and all lands. It also teaches us to practise samātva (equipoise) which, indeed, is the essence of Yoga. On the metaphysical plane, the epic demonstrates the ultimate Truth. And yet, in between all this, we find simple incidents which declare that the secret of the universal popularity of the epic is its tremendous human appeal—the actions of such noble characters as Yudhiṣṭhira and Karna, the exhortation of the hero-mother Vidulā to her cowardly son Saṇjaya to act like a true Kṣatriya (V. 131–134), or the sage counsel of Vidura to face the challenges of life with aplomb and dignity (II. 69; III. 6).

ARTISTIC MERIT

The Mahābhārata is not a homogeneous and unified work of art. It is as a whole, to quote Winternitz, ‘a literary monster’ containing so many and so multifarious things. It has also been characterized as a ‘jungle of poetry’. All this is true, yet it is a fact that the epic is ‘more suited than any other book to afford us an insight into the deepest depths of the soul of the Indian people’. The Brāhmaṇas utilized this popular epic as a medium for the propagation of their ideas among the people, ideas that were religious, philosophical, moral and ethical, political and economic. In doing this, they incorporated a mass of material, including legends and myths, into the corpus of the epic. Thus from the earliest times the epic literature did not emerge as an entity distinct from philosophy and moral and religious teaching. This accounts for the fact that,

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like the Rg-Veda and the Upanishads, the Mahābhārata contains beautiful poetry juxtaposed with philosophical or other topics which are, perhaps, to the ordinary reader, insipid and jejune. In the course of time, when the Buddhists assumed political power, they seized upon the popular Mahābhārata as a convenient tool for the dissemination of their doctrines and moral principles. The Jains, too, did not lose the opportunity to spread their doctrines among the masses through the framework of this popular epic. The epic thus underwent changes which have made it a medley of miscellaneous matters. It is not, however, amorphous, nor is it meaningless. It has the single purpose of upholding the glory of dharma and proclaiming the eternal value of peace and tranquillity in society.

While parts of the Mahābhārata contain profound wisdom and at the same time testify to the artistic skill of the composer, there are other portions which, as pieces of literature, are pedestrian. This phenomenon prompted Winternitz to say that if one has to believe that the epic is by one and the same hand, then it must be presumed that the author was at once a sage and an idiot, a finished writer and a wretched scribbler. But modern research has proved that the Mahābhārata is not one single poetic production at all; it is a literary complex. So the presence of portions of varying merits in one and the same work is not surprising. It is not fair to say that the Mahābhārata began as a simple epic but ended in 'monstrous chaos'.

THE EPICS: THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP

As has already been stated, the Rāmāyaṇa is the earlier of the two epics in their present forms. From the points of view of language and style, and also from their reflections of social conditions, however, it seems that the Mahābhārata, in its original form, preceded the Rāmāyaṇa in its original form. The language of the Rāmāyaṇa is more refined, and its style more polished and ornate than the old ballad style of the Mahābhārata. The characters depicted in the Mahābhārata are less sophisticated, in fact more rude and rough than those in the Rāmāyaṇa. For instance, in the Rāmāyaṇa, Sītā, even when her chastity and patience were put to the severest test at the hands of Rāvana or when she was banished by Rāma, did not forsake her quiet dignity. In the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, unrestrained emotion marks the utterances of Draupadi. The characters of Kauśalyā and Kaikeyi, in the Rāmāyaṇa, may be compared with those of the queens of classical Sanskrit literature; but Kuntī and Gāndhārī, in the Mahābhārata, are depicted as true hero-mothers of the heroic age. Another notable point of difference is in the descriptions of the battle-scenes. Unlike those in the Rāmāyaṇa, the battle-scenes in the Mahābhārata are so vivid that one feels they must have been witnessed by the author himself. According to some scholars,

all these differences between the two epics do not indicate a difference in age, but a difference in region; the epics are seen as representing two distinct regions. While the Mahābhārata mirrors the comparatively primitive society of western India, the Rāmāyaṇa represents the more refined society of the eastern region.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine to what extent, if at all, one epic influenced the other. Jacobi is of the opinion that the legend of the Mahābhārata became an epic under the influence of the Rāmāyaṇa. There is no incontrovertible evidence to support this view, but the occurrence of the Rāma story in the Mahābhārata, in the Vanaparvan (III. 258–75), does tend to lend countenance to it as a hypothesis. Yet it is not known for certain whether it was taken from the Rāmāyaṇa, or from an older Rāma saga. The possibility of its having been a later interpolation cannot also be ruled out. Moreover, this portion appears to be an inartistic abridgement of the Rāma story, and cannot have enhanced the literary value of the Mahābhārata.

The soliloquy of Sudeva (III. 65. 9–25) occurring in the Nala episode of the Mahābhārata (III. 50–78) resembles almost verbatim the longer one of Hanūmān in the Rāmāyaṇa (V. 15–17). It is difficult to decide which epic is the borrower. If we are to presume that the Rāmāyaṇa is the borrower, then the talents of the author of this artistic work have to be belittled. The fact that the passage fits into the context better in the Rāmāyaṇa than in the Mahābhārata has led some scholars to think that the Mahābhārata is the borrower.\textsuperscript{31} There is also the possibility that both the epics borrowed this portion from a common source. It may be mentioned here that the Nalopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata in twenty-eight chapters is a beautiful poem of love. It is indeed an epic within the epic and, as Schlegel says, it ‘can hardly be surpassed in pathos and ethos, in the enthralling force and tenderness of the sentiments.’\textsuperscript{32} Similarly, a portion of the Sahāparvan (chapter V) of the Mahābhārata has a counterpart in the Rāmāyaṇa, and it is likely that here, too, a common source inspired both the epics.\textsuperscript{33} A further case, in which the possibility of a common source cannot be entirely ruled out, is seen in some passages of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata (I. 60. 54–67) which are found almost verbatim in the Rāmāyaṇa (III. 14. 17–32).\textsuperscript{34} The question as to which is the borrower cannot be answered. Some eminent modern scholars think that the Rāmāyaṇa as an epic developed into its present form between the rise of the Mahābhārata legend and the establishment of the Mahābhārata epic; the transformation of the legend into the epic took, of course, several centuries.

\textsuperscript{31} Cf. V. S. Sukthankar, Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata, p. 412.


\textsuperscript{33} Cf. Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata, p. 413.

\textsuperscript{34} Cf. Ibid.
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There are almost identical passages in portions of the two epics. E. W. Hopkins has made some researches in this direction. But more remarkable is the resemblance between the two in some of their main episodes. For example, in both the epics, the heroes are to live in exile and that also for a similar duration; during the period of exile, the heroines are molested and taken away, Sītā by Rāvaṇa and Virādha, and Draupādi by Jayadratha and Jaṭāṣura. Again, both Sītā and Draupādi are given in marriage by svayamvara (self-choice) and in both the cases the deciding factor in the choice of the suitor is physical feat. Moreover, both Sītā and Draupādi are born miraculously.

CONCLUSION

Both the epics are essentially didactic and ethical in spirit. Hence they are regarded as Dharma-śāstras and Nīti-śāstras. They provide detailed guidelines for rulers, for statesmen, for law-givers, and for persons belonging to the four castes and stages of life. Both have tried to propagate the same message: It is virtue not vice, truth not falsehood, that ultimately wins and prevails. The pictures drawn in the epics of happiness, harmony, and understanding in the domestic and social spheres are ideal. Affection of the parents, loyalty of the brothers, love of the wives, obedience of the children, and so on, have an irresistible effect on the minds of the reader. 'Indeed,' observes Monier Williams, 'in depicting scenes of domestic affection, and expressing those universal feelings and emotions which belong to human nature in all time and in all places, Sanskrit epic poetry is unrivalled even by Greek Epos.' Verily, the epics reflect the national character of ancient India, her wisdom, her beauty, and her power. They are, therefore, aptly called India's 'national epics', India's 'pride and treasure'. Keeping in view the two other great epics of the world, the Iliad and the Odyssey, it can be said that as monuments of the human mind and as documents of human life and manners in ancient times, the Indian epics are no less interesting than their European counterparts. The life and literature of the Indian people beginning from the remote antiquity down to the modern times, have been largely influenced by these two great epics. In fact, the story of Rāma

26 Indian Wisdom, p. 439.
27 Cf. Ibid., p. 420.

* 'Rāma (is) the ancient idol of the heroic ages, the embodiment of truth, of morality... Sītā is unique... She is the very type of the true Indian woman.' Vide Swami Vivekananda, The Complete Works, Vol. III, p. 255. 'The internal conflicts between righteousness and filial affection in the mind of the god-fearing, yet feeble, old, blind King Dīrghatātra; the majestic character of the grandsire Bhiṣma; the noble and virtuous nature of the royal Yudhiṣṭhira, and of the other four brothers, as mighty in valour as in devotion and loyalty; the peerless character of Kṛṣṇa, unsurpassed in human wisdom; and not less brilliant, the characters of the women—the stately queen Gāndhārī, the loving mother Kunī, the ever-devoted and all-suffering Draupādi—these and hundreds of other characters of this Epic (the Mahābhārata) and those of the Rāmāyaṇa have been the
and many of the episodes of the *Mahābhārata* are stock-subjects, which appear over and over again in the later literature. Many paintings, and architectural and sculptural pieces have also been designed after the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* motifs. On epigraphs and coins also the influence of the epics is considerable. They became so popular and famous that they travelled far beyond the limits of India, to the countries in the west, north, south and south-east, and to a great extent moulded their art and literature.\(^3^8\)

cherished heritage of the whole Hindu world for the last several thousands of years and form the basis of their thoughts and of their moral and ethical ideas. In fact, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are the two encyclopaedias of the ancient Aryan life and wisdom, portraying an ideal civilization which humanity has yet to aspire after.\(^3^9\) \textit{Vide} Swami Vivekananda, \textit{The Complete Works}, Vol. IV, pp. 100-101.—Ed.

\(^3^8\) For a detailed study of the influence of the epics on the life and literature of India and abroad \textit{Vide} CHH, Vol. II, Part 1.
THE PURĀNAS

The Purāṇas are a very important branch of the Hindu sacred literature. They enable us to know the true import of the ethos, philosophy, and religion of the Vedas. They clothe with flesh and blood the bony framework of the Dharma-Sūtras and the Dharma-Śāstras. Without such a tabernacle of flesh and bone, the mere life-force of the Vedas cannot function with effect. It is, of course, equally clear that without such life-force the mere mass of flesh and bone will decay and crumble into dust. The Purāṇas relate to the whole of India so far as the historical portion therein is concerned and to the whole world so far as their ethical, philosophical, and religious portions are concerned.

The principal purpose of the present essay is to examine the Purāṇas from the positive traditional point of view and show how they explain the Vedas and how they have built up the national culture and inspired the national literature. But it will be of much use to know about the critical attitude of the West and the tenability or value thereof. H. H. Wilson's view that the Purāṇas were 'pious frauds written for temporary purposes in subservience to sectarian imposture' is as patently incorrect as it is blatantly unjust. Nor is it right to say that they are the expressions of a later and perverted Hinduism. These and other deprecatory opinions are based on insufficient knowledge and inadequate understanding and are as much opposed to truth as to tradition.

MEANING AND CHARACTERISTICS

The term puraṇa means that which lives from of old,¹ or that which is always new though it is old.² Works like Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Chāndogya Upaniṣad refer to itihāsa and puraṇa. But probably these two terms relate to the stories and parables contained in the Vedas themselves. The references in the Dharma-Sūtras, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and Kauṭilya's Arthasastra are, however, to the Purāṇas proper. The tradition is that sage Vyāsa compiled the Purāṇas and taught them to Lomaharṣaṇa who was a sūta, a professional bard and story-teller, and that Lomaharṣaṇa taught them to his six disciples. It is also said that the sūta is a person who is a non-Brahmin, the son of a Kṣatriya father and a Brahmin mother. Even if the reciter sūta was a non-Brahmin, what follows from it? The Purāṇas were written with the object of popularizing the truths taught in the Vedas by presenting them in relation to specific personages and to the events of their lives. Modern scholars,

¹ Vāyu, 1.202.
² Saṅkaracārya's commentary on the Bhagavad-Gītā, II. 20.
THE PURĀNAS

however, say that the Purāṇas must be the work of many minds of diverse times and that the name Vyāsa indicates a mere arranger and compiler. This postulation seems to have been justified by several of the Purāṇas themselves. For example, the Matsya Purāṇa\(^3\) says that Vyāsa arises in every dvāpara yuga to re-arrange the Purāṇas and give them to the world.

Some scholars find something tangible and important in the statement made in some of the Purāṇas (e.g. Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa\(^4\)) that the Purāṇas were heard by Brahmā even before the Vedas issued out of his four mouths. From this they infer that the Purāṇas were regarded as earlier productions than the Vedas. They forget that some affirmations are there only by way of praise. The statements were merely meant to extol the value of the Purāṇas and not to deride or decry the eternal, self-existent, and self-proved nature of the Vedas. The real function of the Purāṇas is to explain, illustrate, and amplify the Vedas.

In the Amarakoṣa,\(^5\) it is said that a Purāṇa should have five characteristics: sarga (primary creation), pratisarga (dissolution), vanśa (genealogies of gods, demons, patriarchs, sages, and kings), manvantaras (periods of different Manus), and vanśānucarita (histories of royal dynasties). This is affirmed in the Kūra Purāṇa (1.12) also. It seems that this description refers to the special and specific topics contained in the Purāṇas and does not in any way affect the truth that the main value of the Purāṇas consists in amplifying, enforcing, and illustrating the spiritual truths stated in the Vedas in the form of injunctions and commands. The teaching of the Vedas has been likened to masterly commands (prabhu-sammita) and that of the Purāṇas to friendly counsel (suhrā-sammita), and this is amply confirmed by the contents and delivery of these two classes of Brāhmaṇic literature. The five laksanās (characteristics) are found fully in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, and fully or partly in the other Purāṇas. It may be mentioned here that these five laksanās or characteristics are amplified in the Bhāgavata\(^6\) and the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas\(^7\) into ten. But the classification into five laksanās by Amarasiṅha is the most usual, widespread, and important.

The Purāṇas then proceed to describe the historic evolution of the human destiny in the course of unfoldment of time. The four Yugas (ages of the world), viz. kṛta (satya), tretā, dvāpara and kali; the mahāyugas or the manvantaras; and the kalpas are described to illustrate the eternal cycle of the creation, destruction, and re-creation of the world, which constitutes a fundamental concept in all the Purāṇas.

\(^3\) LIII. 8-10.
\(^4\) 1.58; see also Mat. LIII. 3.
\(^5\) A famous Sanskrit lexicon (c. sixth century A.D.).
\(^6\) XII. 7. 9-10.
\(^7\) IV. 131. 6-10.
Much has been made of the sectarian and contradictory character of the Purāṇas and consequently an impression of rivalry and even of enmity has been adumbrated between Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. In the Vedas no such rivalry is stated at all. As the Purāṇas merely illustrate and amplify the Vedic truths, they could not have asserted any gradation among the Trimūrti (the Trinity). The Trinity is really and essentially one divinity with three divine forms associated with the three cosmic functions, viz. creation, preservation, and destruction. A careful study of the different Purāṇas, however, enables us to deduce that they had no real pugnacity in them.

The fact is that each Purāṇa has preferences, but no exclusions, in regard to the gods. Whether we call a Purāṇa a Śaiva Purāṇa or a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa, we find references to the Itilās (exploits) of various gods in each of them. For the purpose of intensifying devotion to one god, he is described as the supreme, but this does not mean a denial of godhood to the other gods. In the Brahma Purāṇa,9 Viṣṇu teaches Mārkaṇḍeya that he is identical with Śiva. The Padma Purāṇa9 says in express terms: ‘Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara, though three in form, are one entity. There is no difference among the three except that of attributes.’ The Vāyu Purāṇa10 says that he who affirms superiority and inferiority among the gods is an ignorant fellow and that he who realizes their oneness is a man of true knowledge. The story of Atri’s penance as described in the Bhāgavata (IV. 1. 17–29) clearly proves the same truth. We find it stated in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa11 that ‘The Bhagavān Viṣṇu, though one, assumes the three forms of Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahmā), Hari (Viṣṇu), and Śaṅkara (Śiva) for creation, preservation, and destruction of the world respectively.’ Again in the same Purāṇa12 the identity of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmi with Śiva and Gauri is affirmed. The fact is that each of the functions of creation, preservation and destruction implies the others and contains the others in a latent form. The Vedas and the Purāṇas affirm only one God, call Him by any name you like. Some Purāṇas affirm the origin of Viṣṇu and Brahmā from Śiva. Others affirm the causa causans to Viṣṇu. We can easily see the significance of this apparent variation. The one God conceived in His pre-tripartite state is described as the parent of Himself in His tripartite capacity.

CONTENTS

The principal (Mahā) Purāṇas are eighteen in number, viz. Brahma, Padma, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Nāradaśya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Agni, Bhavisya, Brahmavaivarta, Liṅga, Varāha, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuḍa and Brahmāṇḍa. Some-

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9 LVI. 69-71.
8 Cf. I. 2. 113-116; 7. 28.
10 Cf. LXVI. 108-117.
11 I. 2. 1-2.
12 Ibid., I. 8. 21.
times Vāyu Purāṇa is substituted for Śiva Purāṇa in the list. There are also eighteen secondary (Upa) Purāṇas but their names vary in different accounts.

It is, however, not possible to give here a résumé of the contents of all the Purāṇas. These contain about 4,00,000 verses on the whole and relate to a vast variety of topics. It may be mentioned for the benefit of those who wish to know briefly the contents of the Purāṇas, that the Matsya Purāṇa gives a short summary of them. A brief summary of six different Purāṇas is given here to show how they really speak with one voice and help us understand the true import of the Vedas and how they show that they are the basis on which the fabric of modern Hinduism rests.

In the Brahma Purāṇa we find at the beginning a description of creation. It is stated to be caused by Viṣṇu, who is described as being one with Brahmā and Śiva. The Purāṇa then describes the oldest Manu (Śvāyambhuva Manu), his wife Satarūpā and the Prajāpatis or patriarchs. The successive manvantaras are also described. The Purāṇa then speaks of the various continents (dīpas) of the earth and also the nether regions (pātāla) and the upper regions (svarga). It next deals with the sacred places of India, especially Utkala (Orissa) and the worship of the Sun there, as well as the Ekāmra forest which is the favourite abode of Śiva. We have got also a detailed account of Dakṣa’s sacrifice and the passing away of Satī and the birth and marriage of Umā. There is also a description of Purī of Jagannāth. The Purāṇa then proceeds to describe Viṣṇu’s teaching to Mārkaṇḍeya that he is one with Śiva and that he pervades all things. It then tells of Śrī Kṛṣṇa’s life and doings. Next come the śrāddhas (obsequial rites) and the importance of the ekādaśi vrata. Then follow the yugas (ages) and the pralaya (dissolution) of the world, the nature of Yoga and Śāṅkhya (systems of philosophy), and mukti (liberation) by attaining oneness with Vāsudeva. The Purāṇa has also an uttara-khaṇḍa or supplementary portion, describing the stories connected with Brahmā including his propitiation of Śiva.

The Padma Purāṇa has five parts. The first part, i.e. sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, tells how Brahmā was born in the padma (lotus). It then describes creation according to the Śāṅkhya terminology. Its speciality is that Brahmā is given a prominence which is absent in the other Purāṇas. It also extols the supremacy of Viṣṇu. After treating the divisions of time from an instant to the life span of Brahmā, it speaks of the Prajāpatis, Rudras, and Manuś. It states the importance of śrāddhas, especially at Gayā. It describes the lunar dynasty more elaborately than the solar. This part also dwells upon various vrata-s or observances of vows at length. The second part or bhūmi-khaṇḍa describes the lives of Prahlāda and Vṛtrāsura as also of Vena and Pṛthu. It then proceeds to enumerate the human embodiments of holiness (jāṅgama tīrthas, i.e. the parents and the gurus)
and the sacred shrines (sthabara tirthas, i.e. places of pilgrimage) at Mahakala, Prabhasha, Kuruksetra, etc. The third or swarga-khanḍa tells of the upper spheres inhabited by the gods, in the course of King Bharata's ascent to Vaikuntha (abode of Visnu) beyond Dhruva-mandala (the sphere of the Pole Star). It then describes the four varnas (castes) and the four āśramas (stages of life) and their duties as well as karma-yoga and jñāna-yoga. The fourth or pāṭalā-khanḍa speaks of the nether regions. It also narrates in detail the exploits of the kings of the solar dynasty. The Bhāgavata is extolled in this part as the last and the best of the Puranas. The last part of the Purana is the uttara-khanḍa, which deals with the story of Jālandhara. It praises the mantra (hymn), 'Om Lakṣmi-nārāyaṇābhyāmi namah' as the greatest of all mantras, and says that it can be taught to all classes including the Śudras and women after dikṣā (initiation). It describes also the para, vyāha, and vibhava aspects of Viṣṇu, and emphasizes the special sanctity of the month of kārttika and of ekādaśi. It also discusses kriyā-yoga, which deals with practical devotion as distinct from dhāyaṇa-yoga or the path of contemplation.

The Viṣṇu Purana was narrated by Parāśara to his pupil Maitreya. It is divided into six parts, each of which is subdivided into many chapters. The first part gives an account of creation, which is attributed to Puruṣa and Prakṛti. Viṣṇu, who is Paramātman, desired to create the universe so that the souls might perform their karma (work) and attain mokṣa (salvation) by means of God-realization. Creation is due to His mercy (kṛpā) and is His sport (līlā). Then follow accounts of the avatāra (incarnation) of Lord Viṣṇu as varāha (boar), of the Svāyambhuva-maṇvantara, of the Prajāpatis (lords of creation), of the churning of the ocean which yielded nectar (amṛta), and of the life of Dhruva who, by his devotion to Viṣṇu, was lifted to the supreme height of the Dhruva-mandala. Dhruva's descendants are then described. The power of faith in Viṣṇu, however, finds its most magnificent expression in the legend of Prahlāda. The second part describes the earth and the nether worlds, and the courses of the planets. The third speaks of the Manus, the Indras, the gods, the sages and the Vyāsas (compilers). The fourth deals with the genealogies of the kings of the solar and the lunar dynasty, and brings them up to the kaliyuga, among whom are included the Magadha and Andhra kings and even later ones. The fifth part describes the life of Kṛṣṇa. The last part is philosophical and teaches how devotion to Lord Viṣṇu is the means to the attainment of beatitude.

The Brahmavaivarta Purana in four parts gives a detailed description of Śri Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā whose supreme abode is in Goloka. Śri Kṛṣṇa is stated to be the supreme divine Principle from whom have come Prakṛti, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. The first part (Brahma-khanḍa) presents an account of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) and Śiva emerging from the right and left sides of Kṛṣṇa and Brahmā from His navel. Rādhā emerges from the left side of the Lord. The gopas and
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gopedi come from Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā respectively. Brahmā then proceeds to create the ordinary universe. The second part or Prakṛti-khaṇḍa describes the evolution of Prakṛti according to the Sāṁkhya school of thought, but affirms that it is under the control of Īśvara and is his sakti (power). Sakti has five aspects: Rādhā, Durgā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, and Sāvitri. She has innumerable minor aspects as well. The third part or Gaṇeṣa-khaṇḍa is devoted to the birth and exploits of Gaṇeṣa. The last part or Śrī Kṛṣṇa-janma-khaṇḍa deals with the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The meeting of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and their union form the theme of a most remarkable and picturesque poetic description in this part.

The Vāyu Purāṇa largely emphasizes the worship of Śiva. It has been mentioned earlier that in some of the lists of the main Purāṇas the place of Vāyu Purāṇa is sometimes taken by the Śiva Purāṇa. The two works, as now extant, are separate. The Vāyu Purāṇa is divided into two khaṇḍas (parts) and four pādas (quarters), and gives the story of creation, the history of the kings of the solar and the lunar dynasty, the description of the four yugas and fourteen manvantaras, and so on. It is worthy of note that this Purāṇa also contains accounts of the actions of Viṣṇu for the good of the world. Expositions of the Advaita system of thought are also to be found in this Purāṇa.

In the Agni Purāṇa, the emphasis is on the glory of Śiva, but descriptions of the glories of Viṣṇu also occur. It contains, in addition, a detailed account of political science, law, judicature, medicine, and rhetoric.

The foregoing survey of the six important and typical Purāṇas shows their method of treatment and their aim and content. It is seen that their main object, their very life, is to amplify the Vedic injunctions about morality and spirituality. They form in a way the kindergarten of the uprising soul which grows into fulfilment by means of Brahma-vidyā (knowledge of the supreme Spirit). They give us lessons in pure pravṛtti (enjoyment) and niyṛtti (renunciation) and make us fit for the ascent towards, and realization of, the highest spiritual truths taught in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads.

ASSESSMENT

It has been shown that the Purāṇas are viewed by early Indian tradition from two standpoints. One is the upabrāhmaṇa theory of Manu: they illustrate and amplify the Vedic truths. The other is the pañca-lakṣaṇa theory of Amarasimha: they deal with the five topics stated earlier. Manu’s view stresses the real essence of the Purāṇas, whereas Amarasimha’s view relates to their external aspects. The description of creation and its dissolution is only to affirm and declare the glory of God, while the account of the lives of divine incarnations, sages, and kings is only to illustrate and inculcate moral and religious principles.

14 The cowherds and milkmaids of Vṛndāvana.
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Whatever may be the approach, it is clear that the Purāṇas are a vital portion of the scriptures of the Hindus. They are primarily an extension, amplification, and illustration in a popular manner of the spiritual truths declared in the Vedas. The Purāṇas have, in fact, been described by the Upaniṣads as the fifth Veda and by the Smṛtis as the very exposition of what the Vedic seers realized. Outsiders may call them legends like the works of fiction current today. Some Indians too may regard them in a similar way. But the bulk of the Hindus and the main body of traditional opinion attribute to the Purāṇas a double character, namely: their illustrative value and impressive actuality. They reflect in meticulous details contemporary life and thought and have largely moulded public life, belief, conduct, and ideal in India for centuries and have contributed a great deal in bringing about religious harmony and understanding amongst the diverse sections of the Hindu society. As a Western scholar has observed, ‘the Purāṇas afford us far greater insight into all aspects and phases of Hinduism—its mythology, its idol-worship, its superstitions, its festivals and ceremonies and its ethics, than any other works.’ It will not be fair to regard the Purāṇas as a mere mass of legends and the characters depicted in them as just creations of the poet’s imagination. Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, for instance, are still believed by millions of Hindus as actual human beings who walked the earth veiling their supreme glory and this faith is a part and parcel of their very existence.

The Purāṇas, by modern standards, may not be considered technically very happy as literary productions. But it must be remembered, while assessing their literary merit, that they are primarily of a didactic and liturgical character and have, therefore, a greater religious interest than literary. Besides, they have undergone numerous editions, transcriptions, and revisions in different periods of history. Lack of thematic and structural homogeneity, and of concentration and proportion, versification of a mixed character, weak vocabulary, fantastic details, etc. have, therefore, been some of the inevitable results. Yet, there are many passages in the Purāṇas which contain profound thought and wisdom and delineate moments of supreme human emotion. There are also instances of rare mastery in descriptive art.

Stotras or devotional hymns abound in the Purāṇas. From the stylistic and metrical points of view, they will be found interesting even to a modern reader. Most of these hymns are rich in philosophical or ritualistic contents. At the same time, ‘the intensity of devout feeling’, and ‘the elevated mood of prayer and worship’ expressed in them very often lift them ‘to the level of charming poetic utterance’. Mention may be made here of Pradoṣa-stotṛāstaka in the Skanda

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18 Vide Vāyu. 1.200.  
17 S. K. De, Aspects of Sanskrit Literature, p. 113.
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Purāṇa, the hymns addressed to Śiva by Asita and Himālaya in the Brahma-
vaivarta Purāṇa, and so on.

The Purāṇas have exercised a powerful influence on the subsequent literary
productions. The later poets and dramatists repeatedly turned to them for theme
and even for style. Historians have discovered in them a chronicle of pre-
historic ages; commentators have considered them as an inexhaustible treasure-
house; and law-givers have referred to them as works of dependable authority.
Thus, the Purāṇas are immensely helpful in tracing the evolution of ancient
Indian thought and culture in all their aspects.
THE Dharma-śāstras as a class of literature represent the efforts of successive generations to adjust human behaviour to a just and valid norm. Dharma as a concept is very wide and comprehensive. It stands for the self-sufficient principle of ordering harmony—the great rationalizer. The term is derived from the root ‘dhr’ signifying that it ‘upholds’ and ‘sustains’ humanity in all its coherence. It is saturated with the notion of truth and righteousness. By reason of its integrating civil, moral and spiritual values, it supplies the basic impetus for human development towards higher and higher possibilities. It is a scheme of regulation which, with its countless norms and precepts and all that it deems sound and serviceable, is sought to be integrated in the values and perspectives of man’s total career. Accordingly, dharma as a content of the Dharma-śāstras involves the things of the body, mind, intellect and soul in myriads of interests and values, and there is an inevitable mixing up of secular and empirical matters with those that are purely ethical and spiritual. The writers of the Dharma-śāstras were alive to this comprehensive character of dharma, for they knew that problems of life could not artificially be kept apart. They must meet at a point. This accounts for the wide connotation ascribed to dharma.

According to Indian belief, human good consists in dharma which is the geyser of the sustaining and forward-tending force of life. It induces a strong conviction that man, abiding by its tenets, conforms to the most efficient ways of ‘right doing’ and ‘right living’. The ordering of human relations, according to this view, assumes momentous significance in terms of ‘duty’. It fosters the process of rhythmic advance towards progress and prosperity (abhyudaya) as its own reward. It registers a sense of ‘must’ for the development of one’s potentiality. Duty is not a tyrant, but a symbol of dignity to be discharged with affirmative joy. The realization of this vast perspective is assured in the Dharma-śāstras by the wonderful scheme of co-ordination of conduct adapted to different conditions, status and stations of life.

Our culture seems to have proceeded from the initial elan of ‘duty’ in which lies the ultimate guarantee of ‘right’, while the reverse has possibly been the

1 In this article, a brief survey of the important literature on Dharma-śāstras is presented. For a detailed study on the subject please refer to the second volume of this series (CHI), The Dharma-śāstras, Part IV, pp. 301-448.

2 ‘dharanād dharmaṁ iṣṭāhur dharmaḥ dhārayati praiṣāḥ’—Mbh., Karna-parvan (49. 50). Cf. also ‘dharma viśvaśya praiṣāḥ’—Mahānārāyanā Upaniṣad, 22.1.
process of culture in the West. In the words of Manu (II.5): 'He who persists in discharging duties in the right manner obtains, even in this world, fulfilment of all desires he may have cherished, and reaches deathless state (in life beyond').

The scheme of the *varga* and *āśrama* rules of conduct as ordained in the Dharma-śāstras makes it significant that 'religion in India is not a dogma, but a working hypothesis of human conduct adapted to different stages of spiritual developments and different conditions of life'. The object of religion is to help an all-round development of life, and its sphere extends not merely to this life but to the life hereafter. The broad understanding of human relations under this scheme leads to harmony by reconciling conflicting claims, social and the individual, as well as the real and the ideal. In this wider sense, dharma constitutes the basic concept of civil and religious law in the Indian tradition, and the Dharma-śāstras deal with it in all its aspects.

THE SOURCES OF DHARMA

In respect of the sources of law, we should not ignore the difference between the conditions in the ancient times and those prevailing during the period of recorded history. The modern jurist sees around him a world ruled by law imposed by the will of the State. It is either openly declared in a precept or command or tacitly recognized in custom. To Austin and his followers, political sovereignty is the ultimate source of law. Looking at law purely from Austin's angle of view, J. H. Nelson raised the question: 'Has such a thing as Hindu Law at any time existed in the world? Or is it that Hindu Law is a mere phantom of the brain imagined by Sanskritists without law and lawyers without Sanskrit?' Obsessed as he was by the modern notion of law and sovereignty, he could not bring himself to believe that law had at any time been known to the people of India. But such a view of law is a part of the narrow world of ideas and is itself a modern growth to meet only a special exigency of social evolution. Such a conception of law and political sovereignty might not have an occasion for its growth in ancient India. But that does not mean the absence of law and order in ancient Indian society. 'Law which is the sum of the conditions of social co-existence with regard to the activity of the community and of the individual', to quote an authority, 'did not always in its concrete form present itself as the will of the State'. The recognition of the existence of law in the sphere of human intercourse is inherent in man's nature itself.

The notion of culture presupposes a mind—a highly developed faculty of the 'super-organic' universe as Herbert Spencer calls it. Law-norms are meaning-

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ful components of values. Whether they form part of religion, ethics, beliefs, manners and convictions, there has never been over the globe any human society without law. According to Professor Ehrlick, 6 'the centre of gravity of legal development was not in legislation, nor in juristic science nor in judicial decision, but in society itself', and that law is 'something much wider than legal regulation.' Cicero maintains 'that law is the highest reason implanted in Nature which commands those things which ought to be done and prohibits the reverse. The highest law was born in all ages before any law was written or the State was formed. It arose with the mind of God.' 7 The earliest form in which this authority theory of law manifests itself is that of a belief in a divinely ordained body of rules. In India it manifests itself in the belief nursed by tradition that the Veda is the embodiment of the fundamental knowledge of dharma par excellence. It is said to be the infallible source of the highest reason, antecedent to all human experience, and, accordingly, free from human imperfections of any kind whatsoever. This idea lies at the root of the interpretation of dharma as propounded in the Mimāmsā. 8

The Mimāmsā theory has been greatly responsible for a reverential attitude to Law. 9 Law is said to be ingrained in the highest reason directing realization of the highest purpose. The idea of creation pre-supposes the existence of a supreme thinker or at least a supreme system of thought to regulate the scheme of cosmic evolution. The Veda stands for that fundamental knowledge. Manu 10 observes: 'In the beginning, He (the Lord) assigned several names, actions and conditions to all (created beings) even according to the words of the Veda.' Fundamental laws are conceived to have emanated from an authority higher than human agencies. The consciousness of dependence upon the highest cosmic power that controls nature and life is at the root of this belief. From this standpoint, a society is not merely the product of a humanly designed legal system. On the other hand, law is viewed as supreme and believed to have come from above as an efficient power, and there alone the forces—moral, legal, and highly spiritual—are conceived to unfold themselves, attaining full strength and vigour. The Mimāmsā system of thought links law with a vast cosmic design which is transcendental, and of eternal sanctity.

The true knowledge of dharma, according to the Indian conception, is derived from the Veda which is apauruseya, 11 free from interference of any

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6 Fundamental Principles of the Sociology of Law, Foreword.
7 Quoted by Thomas Holland, The Elements of Jurisprudence, 1924, p. 33.
8 'Codandiksyana'rtha dharmah'—Jai. S., 1.1.2. See also Šabarabhāṣya on it.
9 See for discussion present author's article entitled Incarnation of Law from Mimāmsā Standpoint, published in Charudev Shastri Felicitation Volume, New Delhi, 1974, p. 354, ff. See also The Hindu Conception of Law, Calcutta Review, November, 1938.
10 I. 21: Sarvepam tu sa nāmāni karmāni ca prthuk prthak, Vedalabdebya evvau prthaksanāsthāca nirnaha.
11 Jai. S., 1. 1. 27-32.
personal being. In other words, it is immune from the influence of any kind whatsoever, whether of God or man. Its other name is śruti signifying that it was heard by the sages in the supernatural stage of their inspiration. Observance of the duty of maintaining dharma by both gods and men including earthly sovereigns would ensure the upholding of the majesty of law, which is held to be just and true and supreme in authority.

Our traditions involve veneration for the authority of law to restrain us from the danger of excessive human reasoning which, if let loose, may lead humanity back to grave anarchy. To us law or dharma is not the purposeless command of a wilful God or wilful human despot, nor is it left to the mercy of historical accidents and shifting currents and prejudices of social opinion, but is held as eternally sacred, salutary and valid.

But this rigid aspect of law has not ruled out the possibility that it is also susceptible to change. The cultural history of India bears ample evidence to show that law grows as the nation grows. Law is eternal in the sense that the leading principle or ideal is ingrained in the highest reason and the highest purpose, and in theory, the Veda is acclaimed to be the repository of the immutable law. The other source of law derives its authoritative force only by its affiliation to that fundamental source. The Smṛti came to be recognized as a secondary source only on the hypothesis that it is based on the Śruti. Jaimini, the founder of Mīmāṁsā, enunciates that the Smṛtis having been compiled by sages who were the repositories of the revelation, there arises an inference that they were founded on the Śruti and should, therefore, be regarded as authoritative. The Smṛti represents the systematized memories of the Vedic revelations which are otherwise lost to us. This affords an ingenious explanation as to how in the Indian tradition the legitimate scope of adjustment to the new changes could be admitted without affecting the rigid and eternal character of law. The laws derived from the memories of the Vedic traditions are preserved in the Smṛti as the recorded wisdom of old. The Smṛti is called dharma-śāstra: Śrutis tu vedo vijñaye dharmasāstrāṁ tu vai śṛṭih. In fact, it is the Smṛtis or Dharma-śāstras which became the positive guide for the history of civil and religious law in India. As a system, dharma is the precursor of the latest legal and ethical developments among the Greeks and Romans; it also anticipates many a future century of normative thought and jurisprudence. Law here appears as an ever-present part of a perennial stream of the fundamental philosophy of life and action.

14 Cf. Manus., II, 7 Sa suro'bhikto Veda.
15 Manus., II, 10.
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ORIGIN OF THE DHARMA-SŪTRAS AND THE DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS

Whatever be the theory about the inviolable authority of the Vedas as the source of dharma, Vedic literature does not supply the systematized content of the civil and the canonical law except by way of incidental references. Towards the close of the era of the Vedic literature, there evolved a characteristic trend of composition called sūtra which is noted for its extremely compressed prose style—a brevity unparalleled in the literature of the world. During this period, sūtras became the vehicle of literary expression as an aid to memory on matters of diverse interest which were in a large measure connected with Vedic tradition. It is in the Sūtra period that the rudiments of canonical and secular laws derived from old traditions and established usages were accorded recognition for treatment in one of the branches of the Sūtra literature.

Connected with the Vedic tradition, as many as six branches of the Sūtras called Vedāṅgas sprang into existence of which the Kalpa-Sūtra, dealing with rituals, is directly concerned with dharma. Kalpa-Sūtra is divided into three branches called Śrauta, Grhyya, and Dharma. The Vedic sacrificial rites form the subject-matter of the Śrauta-Sūtra. The domestic rites and household ceremonies to be performed at the domestic fire are dealt with in the Grhyya-Sūtra. The content of the Grhyya-Sūtra is large enough. It furnishes instructions chiefly on matters of sacrifices and ceremonies called saṁskāras which are to be performed at different stages of life. Such sacramental ceremonies add a gleam of sanctity to life. They help the development of the potentiality in the body, mind and intellect of an individual from his conception right up to death and even beyond. The Grhyya-Sūtras are more intimately connected with the third section of the Kalpa-Sūtra, called Dharma-Sūtras; for the Grhya and the Dharma-Sūtras are smṛta sūtras (based on recollected traditions), while the Śrauta-Sūtras are directly based on the Śrutī. The Dharma-Sūtras appear to have been evolved as an extension of the Grhyya-Sūtras or household-aphorisms. They contain a large body of the sprawling norms and precepts governing the conduct of people in different stations and stages of life. As to the growth of the Dharma-Sūtra, Keith 17 observes: 'It was perfectly natural that when sūtras began to be composed on matters of ritual, there should be adopted the practice of including in these texts instructions on matters closely akin to ritual, the daily life of the people, their duties of all kinds, including matters which more advanced civilization would classify as questions of etiquette and social usage, moral, legal or religious.' Such rules, of course, included regulation of all issues affecting varṇa (caste) and āśrama (order of life) and the texts of the Dharma-Sūtras served as the rudimentary manuals of both secular and religious law.

17 A. B. Keith: HSL, p. 437.
The Dharma-Sūtras were composed in prose of compact and compressed style, the language of which mostly approached Pāṇinian standard, though Vedic archaisms were not wanting. But prose sūtras were sometimes interspersed with verses in anuṣṭubh or tristubh metre to emphasize a doctrine or sum up a point impressively. They deal with diverse rules of dharma, which comprise right, duty, custom, usage, law, morality, religion, etc. Law here emerges as an associate phenomenon of religion, and as such, sacraments (saṃskāras) occupy an important place as a topic of the Dharma-sāstras. Their connection with socio-religious ideas is obvious, though their purpose is not sufficiently explained by our authorities.

We are not definite as to when exactly the Dharma-sāstras began to be composed for the first time. Yāska’s reference in the Nirukta (III. 4.8-10) to earlier controversies about the legal issue of inheritance and his reliance on a verse called śloka as distinguished from a ṛk, gives us the clue to the pre-existence of works dealing with the content of dharma in the slōka metre. Patañjali (second century B.C.) recognizes the authority of the Dharma-Sūtras as next to the commandment of God. All this establishes beyond doubt the existence of the literary tradition of the Dharma-sāstras even before 600 B.C.

A brief outline of the contents of the Dharma-Sūtras which also fall within the class of the Dharma-sāstras is indicated below. These include the sources of dharma, the rights and duties of the four varṇas and four āśramas, various saṃskāras including upanayana (investiture with the sacred thread) for the twice-born and vivāha (marriage), the vocations of the four varṇas, the duties of the king, the administration of justice, topics of legal dispute (for example, debts, deposit, ownership, inheritance and partition, witnesses and other items of evidence, offences and their punishment etc.), rights and duties of women, kinds of sons and their status, āśuca (temporary spiritual impurity on birth, death, and on other grounds), śrāddha (obsequial rites), sins and their expiations, etc.

18 For the different branches of the Kalpa-Sūtra, see Winternitz, HIL, Vol. I, Sec. I (1972), pp. 271 ff.
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The Dharma-Sūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Āpastamba are considered to be the most ancient. Of these, Gautama’s text presents an appearance of a regular Dharma-Sūtra. Its language corresponds to the Pāṇinian standard more than that of the other two Dharma-Sūtras. It may be due to its later remodelling. The two other Dharma-Sūtras show much of archaism in language. Some of the sūtras of the Hiranyakesī Dharma-Sūtra are distinguished by the smoothness of classical Sanskrit. The Vasiṣṭha Dharma-Sūtra contains sūtras largely mixed up with verses, and some chapters are entirely in verse. Its style agrees with that of Gautama. Some of the verses introduced by the words atkāpyudāharanti and also other verses not so introduced are in upajāti, indraavajrā or upendraavajrā metre. Some are in triṣṭubh (VI. 3 and 30; VIII. 17; XVIII. 71). Vasiṣṭha refers to the views of Manu of which some are put in prose. Some scholars take them to be reminiscent of the Māṇava Dharma-Sūtra from which the extant Manu Sanhitā is said to have been redacted as a metrical text. P. V. Kane, however, sees in them reference to the view of an early version of the metrical Smṛti as adapted in prose by Vasiṣṭha, but not to the Māṇava Dharma-Sūtra whose existence is merely hypothetical. The Viṣṇu Dharma-Sūtra is an extensive Sūtra work in both prose and verse. Its verses are mostly in anusṭubh. But some verses are in the classical indraavajrā and the upajāti metres, while a few are in triṣṭubh. Its style is simple and easy.

LAW AND PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE IN THE DHARMA-SŪTRAS

Leaving aside some minor Dharma-Sūtras, let us discuss some of the valuable pronouncements of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and Vasiṣṭha on law and the philosophy of life.

Sketching out the sources of law, Gautama proceeds to enumerate diverse rules of conduct, which, if carried out, will lead to the preservation of social harmony. This is considered to be the end of law. It was believed that through the security of the existing institutions of varṇa and āśrama, harmony could be maintained. Most of the Dharma-śāstra writers endeavoured to base their theories on ‘welfare’ and ‘utility’, but their notions of welfare and utility were conceived in terms of not only worldly advantage, but also in association with the idea of self-sufficiency and salvation in the world beyond. These sūtrakātras set on ‘welfare hereafter’ the highest prize of life. The doctrines preached by

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22 Vas. Dh. S., XXV-XXVIII.
23 Ibid., I. 38, X. 20; VI. 9, 25; X. 17; XVI. 36.
24 Ibid., IV. 9-8.
26 H. Dh., Vol. 1, pp. 55-57.
28 Viṣṇu. Dh. S., 23. 61; also 59. 30.
them are rather *eudaemonic* and *utilitarian*. Gautama\(^{30}\) characteristically says: ‘People devoted to the practice of their respective duties of *varṇa* and *āśrama* reap after death the consequences of their own deeds, and then from the remainder of their merit—take (next) birth accordingly’ (11.29), and ‘those who act in a contrary manner perish’ (11.30). The knowledge of *dharma*, according to Vasiṣṭha,\(^{31}\) leads to the highest good. By this one becomes most commendable in this world, and after death attains heaven.\(^{32}\) Gautama\(^{33}\) raises a very pertinent question as to whether one should perform any penance at all for a wrong, since the effect of no deed perishes without being experienced in the physical world. If in the moral or spiritual world, too, there is nothing to distinguish the process from the order of the physical phenomenon, penances will be futile to set the wrong aright. But Gautama, after all, discards the doctrine of eternal damnation and gives verdict in favour of penance on the authority of the Vedic revelation which declares the efficacy of such penance. It is to be noted that expiatory is an attribute of mature law,\(^{34}\) and in the treatises of Dharma-śāstras, expiation plays an important role for moral rehabilitation.

Next we refer to the views of Gautama\(^{35}\) and Baudhāyana\(^{36}\) as to the mode of deciding the law in cases not provided for. In such cases that course should be followed which an assembly (*pariṣad*), consisting of at least ten persons, well-instructed, skilled in reasoning, and free from covetousness, approves. Such an assembly should include three persons belonging to the three orders, namely, those of *brahmācārin*, *gṛhaṅga*, and *bhikṣu*. According to Baudhāyana, it is on the failure of the *śiṣṭas* (enlightened persons, who are free from pride and covetousness, etc.), that an assembly of ten members should decide the disputed points of law. Baudhāyana\(^{37}\) admits practice or custom as authoritative only in the locality where it prevails, provided it is not opposed to the tradition established by the *śiṣṭas*. Āpastamba looks to the Veda as the ultimate source of law, but the immediate source, according to him, is the consensus of the learned: *dharmaṭā-samayā pramāṇam* (I.1.2). Vasiṣṭha agrees with Baudhāyana that in the absence of the Śrutī and the Smṛti, the practice of the *śiṣṭas* is authoritative: *tad alābhā śiṣṭācāraḥ pramāṇam* (I.5). But Vasiṣṭha defines *śiṣṭa* as one whose heart is free from desire (I.6). A heart free from desire is able intuitively to reflect and assess the divine reason governing the universe.

\(^{30}\) Varṣāśramadīva svakarmanīśthāb pretya karma-phalam amabhāṣyat tahḥ īṣeṇa... janma pratispadiṣyate.
\(^{32}\) Athāthāḥ puruṣaṁihṛtyasyātihāṁ dharmaṁśiṣyāṁ, I. 1.
\(^{33}\) Var. Dh. S., I. 3.
\(^{34}\) Na hi karmā niśčaya iti kuryād niścyate punastamenaścād, 19. 6-7.
\(^{35}\) See for discussion Prof. Cahn, *Sense of Injustice*, p. 158.
\(^{36}\) I. 1. 5-6.
\(^{37}\) I. 2.1, 5-6, 8-9.
takes its origin in some need felt by society, and there must be a general conviction of satisfaction of that need. It is the dispassionate mind which can attest to the validity of custom as a source of law.

The preservation of the existing social institutions and social status quo was an important concern for the sages in our ancient system of law. They were convinced that in every society there must be grades and classes, and justice is only a condition in which each keeps himself within his appointed sphere. The administration of such justice is the duty of a king. Vasiṣṭha enjoins: 'Let the king looking deep into all the laws of countries, castes and families, make the four classes (of people) adhere to their own respective particular duties: deśadharma-jātidharma-kuladharmān...rājā cāturo varṇān svadharme sthāpayet. Let him punish those who go astray from these.'

The Dharma-sāstra writers direct the nature and measure of punishment on due consideration of circumstances, time, place, age, learning, responsibility, etc. not overlooking the caste of the perpetrator. Gautama derives the word daṇḍa from damanāti, and according to him, a king should restrain. Most of the Dharma-sūtrakāras recognize the probability of the assertion of law by coercion and it is connected with the function of a king. Brāhmaṇas and kings are the two classes engaged in the common mission of maintaining dharma, the former as exponents and the latter as executants. This is the significant view upheld by Gautama and also by Vasiṣṭha.

METRICAL DHARMA-SĀSTRAS

It has been shown how the Dharma-Sūtras came to be recognized as part of the Kalpa-Sūtra tradition of the Vedic school. The metrical texts of the Dharma-sāstras represent the next phase of development in the history of Indian law. Law is then no longer kept confined to the grooves of the Vedic sūtracarana at all. Multiple are the factors which lead to the enlargement of law. The environment in the process of mutual interaction and adjustment leads to the development of law. Metrical Smṛti-saṁhitās of more or less universal authority sought to crystallize the age-old customs and usages of the community of the Vedic Aryans and included inter alia much of the resources available from the surrounding human population steadily absorbed within its fold.

38 Vas. Dh. S., XIX. 5.
39 Ibid., XIX. 6.
40 Cf. Gaut. Dh. S., daṇḍa damanāti, XI. 27.
41 11. 28, tenādāntān damayet.
42 daṇḍa loke dhītavratau rājā brāhmaṇaśca, 8.1.
43 brāhmaṇa dharmaṁ brūṣā; rājā cāmutśīthe, I. 18.
44 For a detailed reference see CHI, Vol. II, ch. XV and XXI.
Dharma-Sastras

The sloka metre or anuṣṭubh became the usual metre of the verses of the Smṛti-saṃhitā. Of the metrical Smṛtis, the Manu Saṃhitā occupies the most exalted place in the list. Manu is the sage-legist of India par excellence. He is also a sociologist. 'Whatever he says is medicine indeed'—so goes the remark: Tad vai kiñcanā manuravadat tad bheṣajam. It helped to cure the ills of life and thereby exercised overpowering influence on India’s life and culture for about two thousand years and spread its sway far into the countries of South-East Asia.

MANU SMṚTI AND ITS OUTLOOK

The Manu Smṛti itself attributes its origin to Brahman whence it is said to have been revealed to men through Manu and Bhṛgu. The Nārada Smṛti refers to a tradition of successive redactions of the Saṃhitā and also alludes to Vṛddhamanu and Bhṛhanmanu. The present text possibly took its shape during the Brāhmaṇic revival in the first century B.C.

Manu has admirable command over language. He writes in a simple flowing style. Some verses have epic vigour while similes or imageries in some verses are very apt and accurate. Some of his verses are repositories of profound wisdom. Manu’s work really represents the genius of a master mind. It is not merely an important law code but also a valuable compendium of a philosophy of life. Nietzsche praises it for its bold affirmative religion and ranks it above the Bible.

Manu teaches man to regulate the pattern of his behaviour within certain clearly recognized limits so that he may develop his true powers and potentialities both socially and individually. If he fails to conform to this ideal, he sins, and suffering is the wages of sin.

In the ordering of our life, Manu warns that we must not let loose the reins of our inferior passions exclusively for self-interest. The distracting nature of pleasure’s rewards is clearly set forth in his exhortation: Na jātu kāmaḥ kāmānāṃ upabhogena śāmyati. ‘To try to extinguish desire by its enjoyment is like trying to quench a fire by pouring butter-fat over it.’ Manu, however, does not disavow desire for pleasure, for there can be no endeavour without desire: Akāmasya kriyā kācid drṣṭye neha karhicit. The world holds immense possibility of delight

46 Taittiriya Saṃhitā, II. 2. 10. 2.
47 Kewal Motwani, Manu Dharma-śāstra, 1938, p. 312 ff.
48 i. 58-60.
49 Manu, II. 94; III. 77; IV. 195; VII. 33, 105, 106, 129; XII. 101; and Manu, VII. 25 (rāpaka); XII. 103 (śāra).
50 Manu, II. 156; IV. 12, 161; V. 106; VIII. 84.
51 Reference is made to the present writer’s article Mānava Principle in Manu and Nietzsche’s Appraisal, published in Dr. Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume (1969), pp. 684-95.
52 Kāmānatā na praśastā, II. 2.
53 II. 94.
54 Manu, II. 4.
for all our senses. It heightens the tenor of both psychic and aesthetic life. Virtually, our religion in all its rites and rituals and legal dictates is presented as something which also meets the diverse needs of practical utility, health, wealth, success, fame, power, and progeny. But India knows that pleasure (kāma) and worldly success (artha) are not everything that one wants. They are too trivial and cannot satisfy man’s total nature. Things material are short-lived and perish with the body: Śāriṅeṇa samāṁ nāśāṁ sarvam anyad hi gacchati.\textsuperscript{55}

But that does not mean that India’s attitude towards worldly success would be wholly negative. There are clear suggestions in the Dharma-śāstras for human enterprise, incentives for power, possession, and wealth. A modicum of worldly success is indispensable for the upkeep of the household, raising up of a family and for the discharge of several civic, social and religious duties. Individual and social well-being depends largely on man’s acquisitive power and its disposal in the right manner. Property and enjoyment are the first guarantee of the State through its sanction, dāṇḍa.\textsuperscript{56} The varṇa system furnishes the frame within which the highly complex net-work of castes and sub-castes has helped differentiation of crafts and callings for the fostering of economic powers and potentialities. The importance of proprietary right, title and succession, ownership and inheritance, the transactions of economic exigency for debt, trade, contract and commerce, the diverse recognized means of remedy enforceable by the State through judicial or other tribunal processes—all these form the legitimate part of the discourse of the Dharma-śāstra and we have enough provisions of the same in the Manu Śāṁhitā (Chapters VII-IX).

In Manu’s teaching, the pursuit of wealth and pleasure (artha and kāma) is reconciled with the great purpose of dharma. The acquisition of wealth can be justified if it leads to the acts of piety or benevolence. Similarly, in the rules regarding wedded life, there is involved a mighty discipline for transmuting sex (kāma) from elemental dross into the highest form of bliss and love (prema). From conjugal amity and attachment to the family, the impulse of love, by and large, radiates in varied social and spiritual expressions to serve the greater cause of universal life. Marriage as a sacrament promotes greater interests and values and stimulates the spirit of selflessness to a pattern of ideal significance.

The varṇa and āśrama theory in Manu and other Dharma-śāstras is a unique combination of ‘nature’ and ‘nurture’. Manu does not ignore the importance of the individual development of power and potentiality, but knows that such development is the sum-total of the conditions of human nature, its social setting, its external existence, its heredity, environment, and training. It is by coordination of both individual and social activities that the varṇāśrama scheme

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., VIII. 17. \textsuperscript{56} Ibid., VII. 22.
Dharma-śāstras

furnishes the necessary scope for the fostering of the twofold force consistently in their vastness, depth, and variety.

The patternization of the fourfold socio-cultural group (varṇas) is based on natural and bio-psychic differences of mankind. It is really a huge experiment in the domain of India's social organization. If this system denied the laissez faire principle as in the modern age of articulated industries, it assured, through occupational differentiations fixed by birth, opportunities for employment for one and all. It is true that the varṇa theory does not recognize the arithmetical or artificial sameness of men, but it admits that each individually has a worth which is to be duly respected in the co-ordinated human relation. Here everybody cannot resemble everybody else. But each forms an inseparable part of the social body and contributes to the common good of social solidarity. This organization has ensured for ages steady co-ordination of social and individual energies, leading to the development of culture; and the āśrama ethics has kept the varṇa organization free from its abuses. The doctrine of dharma as law, duty or religion in Manu and other texts of Dharma-śāstras forms an integral and indispensable part of India's philosophy of life and sociology.

In the charted plan of life as outlined in Manu and other Dharma-śāstras, the four human ends, dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa, and the four stages of the discipline of life, āśramas, have so marvellously been adjusted. Varṇāśrama is the svadharma writ large, and a king is the custodian of the rule of dharma in the matter of its administration.

Manu has several commentators, one of whom, Medhātithi, is the writer of an extensive commentary called bhāṣya. He made a profitable use of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā maxims of interpretation. He belonged to the ninth century A.D. Govindarāja is another important commentator (twelfth century A.D.). Kullūka Bhaṭṭa of Bengal is also a popular commentator who is generally held to have flourished in the fourteenth century A.D.

Yājñavalkya and other Dharma-śāstras

Next in importance to Manu is the Smṛti of Yājñavalkya. It contains 1010 verses. Yājñavalkya is the first Smṛti writer to divide the work into three sections: ācāra (rites), vyavahāra (dealings) and prāyaścitta (expiation). He distributes the topics in a well-knit arrangement with lucidity and condensation. He has dealt with most of the subjects which are found in Manu, but in a little more than a thousand verses in contrast with the bulk of about 2700 verses of Manu. This shows his remarkable capacity for terseness and brevity. His treatment is more systematic and his view is more liberal than those of Manu.

81 Nirnuyasagar Press Edn. See for discussion the present writer's paper An Inquiry into Idealism in Hindu Marriage, Calcutta Review, April, 1941.
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The eighteen topics of law (vyavahāra) as mentioned in Manu are discussed in Yājñavalkya more systematically adding a necessary discourse on miscellaneous matters. His outlook on life and the ends of human endeavour is similar to that of Manu, though his approach is more pragmatic.

The rules of judicial procedure in Yājñavalkya are more advanced in comparison with those in Manu. Manu does not refer to documents as evidence. But in Yājñavalkya, the law of evidence attaches substantial importance to documents (II. 86-96). Evidence by ordeals receives detailed treatment in this Śrauti. Legal definitions are conspicuous by their absence in Manu, while these are frequently presented in Yājñavalkya. Manu is silent about the widow’s right to estate, but Yājñavalkya, (II. 138) mentions her first in the list of the heirs of a man without a son. Yājñavalkya deals with grahaśanti (propitiation of evil planetary influences) and considerable anatomical and medical matters. Regarding ordeals, the sanctions of religion are added to those of law. The favour of the gods is assumed to be available to him who observes the truth, and supernatural penalties come to him who deviates from it. In the matter of expiation, Yājñavalkya’s theory about twofold effects is a notable contribution. Expiation removes sin or social disability, and restores a person to his former legal status through social approbation. We have from Yājñavalkya (I. 4-5) the well-known list of twenty writers of Dharma-śāstra, viz., Manu, Atri, Viṣṇu, Hārīta, Yājñavalkya, Uṣanas, Āṅgiras, Yama, Āpastamba, Saṁvarta, Kātyāyana, Bṛhaspati, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Śaṅkha, Likhita, Dakṣa, Gautama, Śatātapa and Vasīṣṭha.

Yājñavalkya has a large number of commentaries. The best known is the Mitākṣarā by Vijñānesvara (eleventh century), which has summed up the views of the old authorities with considerable skill and scholarship. It was authoritative in the Deccan, Banaras and North India. The earlier commentaries are those of Viśvarūpa and Aparārka.

The extant Parāśara Śrauti contains only two sections, one dealing with ācāra (forms of conduct), and the other with prāyaścitta (forms of expiation) in greater details. Excepting one verse in upendravajrā (IX. 33) and another in indravajrā (IX. 48) the work is in anuṣṭubh. It is said to be an authority for the kali age. It admits the adjustibility of dharma to keep pace with the changing age (I. 21). It permits widow remarriage and also praises the practice of

68 dharmārthakāmān see kāle yathāsakti na hāpayet, Yāj., I. 115. Cf. Manu II. 224.
69 Ibid., II. 95-113.
70 Ibid., I. 271-308.
71 Ibid., II. 75-108.
72 Ibid., III. 226. See also, Mitākṣarā.
73 Parāśara, I. 23: Kalau pārāśaraḥ śrītaḥ.
74 Ibid., IV. 26. Nāṣṭe mṛte pravrajite kliśe ca paśite patau, paścavāpatsu nārinām puraśnyo vidhiyate.

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It gives the very practical advice that one should protect one's body first during invasion, journey, disease, and calamity, and then care for dharma (VII. 41–43). The Parāśara Smṛti is assigned to a period between the first and the fifth century A.D. Mādhavaśārya has written an extensive gloss on it.

Among the later Smṛti writers, whose number is more than a hundred, the contributions of Nārada, Brhaspati and Kātyāyana regarding procedural law show remarkable features of advancement. Nārada's discourse on the principles of judicial procedure (gyavahāra-mātyāḥ), judicial assembly, and the titles of law follows in the main the nomenclature and the arrangement of Manu. But he subdivides the eighteen titles into one hundred and thirty-two. His classifications of property and other legal issues are more exhaustive than those of Yājñavalkya. He allows remarriage of widows and permits gambling under State control. He seems to be later than Yājñavalkya.

The Brhaspati Smṛti on the aspect of pure law evinces high acumen regarding legal principles. He seems to be the first jurist to distinguish civil and criminal justice. Brhaspati, like Nārada, stresses the importance of reasoning in a legal decision. He says, Kevalam śāstram āśritya na kartavyo hi nirṇayaḥ, Yuktiṁhe vicāre tu dharmaṁ hi prajāyate. His elaborate rules of procedure from the filing of a plaint to the passing of the decree can be compared with any modern code of procedure. Kātyāyana quotes Brhaspati as an authority. Brhaspati was possibly not later than the fourth century A.D.

P. V. Kane has reconstructed a text of Kātyāyana, called Kātyāyana-Smṛti-
sāroddhāra. Kātyāyana is widely quoted in the commentaries and Nibandhas. He follows Nārada and Brhaspati as his model, but expounds and elaborates their dicta in greater details. Kātyāyana's treatment of strīdāna in its definitions and assessment about kinds, grades and legal impact has attained recognition as highly authoritative. Kane has rightly said that Nārada, Brhaspati and Kātyāyana form a triumvirate in the realm of ancient Hindu law and procedure. So minute, thorough, and concrete are the details, so rich are the reflections about the administration of law and justice in these records that they still inspire admiration. They bear out with convincing proofs that the worth of the culture envisaged in our scripture consisted not only in its power to 'raise and enlarge the internal man', but also 'to mould and modulate his external existence' and the ways of human interaction in the practical sphere of life and in the matrix of society. This shaping of man's external existence means a sound political, economic, and advanced social basis to sustain 'rhythmic advance' towards great ideals of culture.

It is true that 'India never evolved the scrambling and burdensome indust-

68 Ibid., IV. 28.
69 Cited by Aparārka on Yājñ. II. 1.
70 H. Dh., Vol. I., p. 213.
trialism or the parliamentary organization of freedom and self-styled democracy characteristic of the bourgeois or Vaiśya period of the cycle of European progress. Yet there was remarkable evidence of the political efficiency of the Indian people in their striving towards a welfare state by pursuing the ideals of dharma which were of a higher kind, and governed the spirit and body of Indian society as a whole. Our Dharma-śāstra represents the wisdom of the centuries of legal and religious thoughts of great significance, and we have drawn the readers' attention here only to a few points of their excellence.

NIBANDHA WORKS OF THE DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS

With growing recognition of complexities in customs and regional usages, the need was felt for reconciling the conflicting texts of the old authorities by way of interpretation. A number of learned commentators wrote important glosses incorporating the Mīmāṁsā maxims of interpretation. This gave rise to some celebrated schools of law differing in their viewpoints through adherence to local usages. Ultimately the need was felt also for compilation of comprehensive digests or manuals on various growing topics of Dharma-śāstra, called Nibandhas. These were prepared mostly under the auspices of kings or great teachers. The age of the commentaries and Nibandhas extends from the eighth to the eighteenth century. Commentaries and Nibandhas were written in prose in the body of which old authorities in either prose or verse were quoted.

One of the earliest Nibandhas is the Smṛti-kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara, the foreign minister of Govindacandra of Kanauj (A.D. 1105-43). It is a work on religious, civil, and criminal law as well as on the law of procedure.

Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa was a native of West Bengal. He settled at Vikramapura in East Bengal as a minister of king Harivarmadeva (1073-1119). His Vyavahāra-tilaka and Nirṇayāmṛta are cited by later authorities. His Sambandha-viveka and Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa are important works on the subject.

Jimūtavahana is one of the three leading exponents of the Bengal school of Dharma-śāstra. His Dāyabhāga forms a part of the Dharma-ratna, The Kāla-viveka and Vyavahāra-mātrkā are his two other treatises. In matters of Hindu law on inheritance the Dāyabhāga was deemed as of paramount authority in British Indian courts for Bengal. He repudiates the doctrine of ownership by birth. Ownership arises on the death of the last owner—this is his bold view as against that of the Mitākṣarā.

Ballāla Sena, the famous king of Bengal, seems to have patronized the compilations of the great works, Ācāra-sāgara, Dāna-sāgara, Pratīṣṭhā-sāgara, and

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68 Sri Aurobindo, The Renaissance in India. See also The Brain of India.
Adbhuta-sāgara (on omens). The last work was completed by his son Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

The Smṛti-candrikā of Devanna Bhaṭṭa is an important extensive digest (twelfth century). Hemādri is another voluminous writer. He is the author of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (written between 1260 and 1309), an encyclopaedic work on religious rites and observances. Śrīdatta Upādhyāya (A.D. 1300) is the earliest among the medieval writers of Nibandhas in Mithilā. His works are Ācārādāsya, Pītrabhakti, and Śrāddhakalpa. Caṇḍeśvara is another prominent Nibandha writer of Mithilā. He is the author of the Ratnākara series (seven in number), e.g. Vivāda-ratnākara. Vācaspati Miśra (fifteenth century) is the leading Nibandha writer of Mithilā. His works bear the title Cintāmaṇi. The Daṇḍa-viveka of Vardhamāna Miśra, a pupil of Vācaspati, is an important work on civil and criminal law.

Śūlapāṇi (fifteenth century) is the next authoritative writer of Bengal on Dharma-sāstra. He is the author of Smṛti-viveka and such other works ending in viveka, e.g. Śrāddha-viveka, Prāyaścitta-viveka. His Śrāddha-viveka is a masterpiece, full of Mīmāṁsā dialectics. Raghunandana is the last great writer of Bengal on Dharma-sāstra. He wrote an encyclopaedic Smṛti-tattva divided into twenty-eight sections—each bearing the ending tattva, besides a few other tracts on stray topics. He also wrote a commentary on Jimūtavāhana's Dāyabhāga. Raghunandana and Śrī Caitanya were pupils of the same teacher, Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, at Navadvipa. The period of his literary activity is fixed as A.D. 1550-75. His intellectual powers made him virtually a doyen in the academy of Navya Smṛti.

Among later Nibandhas, we may mention the Nirṇaya-sindhu of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, Vyavahāra-mayākha etc. of Nilakaṇṭha, Vīra-mitra-daya of Mitra Miśra (seventeenth century) and Smṛti-kaustubha of Anantadeva. The Vivādārṇava-setu of Jagannātha Tarkakaṇḍana was compiled in 1775 for Warren Hastings to be treated as a readily accessible digest for the court, and it was translated into English.

This represents a brief survey of the Dharma-sāstra literature. The sweep of this literature was as comprehensive as human ingenuity of the time could dream of. From conception to the last rites, every aspect of the life of men received detailed treatment and prescriptions in the works of Manu, Yājñavalkya and others. This shows how rich was the vocabulary, how refined the idioms, and how deep the understanding of the human problems by those who created the vast literature of the Dharma-sāstras. As a result, the Dharma-sāstras have

79 On the different aspects of the Dharma-sāstra, reference may be made to the following important works: P. V. Kane, History of Dharma-sātra in several volumes; K. P. Jayaswal, Manu and Yājñavalkya; P. N. Sen, The General Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence (1918); D. M. Derrett, Religion, Law and the State in India (London, 1968); L. Sternbach, Judicial Studies in Ancient Indian Law (Parts I-II), Delhi, 1963-67; K. G. Goswami, Intercaste Marriage in Ancient India.
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profoundly helped the continuity of culture, conduct, and the social and religious life of the Indians for thousands of years. Our Dharma-śāstras point to a continued tradition of how dharma was more than a mere moral suasion. It became rather a central power to shape and sustain order and harmony in India’s social life in all its aspects. Dharma is conceived as something eternal, leading to good and truth; it is the king of kings, far more powerful than they.\(^7\)

Even when India’s political power was on the wane, the norm of dharma continued its mighty task of subduing the potential anarchy of evil forces correcting human vices and guiding life to a nobler and higher pattern of sanctity.

\(^7\) Br. U., 1. 4. 14.
ŚAIVA LITERATURE*

ŚAIVISM as a cult goes back to pre-Vedic times. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro have revealed the existence of a proto-Śaiva cult. One of the seals shows the figure of a three-faced (?) deity in yogic posture, with horns adorning the head, and surrounded by cattle and other animals. This figure is typical of the Pāṣupata cult, one of the earliest schools of Śaivism—a school with a literature of its own. Among the other finds were also figures resembling the linga, the symbol of Śiva. The inscriptions on the seals, probably the earliest writing, have not yet been conclusively deciphered. Some scholars hold that the script is proto-Dravidian, while others say that it has Indo-Aryan affinities. Later excavations at Harappan sites have not thrown further light on this question. The time bracket for the Harappan civilization is now seen by scholars as between 4000 and 2500 B.C.

VEDIC TIMES

The next formative period of this cult is the Vedic age, when we have the world’s earliest known literary composition, the Rg-Veda. One of the gods mentioned in the Rg-Veda is Rudra who later became identified with Śiva. Whatever may be the basis of the Rudra-Śiva identification in the Rg-Veda, the hymms describe Rudra as the destroyer of disease and the protector of man and cattle. In the Śamavidhāna Samhitā of the Śāma-Veda, there is a

*The present survey does not deal with the philosophy of Śaivism as it has already been discussed in Volumes III (pp. 387-99) and IV (pp. 63-107) of CHL.

We can compare this Indus valley seal with a coin of Huviṣka (second century A.D.) representing Śiva with three heads (Vide P. Gardner, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, London, 1886, p. 148). It is not unlikely that the deity in each case is really four-faced having one at the back, and the artist in both the cases could not depict it as he was giving the front side of the deity. We make this guess on the basis of the description of Tumburu, the four-faced Gandharva in the early Tantric texts who, according to P. C. Bagchi, was no other than Śiva himself. In the Mahābhārata (I. 216. 22-28 and XIII. 141. 5f.) also, we have references to the four faces of Śiva. (Vide P. C. Bagchi, Studies in the Tantras, pp. 13-15).


The origin and development of Rudra-Śiva is an interesting subject. The early Aryans did not know the reason behind the dreadful and destructive phenomena of nature. When storms and epidemics broke out or thunders rumbled, they were caught in panic. They attributed these things to the wrath of some powerful god. They called this god Rudra, the Terrible. They believed this god could be appeased by hymns, prayers and sacrifices. Thus Rudra became Śiva, the Benign, Conqueror of evil and Giver of boons. R. G. Bhandarkar thinks this is how the concept of Rudra-Śiva gradually evolved in ancient India. Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, p. 102.

Bhandarkar takes the following as representative of the trend of the Rg-Vedic prayers addressed to Rudra: ‘Oh Rudra, do not, out of thy anger, injure our children and descendants, our people, our cattle, our houses, and do not kill our men. We invoke thee always with offerings.’ (I. 114. 8).
collection of hymns addressed to Rudra-Śiva which are chanted even today. In the Śatarudriya of the Tājur-Veda, we find the full unfoldment of the auspicious aspect of Śiva as the pati (Lord) of paśus (finite souls), for there Śiva is given the name Paśupati. Here we find, for the first time, in Śiva a god with a comprehensive control over all nature. The enumeration of one hundred names of Śiva in the Śatarudriya (the Vājasaneyi Samhitā, XVI and the Taittiriya Samhitā, IV. 5) marks the first beginnings of this form of prayer in the later literature. In the Vājasaneyi (XVI. 51), and also in some other Samhitās⁴ the ritualistic visualization of Śiva holding his bow called pīṇāka is noticed. In the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā of the Kṛṣṇa Tājur-Veda, Mahādeva-Śiva is described as the great Puruṣa or the supreme Deity governing the cosmos. In the Taittiriya Samhitā, Śiva or Rudra is described as the Lord of the Soma plant,⁵ and thus Soma and Rudra, though originally two separate deities, became identified in later days. In the Atharva-Veda (XV. 5. 1-7), occur several names, such as Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Mahādeva, and Iśāna, by which Rudra was known in later times. There is also a reference to the Vṛātyas who were probably the prototypes of the adherents of the later Kāpālika cult of Śaivism. Western scholars somehow depict Rudra-Śiva as a malevolent and dreaded deity, but the earliest Vedic literature represents him also as benevolent and generous deity. Some scholars have suggested that Śiva was originally a non-Vedic god, but was later admitted to the Vedic pantheon. Later Sanskrit literature, however, does not bear this out.

THE BRĀHMAṆAS AND THE UPANIŚADS

In the Brāhmaṇas, the concept of Rudra gives place to Prajāpati and Paśupati. This change is found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and more significantly, in the Aitareya and Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇas. The mantras here are different from mere nature-invocations made out of wonder or fear; they are meaningful incantations, expressing faith in, and a personal relationship with, the deity. The Iśāvāsya Upaniṣad gives the most poetic description of Iša, the Lord, which may also be applicable to Śiva. But it is the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad which explicitly declares the identity of Śiva with the highest Brahman (III. 2). This Upaniṣad is, therefore, sometimes called a Śaiva Upaniṣad or an Āgamic Upaniṣad. In this, we may see the seeds of the thought that ultimately matured into the literature of Śaivism. The Maitri Upaniṣad refers to the trimūrti conception: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva (IV. 5). These three forms are respectively represented as embodiments of the three guṇas: rajas, sattra and tamas (V. 2). This marks the parting of ways among the deities. Viṣṇu

⁴Cf. HIL, Vol. 1, p. 185.
⁵Vide Tai. S., IV. 5:10-4; Mai. S., II. 9-9; etc.
⁶Tai. S., IV. 5:10.
and Śiva (with Śakti) emerge foremost in the Hindu pantheon. They also inspire separate texts and literature.

THE ĀGAMAS

For an understanding of Śaivism, the Āgamas are as important as some of the Upaniṣads. Some of the Āgamas have an artistic and intellectual appeal, as they are in the form of dialogues between Śiva and his consort Umā, the bestower of all vidyā (knowledge).

The Āgamas are as old as the Brāhmaṇas, perhaps even older. Constant additions have, however, been made to them till the eighth century. The Āgamas had the same authority as the Vedas. They were written in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and some of the Dravidian languages. They are, however, available today only in Sanskrit. Music, architecture, and sculpture play a prominent part in the later Āgamic rituals, whereas in the Vedic rituals, the scope was for poetry and music only. This is why, perhaps, the language of the Āgamas is not so poetic as that of the Vedas, but it is more precise in the use of terms. The Āgamas, moreover, are monotheistic, and cover both karma and jñāna in sensible proportions.

The Śaiva Āgamas, twenty-eight in number, form the largest body of religious literature in Sanskrit. They are said to have been revealed originally by Śiva to his disciple and attendant, Nandikesvāra; they were in ten million verses until Ananta, an incarnation of Śiva, abridged them in one hundred thousand verses. The Āgamas are comprehensive in scope. Their vidyāpāda (the section on knowledge) discusses the philosophy of Śaivism; other sections deal with rituals, mantras, and rules valid for different purposes, such as, installation of deities or construction of temples, etc.

The twenty-eight Śaiva Āgamas, which are believed to have emanated from the five faces of Śiva, are: Kāmika, Yogajj, Cintya, Kāraṇa, Ajīta, Dīpta, Sūkṣma, Sahasra, Aṁśumāt, Suprabheda, Vijaya, Viṁśoṣa, Svāyambhuva, Āgneya, Virabhadra, Raurava, Mākuṭa, Viṁala, Candrajñāna, Mukhabimba, Pradgīta, Lālita, Siddha, Santāna, Sarvokta, Pārameśvara, Kīraṇa, and Vātula.

Mention of the Āgamas occurs in the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas. They were familiar at the time of Ācārya Śaṅkara. Mādhava’s Sāra-vārīṣana-saṅgraha also mentions some of them.

No one can understand the paribhāṣā (technical terms) of Śaivism without a study of the Āgamas. The Āgamas seem to follow the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system of logic, but their classification of tattvas (basic principles) is based on the

*Cf. Sainākṣatā prāktair vākyair yaśas śiṣyānurupātah;
Delabhāṣāyupāyādāu bodhayet sa guruḥ śrīmat.
Śivadharmottara—(Grañtha Edn. by Marajmanna Desikar, 1988).
*Many scholars refer to twenty-eight Āgamas, but there are variations in the titles. Cf. HIP, Vol. V, p. 16n.
Sāṁkhya. The twenty-four tattvas of the Sāṁkhya and the transcendental twelve of the Śaivas form the very basis of the higher philosophy of Śaivism. The literary style of the Āgamas may not be poetic, but it is definitive.

There are also a number of Śaiva Upāgamas, i.e. secondary Āgamas. The Mygendrāgama, one of the Upāgamas, opens with a discussion on how the old Vedic form of worship became superseded by the Śaiva cult, and proceeds to describe Śiva as free from impurities, as omniscient, and as the instrumental cause of the universe. It gives the correct linguistic interpretation of such terms as bindu (latent energy), kalā (finite experience), niyati (principle of determination of karma), and māyā (substratum of cosmos). The same can be said of the Pauṣkara, Mataṅga and other Upāgamas. The Sarvajñānottara, another Upāgama, contains Śiva’s discourse to his son, Kumāra, wherein Śiva, the ultimate Reality, is postulated as pati (lord), paśu (finite self) and pāśa (bondage).

The ritual portion of the Āgamas has been in daily use in temples and mathas (monasteries) for a long time. Their philosophy also became known through later Śaiva exegetics. The texts of the Āgamas, however, were not published till the nineteenth century. The process of bringing out the texts is slow and is still very incomplete.

THE PURĀNAS AND UPAPURĀNAS

The next important body of Śaiva literature is formed by the Śaiva Purāṇas. Of the eighteen Purāṇas, six are usually styled Śaiva Purāṇas. They are: Śiva or Vāyu, Liṅga, Skanda, Agni, Mātṛya, and Kūrma. The Śiva and Skanda are highly adored Purāṇas, especially the latter, which is a masterpiece of encyclopaedic interest. It contains stories about the births of Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa, and Skanda and the marriages of Pārvatī, Devakuṇji, and Vallī. Skanda’s representation as Śiva’s manifestation is highly successful in this Purāṇa. The Mātṛya Purāṇa gives a detailed account of Śiva’s destruction of Andhakāsura.10 The Liṅga Purāṇa gives the philosophy of the worship of Śiva in his form-cum-formless symbol, the liṅga. The Padma Purāṇa, though not a Śaiva Purāṇa, contains the Śiva-Gītā (taught to Śrī Rāma). The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, magnificent in style and substance, is an important work regarding the theistic cult of bhakti. Though the book is primarily about Śrī Kṛṣṇa, it contains many episodes in praise of Śiva also. There are yet a few other principal Purāṇas

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10 A mythological demon born of Diti by Kṣiṣyapa. Being protected by a boon that he would be killed by none other than Śiva himself, he began to harass the gods so much that they ultimately went to sage Nārada seeking relief. After hearing their tale of woe Nārada appeared before Andhaka wearing a garland of mandāla flowers grown in the Mandara hill. The demon was struck by the beauty of the garland and wanted one such for himself. When he learnt that those flowers were available only in the Mandara hill, he set out for that hill. There he met Śiva and had some altercation with him. Ultimately Śiva killed him.
SAIVA LITERATURE

in which Śiva is accorded a prominent place in spite of their central figures
being Viṣṇu or Brahmā, for example, Bhaviṣya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Varāha, Vāmana,
and Brahmāṇḍa. Some of the saṁhitās of the Śaiva Purāṇas are classic pieces of
Śaiva literature, e.g. the Śūta Samhitā of the Skanda Purāṇa, the Vāyavīya Samhitā
of the Śiva Purāṇa, etc. The Śiva Purāṇa is a voluminous work amplified from time
to time. It appears to have been consolidated in its present form in the eighth
century. It is a collection of various treatises or saṁhitās dealing with the
different legends of Śiva, Śiva worship, Śivadharma, and Śiva philosophy.
The Vāyavīya Samhitā is the most important from the philosophical point of view.
Śūta Samhitā of the Skanda Purāṇa speaks of the Vedas, the Purāṇas and
the Āgamas as cognate literature.

All Āgamic literature recognizes the three classic episodes connected with
Śiva, viz. Śiva’s burning of Tripura, the churning of the ocean of milk and
Śiva’s acceptance of the cosmic poison, and his manifestation as a pillar of light
which Brahmā and Viṣṇu could not comprehend. These are beautifully
described in the Purāṇas. These legends have often been a source of
inspiration to many writers of later Sanskrit poetry and drama dealing with
Śiva.

Of the Śaiva Upapurāṇas the most important are: Śivadharma, Saura,
Parāśara, Vāsiṣṭha-lainga, and Śiva-rahasya. Śiva-rahasya is said to have been
taught by Śiva to Umā in Kailāsa and later transmitted by Skanda to sage
Jaigīśavya in Skandagiri. It is a revelation of the upāsanā and jñāna-kāyaṇas. It
has twelve anāsas and it speaks of Śivadharma, i.e. caryā (observance), kriyā (rites),
yoga (meditation), and jñāna (knowledge). It is important to note that the text
is in diverse metres, and in the prose parts some of the terms are difficult to
interpret. The stotras interspersed in the text are liturgical hymns of a high
order. This text, however, finds no mention in most of the histories of Sanskrit
literature.

EPICS

The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, especially the Mahābhārata, though

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11 Three mythological cities (tripura) made of gold, silver and iron were built for the three demons,
Tārakākṣa, Kamalākṣa and Bidyūnmāli. The gods drew the attention of Śiva to the atrocities com-
mitted by these demons. Annoyed, Śiva killed the three demons and burnt tripura, the three cities.
"Tripura" is also the name of a demon who was killed by Śiva. Hence, Śiva is called Tripurāri (Enemy
of Tripura) and Tripurāntaka (Killer of Tripura).

12 At the supplication of gods and demons, Śiva drank the deadly poison which threatened to
destroy the world. The poison itself came out of the ocean while it was being churned. The blue
stain on Śiva’s throat is due to the action of that poison. Hence he is called Nilakanṭha (the blue-
throated).

13 Once there was a dispute between Brahmā and Viṣṇu as to who was the greater deity. Śiva
then appeared before them in the form of a pillar of light. Brahmā and Viṣṇu tried to measure the
body of Śiva to prove their respective supremacy, but both failed. At this, in all humility, they began
to praise Śiva who, being pleased with their prayer, revealed himself to them.
no part of Śaiva literature, have much to say about Śiva. For instance, the Anuṣāsanaparvan (chapters XIV ff.) of the Mahābhārata gives a glowing account of Mahādeva whom Kṛṣṇa and others propitiated by austere penances. In the Śāntiparvan (chapter CCLXXXIV) there is an attempt to minimize the distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu as the supreme Lord. Both Arjuna (Vanapravam, XXXVIII-XL) and Aśvatthāmā (Saumontaparvan, VII) are represented to have propitiated Mahādeva and obtained deadly weapons from him. The Mahābhārata is replete with legends relating to Śiva and accounts of Śaivite sacrament of dīksā (initiation). We see here a reflection of the transition from the Pūrva Mīmāṃsaka rituals to the Agamic worship and yogic discipline. In the Vanapravam (chapters LXXXII-XC), we have information about several tīrthas (places of pilgrimage) sacred to Śiva.

In the Rāmāyana, we have a few pointed references to Śiva. Bālakrṣṇa (chapter XXXV) refers to the marriage of Śiva with Umā. Bhagiratha's penances to persuade Śiva to contain the flow of Gaṅgā down to the Earth are described in chapter XLIII. In chapter LXVII, Rāma's winning the hand of Sitā by breaking Hara-dhanu (Śiva's bow) which was given to Janaka is a delightful episode. While coming back to Ayodhyā, Śrī Rāma told Sitā that on the seashore at Setubandha (Rāmeśvaram) Lord Mahādeva had blessed him (Yuddhakrṣṇa, chapter CXXXIII). Rāvaṇa is depicted as a great devotee of Śiva. In the Uttarakṛṣṇa (chapter XXXI), there is a reference to his carrying a golden liṅga with him for worship wherever he went. In chapter XVI, Rāvaṇa's attempt to uproot Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva, his failure in that, and his supplication to Śiva are described.

KĀVYA LITERATURE

Śiva is a very popular deity with the poets of ancient India and, consequently, an enormous mass of kāvya literature has grown round him. Starting from Bharata (the date ranging between second century B.C. and second century A.D.) to the modern times, Śiva has been described in various ways in Indian kāvya literature. Sometimes, he is the hero of a particular book, or the guiding deity, and sometimes he plays an important role otherwise.

Śiva is a special favourite with Kālidāsa (the date variously fixed from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D.). Wherever Kālidāsa mentions Śiva, he always uses glowing epithets. In this connection, we may mention Kumārasambhava where Śiva is the hero. In fact, there is hardly any book of Kālidāsa where Śiva is not mentioned. Incidentally, we have in Kālidāsa

14 Vide Abhijñāna-Sākuntalā: Benedictory verse; Meghadūta: Pāvamegha, verse 34; Rāgukolam 1.1, VI. 34, VII. 33, and XVIII. 24, and so on.
sidelights of the Pāśupata cult which was in vogue then. Kālidāsa also alludes
to different forms of Śaiva worship, anuṣṭhānas and vrata.

Bhāravi’s (c. sixth century) Kirātārjuniya, Ratnākara’s (ninth century)
Haravijaya, and Maṅkha’s (c. twelfth century) Śrīkṛṣṇa-carita also deserve
mention. In Kirātārjuniya, Śiva, in the guise of a kiṟāta (hunter), fought with
Arjuna and finally blessed him with his divine weapon, the pāśupata astra.
The other two works depict Śiva’s heroism. It is evident from Harṣacarita and
Kādambarī that Bāṇa (seventh century), the famous prose writer in Sanskrit,
must have been a close student of the Śiva Purāṇa. Harṣa (seventh century)
in the benedictory verses of his plays; Ratnāvalī and Priyadarśikā, pays homage
to Śiva and Pārvatī. Bhavabhūti (c. eighth century) in his Mālati-Mādhava
and Mahendra-vikrama Varman (seventh century) in his Mattavilāsa-
prahasanā mention Kāpālikas. Śiva has been adored in the introductory
verses of Kathāsaritsāgara by Somadeva (eleventh century). Śiva’s sandhyā-nyota
(evening dance), in aṣṭamūrti and ardhanārīśvara forms, etc. have been described
there in mellifluous poetry. There are also references to Śivakṣetras like Nandikṣetra,
Amara Parvata, etc. Bharata in his Nātya-sastra mentions that Śiva
and Pārvatī invented tāṇḍava and lāṣya forms of dance. In fact, Śiva’s influence,
directly or indirectly, on kāvya literature, can never be overestimated.

STOTRA LITERATURE

The stotra literature established itself as kāvya by the seventh century.
Some of the stotras (hymns) were originally in the Purāṇas and the Tantras,
and some were written separately. Some among the hymns add much to the
importance of Śaiva literature. One such hymn is Śivamahimnah Stotra of
Pūspadanta (tenth century) written in śikharini metre. Prātusmaranya-stotras,
the morning hymns (in vasantatilaka metre) in praise of Śiva, Caṇḍi, and Gaṇeṣa,
are included in Saddharma Cintāmanī. Similarly there are pādādi-keśa-varjanā-
stotras of Śiva (hymns describing Śiva from foot to head) included in the hymnal
poetry. Of greater devotional fervour and finer style is the Śiva-stotra attributed
to Umapanyu in viyogini metre, a metre rarely used in stotras.

There is also a body of stotras written by the Śaiva authors of Kashmir.
Not all of them are of a high order. Some again merely depict the amours
between Umā and Śiva. Kalhaṇa’s (c. A.D. 1149) Ardhanārīśvara-stotra in
sārdulavikriḍita metre is, however, of a high standard.

We have a parallel of the Kṛṣṇa-gopi mystical erotic poetry in Bhikṣātana-
kāvya of Śivabhaktadāsa (fourteenth century), which describes the attraction of
apsarās (nymphs) for the beautiful mendicant Śiva. Vijaya-madhava’s
Pārvatī-Rukmīniya is a vicitra kāvya (tour de force), each verse giving two meanings,
one applicable to the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī and the other to the marriage
of Rukmīni and Kṛṣṇa.
The beautiful Śiva-stotras of Ācārya Śaṅkara must be specially mentioned here, although the authorship of some of them is disputed. The Dakṣināmūrti-aṣṭaka, Saundarya-lahari and Śivānanda-lahari are matchless in beauty and melody. They are recited by pundits and laymen alike even today. A long time after Śaṅkara came Appaya Dikṣīta (1552) who was a kavi (poet) as well as an apostle of Śaivism. He was the author of a large body of stotras and Śivādvaita works, apart from his purely Advaita works like his commentary Parimala and dialectic work, Nyāyarakaṃśaṇi. Appaya’s commitment to Advaita did not deter him from making four weighty contributions to Śaiva theistic literature. His Śīkharīṃmālā consists of sixty slokas in praise of Śiva, giving arguments for establishing his supremacy. His Śiva-tattva-viveka is an elaborate commentary on them. His Śivamabima-kālikā-stuti is another work on the supremacy of Śiva. His Śaivakalpadruma is an authoritative Śaiva theological work. Appaya’s important Śaiva devotional works are: Arunācakeśvara-stava, Gaṅgādharaśīkta, Śivakarṇāmya, Śivānanda-lahari, Śivārcaṇā-candrikā, Harihara-stuti, etc. The next important author after Appaya was Nilakanṭha Dikṣīta who belongs to the next century and whose Śivalilārṇava and Gaṅgāvataraṇa are famous hymns on Śiva.

ŚAIVA COMMENTARIES ON THE BRAHMA-SŪTRA

The Śaiva commentary of Śrikanṭha (a.d. 1270) is the most well-known Śaiva bhāṣya on the, Brahma-Sūtra. He claims that his commentary, though brief, would clear the controversy raised by previous commentators. He says that the commentary will expound the essence of the teachings of the Upaniṣads or the Vedānta and will appeal to those who worship Śiva: ‘Obeisance to Śiva, the Paramātman, embodiment of Saccidānanda, whose feet are the givers of the highest gain or siddhi.’

It is evident that Śrikanṭha was influenced by the Śaivāgamas, into which he was initiated by his guru Śvetācārya. He had also mastered the Bodhāyana sūtras and the Vāyavīya Sāmkhyā of the Śiva Purāṇa. The language of Śrikanṭha’s commentary is lucid and flowery. A sub-commentary on Śrikanṭha’s bhāṣya is Appaya Dikṣīta’s Śivārkamani-dīpikā which is an authoritative work for understanding Śivādvaita. Another work by Appaya, Śivādvaita-nirṇaya, a prose treatise, quotes extensively from the bhāṣya and is noted for its dialectic.

Śrīpati Paṇḍita’s (a.d. 1400) Śrikara-bhāṣya is a Vīraśaiva commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra. It is remarkable as a comprehensive reconciliation of the Upaniṣads, the Āgam as and the Mīmāṃsā, establishing the Vīraśaiva doctrine which is variously called Śivādvaita and Śaktiviṣṭādvaita. Śrīpati’s

10 Om namo'hān padārthāya lokānām siddhihetau
commentary on the sūtra, Jīvamukhyaprāṇa-liṅgāt... (Brahma-Sūtra, I. 4.17) interprets it as referring to the Vīra-Saiva Lingāyata cult. Śrīpati refers to a bhāṣya called Agastya-vṛtti which is not available now.

As important as the Brahma-Sūtra or Yoga-Sūtra is Bhoja’s (A.D. 1018-63) Tatvā-prakāśa. This work is based on the Āgamas and the Yoga-Sūtra, and is frequently quoted by later writers. Another important text is Nandikesvara-kāṣikā. Fourteen sūtras known as Māheśvara-Sūtras are supposed to have emanated from the sounding of the drum (ḍamaruka) in Śiva’s hand. These sūtras are found at the commencement of Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī. It is said that the sages were unable to understand the meaning of the sūtras, and so Nandikesvara himself expounded them in twenty-six verses (dīkṣas).

Although Ācārya Śaṅkara is strictly monistic in his bhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtra, his Saiva leanings are nevertheless discernible in a few places. Śaṅkara must have been familiar with the Āgama literature, but he does not allude to it as an authority in his commentary. He, however, refers to Saiva philosophy in his commentary on sūtras II.2.35-38. This indicates that Bādārayaṇa, author of the Brahma-Sūtra, was aware of the Saiva system and its antiquity. In his commentary on sūtras II.2.37 et seg., Śaṅkara refutes the crucial and distinctive doctrine of the Saiva system that Brahman is the instrumental cause (nimitta-kāraṇa) and not the material cause (upādāna-kāraṇa) of the universe.

Vācaspati Miśra (A.D. 840), commenting on the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara, refers to the Saiva cults. Ānanda Giri, a contemporary of Śaṅkara and author of Śaṅkara-vijaya, refers to two schools of Kāpālikas, one Vedic and the other non-Vedic. Rāmānuja (A.D. 1017-1137) in his commentary on sūtra II.2.37 mentions the four schools of Saivism, viz. the Kāpālikas, the Kālāmukhas, the Pāṣupatas, and the Saivas. He is said to be a junior contemporary of Śrīkanṭha (some, however, hold that Śrīkanṭha was anterior even to Śaṅkara), and some of the passages in their two bhāṣyas are verbally similar, although they differ in their doctrines. Haradatta Śivācārya (A.D. 879) was the author of Śruti-sūkti-mālā, Caturveda-tāṭparya-saṅgraha, and Hari-Hara-tāratatmya, which are polemical works to establish the Śivaparāśa (Śiva as the supreme Reality). Śruti-sūkti-mālā is an oft-quoted work. Although Haradatta did not write any Saiva commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra, he is believed to have influenced Śrīkanṭha and Śrīpati Paṇḍita. His Gaṇa-kārikā is an exegetic of the Pāṣupata-Sūtra. Mādhavācārya (fourteenth century) in his Sārāv-darśana-saṅgraha formulates the philosophical doctrines found in the Saiva Āgamas and other literature.

PĀṢUPATA-SŪTRA

Lakulīśa was the founder of the Pāṣupata system. He was the last of the twenty-eight yogācāryas mentioned in the Sīva Purāṇa. The Pāṣupata-Sūtra, the sacred book of the Pāṣupatas, might have been in vogue earlier than the sixth...
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century and it came to be termed āmnāya (having Vedic authority). The Sūtra
has a bhāṣya called the Pañcārtha-bhāṣya by Kaunḍinya. This is probably the same
as the Rāṣikara-bhāṣya referred to by Mādhava in his Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha. The
Vāyavya Sanhita also mentions the Pāśupata-Sūtra as Pañcārtha-vidyā (Knowledge
with Five Ends). It is believed that Kaunḍinya, the commentator, must have
lived between the fourth and the sixth centuries. The Sūtra does not enunciate
any systematic philosophy, but deals with the rituals and austerities of the cult.
It needs a deeper study, as it is the earliest literature of one of the most ancient
systems. Kaunḍinya’s bhāṣya on the Sūtra is in an archaic style and does not
contain any reference to earlier commentaries. Gaṇa-kārikā of Haradatta Šivā-
cārya, as already said, is an expository text on the Pāśupata-Sūtra, and is really
a summary of the system. The Mrṇendrāgama is said to be the original basic
text of the Pāśupata system.

KASHMIR ŚAIVISM

Kashmir Śaivism is an ancient system and has to its credit a very large body
of literature exclusively in Sanskrit. The earliest text, Śiva-Sūtra, is believed to
have been revealed by Śiva himself to Vasugupta (eighth or ninth century). The
Sūtra has a vṛtti (gloss), a vārttika (explanatory text), and a vimarśini (critical
comment). The Vimarśini of Kṣemarāja (eleventh century), the famous com-
mentator, is held in high esteem.

The system owes its name ‘Trika’ (triad) to the fact that it deals with Śiva,
Sakti, and Nara. The literature of the Trika falls into three divisions: Āgama-
sāstra, Spanda-sāstra, and Pratyabhijñā-sāstra. The Āgamas are the basic
‘revelations’, Spanda means the ‘vibration or the stir of consciousness’, while
Pratyabhijñā is ‘recognition’. The two branches, Pratyabhijñā and Spanda, are
similar but not exactly the same. The Pratyabhijñā-sāstras are sometimes called
manana- or vicāra-sāstras. The Śiva-dṛṣṭi of Somānanda (c. ninth century) is
the most important Pratyabhijñā work. He expounded the system as monistic. The
next important work is the Iśvara-pratyabhijñā or the Pratyabhijñā-Sūtra by Utpala,
a pupil of Somānanda. Commentaries on it are: Vṛtti by Utpala himself, Vimar-
śini (laghvī vṛtti) and Vīrtī-vimarśini (byhāti vṛtti) by Abhinavagupta (eleventh
century). Abhinavagupta’s Paramārtha-sūtra is another important work. It is said
to be based on an old treatise called Ādhāra-kārikā which is not available now.
There are also commentaries from the Trika point of view on some of the Āga-
mas like Svachchanda, Netra, Vijñāna-bhairava, and Mātaṅga. Kṣemarāja’s com-
mentary Uddyota on Svachchanda Āgama is an important work.

The Spanda-sāstras lay down the main principles of the system. The Spanda-
Sūtra or the Spanda-kārikā (containing fifty-two sūtras) is based on the Śiva-Sūtra
and is attributed to Vasugupta by Kṣemarāja. The Spanda-Sūtra and the vṛtti
on it by Kallaṭa (eighth or ninth century) are called Spanda-sarvasva. There are,
besides, four commentaries on the Spanda-Sūtra, namely, Viśrīti by Rāmakṛṣṇa, Pradīpikā by Utpala, and Spanda-sandoha and Spanda-nirṇaya by Kṣemarāja.

The Tatrāloka in twelve books by Abhinavagupta is a monumental work and deals with Advaita Śaivism comprehensively in all its aspects. The first part is the Āgama section with the Śiva-Sūtra; the second, the Tantra section, represents Śiva’s replies to Pārvatī’s questions; and the third is an exposition of the sūtras. The originators were respectively Vasugupta, Kallaṭa, and Somānanda, all of them belonging to the eighth-ninth centuries. Somānanda employs logical reasoning extensively in his work, while Kallaṭa expounds the system as pure revelation. The term pratyabhijñā itself connotes recognition of the identity of the knower and the known. The tradition was carried on in greater detail by Utpala and Abhinavagupta. It was adopted by Kṣemarāja in his Śiva-sūtra-vimarśini, by Yogarāja in his Paramārtha-saṅgraha, by Jayaratha (twelfth century) in his commentary on the Tatrāloka, and by Śivopādhyāya in his Vijñāna-bhairavi.

Kṣemarāja’s Śaiva works are astounding in their volume. The notable extant ones, besides Śiva-sūtra-vimarśini, Spanda-sandoha, Spanda-nirṇaya, and Svacchanda-udvyota, are: Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya, Netra-udvyota, Vijñāna-bhairava-udvyota, Śiva-sūtra-vṛtti, Stava-cintāmaṇi-tikā, Utpala-stotrāvali-tikā, Para-praveśikā, and Tattva-sandoha. While Kṣemarāja is the leading exponent of the Pratyabhijñā system, Utpala’s thoughts were in a more compact form.

Maheśvarānanda (c. twelfth century), who lived in Cidambaram, has written two Pratyabhijñā works, viz. Mahārtha-maṇijari and Parimala. He has also written a commentary on the Bhagavad-Gītā from the Śaiva standpoint.

Some of the Pratyabhijñā works are highly poetical though their main concern is philosophy. For example, Utpala’s Stotrāvali speaks of Śakti as an expression of the joy which the Lord felt when he saw his own splendour. Śakti, emanated by delight, created herself out of herself and became the manifested world.16

VIRAŚAIVISM OR LIŅGĀYATA SCHOOL

This school traces its origin to the Āgamas. The pañcarāyas17 (five teachers of Viraśaivism) are traditionally believed to have sprung from the five faces of Śiva referred to in the Suprabheda and Svāyambhuva Āgamas. The Mrgendrāgama refers to the practice of carrying the symbol of Śiva, the liṅga, by the votaries on their body itself. Some of the earlier Upaniṣads provide the monistic basis of this cult. Ānanda Giri’s Saṅkara-vijaya has reference to the liṅga worn on the body. Hari-bhadra (date ranging between eighth and tenth centuries) in his Saḍdarśana-samuccaya refers to Śaivas carrying the liṅga on their person and regarding it as dearer than life itself. Some uttarabhāga Āgamas like Uttara Vātula and Uttara

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16 Ānandocchātaḥ lakṣaḥ srjatyāmānam ātmanah.
17 They are Revanārādhya, Marujārādhya, Ekorāmārādhya, Paṇḍitārādhya, and Viśvārādhya.
Kāmika indicate later developments of this cult. The Viṣṇavīgama, an Upāgama, mentions the four pīthas or pontifical seats of this sect, viz. yogapītha, mahāpītha, jñānapītha, and somapītha (paṭala VIII).

The first comprehensive treatise of this school is, however, Siddhānta-śikhāmani of Reṇukācārya (thirteenth century). It is in the form of a dialogue between Agastya and Revaṇasiddha, and reveals the secret of Viṣṇaism. It is in simple anuṣṭubh metre except for the comments which follow at the end of each chapter (paricchedā). Most of the paricchedas have cārnīkas (purport) prefixed, explanatory of the topic dealt with in the chapters concerned. The first chapter gives an account of the pañcācāryas, while chapters II to IV enumerate the tenets of Viṣṇaism. The rest of the chapters expound the saha-sthala, the process of evolution of the soul (aṅga) till its final union with God (liṅga). This book is said to be the essence of Śaiva Āgamas and the most authentic exposition of the Śiva-dvaita Viṣṇaiva theology. The basis of this work was obviously the discourses of Allama Prabhu, the teacher of Basava, who revived Viṣṇaism as a cult in the twelfth century and infused new blood into it.\(^\text{18}\) He was regarded as an incarnation of Śiva himself. Basava requested Allama Prabhu to give his discourses in the anubhavamāṇapa in which the votaries held their dialogue. Basava did not write any book, but his vacanas or utterances are a free mixture of Sanskrit and Kannada, and are a very authentic record of the spiritual experience of Viṣṇaism given in the form of precepts. The vacanas are prose-poetry with a musical ring in them. They are highly mystical.

Anubhava-Sūtra of Māyideva, a follower of Basava, is a small Sanskrit work. It has been treated as part of the Vātulottara Tantra. It is also included as the second part of Śiva-siddhānta Tantra, the first part being Viṣṇavīgama-prakāśikā. Anubhava-Sūtra deals with guru-paramparā, sāhala, liṅgasthala, aṅga-sthala, liṅga-saṅyogavidhi, liṅgārpaṇa-sadhāvā, sarvāṅga-liṅga-sāhitya, and krīyā-viśrānti. The Sūtra gives a completely different definition of bhakti or adoptive action which abolishes duality between aṅga and liṅga. The language of the Sūtra (in Śaiva theological literature ślokas are frequently called sūtras) is beautiful.

Paṇḍitārādhya-carita is a voluminous work by Gururāja (fifteenth century). Śiva-dvaita-darpaṇa and Śiva-dvaita-mañjari are other important works on Viṣṇaism. Some minor works are: Viṣṇa-viśvarūpa-saṅgraha, Viṣṇa-viśṇīśiṣyā, Anādiraśaiva-sūra-saṅgraha, and Viṣṇa-viśa-sudhānīdhi. They are obviously much later works.

Basava Purāṇa is a work of considerable length giving the life and teachings of Basava and also of the sixty-three Śaivite saints or Nāyanmārs, as they are called in Tamil, who are regarded as purāṇa puruṣas. It is considered as part of the Bhavisya Purāṇa. It is said to have been written in Sanskrit by Śaṅkarārādhya (fourteenth century) of Kāñcī. It is also called Nandikesvara-vijaya or Viṣabhendra-

\(^\text{18}\) Vide M. R. Sakhare, History and Philosophy of Lingayat Religion (Belgaum, 1942), pp. 415-18.
vijaya. Although Basava was a historical figure, the narration is in mythical style. This Purāṇa must have become famous after the time of Śrīpati Paṇḍīta, a commentator on the Brahma-Sūtra, who considered the Purāṇas as authoritative literature.

Līṅga-dhāraṇya-candrikā by Nandikesvara is an important book on the Līṅgā-yata cult. The author appears to be well versed in the Vedas, Āgamas, Upaniṣads, and Tarka (Logic). He appears to be a follower of Śrīkaṇṭha’s metaphysics. The work is theological, dealing mainly with the significance of wearing the līṅga, the procedure of dīkṣā ceremony, etc. The date of its composition is not known for certain, but it is not likely to be earlier than the sixteenth century. It has a Sanskrit commentary by Śivakumāra.

Prabhu-līṅga-lilā, believed to be a part of the Vīraśaivāgama, is a symbolic epic, complete in twenty-five gatis or paṭalas, i.e. cantos, on the advent of Allama Prabhu. It is said that Allama Prabhu came to the world to demonstrate the way of salvation. His advent, according to this book, was in response to Umā’s request to Lord Śiva. Śiva says that he would go to bhūloka (earth) as a jñāna-guru and teach the path. Umā sends down Māyā to the world to defeat the plan. But Allama, the saviour, makes her powerless and establishes the path of Vīraśaivism. Prabhu-līṅga-lilā, which explains the philosophy of Vīraśaivism, has high literary value.

ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA

Śaiva Siddhānta or Southern Śaivism traces its origin to the Śaiva Āgamas. In fact, some early writers called the Śaiva Āgamas themselves as the Siddhānta. It treats both the Vedas and Āgamas as revelations of God, the Vedas as general and the Āgamas as special. While the Vedas propitiate many gods, the Śaiva Āgamas proclaim Śiva alone as the supreme One. Although no difference is made in regard to authority between the Vedas and Āgamas, this distinction is maintained by the Śaiva school. Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya, who is a Siddhāntin, says: ‘We do not perceive any difference between the Vedas and the Āgamas. The usage of the term Śivāgama to refer also to the Vedas is proper.’ The same sentiment is echoed by Tirumūlar (fourth century) in his Tirumandiram in Tamil: ‘The Vedas and the Āgamas are both authoritative as they emanated from God. The Vedas are general, the Āgamas are specific. The learned do not discriminate’ (verse 2397). Haradatta Śivācārya also says in the Śruti-sūkti-mālā: ‘The very people who affirm that the Vedas are authoritative texts know that the Āgamas of divine origin, attributed to you, are also authoritative’ (verse 109).

19 Viyanaḥ tu vedāsviṣaygaranamordhamaḥ na paśyāmaḥ
20 Vedāḥ pramāṇamīti saṅgārimaṇaḥ eva
Diyanaḥ tvaśvāgamam avaiti janaḥ pramāṇam.
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The Southern school acknowledges the authority of the Vedas, but relies only on the Āgamas and the Śaiva Upaniṣads like the Śvetāsvatara as true interpretations, in view of the conflicting ideas in other texts. In this respect, it resembles the Pāṣupata and the Pratyabhijñā which had their own separate Sūtras. In common with Vaiṣṇavism, it accepted the authority of some Purāṇas and also the divine utterances of contemporary saints. When Śaṅkara wrote his bhāṣyas on the Prasthāna-traya, some of the Śaiva saints and their utterances were well known. Śaṅkara has referred to Jñānasambandhar and Kaṇḍiappar in his stotra works (e.g. Śivānanda-lahari, verse 63).

Next to the Vedas and Āgamas and the theistic Upaniṣads, the Sanskrit source for Southern Śaivism is the Śaiva Purāṇas and their sanhitā portions. The Southern school in general accepts Śrīkaṇṭha’s bhāṣya, although its interpretation of Ekamāvadāvitīyam (One without a second) is different. Its preoccupation was not with interpretation of texts but with broad basing Śiva-bhakti on the basis of the fourfold path of ārṇā, kriyā, yosa, and jñāna. This was done for understanding the pentad aspects of Śiva’s grace, viz. srṣṭi (creation), sthitā (sustenance), sanbhāra (destruction), tirobhāva (obscuration), and anugraha (grace).

The devotional poetry in Tamil of the four great Śaiva samayācāryas has for its recurrent theme the grace of Śiva. They are collected as the Devāram and the Tiruvācakam, the first comprising the hymns of Jñānasambandhar, Tirumāvakkarasar (Appar), and Sundaramūrti, and the second those of Māṇikka-vācakar. These saints frequently refer to the four Vedas, six Vedāṅgas, and the legendary deeds of Śiva which are retold in the Purāṇas and Itihāsas. The Devāram, the Tiruvācakam, many other padigams (hymns), the Tirumandiram of Tirumūlar which is an Āgamic book, and the Tiruttutuṇḍar Purāṇam,21 the last, a book of hagiology, are arranged as the twelve canonical books of Southern Śaivism called the Tiru-murai. They are regarded as the Tamil Vedas. The very name is significant, because it implies both daivika or apaṇrṣeya (tiru) and āgamy or revealed (murai). Passages in the Tiru-murai which have parallels in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads, some of which are Āgamic, have been listed by the Siddhānta scholar Śenthināthayyar. Parallel passages in the Bhagavad-Gītā (claimed to have been written under Āgamic influence) and the Pārameśvara Āgama have been listed by the Viraśaiva scholar, M. R. Sakhare. Both the Vedas and the

21 The Tiruttutuṇḍar Purāṇam or the Periyā Purāṇam in which the lives of sixty-three Tamil Śaiva saints were originally depicted by Śekkizhār (twelfth century) has a parallel Sanskrit version called Bhaktasaṅhitā by Upamanyu which is believed to be part of a sanhitā of the Skanda Purāṇa. The lives of the saints given here are told by Agastya to Upamanyu. There is also another similar work called Śiva-bhaktasaṅhitā whose authorship is not known. These works are interesting as they relate many wonderful deeds and anecdotes connected with the Tamil saints. The Sanskrit versions often differ in detail from Śekkizhār’s magnum opus; they are nevertheless useful to scholars and savants not knowing Tamil.
ŚAIVA LITERATURE

Āgamas are accepted by Southern Śaivism, but the Tamil Tiru-murais, which were compiled by Nambi Āṇḍar Nambi (c. eleventh century), are regarded as the cherished texts. As Śiva worship is believed to have been prevalent in South India even in pre-Vedic times, this is understandable. The Sanskrit works on Śaivism in other parts of the country are not alien to Southern Śaivism but the body of Tamil canons is so large and engrossing that it is felt to be self-sufficient. The Southern school relies for its doctrines only on the Śaiva Āgamas revealed by Śiva on the Mahendra hills in South India.

As the doctrinal truths are found scattered in several Āgamas (just as the Vedānta is propounded in several Upaniṣads), codification of the Siddhānta was made by Meykaṇḍar (c. A.D. 1232) in his Śiva-jñāna-bodham in Tamil. Śiva-jñāna-bodham is supposed to have had its Sanskrit original in the Pāśa-vimocaṇa-puṭala of the Rauravāgama. There is, however, no basis for this, as it is not found in any of the texts of the Rauravāgama so far traced. Nor does Meykaṇḍar mention it as his source in the prologue. Meykaṇḍar does not profess to teach anything new. His birth is shrouded in mystery and he is believed to have had direct revelation. The work comprises twelve sūtras (aphorisms) including thirty-nine adhikaraṇas (sections). The author has also added vārttika and udāharaṇa (illustration) to his sūtras. The sūtras were later translated into Sanskrit (apparently by Śivāgroyogin); but there are slight deviations from the original Tamil and even subtle doctrinal variations.*Śivāgroyogin (sixteenth century) of the Śuryānārkoil

* The key position held by Śiva-jñāna-bodham in the literature of Tamil Śaivism is brought out by the following verse: 'The Veda is the cow. The Āgamas are its milk. The Tamil hymns of the four great Śiva acāryas are the butter in the milk, and Śiva-jñāna-bodham of Meykaṇḍar is the taste of that butter.' The verse also signifies the attitude of profound veneration with which the Vedas and the Āgamas are looked upon by the Southern school of Śaivism.

* The Sanskrit version is rarely published, and is practically a sealed book to Sanskrit scholars outside. The sūtras are exquisite and terse literary pieces. They have also much logic and metaphysical content. The whole text is, therefore, given below for the convenience of those who cannot make use of the Tamil original.

Śrīparivānamahāsūktādīvāt jāgataḥ kāryadarsanāt
Asti kartā sa hṛtvatat svajyāsvam prabhurharaḥ.
Anyaḥ sancyāptito nanyā kartā karmānusūrataḥ
Karoṇi sanāsuṭānānām aśīyā samaveteṣvā.
Netito māmatodikād aksoparatihbodhato
Śāpe nirbhagato bodhe bodhīyuvāt astyaupustanau,
Ātmāntaḥkaraṇāyāno jñāyona maṇtriḥbhāpavat
Aśvaṭhāpaṇitakramaṭa malaṇāsadasaḥkriyāḥ.
Vinantaṣyanāṃ punāḥsthūlaṁ na svayam aśi jivaḥ sambhūnā
Tadāke śivācma kūnto jyotat sa tannayet.
Aḍāyaḥ cedashabhcito ṛṣāyaḥ ced jaśīmaḥ bhavet
Śambhovāstraśākṣiraṇaṁ jeyoḥ rūpaṁ vidūrakīrṇaḥ.
Nāśit citsamidhān kūnto na vītaṁ ubhe mithaḥ
Praṇāsaśīlayevaṁ yah sa ātmā tayoḥ jñeyah.
Śīkṣaṭā sabhāntāyaśaṣṭadhaṁ tuṇāṁ na svasūriḥ bodhīṣāḥ
Muktavātā śisvarāṇāyānām dhanaḥ prāṇoti tataḥpadam.

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monastery has written a voluminous bhāṣya on Śīva-jñāna-bodham in Sanskrit running to about 600 pages. It is a valuable commentary which calls for more attention of the scholars than seems to have been given. The commentator cites here parallel Āgama texts for every adhikaraṇa of the Tamil sūtras, and thus establishes a very important link between them. Another Sanskrit work by Śivāgrayogin is Śīva-paribhāṣā, a manual in five sections on the categories of Śaiva Siddhānta. His Śīvāgra-Paddhati is a manual on rituals, and Kriyā-dīpikā, a book on Śaiva sannyāsā sacrament.

We have already said that Śrikanṭha Śivācārya’s bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtra is a supporting work for Śaiva Siddhānta, although it has monistic leanings. Śrikanṭha’s work was further carried on by Nīlakaṇṭha Śivācārya (c. a.d. 1400) whose Kriyā-sāra is a metrical composition on Śrikanṭha-bhāṣya. It sought to bridge the gap between Śivādvaita and Vīraśaivism. Śataratna-saṅgraha of Umāpati Śivācārya (early fourteenth century), the famous commentator of the Paushkārāgama, is a valuable collection of Āgama texts expounding the Śaiva Siddhānta doctrine. The hundred texts collected are of immense importance to the students of Śaiva Siddhānta. Siddhānta-sārāvali of Trilocana Śambhu (c. a.d. 1350) is one of the illuminating exegetics of Śaiva Siddhānta. It deals with the four paths, caryā, kriyā, yoga, and jñāna, but gives the greatest importance to kriyā. So, it is in the nature of a paddhati (manual of rules for rituals and sequence of mantras). It has a gloss by Ananta Śivam. Sadyojyoti Śivācārya (fifteenth century) wrote commentaries on some Āgamas like the Raurava and the Svāyambhuva. He is also known as Khetapāla or Khetakanandana.

The jñānapāda of Śaiva Āgamas, on which Śaiva Siddhānta is based, has been condensed into eight treatises called aṣṭapraparānas: Tattva-saṅgraha, Tattvanirṇaya, Bhoga-kārikā, Mokṣa-kārikā, and Paramokṣa-nirāśa by Sadyojyoti Śivācārya; Tattva-prakāśa by Bhoja; Ratna-traya by Śrikanṭha; and Nāda-kārikā by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakanda. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakanḍa has written a bṛhatī tīkā and Aghora Śivācārya a laghū tīkā on Tattva-saṅgraha of Sadyojyoti. Aghora Śivācārya (fifteenth century) has written commentaries on all of them excepting...
Sadyojyoti Śivācārya’s last two works of which Bhaṭṭa Rāmakānda happens to be the commentator.

Sakalāgama-saṅgṛaha is a selection from eighteen principal Āgamas, five Upāgamas, ten Tantras, and twenty-three Śāstras like Somasambhu-Padhati and Jñāna-ratnāvāli. This deals with the rituals and daily discipline of the Siddhāntins. In this connexion, it may be mentioned that Nijaguna Śivyogin and Śambhu Deva in their respective works Viveka-cintamani and Śiva-siddhānta-dīpikā have given an estimate of the verses in the various Āgamas. Siddhānta-ṭekhara is a voluminous omnibus of texts dealing with Śiva-liṅga-pratiṣṭhā-vidhi (rituals connected with the installation of Śiva-liṅga). It was originally printed in the Grantha script in Jaffna (Ceylon). Recently, it has been printed in Devanāgarī also in Mysore. Siddhānta exegetists attach great importance also to some Upāgamas like Śivadharmottarā and Sarvajñānottara, which contain beautiful poetry as well as philosophy in the uttara (dialogue) form.

ŚAIVA PADDHATIS

The rituals of the Āgamas are not mere kriyā-kramas (methodologies), but also definite means to mystic experience. The mantras (hymns), mudrās (poses and postures of fingers, hands, or body), nyāsas (gestures of touching the various parts of the body for purification), etc. are highly artistic expressions of the spiritual delight that the participants, both individual and congregational, attain during worship. These procedures are written in the form of padhati. Composed in simple Sanskrit, these procedural texts are in use even today. They were written between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. They helped to establish the Āgamic rituals in the place of the Mimāṃsaka rituals. The Praṇaṁcādra of Saṅkarācārya is said to have served a similar purpose. The padhatis26 were all written by Śivācāryas (Śaiva teachers) who must have been Āgamic pundits or heads of mathas. These padhatis are different from the Siddha-siddhānta-padhati of the Nātha Siddha cult of North India.

25 Śivadharmottarā is usually regarded as a Śaiva Upapurāṇa. Vide Dr R. C. Hazra’s list of the Śaiva Upapurāṇas in CHI, Vol. II, p. 282.
26 A list of some padhatis is given below:
   Siddhānta-Padhati (by Iśānaśiva—c. A.D. 900);
   Varuna-Padhati, Mṛgendra-Padhati, Brahmaśambhu-Padhati, Rāmānātha-Padhati, Nāgarjuna-Padhati (c. A.D. 1000-1300);
   Uttarāga-Padhati (c. A.D. 1400); Bhoja-Padhati (c. A.D. 1400); Gaua-Padhati, Gaua-Padhati (authors unknown—c. A.D. 1400); Siddhānta-Padhati (c. A.D. 1475); Aghoraśiva-Padhati (c. A.D. 1500); Somaśambhu-Padhati (c. A.D. 1500); Śivāgra-Padhati and Śiva-satyāśa-padhati (by Śivāgrayogin—c. A.D. 1600); Åmārtha-puja-padhati (by Maraijñāna Deśika—c. A.D. 1600);
   Dīkṣāmāndala-Padhati and Saṅpana-Padhati (by Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa—c. A.D. 1600); and Vidyākāṇḍa-Padhati (c. A.D. 1600).
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

The prestige and popularity of the paddhatis can be inferred from the fact that they have many Sanskrit commentaries. Almost all of them were written in South India like the bhāsyas on Prasthānā-traya. The most important are Soma-śambhu-Paddhati and Aghoraśiva-Paddhati (also called Kriyā-krama-dīpikā). The latter consists of three parts, pūrva, apara, and śodaśa-prakāśikā. It has a gloss called Prabhā.

ŚAIVA STHALA-PURĀNAS

Another important class of Śaiva literature is formed by the Sthala-Purāṇas. They are devoted to the glorification (māhātmya) of the places and shrines sacred to Śiva. One of the best known is Halāṣya-māhātmya attributed to Haradatta. It gives an account of the sports of Śiva in the holy place Madurai, called the dvādaśānta-sthala. It is a very popular book and recited in temple congregations. The Ekāmra Purāṇa27 is a fairly big work written in praise of Ekāmra-kṣetra (Bhuvanesvarā) in Orissa. There are many other Sthala-Purāṇas relating to other sacred places like Cidambaram, Rāmeśvaram, Kāṇeśī, etc. Besides independent works like these, there are numerous descriptions in praise of tīrthas sacred to Śiva in the principal Purāṇas.*

27 Dr. R. C. Hazra has included the Ekāmra Purāṇa in the list of Śaiva Upapurāṇas, Vide CHI, Vol. II, p. 282.

*This account gives a fairly full picture of the Śaiva literature in Sanskrit. Southern recensions of ancient books are mostly in the Grantha script (a script similar to later Brāhmī or early Tamil script) and not in Devanāgarī, and because of this handicap they are not looked into by scholars elsewhere. Their publication in Devanāgarī is very much desirable, otherwise a rich heritage of a very valuable tradition would remain a closed book to many.
VAISHNAVISM is one of the oldest religious cults of India. It is a cult of bhakti or devotion. It holds that God can be approached only through love. Bhakti, Vaishnavism claims, is the best way of attaining the highest salvation. With this cult grew up a new literary tradition, not only in Sanskrit, but in other Indian languages also. Contributions of the Vaishnavas have enriched Indian literature for hundreds of years. Here we shall trace, in brief, the development of Vaishnava literature written in Sanskrit. We shall not discuss Vaishnavism and its philosophy, for these have been dealt with in the preceding volume of this series.

VIŠṆU IN VEDIC LITERATURE

Viṣṇu is a Vedic deity. He assisted Indra in the killing of Vṛtra and he is the god that measured the three worlds and lived in the highest heaven. In his abode there is a perpetual spring of honey. In the Brāhmaṇas, Viṣṇu became the most important god and the symbol of sacrificial worship (yajña). In the Katha Upaniṣad the goal of human life is represented as attaining the abode of Viṣṇu, while in the Maitri Upaniṣad food that sustains the universe is called Bhagavān Viṣṇu. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa assigns the highest place to Viṣṇu. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa gives prominence to Nārāyaṇa. He assumes a cosmic character in the Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad. The Taittirīya Samhitā states that Viṣṇu, taking the form of a dwarf, conquered the three worlds.

1 In the pre-Christian era, the highest deity was the human hero Vāsudeva of the Sātvata family. In the course of time, he came to be identified with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa. According to Pāṇini, the cult or sect was called Vāsudevaka and not Viṣṇava (Aṣṭādhyāyī, IV. 3.98). This cult was also known by the names Sātvata, Aikāntika, Pāncarātra, and Bhāgavata. Sātvata points to the family in which Vāsudeva was born; Aikāntika denotes ekānta-bhakti or absolute devotion to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa; Pāncarātra centres round Vāsudeva and the members of his family, and the worshippers of Vāsudeva are termed as Bhāgavatas. The term niṣṇava is of rather late origin, and occurs for the first time in the last parva of the Mahābhārata. Vide Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, Evolution of Hindu Sects (Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1970), pp. 24-25.


3 In the Rg-Veda, Viṣṇu is a solar god. It is believed that Viṣṇu worship is nothing but Sun worship transformed over the ages.

4 I. 3.9.

5 I.1.

6 I.31.

7 VI. 13.

8 XIII. 3.4.1; VIII. 6.1.1; II.12.

9 II. 1.3.1.
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

There are some Upaniṣads which are generally known as Vaiśāṇava Upaniṣads. These are, however, of much later origin. To this group of Upaniṣads belong the Auyaktopanishad or Auyakta-nrsinhoupanished, Kali-santaranopanished, Kṛṣṇopanished, Garudopanished, Gopāla-tāpanti Upanished, Gopālottara-tāpanti Upanished, Tārāśāropanished, Tripād-vibhūti-mahānārāyanu Upanished, Dattātreypanished, Nārāyaṇopanished, Nṛsiṁha-tāpini Upanished, Nṛsiṁhottara-tāpini Upanished, Rāma-tāpini Upanished, Rāmottarottara-tāpini Upanished, Rāma-rahasya Upanished, and Vāsudevopanished.¹⁰

‘Nārāyaṇa’, which really meant ‘supremely valiant man’, was an implied epithet of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, and soon became a synonym of Viṣṇu. About the second century B.C., the identification of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was complete. This marked also the emergence of a composite Vaiṣṇava cult. The doctrine of avatāra started from the Bhagavad-Gītā, if not earlier. It was fully developed before the composition of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa where Kṛṣṇa has been placed above Viṣṇu.

PĀNCARĀTRA SAMHITĀS

The Pāncarātra* sect of the Vaiṣṇavas is very old and is associated with the Puruṣa-sākta of the Rg-Veda. The Nārāyananiya section of the Mahābhārata gives an account of the Pāncarātra doctrine. Yāmuna, in his Āgama-prāmāṇya, tries to show that the Pāncarātra literature is as valid as the Vedas, since it originates from the same source, namely, the divine Being, Nārāyaṇa. Originally, the followers of Nārāyaṇa were designated as Pāncarātras. They worshipped pāncavirās,¹¹ Vāsudeva and four other members of his family. According to them, Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha constituted the vyāha or emanatory aspect of Viṣṇu. It is believed that from Vāsudeva sprang Saṅkarṣaṇa, from Saṅkarṣaṇa Pradyumna, and from Pradyumna Aniruddha. Schrader remarks that the name pāncarātra came from the central dogma of

¹⁰But these Upaniṣads are mostly full of inessential descriptions, ritualistic practices, and the muttering of particular mantras. Some of them, like the Nṛsiṁha-tāpini, Gopāla-tāpanti, etc., have been utilized by the Gaudiya school of Viṣṇuvism. Cf. HIP, Vol. III, p. 13.

*See foot-note 12 in the next page for explanation.

¹¹The inscriptions of the first century B.C. show Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva being worshipped jointly with equal veneration; there are indications that sometimes not only the two but as many as five hero-gods of the Viṣṇis were worshipped jointly. An inscription of the first century A.D. recovered from a well in Mora, a village seven miles west of Mathurā city, records the setting up of the statues of the five holy heroes (bhagavatābh poviavirāpam) of the Viṣṇis in a stone temple built by a woman named Toṣā. The images, made of stone, were meant for worship and are said to have a glowing and exceedingly handsome appearance. Lüders identified the five heroes as Baladeva (Saṅkarṣaṇa), Akrūra, Anādhṛṣṭi, Śrāṇa, and Viḍūratha on the basis of the Jaina sources. But J. N. Banerjea with the help of a passage in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa identifies them as Baladeva, Vāsudeva, Śamba, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha.—Suvira Jaiswal, The Origin and Development of Viṣṇuvism (Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1967), pp. 68-69.
VAIṢṆAVA LITERATURE

the pañcarātra sattāra\textsuperscript{12} of Nārāyaṇa, which speaks of fivefold manifestation of God representing His para (transcendent), vyūha (emanatory), vibhava (incarnatory), antaryāmin (immanent), and arcā (worshipable in images) aspects.

Side by side with the doctrine of vyūha, the Pañcarātra system of the Nārāyaṇiya section of the Mahābhārata records a parallel doctrine of avatāras. In the Nārāyaṇiya section we have the following account of the ten avatāras: Appearing in the forms of a swan, a tortoise, a fish, O foremost of twice-born ones! I shall then appear as a boar, then as a man-lion, then as a dwarf, then as Rāma of Bhrigu's race, then as Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, then as Kṛṣṇa, the scion of the Sātvata race, and lastly as Kalki.\textsuperscript{13}

In later works, the number of avatāras is given as twelve, eighteen, and even twenty-four. According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, the avatāras of Viṣṇu cannot be limited in number; they are innumerable just as countless streams spring forth from the unending waters of a lake.\textsuperscript{14} Archaeological evidences, however, show that the doctrine became a popular one in the time of the Guptas. The introduction of Śakti worship in the Pañcarātra may be a later development, but the cult from the very beginning seems to have had a close affinity with Tāntricism.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{12} According to the Nārada Pañcarātra, rātra means knowledge; hence Pañcarātra is a system which deals with five kinds of knowledge, cosmology (tattva), the science of liberation (mukti-prada), of devotion (bhakti-prada), of Yoga (yogika), and pertaining to the senses (vāsīṣṭika). But, as pointed out, few of the extant Śanhitās conform to this scheme of the topics outlined, and the apocryphal nature of the text renders its evidence highly untrustworthy. According to the Iśvara Śanhitā, the religion that was taught by the god to five sages, Śāntilaya, Aupa, Mauḍūya, Kauśika, and Bharadvāja, in five successive days and nights came to be known among the people as Pañcarātra. The Śrī-Prajna Śanhitā states that rātra means nescience (ajñāna), and pañca derived from the root puc means that which cooks or destroys; hence Pañcarātra is the system which destroys ignorance. According to the Padma Tāntrā, the system is so named because just as the sun dispels the night, the Pañcarātra dispels the other five systems, which are the Yoga, Śāṅkhyā, Buddhism, Jainism, and Pāṣupata. A passage mentioned in the Agni Purāṇa states that the five elements (pañcābhinīs) which form the body of Brahmā are known as pañcarātra. The Sāto-patha Brāhmaṇa states that the pañcarātra sattāra of Nārāyaṇa was the puruṣa-mahābhūta which lasted for five days; the duration of the sacrifice being counted from the previous night, the word rātra is used. In the Vaitāṇa-Sūtra of the Atharva-Veda also, the sacrifice is a five-day performance. Thus it seems that pañcarātra originally meant the sacrifice with which Nārāyaṇa was connected. \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 41-44.

\textsuperscript{13} Mbh., XII. 340, 100.

\textsuperscript{14} Bhāgavata, III. 26-27.

\textsuperscript{15} The worship of the Boar and Nṛsiṁha incarnations was the most popular form of Vaiṣṇavism in the Gupta period. In both these sects we can clearly discern Tāntric elements showing how gradually Tāntricism was expanding its sway over Vaiṣṇavism, or showing indirectly how the Vaiṣṇava sect was now gradually adopting Tāntric practices. The devotees of the Nṛsiṁha cult practise the sectarian mantra in anuvāṭaḥ verse called the Mantra-nirūpa of Nṛsiṁha which is accompanied by four ancillary mantras. The sectarian laws enjoin that if the Nṛsiṁha diagram—clearly a Tāntric one—is carried by a devotee, he becomes free from all dangers. Even at the present time the Nṛsiṁha sub-sect can be found in South India where Nṛsiṁha is the god of many families. \textit{Vide} J. N. Farquhar, \textit{An Outline of the Religious Literature of India} (Oxford University Press, London, 1920), p. 188.
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The Pāñcarātra literature is pretty large, but most of the works are in manuscripts and very few are in print. The Śātvata Saṁhitā is the most important Pāñcarātra text. It is stated in this Saṁhitā that the Lord created the Pāñcarātra literature at the request of Saṁkarṣaṇa. The Śātvata Saṁhitā consists of twenty-five chapters which describe in detail the mode of worshipping Nārāyaṇa in all his four vyūha manifestations. The Śātvata, Pauskara, Parama, Ivara, and Jayākhya are the earliest Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās of high authority. Of the many treatises on the Pāñcarātra doctrine, the Pañcarātra-raksā-saṅgraha by Gopālasūri is the most important.

The Mārkandeya Saṁhitā consists of thirty-two chapters. It speaks of 108 Saṁhitās. The Viṣvaksena Saṁhitā, which has thirty-one chapters, is a very old work. Śrī Rāmānuja referred to this work quite often. Most of the Pāñcarātra works are ritualistic in content with very little of philosophy. The Jayākhya Saṁhitā, Ahirbudhyā Saṁhitā, Viṣṇu Saṁhitā, and Pauskara Saṁhitā, however, have some philosophical elements in them. Of these, the first two are the most important. The Jñānāmṛta-sūtra Saṁhitā, also entitled the Nārada Pañcarātra, seems to have been written about the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is, a little before Vallabhācārya. It is devoted to the glorification of young Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

EPICS AND PURĀNAS

The two great epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, are rich in Vaiṣṇava legends and teachings. Scholars think that the first and last books of the Rāmāyaṇa are later additions, for they deify Rāma and identify him with Viṣṇu. The interpolation must have taken place towards the end of the second century A.D. In the other books (II to VI), Rāma is described as a human being and not as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The Mahābhārata contains enough material to show Vaiṣṇava influence and also the history of Vaiṣṇavism. The Bhagavad-Gītā section of the Bhīṣma-parvan is the most esteemed book not only with the Bhāgavatas, but with the whole Hindu community. The Nārāyaṇiya section of the Śānti-parvan is another sacred text for the Bhāgavatas. It emphasizes that the grace of Nārāyaṇa can be attained only through bhakti or devotion. The Anuśāsanaparvan (Chapter CXXXV) of the Mahābhārata contains the Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra, a hymn on the thousand names of Viṣṇu. It is in this epic that Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa is identified with Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu. The Harivanśa, in 16,374 verses, forms a supplement to the Mahābhārata, and is an important source of the myths and legends current about Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa.

Among the eighteen Purāṇas, six are primarily dedicated to the glorification

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16 Although the traditional list enumerates 108 Saṁhitās, there is actually mention of more than 215, of which, however, only very few have been published. Vide Hil, Vol. I, p. 369.
of Viṣṇu. They are: Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Nārādiya, Garuḍa, Padma, and Varāha. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa is held in the highest esteem by the worshippers of Viṣṇu and is recognized even by Rāmānujaśāṅkara as the most authentic work on Viṣṇu. Here Viṣṇu is glorified as the highest Being, as the creator and sustainer of the universe. Most of the legends narrated in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa are elaborated in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, the most popular book among the Viṣṇavites. The Bhāgavata is a later Purāṇa, of the eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D. In the Nārādiya Purāṇa, Viṣṇubhakti, devotion to Viṣṇu, is again and again proclaimed to be the only means of mokṣa, salvation. Without this, the Purāṇa says, study of the Vedas and scriptures, observance of austerities, sacrifices, and other such practices are of no avail. The Matsya Purāṇa was originally compiled by the Viṣṇavas; the Śaivite portions were added later. The Brahma, Brahmavaivarta, Vāmana, Kūrma, and Agni also give considerable importance to Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, or Nārāyaṇa.

A large number of māhātmyas glorifying Viṣṇava tīrthas (places of pilgrimage) are found in the Purāṇas. Mention may be made of Gayā-māhātmya (Garuḍa Purāṇa), Mathurā-māhātmya (Varāha Purāṇa), Puruṣottama-kṣetra-māhātmya (Brahma Purāṇa), and Vyndāvana-māhātmya (Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa).

Of the Viṣṇava Upapurāṇas, the most important ones are: the Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudharmottara, Nyāsiṁha, Bhānnarādiya, and Kriyā-yoga-sūtra. Scholars think that they were written between A.D. 400 and 900. The first four of these Upapurāṇas are Pāncarātra works and the last belongs to the Bhāgavatas. The other Viṣṇava Upapurāṇas, not so important, are: the Puruṣottama, Dharma, Bhārgava, Ādi, and Kālki. Except the last two, they appear to have been written before A.D. 1200.

JAINA AND BUDDHIST LITERATURE

The Rāma and Vāsudeva legends were popular with the Jains and were known to the Buddhists also. Vimala Sūri gives the earliest version of the Rāma story in his work, the Paśurāma. The Uttarādhyāyana-Sūtra and the Antakṛddhaśāka are among the important Jain sources containing legends about the Vṛṣṇis. Buddhist works like the Milindapañha, the Avadānasataka, and the Saddharmapuṇḍarika also contain references to Viṣṇavite deities. The Lalitavistara throws considerable light on the transformation of Buddha into an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu.

OTHER LITERATURE

The Smṛtis, too, shed light on the Viṣṇava cult. The introductory chapter of Manu Smṛti, explaining the creation of the universe, attributes it to Nārāyaṇa. The Smṛtis help us to understand the social conditions of Purānic Viṣṇavism. The influence of the Mahābhārata and Harivamsa is seen in some of the pages of
the Viṣṇu Smṛti (third century a.d.). The Vaikhānasa Smārta-Sūtra discusses the
details of Vaiṣṇava rituals.

Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya provides valuable information on the cult of Vaiṣṇa-
ivism by way of examples and citations. The Nātya-sāstra of Bharata refers to
the worship of the implements of Viṣṇu, which is an indication of how much popu-
lar Vaiṣṇavism had become. The Gāthā-saptāṭati of Hāla, the Sātavāhana king,
refers to Viṣṇu and his various incarnations. The works of Kālidāsa, Bhāsa,
Viśākhadatta, and other poets and dramatists of the Gupta period contain
material relating to Vaiṣṇavism. The early life of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa forms the
subject-matter of the Bālacarita of Bhāsa. His other plays, too, are built around
Vaiṣṇava themes. Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa presents Rāma as an incarnation
of Viṣṇu. The medical works, Caraka Samhitā and Suśruta Samhitā, recommend
the recitation of some magical formulas mentioning the names of Vaiṣṇavite
deities as a cure for some diseases. The Amarakoṣa, famous lexicon of Amara-
simha, gives synonyms of Vaiṣṇavite gods and goddesses, and refers to various
legends connected with them.

BHĀGAVATA VAIṢṆĀVISM

The earliest reference to the Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavism is found in the Aṣṭā-
dhyāyi of Pāṇini (c. fifth century b.c.). The Besnagar inscription (second century
b.c.) clearly shows the completion of the deification of Vāsudeva. The composite
cult of the Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavism had a considerable number of adherents
during the Śaka and Kuśāṇa periods. During the Gupta period its following
greatly increased. The Gupta rulers, bearing the title parama bhāgavata, cham-
pioned Vaiṣṇavism. It extended even up to Bengal, as is proved by the Susunia
rock inscriptions of King Candravarman (c. fourth century a.d.). After
the Guptas, the influence of Vaiṣṇavism began to decline in North India. The cult,
however, continued to flourish in the south under the patronage of the Cālukyas
of the Deccan. In the west, too, it flourished, but only among the members of
the Traikūṭaka dynasty. It dominated the scene in Bengal only much later.

BENGAL VAIṢṆĀVISM

Although the Pāla kings were ardent followers of Buddhism, numerous
epigraphic records suggest that Vaiṣṇavism was popular with the masses.
But what is technically known as Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is a ‘complex product’ of
multifarious elements. Caitanya is known to be its founder. This is not to say
that it is something new, divorced from early and medieval Vaiṣṇavism. What
Caitanya did was to infuse a new life into Vaiṣṇavism and also to give it a new
slant. After the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship of the Bhagavad-Gītā, Vaiṣṇavism took
a rigorous philosophical turn simultaneously with the revival of the cult of
bhakti. This happened as a reaction to Śaṅkarācārya’s theory of absolute non-
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dualism. About the twelfth century A.D., the Vaiśṇavas were sharply divided
into four schools* of thought. Bhakti and the concept of a personal God were the
main planks in the creeds of these sects. Meanwhile, the Purāṇas eulogizing
different deities were composed. The Bhāgavata exercised great influence on
the Vaiśṇava movement of this period. Two other important texts of the
Vaiśṇavas which preach the supremacy of Viṣṇu are the Hariwamsa and the
Viṣṇu Purāṇa. These two works describe the whole life of Kṛṣṇa but the Bhāga-
vata depicts Kṛṣṇa as a vigorous youth and as an object of passionate love of the
gopīs. Rādhā figures as his partner only in much later texts.

PRE-CAITANYA VAISNAVA LITERATURE IN BENGAL

Even though Buddhism, as was mentioned earlier, was the official religion
of the Pāla rulers, and the early Sena rulers were Śaivas, Lakṣmana Sena hap-
pened to be a Vaiśṇava. His contemporary Jayadeva wrote the Gitagovinda, which
is no doubt the most important devotional work before Caitanya. A work of
deep lyrical fervour, the Gitagovinda has inspired the Vaiśṇavas through the
ages. There are some verses in the Saduktī-karṇāmṛta describing the divine sport
of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. These verses are attributed to Lakṣmana Sena. In fact,
the Rādhā cult made its first appearance about this time. The Rādhā legend
has been elaborately worked out by Jayadeva. The Nimbārka sect also has done
its bit to promote it. A late Purāṇa, the Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa, also has a
hand in popularizing it. Śrīdhara Dāsa, author of the Saduktī-karṇāmṛta, was
a devout Vaiśṇava of this period. Two other scholars, Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa and
Halāyudha Bhaṭṭa, are said to have written the Bhāgavata-lattva-manjari and
Vaiśṇava-sarvasva respectively.

Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda drew upon Śrīmad-Bhāgavata for its emotional slant.
This lyrical work of Jayadeva, complete in twelve cantos, is the first specimen of
devotional eroticism, depicting as it does the spiritual yearning of the gopīs to
unite with Lord Kṛṣṇa. The Gitagovinda marks the beginning of what is called
Vaiśṇava Padavali literature.

As was stated earlier, Bengal Vaiśṇavism is closely linked with the name
of Caitanya, Caitanya himself was probably brought up on the Mādhva tradi-
tion. His predecessors, too, were all Mādhvas, followers of Madhva. As a monk,
Caitanya belonged to Śaṅkara’s daśanāmī tradition. Interestingly, Śrīdhara-
svāmin, in writing his commentaries on the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the Bhagavad-Gītā and
the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, reconciled devotional mysticism with Śaṅkara’s Advaita
philosophy. Mādhavendra Puri and his disciple Īśvara Puri, Caitanya’s guru,
followed in the steps of Śrīdharasvāmin. The Rāsa-pañeśāhyya section of the
Śrīmad-Bhāgavata was also a source of inspiration to Bengal Vaiśṇavas. Īśvara

*See page 120 of this article.
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Puri is said to have composed Śrī Kṛṣṇa-līlāmṛta. Rukmini-svayamvara is also attributed to him.

POST-CAITANYA VAIŚṆAVA LITERATURE

A fairly good number of biographies of Caitanya, written with devotional fervour, is available in Sanskrit and Bengali. The earliest is the Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya Caritāmṛta, often known simply as Kaḍcá and attributed to Murārī-gupta, an older contemporary of Caitanya. In seventy-eight cantos it depicts Caitanya's life and takes the form of a regular Sanskrit kāvya. Svarūpa Dāmodara, an associate of Caitanya at Puri, is also known to have written a biography known as Kaḍcā. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his Caitanya Caritāmṛta has utilized this Kaḍcā to depict the later years of Caitanya's life. Next comes the Caitanya Caritāmṛta-mahākāvya, in twenty cantos, written by Paramānandasena. The author is better known as Kavi Karnapūra. Paramānandasena also wrote the Caitanya-candrodaya, a drama in ten acts, depicting the later phase of Caitanya's life, at the request of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa. His other important works are: Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā, Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū and Alāṅkāra-kaustubha. The first gives an account of Caitanya's associates in their previous births as associates of Lord Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana. By this time Caitanya had come to be regarded as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. The second work depicts the childhood and youth of Kṛṣṇa in twenty sections in the campū style of mixed prose and verse. This is a work on Sanskrit poetics complete with illustrations mostly on Kṛṣṇa. A small kāvya in six cantos, the Kṛṣṇānika-kuṇḍali, is also attributed to him. Of the biographies of Caitanya in Bengali the most important are Vṛndāvana Dāsa's Caitanya-Bhāgavata, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Caitanya Caritāmṛta, and Locanadāsa's Caitanya-maṅgala. Mention may also be made of a work of the same title i.e. Caitanya-maṅgala written by Jayānanda.

SIX GOSVĀMINs

Excepting the eight Sanskrit verses known as Śikṣāṅtaka, Caitanya never wrote any work to propagate his devotional philosophy. The six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana, viz. Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunātha Dāsa, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Jīva inspired by the Master, however, wrote voluminous books to propagate the philosophy of bhakti. They systematized the doctrines and practices of the faith. The two brothers, Rūpa and Sanātana, were chosen by the Master for the difficult task of writing on the theology and the poetics (rasaśāstra) of this faith, while their nephew Jīva wrote about its philosophy.

Sanātana, the elder brother, wrote the following works: Bhṛd-bhāgavatāmṛta (with an auto-commentary called Dig-darśanī), Hari-bhakti-vilāsa and Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇi, a commentary on the tenth skandha of the Bhāgavata. Rūpa's works include: Uddhava-sandesa-kāvya, the two works of Bhaktirasa-śāstra, viz. Bhakti-
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rasāṁṛta-sindhu and Ujjvala-nilamani, an anthology of Sanskrit verses, Padāvalī, a work on dramaturgy, Nāṭaka-candrikā, and Saṅkṣēpa-bhāgavatāmṛta.

JIVA GOSVĀMIN

Jiva was the master exponent of the metaphysics of Caitanyaism. He was a versatile scholar in all branches of Indian philosophy and may rightly be considered as the founder of Vaiśṇava Vedānta. After studying at Vārāṇasi, he settled at Vṛndāvana and was a great help to Rūpa in writing the Bhakti-rasāṁṛta-sindhu. Jiva was a prolific writer and his works put the Caitanya cult on a firm and well-defined philosophical basis. His major work is called Bhāgavata-sandarbha also called Śaṭsandarbha. It consists of six treatises (sandarbhas) on Vaiśṇava philosophy and theology. These are Tatvā, Bhagavat, Paramātma, Kṛṣṇa, Bhakti, and Priti-sandarbhas. The Tatva-sandarbha discusses the pramāṇas, means of knowledge, and the prameyās. Jiva thinks that śabda is the only authentic source of knowledge, and speaks of the supreme authority of the Śrimad-Bhāgavata. In the prameya section Jiva discusses the sambandha, abhidheya and prayojana of his work and the origin of the Śrimad-Bhāgavata. Priti or divine love is the prayojana and cultivation of bhakti or bhagavad-bhajana is the abhidheya. The second sandarbha, the Bhagavat-sandarbha, contains the discourses on the idea of God (Bhagavān), the highest manifestation of advaya-jñāna-tatvā. To Jiva Bhagavān is endowed with form and attributes as distinguished from the ineffable absolute Brahman. In the Paramātma-sandarbha he deals with the concept of Paramātman or God-head which is consciousness and is in relation to Prakṛti and Jiva. Paramātman is the partial manifestation of Bhagavān. Bhagavān as possessed of jivaśakti and māyāśakti is called Paramātman. Jivaśakti is responsible for the existence of individual soul and māyāśakti for creation, sustenance and dissolution of the world. The Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha is primarily a text on theology which seeks to establish Kṛṣṇa as the highest deity. Kṛṣṇa is not an āvatāra but the very source of all āvatāras. In the Bhakti-sandarbha Jiva speaks of devotion as the only means of salvation. True knowledge (tatvā-jñāna) is the secondary effect of bhakti and bhakti is itself mukti. One is ahaituki bhakti, i.e. not prompted by any desire worldly or other-worldly (phalāntarāṇām anusandhāna-ratī), but it is a state in which the true devotee finds a natural pleasure in absorbing meditation upon God’s merciful actions. The Priti-sandarbha establishes that priti or divine love is the highest bhakti in its purely emotional form as the service of God, through bonds of intense love, takes the form of priti.

Jiva’s Sarva-saṅvādini is a summary of the above six discourses and not a commentary as some scholars have thought. It contains explanatory comments on the points imperfectly dealt with in the original texts. His Krama-sandarbha is a commentary on the Bhāgavata. He also wrote commentaries on the Brahma-
Sanhitā and on the Gopālatopani Upaniṣad. An anonymous Kṛṣṇārcaṇa-dipikā, apparently on the modes of Kṛṣṇa worship is attributed to him. His two other commentaries, Durgama-saṅgamani and Locana-rocani are respectively commentaries on Rūpa’s Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhū and Ujjvala-nilamani.

Jiva was also a great grammarian of his time. His unique work on Sanskrit grammar is Harināmāmṛta-vaśkarana. In this work Jiva has used the names of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and their associates as technical terms of grammar and has thereby shown his ingenuity in intermingling grammar with sublime theology.

His literary works include the Gopāla-campū, a work in mixed prose and verse extending to seventy chapters. It describes the lilā of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā. Jiva himself informs us that in this kāvya his Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha has been presented in a literary form. Jiva’s Mādhava-mahotsava, a kāvya in nine cantos and 1164 verses, describes the consecration of Rādhā by Kṛṣṇa as the queen of Vṛndāvana. His Saṅkalpa-kalpadruma is a philosophico-poetical work, dealing with Kṛṣṇa-lilā in Vṛndāvana. This work, a product of Jiva’s advanced age, consists of four parts: Janmādīlītā, Nityālītā, Sarvarūlītā and Phala-nispati. Jiva’s Gopāla-birudāvati is a biruda-kāvya (a type of literary composition in prose and verse) dedicated to the prayer of the deity.

OTHER GOSVĀMINs

The Haribhakti-vilāsa is attributed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. Raghunātha Dāsa’s Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru, Vraja-vilāsa-stava, and Dāna-keli-cintāmaṇi are hymns in praise of either Caitanya or Kṛṣṇalilā. His Muktā-carita is a Sanskrit kāvya with Kṛṣṇa’s early life in Vṛndāvana as its theme. Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa wrote nothing. But the other five Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana covered the major part of the religio-philosophical literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Viśvanātha Cakravartin (c. A.D. 1754) wrote a commentary called Ānanda-candrikā (or Ujjvala-nilamani-kiranā) on Ujjvala-nilamani of Rūpa Gosvāmin. His other commentary is on Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhū called Śindhu-bindu.

Thus following Caitanya, there was a spurt in literary activities among Bengal Vaiṣṇavas. Not only in Bengal but in other parts of India too, the impact of Caitanya’s advent was felt. For instance, a large number of Sanskrit lyrical songs were written in Orissa.

Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the great Advaitin of the sixteenth century, was also a protagonist of the bhakti discipline. His Bhakti-rasāyana is a most esteemed text in which one can discern an attempt to bring about a synthesis between Advaitism and the bhakti cult from the aesthetic point of view.

VAIṢṆAVISM IN ASSAM

Śaṅkara Deva (?1449-1568) is the central figure in the religious history of medieval Assam. Śaṅkara Deva drew much of his inspiration from the Bhagavad-
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Gitā and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The latter, it may be noted, comprises the quintessence of Vedānta and is described as 'the sun' among the Purāṇas. Śaṅkara Deva's chief concern seems to have been to reduce religion to the simplest principles so that the ignorant masses could easily grasp them.

Śaṅkara Deva holds that, while Brahman is one without a second, the qualities attributed to Brahman are equally real. Śaṅkara Deva maintains that God-realization is possible only through bhakti. The bhakti cult he enunciates consists in the cultivation of an intimate relationship with God, the eternal, omniscient, all-powerful Person. For instance, one of his books, Kirtana, opens with his obeisance to God whom he describes as Sanātana Brahman. God, according to him, assumes a form and is the cause of all incarnations (avatāras).

Many scholars are of the opinion that the influence of Rāmānuja is evident in the philosophy of Śaṅkara Deva. Others feel Śaṅkara Deva came under the influence of Śrī Caitanya, though this is open to doubt. In any case, Vaiśnavism in Assam grew under the guidance of Śaṅkara Deva and his followers.

The bhakti cult as propounded in the different Śāstras finds its expression in the Bhakti-ratnakara written by Śaṅkara Deva in Sanskrit. Most of his works are, however, in Kāmarūpī, the spoken dialect of the people of Assam. He translated a large part of the Bhāgavata into simple Kāmarūpī verse. Among his other works (in Kāmarūpī) are: Bhakti-pradīpa in verse (on the bhakti cult as propounded in the Garuda Purāṇa); Kirtana, in simple verse suited to music (the subject being the life-story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as depicted in the Bhāgavata); and Guṇamālā (synopsis of the Bhāgavata, so far as the life-story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is concerned). These apart, Śaṅkara Deva wrote six one-act plays—five of them based on the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and the sixth on the marriage of Sītā with Rāma. He composed a large number of songs also. After Śaṅkara Deva, various groups or schools emerged in course of time, and different Vaiśnavava institutions also were set up. All schools of thought, however, accept the philosophical interpretations given by Śaṅkara Deva. The Kirtana of Śaṅkara Deva and the Nāma-ghoṣā of Mādhava Deva are their important works. The chief difference between the groups consists in the observance of rites and ceremonies.

VAIŚNAVA SAINTS OF MEDIEVAL INDIA

Rāmānanda, a follower of Rāmānuja, was responsible for spreading the Vaiśnavava movement in the north. To Rāmānanda Śrī Rāma was the chosen deity. A host of devoted followers like Kabir and many others were very much influenced by this movement. A rich literature grew on the basis of their teachings, but it is in vernacular.

In West India, popular Vaiśnavism is associated with two great names, Nāmadeva and Tukārāma. Nāmadeva, a contemporary of Jñānadeva (author
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of a commentary on the Bhagavad-Gītā), composed devotional songs in Marathi in praise of Govinda or Hari. Tukārāma was born (c. A.D. 1608) near Poona. He had composed about one thousand and three hundred devotional songs in Marathi and was well-known for his kirtanas. According to him, only intense love can lead one to Hari. A collection of his songs has been published in two volumes from Bombay.

Sūradāsa (c. A.D. 1483-1563) was another great Vaiṣṇava poet of the Kṛṣṇa cult who wrote in Braja-bhāṣā. The songs of Mīrābāī, a poetess of the bhakti school, were originally written in Rajasthani. Tulasīdāsa’s Rāma-carita-mānasā, in Hindi, has always been, and still is, a source of inspiration to all sections of people in India, particularly in North India.

II

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of the Rg-Veda mentions the people of the south—Śavaras, Āndhras etc. But Vedic religion as such might have spread to the south only later along with Jainism and Buddhism. Somehow or other Jainism became more popular and remained pre-eminent for nearly ten centuries. It was only after the fifth century A.D. that the indigenous Dravidian religion completely fused with Vedic Brāhmaṇism to create a popular Hindu religion easily assimilable by the people. In the beginning, Vedic religion must have come to the south in Sanskrit as Jainism did in Prakrit. The phenomenal success of the Jains, however, was the result of their switching over to the local language to spread Jainism. When Jainism, due to political and other factors showed signs of weakening, the Hindus in the south took the opportunity to use Tamil to popularize the many stories relating to Viṣṇu as the supreme Lord. Thus, the earliest Vaiṣṇava literature of the south emerged, the language of which was Tamil.

THE SAṄGAM AGE AND THE ĀLVĀRS

For the ancient Tamils, Viṣṇu was Māyon, the dark-hued; and many of the poems in the Saṅgam anthology Paripāṭal (second century A.D.) are dedicated to Māyon. The genre known as Paripāṭal was originally meant for love poetry. During the Saṅgam age it was transformed into poetry inspired by love for God. The poems of Paripāṭal are ecstatic outpourings of devotees gifted with spiritual vision. In them the fearsome aspects of nature are drawn upon to describe in detail the Varāha, the Mohini, the Narasimha and the Kṛṣṇa avatāras (incarnations) of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is the ancient deity having seen many kalpas and performed wondrous deeds in each kalpa. Yet, He is eternally young.

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As dark-hued Vāsudeva, fair Saṅkarṣaṇa, red Pradyumna and green-complexioned Aniruddha, Viṣṇu rules supreme, creating, sustaining and destroying this world by turns.

Many literary gems of the Saṅgam age dealing with Viṣṇu were lost to posterity. But this literature no doubt led to the efflorescence of Vaiṣṇavism between the sixth and the ninth centuries A.D., resulting in the remarkable anthology of devotional lyrics, now known as Nālāyira Divya Prabandham. This is considered as very sacred and spoken of as the Vaiṣṇava Veda in Tamil. In this anthology, twelve Āḻvārs²⁸ (devotees immersed in god-consciousness) have sung of Viṣṇu as the supreme Lord of the universe, depicting him in a variety of attitudes.²⁹

THE ĀŚĀRYAS

The age of Vaiṣṇava revival by the Āḻvārs was followed by the age of consolidation by the Vaiṣṇava Āśāryas.³⁰ A new dimension was added to Vedic Vaiṣṇavism by giving equal importance to the Tamil Veda in matters of theology. While the Āḻvārs scored by appealing to the heart, the Āśāryas had to contend with the intellectual forces of dissent when they tried to spread Vaiṣṇavism. To reach a larger audience, Sanskrit had to be used. Thus the Āśāryas created a vast Vaiṣṇava literature in Sanskrit. Most of it was dialectics, theology and exegesis. But there was also devotional poetry of a high order.

Nāthamuni (A.D. 824-924), the first Āśārya of Udbhaya-Vedānta,³¹ made arrangements for the recital of the Divya Prabandham in temples. He wrote Nyāyatattvā, Toga-rahasya and Purusa-nirṇaya.

Nāthamuni’s grandson was Yāmunācārya (c. A.D. 918-1038), the first Viśiṣṭādvaitin to controvert non-dualism by dialectics in Ātma-siddhi. This work, in mixed prose and verse along with Īsvara-siddhi and Saṁvit-siddhi, is considered ‘the fountain head of Śri Rāmānuja’s epoch-making works’.³² Having dispelled the clouds of avidyā posited by the Advaitins, Yāmuna firmly holds on to devotion and surrender as the only means to attain salvation and gain ānanda or divine bliss.

Yāmuna’s Āgama-prāmāṇya confronting Śaṅkara and Bhāskara in a dialec-

²⁸ They are: Poygai Āḻvār, Bhūtattāḻvār, Pey Āḻvār, Tirumalijñai Āḻvār, Narimāḻvār, Madhurakavi Āḻvār, Kuṇaśekhara Āḻvār, Periyāḻvār, Anjāl, Toṇḍaraṭippodi Āḻvār, Tiruppānil Āḻvār, and Tirumangai Āḻvār.

²⁹ For a detailed study of the Āḻvārs and their works, the following books may be consulted: K. C. Varadachari, Āḻvārs of South India, J. S. M. Hooper, The Hymns of the Āḻvārs; HIP, Vol. III, etc.

³⁰ For an exhaustive catalogue of the works of the different Āśāryas and their followers HIP, Vols. III & IV and CHI, Vol. IV may be consulted.

³¹ The Vedānta which harmonizes the teachings of both the traditional Vedānta and the teachings of the Āḻvārs.


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tical battle seeks to establish the Pāñcarātra Tantras or the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas as having equal authority with the Vedas. His Gitārtha-saṅgraha, in thirty-two verses, an admirable summary of the Bhagavad-Gītā, is in line with the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. His Mahāpuruṣa-nirṇāya which sought to establish the primal Lord of the universe is now lost. Yāmuna’s Stotra-ratna and Catuh-slokī, however, are happily available as evidence of the essentially poetic nature of the Vaiṣṇava philosopher. Brilliant poetic imagery adds to the flow of devotional ecstasy in the former which is really a gem in the realm of Indian hymnal literature.

The Catuh-slokī describes the Mother in four verses. Though brief, this cluster has blazed a new trail in Vaiṣṇava philosophy. Mother Lakṣmī as the divine intermediary taking the devotee’s aspiration to the Lord and bringing him the Lord’s grace is described in this poem in terms of affection, wonderment, and gratitude. Under the influence of the Catuh-slokī, there arose in later times more detailed statements in the form of stotras about the personality and position of Lakṣmī. Chief among them are passages to be found at the beginning of the Samañgagati-gadya of Rāmānuja, the Śrī-stava of Vatsāṅkaṃśra, the Šrīguna-ratnakoṣa of Parāśara Bhāṭṭa, his son, and the Śrī-stuti of Veṅkaṭānātha.²³

The Vaiṣṇava movement split itself into four different schools of thought: Śrī-sampradāya of Rāmānuja (A.D. 1017-1137) preaching Viśiṣṭādvaita (qualified non-dualism), Sanakādi-sampradāya or Hamsa-sampradāya of Nimbārka (eleventh-twelfth century) upholding Dvaitādvaita (dualistic non-dualism), Brahma-sampradāya of Madhva (A.D. 1197-1276) extolling Dvaita (dualism), and Rudra-sampradāya of Vallabha (1473-1531) adhering to Suddhādvaita (pure non-dualism).

RĀMĀNUJĀCĀRYA

Vaiṣṇava theology gained widespread popularity through the writings of the great Rāmānuja. Intellectually well-equipped, and deeply devoted to the Ālvalīrs, Rāmānuja emerged on the Vaiṣṇava literary scene with his Śrībhāṣya and Gitā-bhāṣya. Though they discuss high philosophy and intricate dialectics, Rāmānuja himself simplified the complexities of knowledge to pure devotion.²⁴

Interpreting the Bhagavad-Gītā is no easy task; for, the poem is the drama of a soul straining to reach the reality of God by climbing an intricately structured stair-case. Rāmānuja explains the entire corpus of the Gītā patiently and dis-


²⁴ This is evident from the opening verse of Śrībhāṣya: ‘May knowledge transformed into intense love directed to Śrīnivāsa, the highest Brahman, become mine, the Being to whom the creation, preservation and dissolution of the universe is mere play, whose main resolve is to offer protection to all those who approach Him in all humility and sincerity, and who shines out like a beacon light out of the pages of the Scripture.’—Translated by M. Yamunacharya.
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covers every possible clue in support of the qualified non-dualism propounded by him.

Vedārtha-saṅgraha, Vedānta-dīpa and Vedānta-sāra are the other philosophical treatises by Rāmānuja. While the last two deal with certain points in the Brahma-Sūtra, the first is a masterly attempt to prove the closeness of Viśistādvaita to the Vedas. Some passages in this closely argued philosophical text rise to poetic heights, indicating the enthusiasm of the Ācārya.  

Absolute self-surrender to Nārāyaṇa, the Lord of the Universe, is advocated in his Gadyatrāya, containing the triple gems, that is, Śarāṇa-gati-gadyā, Śrīraṅga-gadya and Śrīvaikunṭha-gadya. Self-surrender is the essence of Vaiṣṇava doctrine, and Śarāṇa-gati-gadya details every aspect of it with authority and precision. ‘There is a sense of certainty, an atmosphere of utter serenity, that prevails in the Śarāṇa-gati-gadya, the hymn of self-surrender, which is said to have been poured forth from Rāmānuja’s heart on seeing a beatific vision of the Lord on the occasion of a temple festival’. The gadya moves towards the end like a monologue in which the Lord assures Rāmānuja of salvation.

The Śrīraṅga-gadya sets forth the overwhelming splendour of the Lord whose karuṇā (kindness and mercy) draws Him to the devotee in moments of distress. Śrīvaikunṭha-gadya concludes with the eternal form of Nārāyaṇa that spreads the mantle of ānanda (bliss) upon His devotees who dwell in Him. Another of his works is Bhagavadārādhana-krama.

FOLLOWERS OF RĀMĀNUJA

Among the writers who followed Rāmānuja, Kureśa wrote five hymns that contain superb poetry. He was a disciple of Rāmānuja and had been tortured and exiled by the Cola king, Kulottuṅga. The following five hymns were the

85Here is an example of the Ācārya’s poetic description of Viṣṇu in the ‘Ideal Heavens’:

‘In the same way as this Supreme Being, Nārāyaṇa, has infinite knowledge, bliss, and purity (which are attributes that define His nature), in the same way as He has countless, wonderful and unsurpassed, auspicious qualities such as wisdom, power, strength, lordship, might and splendour, in the same way as He controls, by His will, all other things, sentient and nonsentient, so also He has a celestial and unchanging form, which, besides being to His liking, conforms to His nature; He has likewise countless ornaments of wonderful and varied beauty in keeping with His form; He has also innumerable glory with a form pleasing to Him and conforming to His greatness and with beauty, greatness, sovereignty and goodness suited to His nature; He has, more over, a retinue of countless followers and attendants who possess boundless auspicious qualities like wisdom and the capacity for rendering service suited to Him; He has, further, countless objects and accompaniments of enjoyment suited to His nature, and to His greatness. So also He has a celestial abode which far transcends the power of speech and of mind to describe. There are thousands of passages in the Śrūtis which state that all these are eternal and immaculate.’—Translated by M. R. Rajagopala Iyengar.

86Vide M. Yamunacharyya, Ramanuja’s Teachings in His Own Words (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1963), p. 128.
outcome of his passionate, spiritual heroism. In the Śrīvaikunṭha-stava, the Lord is described as a ‘radiance’ pervading the universe which gives joy to the believers and strikes terror in the hearts of the wicked. Atimānasā-stava explores an avatāra of God as a superman on earth. The hymn brings out the devotee’s bewilderment at the incarnation of Nārāyaṇa as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. How does one reconcile the naivete of Rāma following the fake deer and Kṛṣṇa being bound for stealing butter, with the super-exploits attributed to them? The devotion in Kuresa’s heart streams out in elegant poetry in the Sundara-bhūta-stava and Varadarāja-stava. The eleven verses of Śrī-stava describe Lakṣmi as guiding Nārāyaṇa in his role as creator, sustainer, and destroyer of the universe. Indeed, the Lord realizes His glory because of Lakṣmi’s proximity. The world flowers in triumphal beauty when Lakṣmi glances at it.

Kuresa’s son was Parāśara Bhaṭṭa who composed elevating Sanskrit hymns like Śrīvaṅgarāja-stava, Raṅganātha-stotra and Śrīgūnāra-stranakoṣa. The last-mentioned is a soulful prayer to Lakṣmi and describes the Mother’s kindness and affection towards her devotees. Parāśara’s Aṣṭa-sloki explained the meaning of the three basic mantras of Vaiṣṇavism: Aṣṭākṣara, Dvaya and Carama-sloka. His Bhagavad-guṇa-darpaṇa is a priceless commentary on the Viṣṇu-sahasranāma. Like Śaṅkara, Parāśara Bhaṭṭa too felt that the Sahasranāma was as vital to one’s spiritual evolution as the Bhagavad-Gītā.

Besides the hymns and dialectics enlarging the horizon of Vaiṣṇavism, there are also descriptive narratives on well-known Vaiṣṇavite shrines of South India. One such was Venkataśīvar’s Viṣṇu-guṇadāra-campū which introduces two gandharvas, Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇuvasu, as wandering all over India, visiting holy places dedicated to Viṣṇu and singing their glories.

Among other Ācāryas who wrote extensively on Vaiṣṇavism during the eleventh and twelfth centuries are: Nārāyaṇa Muni (Bhagavad-Gītārtha-saṅgraha-vibhāga and Bhāva-prakāśikā), Varadācārya (Tattva-sāra and Sārārtha-catuṣṭaya), Sudarśana Bhaṭṭāraka (Śruta-prakāśikā and Śruta-pradīpikā), Ātreya Rāmānuja (Nyāya-kulīṇa) and Meghanādri Śūri (Nyāya-prakāśikā and Bhāva-prabodha). Naḍadoor Ammal’s Prapanna-paṛijāta is a thought-provoking thesis on self-surrender that concludes with a striking image, comparing the progress towards salvation to a voyage across the ocean of samsāra in the boat of nyāya or self-surrender.  

One of the well-known disciples of Parāśara was Raṅganātha Muni who has remained popular all these centuries because of his commentaries in Tamil and Sanskrit. He was taught the importance of Lakṣmi in Vaiṣṇava theology by Praṇātārtihara who was a disciple of Rāmānuja. Śrīśukta-bhāṣya of Raṅganātha Muni contains a remarkable analysis of the Lakṣmi hymns found in the

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Vedas, a detailed explanation of the term jātavedāḥ, and at the end a long discussion on the concept of Lakṣmi.

Raṅganātha Muni also wrote the Puruṣasūkta-bhāṣya. Though he says at the outset, ‘I am but reviewing the extant commentaries for the sake of easier approach’, the bhāṣya has its individual approach to prove the spiritual symbolism behind the seemingly pantheistic description of the Puruṣa.

It is indeed unfortunate that a great deal of Sanskrit works of these centuries has been irretrievably lost in the course of time. Among the existing hymnal literature, mention may be made of Vedācārya Bhaṭṭa’s Kṣamāśodasi-stotra, Annan’s Śrivṛkṣaṭa-stotra, Tirukkacci Nambi’s Devarājaṭaka, Maṇavāla Mahāmuni’s Śridevaraṇa-maṅgala, Vādikeśarī Jeeyar’s Narasīṁhāṭaka, Jeeyar Nayanar’s Nakṣatra-mālīka and Tirumalai Ananthāzhvan’s Śrīrāmaṇuṭa-catuḥsloki.

LOKĀÇĀRYA AND VEDĀNTA DEŚIKA

About the close of the fourteenth century, the followers of Rāmānuja were sharply divided into two sects—the Teṅgalais, Southern, and the Vadagalais, Northern. Pillai Lokācārya represented the southern school. He wrote Tattva-traya, Śrivacana-bhāṣya, Tattva-śekhara, Artha-paṇcaka, Prameya-śekhara etc. Tattva-traya is an aphoristic exposition by telling analogy of the relationship between man, nature and God. Śrivacana-bhāṣya is an account of the secret doctrine of the sect. The theme of Tattva-śekhara is that Nārāyaṇa is the supreme Lord and complete surrender to him is the only means to emancipation.

The northern school was represented by the great Vaiṣṇava Ācārya Vedānta Deśika or Veṅkaṭaṭhanātha (A.D. 1268-1369), one of the most eminent stalwarts of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school. Fortunately, almost the entire corpus of Sanskrit writings by him has come down to us. If Yāmuna’s Catuḥ-sloki inaugurated the Sanskrit Vaiṣṇava literature, Deśika’s writings provided the culminating glory. Though Deśika also wrote in maṇipravāla (a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil) and Tamil, his favourite language was Sanskrit. Numbering more than a hundred titles, his works contain didactic, lyric, epic and dramatic writings. Widely known as the ‘lion of poets and logicians’ (kavi-tārkika-sīnha), Deśika’s exposition of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophy is found in numerous works like Tattva-muktā-kalāpa and Sarvārtha-siddhi. Among his better known commentaries are Tattva-ṭikā (a commentary on Rāmānuja’s Śrībhāṣya), Tatparya-candrikā

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28In the course of the discussion he answers categorically some prima facie arguments raised by himself. Then he concludes that Śraddhā and Viṣṇupatni refer to Lakṣmi only. She is subordinate to none and is equal to her husband, Nārāyaṇa, the Lord in all respects. In fact, in their cosmic role one cannot function without the other. He quotes the Abhirūdhya Saṁhitā and Lakṣmi Tantra in support of his view.—Vide A. Srinivasa Raghavan, Śrīsūkta Bhāṣya Maharajah’s College, Pudukottah, 1937, pp. xiii-xlil.
(on the Gitā-bhāṣya of Rāmānuja), Šata-dūṣaṇi (a refutation of Advaita), and Nyāya-siddhāntika. Pāńcaratra-raksā, Saccarita-raksā and Nikṣepa-raksā deal with the principles and practices of the Pāńcaratra school, and Seśvara-mimāṁsā treats the Pūrva and Uttara Mimāṁsās as parts of one whole. Blessed with phenomenal knowledge and prodigious memory, he has tellingly re-interpreted our classical heritage in striking Sanskrit prose and verse. Deśīka’s language is somewhat difficult for the common reader, but once we enter into the spirit of the work, we are deeply impressed by its spiritual significance. His magnum opus is Śrimad-rahasyatrayasūra composed in a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil. It is a commentary on the three ‘secrets’ of self-surrender in Śri-Vaiṣṇavism, that is, the Aṣṭāksa, the Dvaya and the Carama-śloka. But it is more than a mere commentary. It is a text of Viśiṣṭadvaitic Vaiṣṇavism. Deśīka’s masterly summary of the meaning of the Carama-śloka in the Gitā provides the grand finale to a work which overwhelms us by its intellectual brilliance, intuitive perception and devotional humility.²⁹

Vedānta Deśīka’s devotional lyrics, about thirty-two in number, are a class by themselves. Each verse is a poetic capsule packed with Purānic lore. His first lyric, Hayagrīva-stotra, was dedicated to Viśnu as Hayagrīva whom Deśīka revered as the Lord of knowledge. Stotras dedicated to the daśāvatāras of the Lord, to Śrī, Bhū and Godā, to Sudarśana, Dehaliśa, Garuḍa and Rāmānuja have gained popularity. There are lyrics on renunciation and self-surrender marked by unfamiliar images. ‘My verses are scented like the jasmines that bloom in the evening. Would I use them to beg from kings?’ says Deśīka in the Vairāgya Pańcaratna and concludes: ‘I have no property earned by my father or myself. But there is a priceless treasure my ancestor has earned and kept at the top of Hastigiri (the icon of Varadarāja at Kāñcipuram)’. Deśīka’s Dayā-śataka stands out among his devotional lyrics. The hymn describes the karuṇā of Veṅkaṭeśvara and is replete with illustrations. The

²⁹Your knowledge is limited; your ability is insignificant; your life is short and you are also impatient of delay. Therefore do not go about seeking other uṇḍas which you cannot (fully) understand, which you cannot easily adopt and which can bear fruit only after much delay. Realize that I who am easy of access to all, who am the saviour of all the worlds, and who am endowed with all the attributes essential for a Saviour, am the only uṇḍa and perform the surrender of the responsibility of protecting yourself to me with its five uṇḍas. When you have adopted the uṇḍa, you will have done what you ought to do, you will become my ward and be extremely dear to me. Supreme compassion and generous, independent and omnipotent, I will, myself, by my mere will and without any other aid, and for the fulfilment of my own purposes, free you from the manifold, endless, and insurmountable groups of obstacles without leaving any trace of them. I will enable you to have enjoyments similar to mine own, since you will enjoy myself and all that belongs to me. I will find delight in making you render all forms of service in all places, at all times and in all circumstances—service which will be of the nature of the overflow of the full and perfect enjoyment (of myself). You have absolutely no cause for grief.—Vide M. R. Rajagopalaiyengar (Tr.), Śrimad Rahasyatrayasūra (Agnihotram Rāmānuja Thathachariar, Kumbakonam, 1956).
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Lord’s karuṇā is symbolized as Mother Grace who is like a generous fruit-bearing tree. Yet another famous long hymn of Deśika is known as Pādukā-sahasra. While Deśika’s devotional verses are always full of mythology, philosophy and symbolism, his Hainsa-sandesā provides a contrast and is a simple, sensuous poem in the mandākrāntā metre made famous by Kālidāsa. The subject-matter of the poem is Rāma’s sending a swan as his messenger to reassure Sitā languishing in captivity at Laṅkā. Though it is also meant as a symbol of God’s reassurance to man for the soul’s liberation through the guru, Deśika has taken care to see that the moving context of Rāma’s separation from Sitā is not submerged by philosophy. The first part charts out the swan’s route to Laṅkā, providing a chance to describe the grandeur of India’s south dotted by holy temples, perennial rivers, and stately mountains. The second part contains instructions to the swan as to how to approach Sitā and deliver the message. The ten verses, beginning with the seventy-third, bring before our eyes the captive Sitā as imagined by an agonized Rāma.30

Passages of stirring imagination, brilliant, unusual similes (the swan compared to an arrow in the fifty-fourth verse, for example) and a certain spontaneity of expression mark this beautiful sandesā-kāvyā. Deśika’s absorption in the Krṣṇāvatāra is seen in poems like Gopāla-viṁśati and Yādavābhuyodaya. The latter has twenty-four cantos and was inspired by the Bhāgavata. It describes Krṣṇa’s birth, childhood and youth, his marriage with Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā, the destruction of Narakaṇa, the marriage of Uṣā and Aniruddha, the killing of Pounḍraka and other heroic exploits of Krṣṇa, and the Gitopadesā on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra. The Yādavābhuyodaya has a remarkable commentary written in the sixteenth century by Appaya Dīkṣita, the author of the hymn, Varadarāja-stava.

Deśika’s allegorical play preaching Vaiṣṇavism is Saṅkalpa-sūryodaya in ten acts. It is about king Viveka (discrimination) and queen Sumati (wisdom) who decide to free the Puruṣa (soul) from Karma (human bondage). They have to struggle against a host of evil forces led by Mahāmohga (dense ignorance). High philosophy, dialectics, humour, satire and poetic conceits mark the narrative by turns. When Darpa (pride) and Dambha (vanity) take the stage,

30 Methinks I see my Sitā
With eyes dim and aimless;
She sighs often; her lotus face is shrunk.
The eyes send forth tears unceasing.
Her lamentations deal
With her plight, and my might.
Ah! Fate has dealt harshly with her
And she sits emaciated,
Frustration filling her heart.
—Translated by the author.
we get a feeling that the poet is pointing at us. At the end, king Viveka is successful and Puruṣa learns to surrender to Viṣṇu through bhakti, thereby breaking his fetters. The guardian angel Divine Grace is ever present with Puruṣa and all is well.

Though Vaiṣṇava literature during the times of the earlier Ācāryas came to be written mainly in Sanskrit, very soon maṇipravāla began to be used extensively to write commentaries on the Divya Prabandham, the Tamil Vaiṣṇava Veda, which exerted a profound influence on the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas. Of these, particular mention may be made of ‘Six thousand’ by Kuresa, ‘Thirty-six thousand’ by Vadakku Tiruvithi Pillai and ‘Twenty-four thousand’ by Periyavacan Pillai.

NIMBĀRKA

Nimbārka was one of the principal commentators on the Brahma-Sūtra. To Nimbārka, Brahman is a personal God and not the impersonal Absolute. He calls Him Kṛṣṇa or Hari. While to Rāmānuja and Madhva, Brahman is Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, to Nimbārka and Vallabha, Brahman is Gopāla Kṛṣṇa accompanied by Rādhā. Nimbārka’s commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra is called Vedānta-pārijāta-saurabhā. Śrīnivāsa, a pupil of Nimbārka, wrote an excellent commentary on it called Vedānta-kaustubha. The other works attributed to Nimbārka are as follows: Daśa-śloki (also called Siddhānta-ratna), Śrīkṛṣṇa-stava-rāja and Guru-paramparā. There are yet a few other works ascribed to him, such as Śrīkṛṣṇa-stava, Vedānta-tattva-bodha and Vedānta-siddhānta-pradīpa. But these texts are still preserved in manuscripts. An important work of this school is Siddhānta-jāhnava, a commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra, by Devācārya, on which Sundara Bhāṭṭa wrote a commentary called Siddhānta-setukā. Vedānta-kaustubha-prabhā by Keśava Bhāṭṭa is a commentary on Vedānta-kaustubha. A commentary on the Bhagavad-Gītā called Tattva-prakāśikā is also attributed to him. Vanamāli Miśra’s Vedānta-siddhānta-saṅgراha (also called Śruti-siddhānta-saṅgraha) gives some important tenets of the Nimbārka school. The work is written in the form of kārikās and is based on the commentaries on the Brahma-Sūtra by Nimbārka and others.

MADHVĀCĀRYA

Another great Ācārya who has left behind a large mass of Vaiṣṇava literature in Sanskrit (thirty-seven in all) is Madhva. Besides his commentaries on several important Upaniṣads, he wrote Gitā-bhāṣya and Gitā-tātparya-nirṇaya, a summary of the central teachings of the Gitā, to outline his bimba-pratibimba-bhāva; Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya which has an imposing array of choice quotations; Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya, an epitome of the essential teachings of the Mahābhārata; Bhaṅgavata-tātparya-nirṇaya, a commentary bringing out the
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Bhāgavata's theism; and Rg-bhāṣya, an intuitive interpretation of the first forty hymns of the Rg-Veda, thus pioneering a new method, later used successfully by Sri Aurobindo and others. His Viṣṇutattva-vinirṇaya purposively tries to prove the superiority of Viṣṇu over all the other gods in Hinduism. His other works are Anubhāṣya, Anuvākhyāna, Tattva-saṅkhyaṇa, Tattvoddhyota, Sadācāra-smyti, etc. The last one is a manual on the duties and rituals of a vaishnava.

Madhva has also composed some stirring devotional lyrics in Sanskrit, such as Dvādaśa-stotra, Tamaka-bhārata, and Narasiṁha-nakha-stotra. Kṛṣṇāmṛta-mahāravā is another lyrical composition of 242 verses devoted to the glorification of Viṣṇu and his forms of worship. It declares that bhakti is the only means to attain salvation. These lyrics inspired the mystic singers like Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa, thus popularizing Vaishnavism through the Dāsa Kūṭa saints in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Mention may be made of Hari-bhaktisāra and Mohana-taranāgini, two of the fine compositions of Kanakadāsa besides the innumerable devotional songs he has written. Two great teachers belonging to the school of Madhva are Jayātirtha and Vyāsatirtha. Jayātirtha wrote Nyāya-sudhā, a commentary on Anuvākhyāna of Madhva, Nyāya-dīpikā, a commentary on Madhva's Gitā-tātparyā-nirṇaya, Prameya-dīpikā, a commentary on Madhva's Gitā-bhāṣya, and Tattva-prakāśikā, a commentary on Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya of Madhva. Vyāsatirtha wrote Tātparyā-candrikā, a commentary on Tattva-prakāśikā of Jayātirtha. Pada-ratnāvali is a standard commentary on the Bhāgavata by Vijayadhvaja of the Madhva school.

VALLABHĀCĀRYA

Vallabha, the founder of the Śuddhādvaita school, accepts the doctrine of Advaita, pure and simple, without any reference to Māyā of Śaṅkara. According to Vallabha, the Advaita of the Upaniṣads is śuddha (pure) unalloyed with Māyā. This system is also known as puṣṭi-mārga as it strongly emphasizes puṣṭi (divine grace) as the most powerful and unfailing means of enjoying the highest bliss.

Vallabha wrote as many as eighty-four books (including small tracts) all of which, however, are not available. To mention a few of the important texts: Bhāgavata-tattva-dīpa and its commentary, Subodhini; Anubhāṣya, a commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra; Tattvārtha-dīpa and its commentary Prakāśa; Bhagavad-

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Viṣṇu whom all names enter, is said to be supreme. All names refer to him who is different from all. He who is independent and eternally same, is the highest Viṣṇu. In such texts, as all other names signify only him, it is pointed out that no other being can be the Lord of all. All this follows from the fact that in all the Vedas there is the assertion that Viṣṇu is free from imperfections, that in all of them there is the non-existence of the statement that he was non-existent before creation, that in all the Vedas the defects and the non-existence before creation of all other entities are asserted and that they are not said to be the significance of all names.—Translation by S. S. Raghavachar.
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Gitā-bhāṣya; Krishnārṇava; Premāṁśa; Siddhānta-muktāvalī; Siddhānta-rahasya; Bhakti-vardhini and its commentary, Bhakti-siddhānta. Tatvārtha-dīpa together with its commentary Prakāśa, is a most important work of Vallabha. It is divided into three sections viz. Sāstrārtha, Savarnirṇaya and Bhāgavatārtha. Of the three, the first and the last are devoted to summarize the essence of the Gitā and the Bhāgavata respectively. Among his other works, these may be mentioned: Svādhara-stotra, Catur-ālokā, Aṅakaraṇa-prabodha, Navaratna, Puṣṭipravāha-maryādā, Madhumālāka, Bhāgavata-sāra-samuccaya and Puruṣottama-sahasranāma-stotra. The following works are attributed to Vīthālesa, Vallabha's son: Kṛṣṇa-premāṁśa, Bhakti-hānśa, Bhagavad-Gitā-tātparya, Bhāgavatā-daśama-skandha-vivṛti, Bhakti-hetu-nirṇaya, Premāṁśa-bhāṣya, etc. Bhakti-taraṅgini and Nāma-candrikā of Raghunātha, Subodhini-prakāśa, Prārthana-ratnākara and Bhakti-hānśa-viveka of Puruṣottama, Bhakti-cintāmaṇi, Bhagavannāma-darpaṇa and Bhagavannāma-vaihbava of Muralidhara, Bhakti-mārtanda of Gopēvara, Bhakti-rasastava-vāda and Avatāra-vādāvali of Pītāmbara are some of the other notable works of the Vallabha Vaiṣṇava school.

TRANSLATIONS

The later history of Vaiṣṇava literature is a tale of notable translations and transcreations from Sanskrit. The great epics and significant exegetical works were translated into Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam. Devotion to Viṣṇu was very strong in the later writers. The Tamil poet Villipputtur Āravaṇa agreed to translate the Mahābhārata only because it gave him a chance to sing in detail the greatness of Kṛṣṇa. Rarely did the writers render texts in regional languages into Sanskrit. However, Śri Raṅgarāmānuja Svāmī (c. sixteenth century) has written a commentary in Sanskrit prose on Nammālvar's Tiruvaimozhi. He also wrote lucid commentaries on several principal Upaniṣads. His commentary on the Śrībhāṣya is called Mūla-bhāṣya-prakāśikā.

OTHER DEVOTIONAL COMPOSITIONS

Some of the most popular Sanskrit hymns have been written by Keralites. Śaṅkara's Bhaja Govinda has acquired world-wide currency. Śrīhari-smaraṇa-sataka, Viṣṇuṣaṭpadati, and Harimālā-stotra are also attributed to Śaṅkara. The Mukundamālā of Kulaśekhara is a garland of devotional songs. The weaving rhythm of the verses has a mesmeric effect when chanted. The thought-processes of the devotee lost in Kṛṣṇa-ecstasy are clearly visible through the luminous Sanskrit terms. Lilāsūka's Śrīkṛṣṇa-karunārṇa is a favourite with devotees even today. Śakti Bhadra wrote Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇi, a Sanskrit drama on the Rāmāyaṇa theme. Narratives like Anantapura-varṇana and Kṛṣṇa-gāthā and campu-kāvyas like Kānda-vadha and Kālīya-mardana were written in a mixture of Malayalam and Sanskrit. Finally, Vaiṣṇava literature of the South burst forth in the
glory and grandeur of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri’s Sanskrit epic, Nārāyaṇīya. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri has written eighteen prabhandhas on themes chosen from Hindu epics as well as works like Dhātu-kāvyā and Šilpi-ratna. But it is Nārāyaṇīya which assures him of his pre-eminent position as an epic poet. The poem is in one hundred daśakas and retells the story of Kṛṣṇa as found in the Bhāgavata. The devotional fervour of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri converts the legendary story into a spiritual adventure.

Passages relating to the Narasimhāvatāra, Gajendra-mokṣa and Ajāmilopākhyaṇa are couched in mellifluous diction. From the thirty-seventh daśaka onwards, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri deals with the captivating history of the Kṛṣṇa incarnation. Each verse here is a gem, each episode a drama in itself. And so we race towards the end, culminating in a vision of Hari’s form vouchsafed to the poet:

To my front is a flame
Brilliant as a kalaya bouquet;
Within that lustre
A divine boy’s form;
Nārada and other sages
Along with the Upaniṣad-maids
Singing ecstatic praises;
Ah! Nectar flows on my being.

(Daśaka 100, verse 1)
THE term Śākta is generally regarded synonymous with tāntrika but it is not correct. Śākta has a wider import than tāntrika. Also, while Śākta literature may be traced back to the Vedas,¹ Tāntric literature had a later² beginning. The Vedic seers felt the presence of a divine power or sakti behind all the phenomena of Nature. They invoked and worshipped this power under different names. There are also references to some female deities in the Vedic hymns. Not all of them, however, were regarded as manifestations of Śakti, the female principle in the world order.

The identification of sakti with the female principle is quite understandable. Śakti means energy and it is energy which is the productive principle. Energy moves, changes, transforms, produces and also sustains; ultimately, all the created things lapse again into the original energy. The evolution of the world is thus an unfoldment of the creative energy, variously termed as Prakṛti, Śakti or Māyā in Indian philosophy. No creation is possible without sakti. Even the great exponent of Advaita Vedānta,³ Śaṅkara, has to own that the supreme Lord cannot create, and cannot even have an urge to create, without her.⁴

MOTHER GODDESS IN THE VEDIC PANTHEON

Any literature, if it is to be termed Śākta, must be concerned with the female divine principle. In the Vedas, the most fascinating female deity is Uṣas, Dawn, in whose lap rises the resplendent Sun every morning. She is sometimes conceived as the mother of the Sun, and sometimes as his spouse. This Uṣas is invoked and praised in nearly ten hymns of the Rg-Veda.⁵ She is represented as the eternal feminine, always pursued but never overtaken by the Sun, who starts his chase

¹Some scholars opine that the worship of Śakti, the female principle, was prevalent even in the days of the Indus valley civilization. A large number of terracotta figures or figures on the seals, etc. found in the Harappan sites are thought to represent the Mother Goddess later associated with the Śākta cult.
²It is not very likely that the Tāntric literature originated further back than the fifth or sixth century. In the Mahābhārata, which seems to have taken its present shape by the fourth century, there is no mention of the Tantras. The Amarakoṣa (e. sixth century) and the other koṣas give various meanings of tantra, excepting that it is a particular class of Hindu sacred literature. There is also no mention of the Tantras in the writings of the Chinese pilgrims to India as yet. The earliest Nepalese manuscripts available today date only from the seventh to the ninth century.
³According to which there is one ultimate Reality, called Brahman, behind the phenomenal world.
⁴Śaṅkara-bhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtra, I. 4.3.
⁵R. V. IV. 5.51-52; VII. 5.75-81.
after her every morning. Such is her elusive nature. The hymns to Uṣas are also the finest poetic specimens in the whole of Vedic literature. Another interesting female deity is Sarasvatī, who is at once a river and a goddess. She is not yet the goddess of learning as we find her in later times. In the Rg-Veda, she is the embodiment of the flowing stream of creation as would appear from the few hymns dedicated to her.⁸ Almost at the end of the Rg-Veda we come across the famous hymn to Vāc,⁷ also known as the Devī-sūkta. This is considered to be the first important evidence of the worship of Śakti or Devī or Vāc, later the main theme in the Tantras. We may also include in Vedic Śākta literature the hymn to Night, the Rātri-sūkta, who is conceived as a female deity like Dawn and invoked through this hymn.⁸ There are also some stray verses in the Rg-Veda in which names of such female deities as Prthivī, Iḍā, Bhārati or Sarasvatī occur. There is, however, no mention in the Rg-Veda either of Durgā or any of her different forms, such as Kauśikī, Vindhayavāsini, Caṇḍī, Umā, Ambikā, Kāli and others, so much glorified in the Purāṇas and Tantras. This perhaps indicates that the Śakti cult had not been clearly established in the Rg-Vedic period. It is only in the later Vedic pantheon that Śakti together with her different forms is found to have an access but the process of assimilation seems to have been rather slow. Thus, in the Sāṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas of the Tājur-Veda there are references to Ambikā not yet associated with Rudra as his wife. She has been described there as Rudra’s sister,⁹ and in one place even as his mother.¹⁰ Durgā and her cult seem to have been of non-Vedic origin, but when admitted in the Vedic religion, they gradually adopted characteristics of different Aryan deities.

Coming to the Upaniṣads, we find in the Kena Upaniṣad, which is one of the earlier Upaniṣads, a reference to a female deity, Umā Haimavatī who revealed to Indra the nature of Brahmaṇ, the supreme Spirit, when gods like Agni and Vāyu were absolutely baffled in their attempt to fathom Its nature.¹¹ This may be taken to indicate for the first time that the realization of the true nature of the ultimate Reality depends upon the favour of the divine Śakti and not on one’s own effort. R. G. Bhandarkar¹² says, ‘since it was Umā that disclosed the nature of the Spirit, it may be understood that the Brahman mentioned was Rudra-Śiva and Umā was his wife.’¹³

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⁸Ibid., VI. 5.61.
⁹Ibid., X. 10.125.
¹⁰Ibid., X. 10.127.
¹³Ke. U., III. 3-12 and IV. 1.
¹⁵We, however, find no mention of the wife of Rudra or Śiva until we reach the Taityiriya Āragyanaka, which is assigned to the third century B.C., where Rudra is described for the first time as Ambikāpati,
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There is also a passing reference in the Mundaka Upanisad to seven female powers bearing names like Kāli, Karāli, etc. The tongues rising from a sacrificial fire are given these names. Nowhere else in the earlier Upaniṣads is there any specific reference to a female divinity. The Śvetāsvatara, which is of a later date and theistic in character, refers to the innate power of the Lord, concealed by his own nature. This supreme power is said to be of infinite variety, but knowledge and action are stated to be its natural forms.

THE ŚĀKTA UPAŅIṢĀDS

There is a whole body of literature bearing the title of Upaniṣad, which is specifically Śākta in character. They are nearly as many as ten, all obviously of a later date. They are as follows: Tripurāpaniṣad, Tripurā-tāpini Upaniṣad, Bahurco-paniṣad, Bhāsanopaniṣad, Sarasvatī-rahasyopaniṣad, Sītopaniṣad, Saubhāgyalaksmi Upaniṣad, Sumukhi Upaniṣad, Guhyakāli Upaniṣad and Devi Upaniṣad. These Upaniṣads are of a mystical nature, resembling the later Tantras, wherein the secret doctrines and esoteric methods of worship and meditation are unfolded. Some of them are manifestly of a theistic nature, dealing with the glory of a particular female deity, like Sītā or Sarasvatī. Others, like the Tripurā-tāpini, go deeper into the methods of Śākta worship, and give a detailed account of things connected with the worship of Tripurāsundari including śrī-vidyā, śrī-cakra and other allied things like mantra and yantra (diagram). It is also interesting to find the famous Vedic mantra of Gāyatri interpreted here from the standpoint of Śakti. The root meaning of the word, savitṛ, is that he is the progenitor of all beings. As tripurā also has the same implication, the two deities are considered identical. Here we find a fusion of the Vedic and the Tāntric ways of realization. Later, the distinction between the two completely disappeared. Thus, we find the use of many Vedic mantras in Tāntric rites. At the same time, the Vedic deities assume the roles and characters of Śakti as depicted in the Tantras.

EPICS, PURĀNAS AND UPAPURĀNAS

In the Bālakāṇḍa (chapters XXXV-VI) of the Rāmāyana, there is the story of the husband of Ambikā (X. 18). Here Rudra is also called Umāpati, the husband of Umā, and the Goddess, Kātyāyanī, Kanyākumārī, Durgā and so on (X. 1). It is in this Aranyakas that we find for the first time Kanyākumārī, the virgin goddess of the South identified with Śakti. In the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea (first century A.D.) also there is a reference to this goddess (under the text edited by Schoff, p. 46).

14 Mū. U., I. 2.4. It is to be noted that these names were later associated with the wife of Agni. As Śiva practically emerged as a combination of the two Vedic gods, Rudra and Agni, so also his Śakti as a compound of the spouses attributed to both these deities. Thus Ambikā, Umā or Haimavati known as the wife of Rudra, and Kāli, Karāli and others as that of Agni gradually came to be associated with the wife of Śiva. The Mahābhārata gives us hints about how this happened.

15 See. U., I. 3-4.

16 Ibid., VI. 8.
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Umā, the youngest daughter of Mount Himavān, who was married to Rudra (Śiva), and who was highly respected by all the gods including Brahmā. The Mahābhārata\(^{17}\) and the Harivamsa\(^{18}\) are two important sources so far as the history of the cult and worship of Śakti is concerned.

There is a distinct class of Upapuruṇās known as Śaktas because they deal exclusively with the female deity. But these are of a later date. Before these Upapuruṇās, devoted exclusively to the Devī or Śakti, were written, we find in some of the principal Purāṇas, like the Mārkandeya, Vāmana, Varāha, Kūrma and so on,\(^{19}\) chapters in praise of, and on the worship of, the different forms of Devi. Though the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is primarily devoted to the glorification of Kṛṣṇa, it contains plenty of information concerning the worship of Śakti. The Śaktas Upapuruṇās of note, which have come down to us are the following: Devī, Kālikā, Mahā-bhāgavata, Devī-bhāgavata, Bhagavati, Caṇḍi or Caṇḍikā, Devī-rahasya, and Sati (also called Kālikā or Kālī). Devi or Śakti is the central deity in these books though she is given names and forms such as Durgā, Kālī, Caṇḍi, Sati, etc. Accounts in the Mahābhārata, Harivamsa and the Purāṇas show that in early times female deities of different forms and names were worshipped in different parts of India by the followers of the Vedas as well as by the Śavaras, Varvaras, Pulindas, Kirātas and many other non-Aryan tribes.\(^{20}\) Thus the Śakti cult was a great synthesizer of the Vedic and the non-Vedic, the Aryan and the non-Aryan, religious approaches.

There are also some other Śaktas Upapuruṇās which are lost and are known only by names. They are: Brhannandikesvara, Kālikā, Nandikesvara, Nandi, and Sāradā\(^{21}\).

\(^{17}\) The accounts of the Mother Goddess occurring in the Mahābhārata may be dated in the third or fourth century A.D. There are two Durgā-stotras in the epic, one by Arjuna in the Bhīṣmaparvan (chapter XXIII) and the other by Yudhiṣṭhira in the Virāṭaparvan (chapter VI). They speak of many aspects of the Great Goddess to be found in the later Tātric texts. The Dakṣa-yajña episode in the Śanśiptarvan (chapter CCLXXXIV of the Mahābhārata describes how Mahākāli or Bhadrakāli came to be associated with Umā, the wife of Śiva. In the epic, Durgā has also been described as an earth goddess or a vegetable deity, Śākambhari (VI. 23.9). On the basis of some seals, scholars infer that the concept of the Śākambhari aspect of the Mother Goddess may have been familiar even in the days of the Harappan civilization.

\(^{18}\) II. 2-4 and 22. The Harivamsa (II. 2.48-52) states that Viṣṇu descended into the pātāla (the nether regions) and asked Sleep in the form of Time, the destroyer (Nīrū Kālarūpiṣṭ), to become the daughter of Yaśodā. She was told that she would become Kaṇski and would have a permanent residence on the Vindhya mountain. She was also told that she would kill Śumbha and Niśumbha and would be worshipped by wine and animal sacrifices.

\(^{19}\) Mārk., LXXXI-XCIII.
Vām., XVII-XXI; LI-LVI.
Var., XXI-XXVIII; XC-XCVI.
Viṣṇu, V. 1; Bhaū, IV. 138.
Ibid., pp. 466-89.
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There are also some works of the Sūtra type of which the dates and authorship are unknown. Śakti-Sūtra is one such work. There is another work, Śrīvidyā-ratna-sūtra, which is attributed to the great Vedāntist, Gauḍapādācārya. Yet another work is Pārānanda-Sūtra. There is also a reference to Agastya-Sūtra supposed to belong to the Kādi-mata of the Śākta school.

KĀVYA LITERATURE

The story of Śiva’s marriage with Umā and the birth of Kumāra dealt with in the Kumāra-sambhava of Kālidāsa occurs in several Purāṇas, the earlier ones of which came into being by the sixth or seventh century, i.e. during the Gupta period. The Raghavaniśa refers to Kāli (XI. 15), and the Kumāra-sambhava describes her as the Divine Mother (VII.39). Vāsavadatta of Subandhu (seventh century) contains the earliest literary reference to a worshipper of the Buddhist goddess Tārā. The Śākta Tārā, also called Ugratārā, Ekajātā and Nila-sarasvatī might be an adaptation of the Mahāyāna Buddhist goddess of the same name. Subandhu also mentions the goddess Kātyāyanī of Kusumapura. Bāņa’s (seventh century) Harsacarita shows that the Tāntric rites were gradually encroaching upon the Brāhmaṇic religion. Bāņa was an ardent devotee of Cāndī and his Cāndī-satakā shows that he was deeply influenced by the Saptasati or Cāndī-māhātmya of the Māraṇdeya Purāṇa. In his Kādambari, he refers to the worship of the mother goddess by the Śavaras. Vākpati (c. eighth century) in his Gaudavahro describes the temple of Vindhyavāsinī and also refers to the killing of Mahiśāsura as found in the Cāndī. Bhavabhūti’s Mālatī-Mādhava (c. eighth century) speaks of Aghoraghaṇṭa, a Kāpālika ascetic, who happened to be the priest of the Goddess Cāmūndā in Śrī Śaila, who was worshipped with regular human sacrifices. Some fine hymns to Devī are attributed to Śaṅkarācārya (ninth century), and his bhāṣya on the Bhagavad-Gītā shows that he might have been influenced by the Śākta philosophy.

TANTRAS AND ĀGAMAS

The literature classified as Tantra and Āgama, which relates to the

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23Some old inscriptions show how the Śākta cult was gradually tending towards Tāntricism in the age of the Guptas. One such inscription refers to seven manifestations of Śakti, like Mahaśīvari, Cāmūndā and so on. (Vide Corpus Inscriptionum, Vol. III, p. 47). Several terracotta figures, stone discs, seals and coins belonging to the Mauya and Kuśāṇa periods have been unearthed during the modern times. They indicate that the mother worship was also a popular phenomenon in those days. The circular discs with various figures within a circle as found in Patna, Kosam and other places may be regarded as the forerunners of the mystical diagrams, yantras found in the later Tāntric cult. Vide J. N. Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 171.

24Vide Narendra Nath Bhattacharyya, History of Śākta Religion, p. 68.

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Śākta school, is very extensive and elaborate. The Śākta school had infinite ramifications, such as the Kādi-mata, the Hādi-mata, the Kahādi-mata, the Kāli-mata, the Kaula-mata and so on. Similarly, their forms of worship, ācāras, were also numerous, such as the Dakṣīṇācāra, Vāmācāra, Divyācāra, Virācāra, Pauṣācāra, Kulācāra, Samayācāra, Cīnācāra and so on. Books written by different schools expressing their views about forms of worship naturally increased the bulk of Śākta literature. The divergence of the Śākta deities contributed no less to the wealth of Śākta literature. The most famous division is on the basis of the ten mahāvidyās, each having a distinct literature of her own.

The first of the ten mahāvidyās is Kāli and the best book on her is supposed to be the Mahākāla Samhitā. It is a huge book but unfortunately no longer available in its entirety. Its major portion has been secured from Nepal and a project for its publication has been taken up. Among other books dealing with Kāli, the following may be mentioned: Kāla-jñāna, Kālottara, Kālī-kula-kramārcana, Bhadra-kāli-cintāmaṇi, Kāli Tāmala, Kālī-kalpa, Kālī-saparyā-krama-kalpavalli, Kāli-vilāsa Tantra, Kāli-kula-sarvasva, Kāli Tantra, Viśva-sāra Tantra, and Kāmesvāri Tantra. A section called Kāli-khaṇḍa of the Śakti-saṅgama Tantra is also important as is the Kāli-māhātmya of the Bhairavi Tantra. Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, the author of Sāradā-nilaka, wrote a book called Kāli-tattva, which was widely known in northern India. The Śyāmā-saparyā-vidhi, by Kāśinātha Bhaṭṭācārya Tarkālamkāra, consisting of seven chapters and the Śyāmā-rahasya by Pūrṇānanda having eleven chapters are very important works on Kāli written by Bengali authors. They set the standard for Kāli worship in Bengal. Incidentally, Kāli has almost become a favourite deity with the Bengalees who worship her in numerous forms such as Siddhakāli, Guhyakāli, Bhadrankāli, Śmaśānakāli, Rakṣākāli or Mahā-kāli. Kāli is, in fact, the most important Śakti deity in eastern India.

Next comes Tārā, whose worship is supposed to be of Buddhistic and Chinese origin and appears to have been taken from the country of Bhoṭa, i.e. Tibet. There is a vast literature pertaining to her worship. Some of the works about her are: Tārā Tantra or Ṭārīṇī Tantra, Tārā-sūkta, Tāṇḍala Tantra, Tāṉṇava, Nila Tantra, Mahā-nilta Tantra, Nila-sarasvatī Tantra, Cinācāra, Tantra-ratna, Tārā-sāvara Tantra, Tārā-Upaniṣad, Ekajati Tantra, Ekajatā-kalpa, Brahma-yāmala Tantra, Mahā-cinācāra-krama, Ekavira Tantra, Ṭārīṇī-nirṇaya and so on. Mention must also be made of many compendiums on Tārā, such as Tārā-Pradīpa by

28Though the traditional list enumerates sixty-four Tantras, the number of Tantras extant in manuscripts is far greater. (Vide Haraprasad Sastri, Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Second series I, Calcutta, 1900, pp. xxiv-xxxvii; Catalogue of Palm-Leaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, Calcutta, 1905, pp. Ivii-lxxvi). They seem to have originated in Bengal, wherefrom they spread throughout India, in Assam, Nepal, Kashmir and the South, and even beyond the limits of India in Tibet and China through Buddhism. Vide HIL, Vol. I, p. 592.

29Cf. Chintaharan Chakravarty, Tantras: Studies in their Religion and Literature (Chapter on Kāli Worship in Bengal).
Lakṣmāṇa Bhaṭṭa, Tārā-rahasya by Āgamācārya Śaṅkara, Tārā-bhakti-sudhārṇava by Narasimha Thākura, Tārā-bhakti-tarāṅgini by Prakāśānanda, a book of the same name by Vimalānanda as well as another by Kāśinātha, Tārā-kalpa-latā-paddhati by Nityānanda, Tāriṇī-pārijāta by Śrīvidvad Upādhyāya, Mahogra-tārā-kalpa and others. Tārā-sahasra-nāma, on which there is a commentary by Lakṣmīdhara, also deserves mention.

The third in the list, Śoḍaṣī is another important Śākta deity who claims the worship of innumerable votaries all over the country, from Kashmir to Kerala. In her, the divine power is supposed to have reached its fullness. Her name, Śoḍaṣī, is significant. Just as the moon is in its full form when it reaches the sixteenth phase, she is in the fullness of her power and beauty as Śoḍaṣī. Because of her beauty and grandeur she is also known as Tripura-sundari or simply Sundari and Rājarājeśvarī. As she was first worshipped by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, she is known as Tripurā, though there are other interpretations also of this term.37 She is also conceived as having three different aspects, viz. Bālā, Bhairavi and Sundari. Sometimes fifty forms are attributed to her, which shows her wide popularity. She is supposed to have three main centres of worship: Kāmagiri in the east, Pūrṇagiri in the west and Jālandhara at the top of the Meru mountain. These three points are looked upon as a triangle with Oḍḍi-yāna, the fourth, as the central point. In other words, these locations indicate that the cult of Tripurā was fairly widespread throughout India. She is worshipped in twelve different forms in different parts of India such as Kāmākṣi in Kānci, Kumārī in Kerala, Ambā in Gurjara, Kālikā in Mālava, Lalitā in Prayāga, Vindhyavāsini in Vindhyācala, Viśālakṣī in Vārānasi, Maṅgalacanḍi in Gayā, Sundari in Vaṅga, Mahālakṣmi in Karavīra and Guhyesvarī in Nepāla as well as Bhṛāmari in the Malayā mountain.

The literature of Tripurā or Śoḍaṣī, therefore, is vast and elaborate. The form of her worship, known as sṛi-vidyā, has come down in two main currents known as Kādi-vidyā and Hādi-vidyā. The former is said to have been initiated by Kāma or Manmatha and the latter by Lopāmudrā. The Kādi school is also known as Madhumati-mata and its main books are Tantrarāja, Mātṛkārṇava, Yogiṇīhṛdaya and Tripurārṇava. The Tantrarāja has many commentaries of which one named Manorāma by Subhagānanda is the most important. The other commentary, Sudarśana, by Premanidhi, is also sometimes attributed to his wife Prānāmani. Bhāskara Rāya is also supposed to have written a commentary, which, however, is not available now. Paramānanda Tantra or Parānanda Tantra is an important work on sṛi-vidyā. Another important book on the subject

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is Saubhāgya-kalpa-druma, written by Mādhavānandana-tha. There are nearly forty other texts dealing with śrī-vidyā. To mention some of the important ones among them: Vāmakēśvara Tantra, Śakti-saṅgama Tantra, Lakṣmi Tantra, Svacchanda Tantra, Tripurā-rahasya, Tripurā-sāra-samuccaya, Śrī-tattva-cintāmaṇi, Kāma-kalā-vilāsa, Varivasaya-rahasya, Varivasaya-prakāśa, Virūpākṣa-paṇḍasikā, and Lalitārecananda-candrika.28

The literature on śrī-vidyā became so extensive and popular that the names of many gods like Indra, Skanda, Śiva, Sūrya, Agni, etc. as well as the names of some famous sages like Durvāsas, Agastya and Viśvāmitra came to be associated with it as its founders. Even great names in the field of Indian philosophy like Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara are mentioned as authors of a large number of works belonging to this group of literature. Gauḍapāda is believed to have written a hymn, called Subhagodaya-stuti, of fifty-two verses. Śaṅkara is said to have written a commentary on it. We have already referred to another work attributed to Gauḍapāda, viz. Śrī-vidyā-ratna-sūtra. There are also some important hymns addressed to the deity which together with commentaries thereon, form an important part of Śākta literature and also throw a flood of light on this cult. The hymns, Ānanda-lahari and Saundarya-lahari, both attributed to Śaṅkara, and the commentaries thereon, especially the commentary by Lakṣmīdhara, deserve special mention. The hymn, Lalitā-sahasranāma-stotra, and the commentary on it by Bhāskara Rāya are both indispensable to all students of Tantra.

We have so far discussed the three manifestations of Śakti and the literature that grew round them. This triad of Kālī, Tārā and Śoḍaśi practically dominates the field, enjoying the homage and adoration of innumerable worshippers. The remaining seven occupy a minor position and have been overshadowed by the previous three. As to the fourth, Bhuvanesvarī, the most important book dealing with her cult and worship is the Bhuvanesvarī-rahasya by Prthvīdhara Ācārya who is claimed to be a direct disciple of Śaṅkara. There is also a Bhuvanesvarī-stotra by Prthvīdhara. The Bhuvanesvarī Tantra, Bhuvanesvarī-pārijāta and the Bhuvanesvarī-kalpa-latā are all important works on this deity.

With regard to the fifth, Bhairavi, we have two books which are quite well-known, viz. the Bhairavi-rahasya and the Bhairavi-saparyā-vidhi. The most important work, however, is Bhairavi Tāmala. This manifestation of Bhairavi has many sub-forms such as Siddha-bhairavi, Tripura-bhairavi, Caitanya-bhairavi, Bhuvanesvarī-bhairavi, Kāmāleśvarī-bhairavi, Kāmēśvarī-bhairavi and so on. A Bhairavi is always associated with a Bhairava, also known as a Vaṭuka. According to the Muṇḍamāḷa Tantra, Bhairava and the incarnation of Nṛsiṁha are identical.

There is not much of a separate literature dealing with the cult of the sixth

28 For a detailed list see Gopinath Kaviraj, Tantrika Sāhitya, p. 49.
manifestation, viz. Chinnamastā. Only the Śakti-saṅgama Tantra has a section on it called Chinnā.

Similarly, the seventh manifestation named Dhūmāvatī, who is supposed to be a widow, has no literature of her own. Her manifestation, however, has been described in the Prāṇaṭaśīrgi Tantra. Some are of the opinion that Kāla-bhairava is associated with Dhūmāvatī. Others, however, think that she, being a widow, can have no Bhairava as her counterpart.

About Vagalā, the eighth manifestation, we have the Sānkhyāyana Tantra, which is also known as Śaḍvidyāgama. The Vagalā-krama-kalpa-vallī is also a good book on the subject. In the Sammohana Tantra we have an account of the incarnation of Vagalā who manifested herself in Saurāstra. Viṣṇu undertook severe penances to please and propitiate her. It is in response to his entreaties that she manifested herself.

The ninth mahāvidyā, Mataṅgi, became manifest, according to the Brahma Yāmala, through the prolonged penances of the sage, Mataṅga. Mataṅgi-krama by Kulamanī Gupta and Mataṅgi-Paddhati by Rāmabhaṭṭa give details about the worship of this form of Śakti. Mataṅgi is also known by the name Sumukhi. Sumukhi-pūjā-paddhati is a well-known manual on the forms and methodologies of her worship. Its author, Šaṅkara, who was a disciple of Sundarānanda, belongs to the line of the great Vedāntist, Vidyāraṇya.

The tenth and last of the mahāvidyās is Kamalā. She is represented as of exquisite beauty, of golden colour, adorned with precious jewels, wearing a red silk saree and so on. She is also the goddess of prosperity, i.e. Lakṣmī, with a red lotus as her seat. She is described in the Tantrasāra, Sūradā-tilaka, Śākta-pramoda and other such books.

We have so far dealt with the Tāṇtric literature which has grown around the ten well-known manifestations of Śakti. But there are other manifestations also. In fact, the list varies from Tantra to Tantra. In the Mālini-vijaya Tantra we have other names like Mahādurgā, Annapūrṇā, Vāgvādinī, Pratyāṅgirā, Tvaritā, Nilā and Bālā. The Tantra-kaumudi furnishes another list raising the number of manifestations of Śakti to twenty-seven. In this list, we come across more names like Mahiṣamardini, Tripuṭā, Mahāmāyā, Bheranḍā, Cāmuṇḍā, Śūlinī, Kātyāyanī and others. The literature on each of these manifestations is not available separately. There are, however, sections in works like the Māyā Tantra, the Kāli-vilāsa Tantra, the Rudra Yāmala, the Matsya-sūkta, which deal with the worship of Durgā. Some chapters of the Māyā Tantra also deal with Jagaddhātri, another form of Durgā. Durgā is supposed to have nine different forms, called Nava-durgā. In this way, from one particular manifestation of

28 Vide C. Chakravarty, Tantras: Studies in their Religion and Literature, p. 94.
29 Kāli, Kātyāyanī, Iṣṭī, Muṇḍamardini, Cāmuṇḍā, Bhadrakāli, Bhadrā, Tvaritā, and Vaiṣṇavi.
SÁKTA LITERATURE

Sakti, infinite, bewildering varieties sprang up in the course of time. In different parts of the country, the same deity Durgā is worshipped in different forms—two-handed, four-handed, eight-handed, ten-handed, twelve-handed, eighteen-handed and so on.

The Tantra-samuccaya (c. 1426) is a collection compiled from a number of Tantras. The Prapañcasāra Tantra, ascribed to Śaṅkara, is one of the most important Tántric texts. It deals with the worship of the various manifestations of Śiva and Sakti. It, however, refers also to Viṣṇu and his avatāras (incarnations). Though a later work, the Mahānirvāṇa Tantra represents 'the best aspect of Saktism'. It enjoys a wide popularity and some scholars are of the opinion that the text might have been written in Bengal. It speaks of the Devi, the goddess, as the embodiment of all the gods and their 'energies' (śaktis). Thus she is Brahmā, the creator, Viṣṇu, the sustainer, and Mahākāla, the destroyer. Munḍamālā Tantra, already mentioned, enumerates hundred names of the goddess.

In addition to Tántric and Āgamic works discussed so far, there is a large number of manuals on various Tántric rituals belonging to different schools of Saktism. The Jñānārṇava Tantra is one such work which, along with various kinds of Tántric forms of worship, discusses, and attaches the greatest importance to, kumāripājā, the worship of maiden as Devi herself. Texts dealing with śrīvidyā have already been mentioned.

A huge literature comprising glossaries and dictionaries has also grown up, with a view to interpreting the symbolical and mysterious significance of the aksaras, bijas, mantras, mudrās, cakras and kuṇḍalini. For example, Ekāksara-koṣa, Bija-nighanṭu, Mātrikā-nighanṭu, Mantrāvidhāna, Mudrā-nighanṭu, Śatakra-nirūpaṇa, and Padukā-paṇcaka.

No account of Sakt literature will be complete without a reference to what is known as Kaula literature. The Kaulas have been sometimes looked down upon by the Vaidikas as preaching something vulgar and un-Vedic, while others have extolled them as the exponents of the highest form of Tántrika worship. One can have an idea of this much-derided as well as highly adored Sakt cult from books like Kulārṇava, Kula-cūdāmaṇi, Kula-gahvara, Kula-dipini, Kula-paṇcāśikā, Kula-prakāśa, Kula-mata, Kula-kamala, Kula-tattva-sāra, Kulāmṛta, Kula-ratna-mālā, Kula-ratna-mātykā, Kula-pradīpa, Rudra Yāmala, Devi Yāmala and a host of such other books.

33Ibid., p. 592n.
34The Tantras are usually in the form of dialogues between Śiva and Pārvati; when Pārvati asks questions like a pupil and Śiva answers like a teacher, they are called Āgamas, and when the order reverses, i.e. Pārvati as the teacher answers Śiva's questions, they are called Nigamas.
35For an exhaustive list see Gopinath Kaviraj, Tāntrika Sāhiṣṭa, p. 49.
We have already mentioned some of the Yāmalas dealing with different forms of Śakti. In the Jayadratha Yāmala, a supplement of the Brahma Yāmala, we find plenty of information about various branches of Tāntric sādhanā and sāhitya, together with references to a large number of Śākta deities. It has been rightly observed that 'the supplementary literature of the Yāmala group indicates a new orientation of the Tāntric culture. The sādhanās of the Āgamas assume in them a more pronounced character of Śāktism. . . . The later literature of pure Śaivism ceases to be called Tantra. Tantra proper became more Śāktic in character. This character became definitely established by the tenth century.' That is why perhaps Śākta literature becomes synonymous with Tāntric literature as the latter forms the major and most important part of it.

Barring a few, the Tantras do not appear to be a pleasing specimen as literary productions. But their real value lies in the philosophy they embody, and the spiritual nourishment they had been offering down the centuries to millions of Hindus. They still govern the Hindu religious ceremonies, sacrifices and observances, and are regarded as one of the most popular branches of Indian religious literature. They will, therefore, be found immensely useful to any literary historian and student of comparative religion and philosophy.

GÂNAPATYA, KAUMÂRA AND SAURA LITERATURE

No survey of the Indian religious literature can be complete without at least a brief study of the works dealing with Gaṇeṣa, Kārttikeya (Kumāra), and Sūrya. The cults that have grown around them are minor but important. That is why Śaṅkarācārya includes them among the six cults, saṅmata, he has approved and propagated.

GÂNAPATYA LITERATURE

Although admitted to the Brāhmaṇic pantheon comparatively late, Gaṇeṣa is among the most adored Hindu gods and goddesses. The numerous names by which he is known testify to his popularity. Some of his names are: Siddhidātā (Bestower of success), Vināyaka (Remover of obstacles), Heramba (Protector), Gaṇeṣvara (Lord of the Gaṇas), Gaṇapatī or Gaṇāṇāyaka (Leader of the Gaṇas) and so on. His popularity is not limited within India but has crossed her borders as well.

We find no mention of Gaṇeṣa in any early Vedic text. But it is evident from the Māṇava Gṛhya-Sūtra (II. 14) that Vināyaka (or Vināyakas), the earliest form of Gaṇeṣa, had emerged as a malignant deity (or deities) before the Christian era. The Gṛhya-Sūtra refers to four Vināyakas, and gives an account of the rituals connected with their propitiation. The Tājñavalkya Smṛti (c. sixth

1These are Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Gānapatya, Kaumāra and Saura.
2According to Bhandarkar, the cult of Gaṇapatī-Vināyaka came into vogue between the end of the fifth and the end of the eighth century, vide Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, p. 148.
3The attendants of Śiva.
4The popular names of Gaṇeṣa outside India:
   Mongolia: Totkhar-oun Khaghan
   Tibet : Ts'ogs-bdag
   Bgegs med p'ai bdag po
   China : Kuan-shi t'ien
   Japan : Kangi-ten
   Vināyakā
   Shō-ten
   Kwanzan-Shō
   Burma : Mahāpienne
   Cambodia: Prāh Kenēs.
5The epithet ‘Gaṇapatī’ found in the Rg-Veda (II.23.1) refers not to him but to Bṛhaspati, the Vedic god of wisdom. Bhandarkar attributes Gaṇeṣa’s reputation for wisdom to the confusion resulting from this Rg-Vedic reference, vide Vaiṣṇavism, p. 149. It may be mentioned here that Gopinath Rao has identified Gaṇeṣa with Bṛhaspati, vide his Elements of Hindu Iconography (The Law Printing House, Madras, 1914), Vol. I, pt. I. p. 45.
6They are, viz. Śālakaṭaṇḍa, Kuśmāṇḍarājaputra, Uṣmita, and Devayajana.
century) also refers to such rituals (I. 271 ff), sometimes in identical language. But the rituals appear here in a 'somewhat developed or complicated form'. In view of the time gap between the two works, this difference is understandable. But the difference between the works is significant in another respect. Though six names are mentioned in the Tājñavalkya Śmyti against four in the Gṛhya-Sūtra, they all, unlike those in the Gṛhya-Sūtra, refer to 'one' Vināyaka who has further been described here as the son of Ambikā. It may be mentioned here that, according to tradition, Śiva and Pārvati (also called Ambikā) are the parents of Gaṇeśa. The Śmyti also records the appointment of Vināyaka as Gaṇapatī, the Leader of the Gaṇas by Rudra and Brahmapā. The Baudhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra also speaks of Gaṇapatī. The Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad belonging to the Taittirīya Āranyaka (X. 1) contains the Gaṇapatī-gāyatri referring to the deity as Vakratunda and Dantin. The Gaṇapatī-tāpaniṇya Upaniṣad, a later work, is important from the theological point of view. It proclaims Gaṇeśa as the eternal Brahman. In the Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad, another later work, Vināyaka has been identified with Rudra. According to Farquhar, the Gaṇapatī Upaniṣad, which forms a part of the Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad, has behind it another Upaniṣad of the Gaṇapatya sect.

There is no mention of Gaṇeśa as a distinct deity in either of the two great epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. The epithet 'Gaṇeśa' or 'Gaṇeśvara', found both in North and South India recensions of the Mahābhārata, refers to Śiva. This perhaps leads Przyłuski to think that Śiva and Gaṇeśa were originally one and the same god. But Bhandarkar has referred to the Anuśasana-parvan (CLX. 26) where Gaṇeśvaras and Vināyakas are mentioned as gods bearing witness to the actions of man.

In the Purāṇas, Gaṇeśa is a most favourite deity and references to him and his legends are no occasional phenomena there. Chapters LXI-LXIII of the

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9Mita, Sammita, Śāla, Kaṭaṇkaṭa, Kūrmāṇḍa, and Rājaputra.
10Since Gaṇeśa emerged as an elephant-headed deity in a much later period, the authenticity of this passage is not beyond doubt.
12The North India recension of the Mahābhārata, however, categorically mentions Gaṇeśa as a god and refers to the popular legend regarding the part he played in connection with the composition of the great epic. The legend is that Brahmā himself advised Vyāsa to approach Gaṇeśa to write down the epic (I.1.75-83). Here Gaṇeśa has been called Heramba, Vighneśa, Gaṇanāyaka and Sarvajña. Bālābhārata, a poem written in the ninth century, refers to this legend and this was narrated to Alberuni (eleventh century) when he visited India. Vide Edward C. Sachau, (Tr.), Alberuni's India Vol. I, p. 134. Winternitz believes that the legend was known long before the ninth century and was not inserted into the North India recension of the Mahābhārata until 150 years later (vide JRAS, April, 1898, p. 380).
13Vide Alice Getty, Gaṇeśa, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1971 (Reprint), pp. 2-3.
Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa are devoted to the cult of Gaṇeṣa. The Brahma-
vaivarta Purāṇa, which professes to glorify Kṛṣṇa, relates in its Gaṇeṣa-khaṇḍa to
the legends of the elephant-headed deity. Curiously enough, Gaṇeṣa has been
represented here as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. The Garuḍa (chapter XXIV) and
Agni (chapters LXXI and CCCXIII) Purāṇas prescribe rules for the worship of
Gaṇeṣa. Among the other Purāṇas which refer to Gaṇeṣa and his legends are the
Skanda, Matsya, Vāmanā, Liṅga, Śiva, and Varāha. A later Gaṇeṣa Purāṇa is devoted
to the glorification of Gaṇeṣa. It also deals with the theology and worship of the
sect and enumerates the thousand names of the deity. The Bhārgava Purāṇa, an
Upapurāṇa, also contains the story of Gaṇeṣa, his devotees and the vratas sacred
to him. In the Mudgala Purāṇa, an Upapurāṇa recently discovered, Gaṇeṣa is
worshipped as the highest deity. It is an important work for the Gaṇapatya cult. It is believed to have been revealed to sage Mudgala by Upamanyu.

Among the kāvyas containing references to Gaṇeṣa, mention may be made of
the Gāthā-saptāṣati of Hāla and the Mālati-Mādhava of Bhavabhūti. In the
opening stanza of the latter, Gaṇeṣa is described as possessing an elephant’s
head. Gaṇeṣa figures in various Tāntric texts, viz. the Tantrasāra, Sāradā-
tilaka Tantra, Rudra Yāmala, and Mahānirvāṇa Tantra. In the Gāyatri Tantra,
Gaṇeṣa has been referred to as writing down the Tantras to the dictation of Śiva. The Gaṇeṣa Saṁhitā, mentioned in the list of the Vaiṣṇava Saṁhitās, is
possibly a work belonging to the Gaṇapatya sect.

That Gaṇeṣa is a favourite deity of the Hindus is also evident from the large
number of stotras written in praise of him. In fact, a considerable portion of the
total stotra literature in Sanskrit is dedicated to him. Mention may be made of
the Gaṇapatī-mahimna-stotra (attributed to Puṣpadanta), Gaṇeṣa-stavarāja (in
Rudra Yāmala), Gaṇapatī-stotra (in Sāradā-tilaka Tantra), Gaṇeṣa-stotra (in the
Matsya, Padma, Varāha and Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas), Gaṇeṣa-paṅcaratna, and
Gaṇeṣa-bhujāṅga (attributed to Śāṅkara).

Ānanda Giri (ninth century) in his Śaṅkara-vijaya has mentioned six different
sects of the Gaṇapatya cult, none of which, however, is believed to exist today.
But the worship of Gaṇapatī is the foremost item in nearly all Hindu religious
ceremonies throughout India. In Maharashtra, moreover, he is the most

14 Cf. the Anandaśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona) edition.
15 It is difficult to ascertain when and how the god came to be known as an elephant-headed one.
According to some scholars Bhavabhūti’s poem is perhaps the first work definitely referring to Gaṇeṣa
as an elephant-faced god. Vide Alice Getty, op.cit., p. 3.
17 Vide J. N. Farquhar, op.cit.
18 These are Mahā-Gaṇapatī, Haridrā-Gaṇapatī, Ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇapatī, Navaṇīta-Gaṇapatī, Svarṇa-
Gaṇapatī and Śantāna-Gaṇapatī. For further details vide R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, pp. 149-50
and J. N. Farquhar, op. cit., pp. 270-71
popular deity and, during the annual Ganeśa-caturthi day, he is worshipped with great pomp and festivity.

KAUMĀRA LITERATURE

Skanda-Kārttikeya-Kumāra, the traditional god of war and valour, is an ancient deity whose worship is still practised in many parts of India. It seems that his worship was known in the later Vedic period, if not earlier. He appears to be a composite god in the sense that he comprises qualities normally attributed to the following Vedic deities, Agni, Indra, Soma, Rudra, Varuṇa, Bhārapati and Hiranyakṣarha. In the Vedic pantheon, he is variously spoken of as Skanda, Kārttikeya and Kumāra. The name ‘Kumāra’ is found in the Rg-Veda (X. 135). Some scholars think this Kumāra is perhaps the prototype of Skanda-Kumāra. The Skanda-yāga, included in the pariṣīṇas of the Atharva-Veda, refers to Skanda’s parentage (VI. 4). It is interesting to note that it also refers to him as Saḍānana, the six-headed, and mentions his association with mayūra, the peacock (II. 3). The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa describes Kumāra as the ninth form of Agni or Rudra (V. 1.13.18). The Taittiriya Āranyaka (X. 1) refers to Mahāsena-Śaṃmukha (i.e. Kārttikeya). The Maitrāyaṇi Śaṁhitā mentions the most popular names by which the deity is known, Kumāra, Kārttikeya and Skanda (II. 9.1.11-12). In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Skanda is spoken of as the supreme Being. Here he has been identified with the Vedic sage Sanatkumāra (VII. 26.2). The conception of Skanda as a god of learning and wisdom is due probably to this association of his with sage Sanatkumāra. In the Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad, Skanda has been identified with Rudra.

In the Vedāṅga period, Skanda-Kārttikeya is assigned a more prominent position in the hierarchy of Brāhmaṇic gods. Works like the Baudhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra and Hiranyakṣerī Gṛhya-Sūtra testify to this. In the former, the deity is given the following names: Skanda, Sanatkumāra, Viśākha, Śaṃmukha, Mahāsena and Subrahmaṇya (II. 5.9.8). In the latter, Skanda appears to enjoy the same status as Viśu, Rudra and others (II. 8.19).

Skanda’s popularity in the epic period is proved by the repeated references to his birth and exploits one comes across in the great epics. In the epics and Purāṇas, Skanda has been represented as the son of Rudra or Agni. The Rāma-yāṇa, for example, refers to the legend of his birth in the Bālakāṇḍa (chapters

19Winternitz believes that the epithet ‘Nejamesa’ found in one of the khilas of the Rg-Veda (occurring after X. 184) refers to Naigameya, an aspect of Skanda-Kārttikeya as a son-granting deity mentioned in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas. Vide JRAS, 1893, pp. 149-55. It may be mentioned here that the name occurs in some of the Gṛhya-Sūtras, viz. Mānas II.18. Naigameya (same as Nejamesa or Naigameya) is invoked also in the Utiira-tantra (XXXVI. 9) of the Sudrata Saṁhitā (c. first century) as a protector of children.

20 Vide Sukumar Sen, Indo-Iranica, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 27

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XXXV-XXXVII). In the Mahābhārata, the story appears several times, for instance, in the Vana-parvan (CCXIII-CCXXII), Salya-parvan (XLIII-XLV) and Anuśasanaparvan (LXXXIII-LXXXVI). The Sāhāparvan of the epic refers to a place called Rohitaka (modern Rohtak in the Haryana State) which was dear to Kārttikeya (XXIX. 4-5). This is perhaps the earliest reference to a place sacred to this deity. 'Rohitaka', however, does not occur in any of the extant Purāṇas; but one Buddhist Sanskrit text belonging to the early Christian era, Mahāmāyūri (verse 21), refers to it as associated with Kārttikeya-Kumāra.

According to the epic, the rulers of Rohitaka were the valiant 'Matta-mayūrakas' who are usually identified with the ancient Indian tribe, Yaudheyas. A large number of Yaudhaya coins have been discovered by Sahani from Rohtak. These coins, classified and dated by Allan, clearly show that Kārttikeya-Kumāra, the Lord of war and the celestial generalissimo, was the guardian-deity of the warlike Yaudheyas. The epithet māttamayūraka itself is also significant because of its connection with māyūra, the vāhana (vehicle) of Kārttikeya.

The Purāṇas describe Skanda-Kārttikeya in greater detail. In the Skanda Purāṇa, named after him, he figures quite prominently. Accounts of his birth and exploits and references to the tirthas sacred to him appear in various places of this Purāṇa. Among the other Purāṇas that refer to Skanda, mention may be made of the Brahma (chapter GXXVIII), Vaiṣṇava (LXXII), Matsya (CLVIII-CLX), Vāmana (LVII), Kūrma (II. 6; 36), and Varāha (XXV). Stories regarding Kārttikeya's birth are to be found in some other Purāṇas also, viz. the Siṣṭa (Jñāna-sandhitā, XIX), Padma (Siṣṭi-khaṇḍa, XLIII-XXIV), Bhavīṣya (Bṛhadarpāvan, XXXIX) and Brahmacaturvarta (Ganetika-khaṇḍa, XIV-XVII). The Bhāgavata (XI. 4.17) reckons Kārttikeya as a manifestation of Viṣṇu. Some of the Upapurāṇas like the Viṣṇudharmottara and Saura contain references to the birth of Skanda.

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82 Vide J. Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India, pp. 265-78.


THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

Kauṭilya (fourth century B.C.) in his Arthasastra (II. 4.19) refers to the gates of the city being presided over by gods including Śenāpati (i.e. Kārttikeya). Patañjali (second century B.C.) in his Mahābhāṣya mentions, while explaining Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī (V. 3.99), the images of Skanda and Viśākha as being worshipped during his time. On the reverse of some coins belonging to the Kuśāṇa period, there are figures with their names in Greek letters of Skando, Mahāseno, Kumāro and Bizāgo representing respectively Skanda, Mahāsena, Kumāra and Viśākha. The Lalitavistara (first century B.C.) indirectly refers to the images of various gods including Skanda being worshipped during Buddha’s time (chapter VIII). The Kāśyapa Sāṁhitā (c. fifth century) refers to Viśākha, Kārttikeya, Skanda and Mahāsena. A Skāṇḍa or Kaumāra Sāṁhitā has been mentioned by Schrader. The principal theme of Kālidāsa’s Kumāra-sāmhava is the birth of Kumāra or Skanda. This well-known kāya as well as a large number of inscriptions and seals belonging to the Gupta period demonstrate the popularity of Skanda as a deity and of his cult. Kālidāsa’s Meghadūta refers to a tirtha sacred to Skanda. The Mrčhakaṭikā of Śūdraṇa pictures Skanda as a patron-deity of thieves and burglars (Act III). The Brhat-sāṁhitā of Varāhamihira (sixth century) describes the image of Skanda with sakti (his characteristic weapon) in one of his two hands. The Sanskrit lexicon Amarakośa (c. sixth century) mentions sixteen names of Skanda. The Kādambari of Bāna (seventh century) refers to the installation of a figure of Kārttikeya holding a spear and riding on a peacock. The Kāvyamimāṃsā of Rājaśekhara (tenth century) mentions one Kārttikeya-nagara (modern Bajjnath in the Almora district), a medieval town named after Kārttikeya. The Kathāsarit-sāgara (Book III) of Somadeva (eleventh century) gives the account of Skanda’s birth. Here again Kārttikeya appears as a god of robbers (XVII. 1.115). The Kathāsarit-sāgara also depicts

This passage is rather interesting. The separate mention of Skanda and Viśākha show that at that time they were regarded as distinct divinities. But there are passages in the Śūtras, Epics and Purāṇas representing Viśākha as another aspect of Skanda. For example, the Mahābhārata (III. 216. 12-13) states that Viśākha sprang from the right side of Skanda when the latter was struck by Indra’s thunderbolt. According to R. G. Bhandarkar, ‘this is indicative of the tendency to make the two as one person’. Vide Vaipavism, p. 151.

See R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaipavism, pp. 150-51. See also D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1921, pp. 22-23. J. N. Banerjea has, however, pointed out that there are really three figures and not four, vide Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 145-46.

This drama is assigned by different scholars to different dates ranging from the second century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.

This depiction of the dhūtra aspect of Skanda is nothing novel. In the Skanda-pātra (also called Dhūtra-kalpa) Skanda has been represented as a dhūtra. Goodwin who edited and translated the text for the first time takes the term dhūtra in the sense of ‘master-thief’ and compares him with Hermes, the Greek god of Knavery.

Seonggwa (I. 39-40).
him as a god imparting all branches of knowledge (I. 2.44-61). The Rājarāmapī (IV. 423) of Kalhana (twelfth century) mentions the temple of Kārttikeya in Puṇḍravardhana, a well-known centre of Kārttikeya worship as referred to in the Gauḍa Purāṇa (I. 81.16). Several vrata.s sacred to Kārttikeya and Kumāra are mentioned in the Vrata-khaṇḍa of Hemaḍri (thirteenth century).

The rituals connected with the worship of Skanda occur in several Tāntric or Āgamic texts such as Kāmika, Kāraṇa, Suprabheda, Anāśumaṭ, and Kumāra. But it is the Kumāra Tantra which is exclusively devoted to the cult and worship of the deity. It depicts rules and rituals regarding construction of temples, installation of images and icons, ceremonies, festivals, processions, fasts, and initiatory rites in minute detail. The yantra (mystic) and the mantra (secret) cults and the different forms and aspects of the deity are also elucidated. Here Kumāra, the Divine Child, has been invested with some of the attributes usually associated with Śiva, such as the great Teacher, the great Healer and the Lord of the Bhūtas. Śiva, though sharing his form with Umā, is still the ideal of asceticism. Subrahmanya, the Lord of Valli and Devasenā, is likewise the great Ascetic.

Skanda is specially popular in South India. There his favourite names are Muruga and Subrahmanya. According to the South Indian tradition, Skanda is the embodiment of everlasting fragrance of life, the symbol of Beauty, Truth and Love. The earliest Tamil works viz. Pariṇay, Tolkāppiyam, Śilappadikāram, Pattuppāṭṭu, Eṭṭutogai, Ahanānīru, Puranānīru, and Kuruṇci depict the birth and exploits of Muruga in enthralling poetry. The beautiful poem Tirumurugārūpaḍai of Nakkirar is devoted to the glorification of the deity. The Tiru-murais, the Tamil Śaiva Vedas, contain numerous allusions to Muruga as the ‘dynamic’ son of Śiva. It may be mentioned here that the Tirumurugārūpaḍai is included in the eleventh book of the Tiru-murais. The Tamil epic poem Kanda Purāṇam is said to be based on some of the sections of the Skanda Purāṇa. Arūṇagiriṇāthar’s ‘mellifluous’ poems on Muruga like the Tiruppugazh, Kandar Alankāram and Kandar Anubhūti ‘mark an important landmark in the revival of the cult of Muruga in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries’. The Kumāra Tantra, already mentioned, is a South Indian Sanskrit text. The Śrītattva-nidhi is another important Sanskrit text so far as the cult of Skanda-Subrahmanya is concerned. Like the Kumāra

\[\text{Vide CHI, Vol. IV, p. 311.}\]

\[\text{Skanda-Kārttikeya is often depicted as one who religiously avoids the company of women. For example, the Matypa Purāṇa (CLXXXV. 3) describes him as Brahmācārin. Kālidāsa’s Vikramorvaṣi (Act IV) says that Skanda’s place is forbidden to women. Kathāsarit-sāgara (IX. 5. 174) is another work where similar statement occurs. That is why, perhaps, women are not allowed to visit the temples of the deity in some places in the South. For example the Kumārasvāmin temple near Sandur, in Mysore. The Śivālīmāreta, a Marathi work, says that a woman gets widowhood for seven successive births if she looks at the image of Skanda. Vide Asim Kumar Chatterjee, op.cit., p. 103.}\]

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Tantra, it also describes the images of various aspects of the deity. But its description usually differs from that of the Kumāra Tantra and it has also added a few more names to the list of sixteen images referred to in the Kumāra Tantra. Śaṅkara’s Subrahmanya-bhujaṅga, in bhujāṅga metre, is full of devotional fervour and exaltation. This Sanskrit poem ‘reveals the efficacy of meditation, praise and prayer to Lord Subrahmanya and is considered as a hymn of imperishable value’. Subrahmanya-asṭottara-sata-nāmāvali, believed to have been revealed by Nandikeśvara to sage Agastya, enumerates one hundred and eight names of Subrahmanya. That Subrahmanya is an extremely popular deity is proved by the numerous temples dedicated to him in various parts of South India, and the six sacred seats on the hillocks in Tamilnadu. Gopinath Rao rightly observes that ‘Subrahmanya is almost exclusively a South Indian deity’.

SAURA LITERATURE

Sūrya, the Sun-god, is an object of profound adoration since the Vedic times. He is believed to deliver man from sin and shame, dishonour and disease, and bestow on him all blessings including wealth and health, fame and food. In the Rg-Veda there are at least ten hymns addressed to him. He has been described in the Rg-Veda as seated on a chariot drawn by seven horses. Ūṣā has been depicted as his bride (VII. 75.5), as his mother (VII. 78.3) and as a frivolous damsel trying to tempt him (VII. 80.2). The Vedas describe him as the cause of the world, ‘the soul of movable and immovable things’ (Rg-Veda I. 115.1). The Sūrya Upaniṣad, a much later work, is an important Saura document. It is devoted to the glorification of Sūrya, elaborating the Sāvitri-mantra (the Gāyatri) of the Rg-Veda. It is a book of Brahma-tattva-jñāna to the worshippers of the Sun. The Gṛhya-Sūtras prescribe the worship of Sūrya for the attainment of riches, fame, and long life.

The epics and Purāṇas also refer to Sūrya as a great god. In the Tuddhakāṇḍa (Chapter CV) of the Rāmāyaṇa, sage Agastya teaches Śrī Rāma the Āditya-hṛdaya-stotra to help him win the battle with Rāvana. In this hymn Sūrya has been described as Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva in one, nay, the Lord of all the three. The epic also refers to the ārdhva-bāhu ascetics praying to the Sun (II. 95.7). The Mahābhārata refers to a large number of Sun worshippers, the Sauras (VII. 58.15). This is perhaps the first literary reference to a distinct sect of the


25 Vide Ratna Navaratnam, op.cit., p. 223.

26 Gopinath Rao, op.cit., p. 415. Vide also Asim Kumar Chatterjee, op.cit., pp. 66-76.

27 R.V. I. 50. 8-9; IV. 13.3.
GĀNAPATYA, KAUMĀRA AND SAURA LITERATURE

Sun worshippers.⁴⁰ There are two Sūrya-stotras in the epic (III. 3), one by Dhaumya and the other by Yuddhishthira.⁴¹ Yuddhishthira calls Sūrya, Brahman eternal, Brahma śāśvatam. The depiction of the Sun-god in both the epics is more or less the same in essence and character: Sūrya is the supreme Spirit, the Lord of all the gods, the Soul of all creatures, the Cause of all things, the Substratum of the manifested world, the Self-existent and the Unborn. Quite a few chapters of the Brahma (XXVIII-XXXIII) and Mārkaṇḍeya (CII-CX) Purāṇas are devoted to the glorification of the Sun. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (V. 21-22) glorifies Sūrya as a manifestation of Lord Viṣṇu, who stimulates all objects both living and non-living. Mention may also be made of the other Purāṇas like the Viṣṇu (II. 10), Agni (LI, LXXIII, XCIX), Kūrma (XL-XLII), Garuḍa (VII, XVI, XVII, XXXIX), Bhavisya (Brāhma-parvan, CXXXIX-CXLII), Matsya (LXXIV-LXXX), and Skanda (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa) which refer to Sūrya, his worship, observances, cults, etc. Of the Saura Upapurāṇas, mention may be made of the Śāmba, Sauradharmā, Sauradharmottara and Sūrya. The first one deals principally with the cult of the Sun. It tells the story of Śāmba’s constructing the temple of the Sun in Mūlabhāna (modern Multan) and importing some Magi priests from Sākadā (modern Iran) for his worship. The last three Upapurāṇas are, however, lost.

Sūrya figures also in the Tantras. The Sammohana Tantra mentions quite a large number of Tāntric texts belonging to the Saura cult.⁴² The account may be fictitious, but it certainly indicates the importance of the deity in the Tāntric pantheon. The Tantrasāra describes the rituals connected with the worship of Sūrya.

From the Harṣa-carita of Bāṇa (seventh century) it is clear that Prabhākara-vardhana, Harṣa’s father, and Harṣa himself were ardent devotees of the Sun-god. The copper-plate grant⁴³ of Harṣavardhana is also a pointer to this. The Sūrya-lalita of Mayūra (seventh century) is a beautiful work consisting of one hundred hymns in praise of Sūrya. The Mālati-Mādhava of Bhavabhūti refers to the Sun as remover of all sins and dispenser of holy blessings. The Saura Sāmyhitā, mentioned by Schrader⁴⁴ and preserved in manuscript in Nepal,⁴⁵ is devoted to the worship of Sūrya. It is an important document of the Saura cult. Though dated A.D. 941, some scholars⁴⁶ think that it belongs to a much earlier

⁴¹The stotra by Yuddhishthira is not included in the Critical Edition.
⁴³ Vide Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 72-73. In the epigraphic records Prabhākara-vardhana’s father and grandfather, Adityavardhana and Rājyavardhana, are also described as great devotees of the Sun, para-tri–bhaktas.
⁴⁵J. N. Farquhar, op.cit., p. 205.
⁴⁶Ibid.

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date. In the Prabodha-candrodaya of Kṛṣṇa Miśra (eleventh century) the Sauras have been given an honourable position.

With the spread of Vaiṣṇavism, the cult of the Sun gradually began to lose its popularity, as Viṣṇu, originally a solar deity, assimilated in himself much of the elements attributed to Śūrya in the earlier days. The opposition of the Śaivas, particularly the Pāśupatas, also largely contributed to the gradual decline of the Solar cult. At present the Sauras represent a very small sect mainly to be found in Madhya Pradesh and some of the southern States.

It is clear from the Vedic, epic and other early Sanskrit works that the worship of the ‘atmospheric’ Sun as a god was in practice in ancient times. But the conception of the Sun as ‘an imaginary god of light’ and the practice of his worship in images and temples is a comparatively late phenomenon. Purānic works like the Viṣṇu, Bhaviṣya, and Śāmba, Varāhamihira’s Bṛhat-saṃhitā (chapters LVIII and LX), and many early coins, seals and inscriptions indicate that the later phase of the Sun worship was due to the influence of another cult of the Sun introduced in north-western India from Persia in the early centuries of the Christian era. Magian Sun-god Mihr (Sanskrit Mihi), a corruption of Mithra, the Avestan form of the Vedic Mitra, and his cult took roots in Indian soil and gradually made its way into the Indian pantheon. But this new sect was mainly confined to the north-western region extending in the east as far as Mathurā and there is ample evidence to show that this progress was due to the royal patronage of the Scytho-Kuśāṇas. In other parts of North India, the Sun worship became ‘somehow associated with Buddhism’. The figures of the Sun at Bodhgaya and Bhaja, for instance, are represented in an allegorical capacity, with reference to Buddha’s solar character. Some scholars observe, ‘Certainly even in primitive Buddhism, Śākyamuni had come to be identified with the Sun-god, and his nativity likened to the rising of another Sun’. The Saura sects in the South, however, still followed the Vedic cult. Some old Śūrya images are very helpful in tracing the difference between North

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47The Purānic legend regarding Śāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa, and the installation by him of an image of Śūrya in the Multan temple is interesting. It indirectly indicates the gradual association of the Sun cult with Vaiṣṇavism by which it was subsequently absorbed. The Mahābhārata reference to the Pāñcarātras, a sub-sect of Vaiṣṇavism, as having imbibed their doctrinal elements from the Sun himself is also of much significance. In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa there are hints about the identification of Viṣṇu and Śūrya (XIV. 1.1. 7-10).


50Sudhakar Chattopadhyay, Evolution of Hindu Sects, p. 176.


52Ibid., p. 53.
Indian and South Indian traditions. The South Indian cult was gradually tending towards Tantricism as is evident from Ananda Giri’s Śaṅkara-vijaya. There were, according to Ananda Giri, six classes of Sun worshippers during the days of Śaṅkara. They all wore marks of red sandal paste, garlands of red flowers, and repeated the mantra of eight syllables. They identified Sūrya with Viṣṇu and Śiva. There was, however, some common ground between the Magian Sun cult and the Vedic one which helped them to be completely merged in the later period. This fusion can be traced in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.

That the Sun-cult was very popular in India is proved by the hundreds of sculptural representations of the deity and numerous temples dedicated to him. We have already mentioned the historic temple at Multan which was visited by Huen Tsang, Alberuni and others. It existed till the seventeenth century, when it was demolished by Aurangzeb. The famous temple at Konārak (Orissa) was perhaps built at a time when the deity was gradually sliding into oblivion in popular esteem and worship.*

Gopinath Rao has summarized the contrast of the North Indian and the South Indian images as follows: ‘It may be seen that there are two varieties among these images, namely, the North Indian and the South Indian. Each of these possesses very marked peculiarities which are easy of recognition. The South Indian figures of Sūrya have, as a rule, their hands lifted up as high as the shoulders, and are made to hold lotus flowers which are only half-blossomed; the images have invariably the udara-bandha, and their legs and feet are always left bare. The North Indian images, on the other hand, have generally their hands at the natural level of the hips or the elbows, and are made to carry full-blown lotuses which rise up to the level of the shoulders, and their forelegs have coverings resembling modern socks more or less in appearance and the feet are protected with a pair of footwear resembling boots. The udara-bandha is not found in the Northern variety of the images of the Sun-god, but there is a thin cloth or a sort of coat of mail shown as being worn on the body. The South Indian images are as often with the seven horses ... The common features of both Southern and Northern varieties of Sūrya are that the head is in all cases adorned with a kirita surrounded by a circular halo or prabhāmandala, and that in several instances the characteristic seven horses and their driver Aruṇa are not missing.’—Op. cit., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 311-12.

*This article has been prepared by the Editorial Board of CHI, Vol. V—Editor.
LITERATURE OF JAINISM

JAINA literature begins with the last of the Tīrthaṅkaras, Mahāvīra (c. 599-527 B.C.), who reorganized the old Nirgrantha sect and revitalized its moral and religious zeal and activities. He preached his faith of ahimsā (non-violence or harmlessness) and self-purification to the people in their own language which was not Sanskrit, but Prakrit. The form of Prakrit which he is said to have used was Ardha-Māgadhī, by which was meant a language that was not pure Māgadhī but partook of its nature.

TWELVE ĀNGAS

Mahāvīra’s teachings were arranged in twelve Āṅgas (parts) by his disciples. These Āṅgas formed the earliest literature on Jainism, and were as follows:

1. Ācārāṅga laid down rules of discipline for the monks.
2. Sūtrakṛtāṅga contained further injunctions for the monks regarding what was suitable or unsuitable for them and how they should safeguard their vows. It also gave an exposition of the tenets and dogmas of other faiths.
3. Sthānāṅga listed in numerical order, categories of knowledge pertaining to the realities of nature.
4. Samavāyāṅga classified objects in accordance with similarities of time, place, number, and so on.
5. Vyākhya-prajñāpti or Bhagavat explained the realities of life and nature in the form of a catechism.
6. Jñātṛdharmakathā contained hints regarding religious preaching as well as stories and anecdotes calculated to carry moral conviction.
7. Upāsakādhyayana or Upāsaka-daśāka was meant to serve as a religious code for householders.
8. Antakṛddasāka gave accounts of ten saints who attained salvation after immense suffering.
9. Anuttaraupapatiṣṭika contained accounts of ten saints who had gone to the highest heaven after enduring intense persecution.
10. Praśna-vyākaraṇa contained accounts and episodes for the refutation of opposite views, establishment of one’s own faith, promotion of holy deeds, and prevention of evil.

1 Jainism admits twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras who were responsible from period to period for the promulgation of religion or dharma. The twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara was Pārvānātha whose historicity is now accepted. Mahāvīra, whom Buddhist texts mention as Niganṭha Nāṭaputta, was a senior contemporary of Buddha (c. 535-486 B.C.). He came from a ruling clan and was related to the royal families of Magadha.
11. *Vipāka-Sūtra* explained how virtue was rewarded and evil punished.

12. *Drśṭīvāda* included the following five sections:

(a) *Parikārmāṇi* contained tracts describing the moon, the sun, Jambudvīpa, other islands and seas, as well as living beings and non-living matter.

(b) *Sūtra* gave an account of various tenets and philosophies numbering no less than 363.

(c) *Prathamaṇuyoga* recounted ancient history and narrated the lives of great kings and saints.

(d) *Pūrvegata* dealt with the problems of birth, death, and continuity, and consisted of the following fourteen sub-sections:

(i) *Utpāda* described how substances such as living beings are produced and maintained and decayed.

(ii) *Āgrāyaṇi* gave philosophical exposition of nature.

(iii) *Viryāṇupravāda* explained the powers and potentialities of the soul and other substances.

(iv) *Asti-nāsti-pravāda* studied the substances of nature from various points of view pertaining to their infinite qualities and forms.

(v) *Jñāna-pravāda* was a study in epistemology, giving an exposition of how knowledge was acquired in its five forms, namely: *mati* (desire), *śrutī* (hearing), *avaddhi* (attention), *manāḥ-paryāya* (the state of mental perception which precedes the attainment of perfect knowledge), and *kevala* (the highest possible knowledge).

(vi) *Satya-pravāda* studied the nature of truth and reality and forms of untruth.

(vii) *Ātma-pravāda* was the study of the self or the principle of life.

(viii) *Karma-pravāda* gave an exposition of the eight forms of *karma*, bondage, namely: *jñānāvaraṇa* (knowledge-cover or error), *darśanāvaraṇa* (obstruction of one’s philosophical views), *vedāṇya* (expression of feelings), *mohanīya* (producing delusion), *āyu* (duration of life as governed by *karma*), *nāma* (attachment to name), *gaṭra* (attachment to race), and *antarāya* (any obstacle to realization) as well as their subdivisions.

(ix) *Pratyākhyānavaśāda* contained expiatory rites, and rules for the observance of fasts and vows.

(x) *Vidyānuvāda* was an exposition of various sciences and arts, including prognostication.

(xi) *Kalyāṇavāda* was devoted to astrology and a description of the five auspicious events, that is, conception, birth, renuncia-
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tion, enlightenment, and salvation, in the lives of the sixty-three great men, namely, the Tirthankaras, the Cakravartins, the Baladevas, the Nārāyaṇas, and the Prati-Nārāyaṇas.

(xii) Prāṇavāda was the science of physical culture and longevity, and expounded the eight forms of medical treatment.

(xiii) Kriyāviśāla gave an exposition of the seventy-two fine arts, including writing and poetry.

(xiv) Loka-bindu-sāra treated of worldly professions as well as ways and means to secure salvation.

(e) Cālikā was the fifth section, of Drśṭivāda, dealing with charms and magic, including methods of walking on water, flying in air, and assuming different physical forms.

THE DIGAMBARA TRADITION

This comprehensive collection of practically the whole knowledge of the times, secular as well as religious, could not survive long in its original form. According to the Digambara Jains², the whole canon was preserved for only 162 years after Mahāvīra, that is up to the eighth successor, Bhadrabāhu. After that, portions gradually began to be lost.³ So, after 683 years from the nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, what was known to the ācāryas (teachers) was only fragmentary. It was only the knowledge of a few portions of the Pūrvagata or Pūrvas that was imparted at Girinagara in Kathiawar by Dharasena to his pupils Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali who, on the basis of it, wrote the Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama in the sūtra (aphorism) form during the first or second century A.D. The Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama is, therefore, the earliest available religious literature amongst the Digambaras. It is for them the supreme authority for the teachings of Mahāvīra. Another most esteemed work, written about the same time as the Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama, was the Kaśaya-pāhuḍa of Guṇadharācārya. Drśṭivāda, the twelfth Aṅga, was also the basis of this text. The Digambaras, who thus have their pro-canon, refused to acknowledge the canon compiled at the Pāṭaliputra Council in the fourth century B.C.

² As early as in the first century A.D. the followers of the Jaina religion were divided into two main sects or schools known as the Digambara or 'sky-clad' (i.e. naked) and Śvetāmbara or 'white-clad' (i.e. wearing white robes). There are some slight differences between them in finer matters of doctrine and cult practices, and each of these two sects claims precedence over the other. The Digambaras speak of a legend about the origin of the division, which differs from the legend prevalent among the Śvetāmbaras. Cf. Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, pp. 347 ff. Some scholars, however, look upon the famine (fourth century B.C.), on the advent of which a body of Jaina monks migrated from Magadha to Kārṇaṭaka under Bhadrabāhu, as the possible seed of the great schism. Because, after the famine when the followers of Bhadrabāhu returned to Magadha, they found a great gulf between the practices of their own and those of others who stayed in Magadha.

³ See the next article, Prakrit Language and Literature, of this volume, p. 170.
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THE ŚVETĀMBARA TRADITION

The literary tradition of the Śvetāmbara Jains is, however, different. They agree with the Digambara view so far as the continuity of the whole canon up to Bhabrabāhu is concerned. The Śvetāmbaras say that after Bhabrabāhu had migrated with a host of his adherents to the South on account of a famine, the monks who remained in Magadha met in a Council at Pātaliputra, already referred to, under the leadership of Sthūlabhadra. There a compilation was made of the eleven Angas together with the remnants of the twelfth. This was the first attempt to systematize the Jaina Āgama. But in the course of time, the canon became disorderly. Therefore, the monks met once again at Valabhi in Gujarat under the presidency of Devarddhi Kṣamāśramaṇa in the middle of the fifth century a.d. All the sacred texts available today were collected, systematized, redacted and committed to writing by this Council. They are as follows:

1. The eleven Angas named above, the twelfth being totally lost.
5. Two Cūlikā-Śūtras: Nandi-Sūtra and Āmyogadvāra.

There are, however, variations in this classification. Sometimes Nandi, Āmyogadvāra, and Paṇca-kalpa are put at the head of the Prakīrṇas. Instead of Paṇca-kalpa, Jīta-kalpa by Jinabhadrā is sometimes mentioned amongst the Cheda-Śūtras. Traditionally, the number of texts fixed at Valabhi is forty-five; the names, however, vary up to fifty.

In a few cases the names of authors are also mentioned. For example, the fourth Upāṅga, Prajñāpanā, is ascribed to Śyāmācārya; the first of the ten Prakīrṇas, Cātuḥ-saraṇa, to Vīrabhadra; the fifth Cheda-Sūtra, Kalpa, to Bhadrabāhu; and the sixth, Jīta-kalpa, to Jinabhadra; the first Cūlikā-Śūtra, Nandi-Śūtra, to Devarddhi; and the third Mūla-Śūtra, Daśa-vaiśālika, to Svayambhava.

* The collective term given by the Jains to their canonical texts is Āgama or Siddhānta.
* W. Schubring thinks that the Mūla-Śūtras are 'intended for those who are still at the beginning (mūla) of their spiritual career.' Cf. Worte Mahāvīras, p. 1. But it is now generally believed that as they are very old and important texts of Jainism they are probably termed 'Mūla-texts'. Charpentier thinks that they contain 'Mahāvīra's own words' and therefore, they are called Mūla-Śūtras. (Vide Uttarādiḥhayana-Sūtra, Introduction, p. 32). This explanation, however, is not accepted by Winternitz. (Vide HIL, Vol. II, p. 466 n. 1).
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It is therefore evident that books written up to the time of the Valabhi Conference were included in the canon. Perhaps some later works were also included in the Āgama as is shown by the enlargement of the list up to fifty. But there is no doubt about a good deal of the material in the Āgama texts being genuinely old as is proved by the absence of any reference to Greek astronomy and the presence of statements which are not altogether favourable to the Śvetāmbara creed, such as Mahāvīra’s emphasis on nakedness.

THE Jaina CANON: AN ESTIMATE

The language of these texts is called ārṣa by which is meant Ardha-Māgadhī. But it is not uniform in all the texts. The language of the Aṅgas and a few other texts, such as the Uttarādhyayana, is evidently older and amongst them the Ācārāṅga shows still more archaic forms. The language of the verses generally shows tendencies of an earlier age also. On the whole, the language of this Āgama does not conform fully to the characteristics of any of the Prakrits described by the grammarians; but it shares something with each of them. Therefore Dr. Jacobi called this language Old Māhārāṣṭrī or Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. But this designation has not been accepted and it is simpler and better to call it by its traditional name Ardha-Māgadhī.

Though the contents are quite varied and cover a wide range of human knowledge conceived in those days, the subject-matter of this canonical literature is mainly the ascetic practices of the followers of Mahāvīra. As such, it is essentially didactic, dominated by the supreme ethical principle of ahamśā. But, subject to that, there is a good deal of poetry and philosophy as well as valuable information about contemporary thought and social history including biographical details of Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra, and their contemporaries. Many narrative pieces, such as those found in the Uttarādhyayana, are interesting and instructive and remind one of the personalities and events in the Upaniṣads and the Pali texts. From the historical point of view, the life of Mahāvīra in the Ācārāṅga, information about his predecessors and contemporaries in the Vyākhyāprajñāpāti or Bhagavati and the Upāsaka-daśāka, about his successors in the Kalpa-Sūtra, and about monachism practised in the days of Mahāvīra in eastern India in Daśa-vākāśika are all very valuable.

THE COMMENTARIES ON THE Jaina CANON

A vast literature of commentaries has grown round the Āgamas themselves. The earliest of these works are the nīryuktis, attributed to Bhadrabāhu. They explain the topics systematically in Prakrit verse, and elaborate them by narrating legends and episodes. Ten of these works are available.

Then, there are the bhāṣyās similarly composed in Prakrit verse. These, in some cases, have been so intermingled with the nīryuktis that it is now difficult to separate them. The bhāṣyās carry the systematization and elaboration further.
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These texts, of which there are eleven available, are mostly anonymous. The elaborate bhāṣya on the Āvaśyaka-nirūkṣṭi is, however, attributed to Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa and that on the Kalpa-Sūtra to Saṅghadāsagāṇi.

The cūrṇis, of which twenty texts are available, are prose glosses with a curious admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit. Some of them contain valuable historical information as well. The Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi, for example, makes mention of a flood in Śravasti, thirteen years after Mahāvīra’s enlightenment. The Niṣītha-cūrṇi contains a reference to Kalakācārya who invited a foreigner to invade Ujjain. All the cūrṇis are indiscriminately ascribed to Jinadāsagāṇi.

The last strata of the commentary literature consist of tīkās which carry the expository and illustrative process to its logical conclusion. They are written in Sanskrit retaining, in many cases, the Prakrit narratives in their original form. The well-known tīkā writers are Haribhadra, Śilāṅka, Śānti Śūri, Devendra alias Nemicandra, Abhayadeva, Droṇācārya, Maladhārī Hemacandra, Malayagiri, Kṣemakīrti, Vijayavimala, Śānticandra, and Samayasundara. Their activities were spread over a period of 1,100 years between the sixth and seventeenth centuries. A number of other forms of commentaries called dipikās, uttis, and avacūrṇis are also extant.

JAINA PHILOSOPHICAL TEXTS ON THE KARMA DOCTRINE

The Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali, as already mentioned, is the earliest and most authoritative work on Jaina philosophy. Its six sections are Jīvāsthāna, Kṣudrakabandha, Bandhasvāmitva, Vedanā, Vargaṇā and Mahā-bhandha. The last of these is almost an independent work and is popularly known as Mahādhaivalā. It is composed in sūtras, the language of which is Sauraseni Prakrit strongly influenced on the one hand by Ardhā-Māgadhī, particularly in its technical phraseology, and on the other by Māhārāṣṭri. It gives a very systematic and thorough exposition of the doctrine of Karma (results of action) which forms the most essential part of Jaina philosophy. The Kaśāya-pāhuḍa of Guṇadharacārya is also devoted to particular aspects of the Karma doctrine. It is composed in 233 gāthā-sūtras which have been elaborated by the cūrṇi-sūtras of Yatīvṛṣabha. Many commentaries are said to have been written on these works but the only one now available to us is the Dhaivalā of Vīrasena on the Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama and the Jayadhavalā of Vīrasena and Jinasena on the Kaśāya-pāhuḍa written during the ninth century in Sauraseni Prakrit. They are very voluminous and masterly. During the tenth century, their subject-matter was compressed by Nemicandra Siddhāntacakravartin in his Gommatasāra (Jīvāṅga and Karmakāṅḍa), the Labdhīsāra, and the Kṣapanasāra in about 2,400 gāthā verses. These works now form the basis of studies in Jaina philosophy, particularly amongst the Digambaras.

The Śvetāmbara literature on the Karma doctrine, besides the canonical
works, consists of the six karmagranthas, separately called Karmavipāka, Karmastava, Bandhasvāmitva, Śaḍaśīti, Śataka, and Saptāṭikā of uncertain authorship and date, and also the Kamma-payāḍi of Śivaśarmā and the Pañcasaṅgraha of Candrasṛṣi, all composed in gāthā-sūtras and covering the same ground in subject-matter as the works of Nemicandra.

OTHER PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

Next to the Karma doctrine in religious importance are the duties and practices of monks and householders. The earliest work on this subject amongst the Digambaras is the Mūlārādhana of Śivārya which contains 2,166 Prakrit verses giving an exposition of the four devotions, namely, faith, knowledge, conduct, and austerities, but at the same time dealing with practically all aspects of Jainism. Narrative and descriptive elements are also not wanting in the work. At places the poet in the author gets the better of the religious teacher, and he flashes forth in beautiful fancies and figures of speech. The Mūlācāra of Vaṭṭa-kera prescribes, in a thoroughly systematic manner, in about 1,250 Prakrit verses, the duties, practices, and observances of ascetics. The work has close affinities with the Mūlārādhana of Śivārya as well as with the Āgama texts of the Śvetāmbaras dealing with similar topics. The Kārttikeyānupreśa of Kumāra contains, in 500 Prakrit verses, a beautiful exposition of the twelve reflections recommended for the promotion of the feeling of renunciation.

But the author who exercised the greatest and the most dominant influence on Jaina literature and gave form and shape to the Digambara creed as it exists today is Kundakundācārya. Tradition ascribes to him a large number of works of which more than a dozen texts called pāhuḍas (prabhūtas) are now available. They are on the subjects of Darśana (36 verses), Ārātīra (44), Śūtra (27), Bodha (62), Bhūva (163), Mokṣa (106), Liṅga (22), Śīla (40), Ratna (162), Dvārānupreśa (91), Nyāyasāra (187), Pañcāṅgīcarīya (180), Pravacanasāra, and Samayasāra (415). The last three works are particularly popular and the Samayasāra is regarded as the author's best and most sacred production on spiritual topics. The works of Kundakundācārya may be regarded as the earliest models of that ascetic poetry and philosophy which became so popular through a long line of Jaina, Buddhist, and Hindu saints, cutting across all communal barriers.

The dates of these saintly compositions are uncertain, and all that may be said about them is that they belong to the early centuries. To the tenth century belongs Devasena whose works, the Bhāvanāsaṅgraha, the Ārādhanāsāra, the Tattvasāra, and the Darśanasāra, besides their religious and moral exposition, contain important and interesting information about the origin and development of various saṅghas in the Jaina community. The Śrāvaka-prajñāpīti among the Śvetāmbaras and the Śrāvakācāra among the Digambaras are the two Prakrit manuals of duties for lay adherents.
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The religio-moral instructions found in these works form the subject-matter of a few very interesting anthologies. Vaijālagā of Jayavallabha contains about 700 verses grouped in topics such as poetry, friendship, fate, and poverty. It is a beautiful example of lyrical poetry in Prakrit and is almost non-sectarian. The Upadeśamālā of Dharmadāsa contains 540 verses devoted to moral preaching, particularly for monks. The author is claimed to be a contemporary of Mahāvīra. Tradition, at any rate, shows the great reverence and high esteem that the work commands. It is certainly earlier than the ninth century when its commentary was written. Jīvasamāsa and Bhavabhāvanā of Maladhārin Hemacandra (twelfth century) contain more than 500 Prakrit stanzas of a didactic nature.

The essence of Jaina dialectics is found in its Nayavāda theory of viewpoints, and in Prakrit the Sammatitarka of Siddhasena and the Nayacakra of Devasena are the most important contributions on the subject. Jaina cosmology is very thoroughly described in the Triloka-prajñāpti of Yatirvābha, the Trilokasāra of Nemicandra, and the Jambudvīpa-prajñāpti of Padmanandin, all in Prakrit verse.

JAINA LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

The language of Jaina literature was primarily the Prakrits which were prevalent amongst the people at one time or the other in different parts of the country. But Sanskrit was not altogether shunned. Amongst the Jains, the earliest work in Sanskrit devoted to religious writing is the Tattvārthādhyāgama-Sūtra of Umāsvāmin which epitomizes the whole Jaina creed in about 375 sūtras arranged in ten chapters. The work occupies a unique position in Jaina literature as it is recognized as authoritative equally by the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras with a few variations in the readings, and is very widely studied by both. It has been commented upon by the most eminent authors of both the sects. There is an old bhāṣya on it which the Śvetāmbaras claim to be by the author of the sūtras himself. But this claim is not admitted by the Digambaras who regard the Sarvārthā-siddhi-vrtti of Pūjyapāda (sixth century) as the earliest commentary. Pūjyapāda has made full use of the Śaṅkhaṇḍāgaṇa-Sūtra in explaining some sūtras of this work.

The next commentary on it is Tattvārtha-rāja-vārttika of Akalānka (eighth century) which offers more detailed explanations of the sūtras, as well as of the important statements of Pūjyapāda. The Tattvārtha-śloka-vārttika of Vidyānandin (ninth century) gives expositions in verse and makes valuable clarifications. For yogic practices, the Jñānārṇava of Śubhacandra and the Yogaśāstra of Hemacandra are valuable guides, while the Ratna-karṇaṇa-sūvakācāra is more popular amongst the laity. Jaina Sanskrit literature is considerably enriched by a series of works on Nyāya (logic) begun by Samantabhadra
and Siddhāsenā Divāksara and followed up by Akalāṅka, Vidyānandin, Prabhācandra, Māṇikyanandin, Hemacandra, and many others.

JAINA NARRATIVE LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT

The narrative literature of Jainism has mostly as its subject-matter the life of one or more of its sixty-three great men, called triṃstī-salākā-puruṣāḥ. These are the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, twelve Cakravartins, nine Baladevas, nine Nārāyaṇas, and nine Prati-Nārāyaṇas. In the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras the five auspicious events (kalyāṇaka) namely, conception, birth, renunciation, enlightenment, and salvation, receive special attention from the poets. The conquest of the six sub-divisions of Bhārata-khaṇḍa is the main achievement of the Cakravartins. The Baladevas are charged with the special responsibility of getting rid of the tyrants of their times, the Prati-Nārāyaṇas, with the assistance of the Nārāyaṇas. They form triples. Rāma, Lakṣmana, and Rāvaṇa form one triple while Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, and Jarāsandha form another, these two triples being the last of these nine triples; it is they who, next to the Tīrthaṅkaras, have inspired most of the narrative poetry. Descriptions of the universe and of the past lives of the persons under discussion, the introduction of numerous subsidiary stories to illustrate one point or another, and occasional discourses on religious topics are some of the other features of this Purānic literature. The narration as a rule begins in the saintly assembly of Lord Mahāvīra with a query from Śreniṅka, the king of Magadha, and the reply is given by the chief disciple of the Tīrthaṅkara, namely, Gauṭama. A rich literature of this kind is found, written in Prakrit and Sanskrit as well as in Apabhraṃśa.

The earliest epic available is the Paśūmacariya of Vimala Sūri, in 118 chapters, which gives the Jainia version of the Rāmāyaṇa. It has marked differences from the work of Vālmīki which was, no doubt, known to the author. The language is chaste Māhārāṣṭri Prakrit and the style is fluent and occasionally ornate. Just as Vālmīki is the ādikavi of Sanskrit, Vimala Sūri may be called the pioneer of Prakrit kāvyā (poetry). According to the author’s own statement, the work was produced 530 years after Mahāvīra’s nirvāṇa (that is, at the beginning of the first century A.D.).

The Padma-carita of Ravisena (seventh century) in Sanskrit follows closely Vimala Sūri’s work, and the same epic is beautifully rendered in Apabhraṃśa by Svayambhū (eighth century), and later on by Raidhu. The linguistic interest and poetic charm of the Apabhraṃśa works are remarkable as they set the model for the earliest epics of Jayasi and Ītulasidāsa in Hindi.

Jinasena’s Harivamsa Purāṇa (eighth century) is the earliest Jaina epic on the subject of the Mahābhārata, the chief heroes being the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha and his cousin Kṛṣṇa Nārāyaṇa. The Apabhraṃśa version of it is
beautified by the genius of Svayambhū and his later followers, Dhavalā and Yaśaṅkārīti. The most comprehensive work, and again the earliest of its kind, is the Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra (ninth century). The first part of it, called the Adipurāṇa, ends with the nirvāṇa of the first Tīrthaṅkara, Ādinātha or Rṣabhadeva, while the second part, called Uttarapurāṇa, narrates the lives of the rest of the Tīrthaṅkaras, and the remaining salākā-purūṣas. The work of Jinasena may be called the Jaina encyclopaedia. It enlightens its readers on almost every topic regarding religion, philosophy, morals, and rituals. The philosophical knowledge of the author is demonstrated by his commentary, the Jayadhavalā, and his poetic ability is evinced by his Pārvavīhyudaya-kāvya in which he has transformed the lyrical poem Meghadūta by Kālidāsa into an equally charming epic on the life of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara. This whole Mahāpurāṇa has been rendered into Apabhraṃśa with commensurate skill and in charming style by Puṣpadanta in his Tisatthi-mahāpurīsa-guṇālaṅkāra (tenth century). Another Sanskrit version of it is found in the TrīṣaṅGH-salākāpurūṣa-carita of Hemacandra which again has a charm of its own. Its historical value is enhanced by the additional section called the Parishtaparvan or Sthavarūpa-carita which gives valuable information about the Jaina community after Mahāvīra’s nirvāṇa.

BIographies OF sAGES AND SAINTS IN Sanskrit AND prAkRIT

A large number of works have been written on the lives of individual Tīrthaṅkaras, and other personages of the hierarchy, in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa. The more important of these are:

In Sanskrit: Life of the twelfth Tīrthaṅkara, Vāsupūjya, by Vardhamāna Sūrī; life of the thirteenth Tīrthaṅkara, Vimala, by Kṛṣṇadeva; life of the fifteenth Tīrthaṅkara, Dharmarāja, by Haricandra; lives of the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara, Śaṅtinātha, by Deva Sūri, Māṇikyanandin, and Sakalakārti; lives of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, Neminātha, by Vāgbhaṭṭa and Surācārya; and lives of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, Pārvanātha, by Jinasena, Vādirāja (eleventh century), Bhāvadeva, and Māṇikyaacandra.

In Prakrit: Ādināthacarīa of Vardhamāna (eleventh century), Sumatināthacarīa of Somaprabha (twelfth century), Supāsanāthacarīa of Lakṣmaṇaṇa, and Mahāvīracarīa of Guṇacandra and also of Devendra.

In Apabhraṃśa: The Mehaśvaracarīu of Raidhu (fifteenth century) on the life of the first Tīrthaṅkara; the Candappahacarīu of Yaśaṅkārīti (fifteenth century); the Śaṅtināhacarīu of Mahīcandra (sixteenth century); the Nemināhacarīu of Haribhadra (eighth century), of Dāmodara (thirteenth century), and of Lakhemadeva (sixteenth century), the Pasanāhacarīu of Padmakārī (tenth century), of Śrīdhara (twelfth century), of Asavāla (fifteenth century), and of Raidhu; and the Vaddhamānacarīu of Śrīdhara and of Jayamitra.
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There is also a very vast literature in all the three languages concerning the lives of persons who attained fame for their religious zeal and sacrifice. The Yaśastilaka-campū of Somadeva (tenth century), the Tilakamañjari of Dhanapāla (tenth century), the Jīvandhara-campū of Vādibhasimha and of Haricandra are some of the Sanskrit works which belong to this category. The foregoing works are also noteworthy for their style which admits of an admixture of prose and verse, as well as for their diction which vies with the best prose style of the Sanskrit kathās and ākhyāyikās.

In Prakrit, the Vasudeva-hīndī of Saṅghadāsagāni is remarkable for its style, and content, as are the Samarāicea-kahā of Haribhadra and the Kuvalayamālā of Udyotana Sūri which are also valuable for their mature literary style. The Surasundarīcarīa of Dhaneśvara (eleventh century) and the Paścamī-kahā of Mahēśvara (eleventh century) are other poems in Prakrit which are interesting for their story, flowing narrative, and poetic embellishment.

In Apabhraṃśa, some beautiful poems of this kind are the Nāyakumāra-cariu and the Jasaharacariu of Puṇpadanta; the Bhavisatta-kahā of Dhana pāla, and Karakaṇḍacariu of Kanakāmara.

JAINA SHORT STORIES

Jaina literature abounds in short stories written primarily for religious instruction, but which also serve for amusement. The best and oldest examples of these are found in the Sanskrit Kathā-koṣa of Hariśeṇa (tenth century) and the Apabhraṃśa Kathā-koṣa of Śrīcandra (eleventh century). Some unique examples of satire intended for religious edification are found in the Prakrit Dḥūrtākhyāna of Haribhadra, in the Apabhraṃśa Dharma- pariṣṭā of Hariśeṇa, and in the Sanskrit Dharma- pariṣṭā of Amitagati (eleventh century).

STOTRAS AND LYRICS

Lyrical poetry in Jaina literature found expression in hymns addressed to the Tīrthāṅkaras and holy saints. The Bhaktāmbara-stotra of Mānantuṅga and the Kalyāṇa-mandira-stotra of Vādirāja, the Viśāpahāra-stotra of Dhanānjaya and the Jīna-caturvinīśatikā of Bhūpāla are charming examples of these devotional songs.

A very large number of Jaina works are still lying in store in various places, and new works of considerable antiquity are coming to light every day. This literature has a beauty and grandeur of its own in form, matter, and spirit. The Jains never showed partiality for one language, like the Brāhmaṇas for Sanskrit and the Buddhists for Pali. Instead, they cultivated all the languages of their time and place, devoting almost equal attention to each. Even the Dravidian languages of the South were not neglected, and the earliest literature in Tamil and Kannada is found to have been developed and enriched
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by Jaina contributions. This literature was not meant as a pastime or as mere pedantry, but for the cultivation of those virtues without which man, through his so-called progress, may be led to his doom. Signs of this danger are not wanting in the present set-up of world forces and the trend of events. If humanity is to fulfil its role of establishing peace on earth and goodwill amongst mankind, it must extricate itself from greed and selfishness. In the task of realizing human destiny, Jaina literature, with its lessons of nobility and the virtue of tolerance, and with its message of non-violence, love for humanity, and supremacy of the spiritual over the material gain, has much to offer to mankind.
PRAKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE: ITS GROWTH, USAGE, AND DIALECTS

BROADLY speaking, Indo-Aryan speech has flowed in two streams: Sanskṛta and Prākṛta (which will be spelt hereafter as Sanskrit and Prakrit) and, at various stages, these two streams have constantly influenced each other. Prakrit, which means 'natural' or 'common', primarily indicates the uncultivated popular dialects which existed side by side with Sanskrit, the 'accurately made', 'polished', and 'refined' speech.

The Prakrits, then, are the dialects of the unlettered masses, which they used for secular communication in their day-to-day life, while Sanskrit is the language of the intellectual aristocrat, the priest, pundit, or prince, who used it for religious and learned purposes. Yet the language of every-day conversation even of these people must have been nearer to the popular Prakrits than to literary Sanskrit. The former was a natural acquisition; while the latter, the principal literary form of speech, required training in grammatical and phonetic niceties.

Side by side with the Vedic language, which was an artistic speech employed by the priest in religious songs, there existed popular dialects which probably owed their origin to tribal groups, and developed through use of the Aryan speech by indigenous people. Vedic literature gives some glimpses of popular speeches, the primary Prakrits; but no literature in them has come down to us.

Classical Sanskrit, as standardized by Pāṇini and his commentators, respectfully shelved all that was obsolete in the Vedic speech and studiously eschewed all that belonged to the popular tongue; the use of such a rigorously standardized language was a task for a selective group. Whenever a preacher or a prince wanted to address the wider public, not from the monopolized temple or sacrificial enclosure but from the popular pulpit, the tendency to employ a popular dialect of the day was but natural. Thus, in the sixth century B.C., Mahāvīra and Buddha preferred to preach in the local Prakris of eastern India; and the great emperor Aśoka (third century B.C.) and, a century later, King Khāravela addressed their subjects in Prakrit.

Practically all over India, Prakrits were freely used for inscriptions almost up to the Gupta age, and the earlier inscriptions, up to about the first century A.D., were all in Prakrit. Dialectal distinctions are fairly clear, though the problems of localization are not so easily solved. The Aśokan inscriptions do show, to a certain extent, dialectal differences according to regions; and
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they are not altogether without some correspondence with the known literary dialects.

It is held by some scholars that the early secular literature comprising drama, epics, lyrical poetry, and so on, was originally in Prakrit; and that some time in the second century A.D., through the initiative of the Śaka Satraps of western India, Sanskrit gradually entered the field of secular composition. The epic idiom shows contamination with Prakritism which the bards must have contracted from the Prakrits they used in day-to-day conversation, in fine, from their vernaculars. The so-called gāthā literature of the Buddhists is a good specimen of queer admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. In drama, different characters spoke different languages in the same play; the earliest known plays of Aśvaghoṣa (c. A.D. 100) bear evidence to the antiquity of this practice. There can hardly be any doubt that when these dialects were first employed in drama they were contemporary local vernaculars; but later on they became stereotyped, and their usage was a matter of conventional fixing. Kings and courtiers spoke Sanskrit; ladies of rank spoke Śaurasenī; and the lower characters spoke Māgadhī.

The Prakrit grammarians give a sketchy description of various Prakrit dialects: Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśāci, and Apabhraṃśa. Pali and Ardha-Māgadhī are also Prakrits and are used in the Buddhist and Jaina canons. From the point of view of the evolution of language, the inscriptive Prakrits, Pali and Paiśāci, form an earlier group; Śaurasenī and Māgadhī come next, one a central and the other an eastern dialect. Ardha-Māgadhī is close to Pali with regard to its vocabulary, syntax, and style, but is phonologically later in age. Māhārāṣṭrī has proved to be an elastic medium for learned epics and lyrical poetry on popular subjects. Some of these were raised to literary status from a regional footing; but they gradually became stereotyped, with scant deference to their local colour from the grammarians. By that time the popular dialects had already advanced, and the gap between the literary Prakrits and contemporary popular speech went on increasing. Popular elements, stray forms from a popular vernacular, even percolated now and then into some of the earlier Prakrit works.

By about the fifth century A.D., Sanskrit and Prakrit were equally stereotyped as literary forms of expression. Their cleavage from the current vernaculars was felt more and more; and once again an effort was made to raise the then popular speech to a literary stage, an effort represented by Apabhraṃśa which, as a literary language, is to be distinguished from Sanskrit and Prakrit. Like Sanskrit and Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa no longer remained local. The standard literary Apabhraṃśa looks very much like a forerunner of Old Rajasthani and Old Gujarati, but it appears to have been used on a wider scale even outside the expected area. It is heavily indebted to literary Prakrits for its vocabulary,
while its other elements, such as nominal and verbal terminations, pronouns, adverbs, and particles, are drawn from the popular speech-stratum, in a few cases, possibly, with some foreign influence. The metrical dressing was peculiarly popular and novel, and to a certain extent this influenced its phonetic shaping. In its turn, Apabhraṃśa also reached a fixed form like Sanskrit and the Prakrits; and side by side came into being what we call today the 'modern' Indian languages. The Prakrits, and Apabhraṃśa represent the Middle Indo-Aryan stage. Māhārāṣṭrī and Apabhraṃśa appear to have been developed first by the common people for their songs and couplets; and it was through these channels that they obtained recognition from the learned as well and were admitted into literature. Śūdraka admitted Māhārāṣṭrī verses in the Mṛcchakatika; Kālidāsa (c. a.d. 400) employed Apabhraṃśa songs in his Vikramorvaśīya; and Vidyāpati (c. a.d. 1400) used Maithili verses in his Sanskrit-Prakrit dramas. As literary languages to be written after a close study of grammar and literature, Sanskrit, the Prakrits, and Apabhraṃśa were cultivated simultaneously for a considerable length of time, even after the Modern Indo-Aryan stage was actually reached in the popular language of day-to-day conversation.

A full view of the literary heritage of ancient and medieval India must include a broad survey of the literature in Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit (Apabhraṃśa). Here is an effort to present a survey of the salient landmarks of Prakrit literature.

**PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS AND DRAMAS**

The imperial Mauryan State was diplomatically, militarily, and culturally quite on a par with, if not superior to, the contemporary Hellenic States. Its Prakrit inscriptions have linguistic and historical importance; but some of them deserve to be classed as literature on account of their form and style as well as for the noble instructions of abiding value which they carry. The Aśokan inscriptions, more than thirty in number, are the earliest dated documents among Indian literary records. They were incised on rocks, boulders, pillars, and on the walls of caves. The fourteen rock edicts, in seven recensions, form a remarkable unit as a piece of literature. Their style is simple, concise, and forceful; and the appeal, full of personal feeling, is so direct that one feels that the mighty monarch himself is earnestly speaking to his subjects. The edicts not only give a fine picture of the State, but also reveal the personality of the ruler in touching colours. In pathos and sincerity, expressed by an emperor, they can hardly be surpassed. He is fully aware of his responsibility to his vast empire; and he is constantly striving for the physical and moral welfare of his subjects, and also for the safety of the entire living world. His leanings towards Buddhism are explicit; but the principles preached by him
are cosmopolitan, humanitarian, and universal. The thirteenth rock edict is a document remarkable in the annals of human history. Aśoka had won a decisive victory in the Kaliṅga war; but the misery of the people brought such remorse to the mighty monarch that he expressed his anguish frankly and vividly.

The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (first or second century B.C.) of the Cedi dynasty gives a record of the first thirteen years of Khāravela’s reign. The inscription surpasses Aśoka’s records in fluency of expression; and apart from the personal details of this mighty king who consolidated and increased the prestige of Kaliṅga, the record gives a good glimpse of the early life and training of Indian princes at that time. Among the manifold inscriptions of western India, the Nasik cave inscription of Vasiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi of the second century A.D. expresses the spirit of a royal panegyrist steeped in epic-Purānic mythology and religion, and anticipates the later embellished style so common in kāygyas and campūs.

In the early drama, as we have seen, some characters are made to speak in Sanskrit and others in Prakrit. The playwrights have used Prakrits according to the conventions of dramatic theory; but the composition in most cases has very little of popular life in it. The Prakrit passages in drama after Kālidāsa, if not before him, were, on the whole, specimens of artificial and prosaic composition. These look like Sanskrit sentences mechanically converted into Prakrit. The convention of using such passages had so great a grip on the orthodox mind for centuries together that only very recently did Prakrit lose its hold on Indian drama. The author of the Hanumāṇyatra (after A.D. 1200) plainly says that it is not Prakrit but Sanskrit alone that is worthy of an audience of devotees of Viṣṇu. The number of plays with Prakrit passages is quite large, and some of the characters speaking Prakrit dialects are of particular interest.

The Prakrit lyric song is quite popular with Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Viśākhadatta, and others; and some of their gāthās are genuine pieces of poetry delineating gentle sentiments. As used by Śūdraka and others, Prakrit served wonderfully as the medium of homely conversation. Innocent, intriguing light jokes and toothless humour are seen in the speeches in Śurasaṇā made by Viḍūṣaka, the jester, who figures in various plays. His description of Vasantaśena’s palace in the Mṛchakatika is more pedantic than natural. Śūdraka’s Šakāra is a unique character, quite unsurpassed. His songs and speeches in Māgadhī are well known for their fun and humour. Rākṣasa and his wife in the Vṛti-sainhāra give us a description of a battle-field in Māgadhī. But the stylistic basis of dramatic Prakrits is essentially Sanskritic, and the desī elements are not freely admitted.

In the opinion of some scholars, Indian drama comprising popular dance with conversations and songs, was originally in Prakrit, and it was only later
that Sanskrit came to be introduced. Thus these plays admit Sanskrit and Prakrit simultaneously. However, there is one type of drama, the satṭaka, which is composed entirely in Prakrit, and which in many respects resembles the nāṭikā. The term satṭaka, or sāḍika, is quite old; but the extant specimens of satṭaka are comparatively late and few in number. The Karpūramaṇjarī by Rājaśekhara (about A.D. 900) is a love intrigue, ending happily in the marriage of Gaṇḍapāla and Karpūramaṇjarī. Karpūramaṇjarī is the cousin of the elderly queen and is brought to the palace miraculously by the magician, Bhairavānanda. This play was enacted at the behest of the author’s wife Avantisundari, a cultured lady of the Cāhamāna family.

The Karpūramaṇjarī has been a constant source of inspiration down the centuries, and a model for all subsequent satṭakas. Though accepted as one of the best comedies in Indian literature, it is more remarkable for its style and language than for its plot and characters, which are of the time-honoured mould. Rājaśekhara was a consummate master of literary expression and metrical forms. His verses rise to the occasion; they have a rhythmic ring and a liquid flow. His descriptions of nature are inlaid with vivid colour and grace; and his use of proverbs and vernacular expressions, and allusions to customs are of special interest. He enjoyed the patronage of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj and his successor.

Rudradāsa (seventeenth century), who was patronized by the Zamorin of Calicut, wrote the Candralekhā, a satṭaka, which celebrates the marriage of Mānaveda and Candralekha. His style is forceful, but is often burdened with unwieldy compounds. Ghanāśyāma, a court poet at the time of King Tulajāji of Tanjore (middle of the eighteenth century), wrote the Ānandasundari, another satṭaka. The Rambhāmaṇjarī by Nayacandra (c. fifteenth century) is also a satṭaka in which Prakrit is used along with Sanskrit. It deals with the story of King Jaitrasinīha of Vārāṇasi and Rambhā, the daughter of Madanavarmar of Gujarāt.

THE JAINA CANON, PRO-CANON, AND POST-CANONICAL WORKS

The Jaina canonical works constitute an important section of Prakrit literature. Jainism admits, in this era, twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras who are responsible from period to period for the promulgation of religion or dharma. The twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara was Neminātha, the cousin of Kṛṣṇa; the twenty-third was Pārśvanātha whose historicity is now accepted; and the last was Mahāvīra, whom Buddhist texts mention as Nīganṭha Nāṭaputta. He was a senior contemporary of Buddha. He was related to the royal families of Magadha. The preachings of Mahāvīra and his disciples have come down to us in the Jaina Āgama, the canon, in Ardha-Māgadhi, which has suffered many a vicissitude in the course of its transmission. The exigencies of time,
especially a famine, required its first systematization. This was done by the Pātaliputra Council some time in the fourth century B.C., and was followed by subsequent attempts from time to time, attributed to such eminent teachers as Skandila, Nāgārjuna, and Devarddhi. There are also a few texts of individual authorship. The canon, as available today, was systematized, re-arranged, redacted, and committed to writing by the Valabhi Council under Devarddhi in the middle of the fifth century A.D. The earlier lists of canonical texts, possibly as classified at the time of earlier compilations, are preserved to us in the canon itself. The most recognized classification, possibly done by the Valabhi Council itself, is that the Āgama contains the following sections:\(^1\): (1) eleven Aṅgas (parts), (2) twelve Upāṅgas, (3) ten Prakīrṇas, (4) six Cheda-Sūtras, (5) two Cūlikā-Sūtras (individual texts), (6) four Mūla-Sūtras.

The twelfth Aṅga, the Drṣṭiṇīda, which included the fourteen Pūrvas, is lost. The contents of the canon are quite varied and cover almost every branch of human knowledge as it was conceived in those days. Texts like Ācārāṅga and Daśa-vaikālīka give a detailed account of monachism as practised in eastern India in the days of Mahāvīra; Jivābhīgama and others fully discuss the Jaina ideas about living beings; Upāsakādhayayaṇa and Praśṇa-avyākaraṇa set forth the ideals and regulations of a householder’s life; Jñātṛdharmakathā, Vipāka-Sūtra, and Nīrayāvali give many holy legends, moral in all their aspects and didactic in purpose; Śūrya-praṇjāpti discusses Jaina cosmology; Śūtrakṛtyāṅga and Uttarādhayayaṇa contain brilliant moral exhortations, philosophical discourses, and amusing legends, while some of their sections are fine specimens of ancient ascetic poetry; the Nandid-Sūtra gives the details of Jaina epistemology; and texts like the Bhagavatī are encyclopaedic in content. Some of the stories are laid in the age of Arika Nemi, while in some places we find Pārśva and Mahāvīra holding discussions. In fact, in most of the lessons the preachings are attributed to Mahāvīra and his disciples.

Devarddhi arranged and redacted the already existing texts of the canon to make them a consistent whole. He did so, probably, by standardizing descriptions, passages, and the use of synonyms in a certain text, and by merely referring to them in others by terms like vanṇa, jāva, or by numerals. The cross references show the working of a single hand. Although the matter of the present Upāṅgas is as old as that of the Aṅgas, the division of the Upāṅgas to correspond to the Aṅgas is an innovation made perhaps after the Pātaliputra Council. It is not known to earlier lists preserved in the original contents of works like the Praśṇa-avyākaraṇa. Up to the final redaction, reshuffling and transposition of parts took place, and can be detected even now. Some of the niruktis (commentaries) clearly show that they have in view a slightly

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1 See for reference Literature of Jainism (previous article), pp. 155-56.
different arrangement of matter in some places. W. Schubring has shown how, for a consistent interpretation, some lines in the Sūtrakṛtāṅga would need to be rearranged. Further, we have a large number of Prakīrṇas, but only some of them are admitted to the canon.

Though the Ardha-Māgadhi canon was redacted in the fifth century A.D., the major and substantial portion of it is as old as the Pāṭaliputra Council in the fourth century B.C. This is proved by traditional accounts, and also by the absence of any reference in the canon to Greek astronomy, and, further, by the nature of the metre and language in its older portions. The first parts of the Ācārāṅga and the Sūtrakṛtāṅga are considered to belong to the oldest stratum of the canon. With them may be ranked some of the lessons in the Cheda-Sūtras and a few sermons in the Uttarādhyāyana and the Bhagavati.

The canon described above is authoritative only for the Śvetāmbaras. Also, it is not admitted as genuine by those Digambaras who have their pro-canon. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, knowledge of the fourteen Pūrvas continued to decrease, and by the time of Devardhī the twelfth Aṅga, which included the Pūrvas, had disappeared. Now and then, gāthās from the Pūrvas are quoted even by the later commentaries, possibly from traditional memory.

The Digambaras have a similar tradition about the gradual loss of Aṅga knowledge. This loss of scriptural knowledge needs to be explained. There is sufficient evidence to indicate that the sacred texts were studied in monastic seminaries and handed down from teacher to pupil, often in isolation or together in distant parts of the country. Due to lapse of memory, lack of continuity in study, the obscurity of technical details, and the passing away of outstanding custodians of scriptural knowledge, some branches of study must have fallen into oblivion in some seminary or other. It is quite likely that any specialized branch of study elaborately preserved in one seminary gradually came to be disowned by the others on account of certain differences in dogma which had perhaps grown up in the meantime. This is how, in all probability, the Digambaras came to disown the Aṅgas. The texts of the Drśṭivāda, it has been shown by Dr H. L. Jain, are the basis of the Prakrit sūtras of the Saṭkarma-prābhṛta and the Kaśyapa-prābhṛta which have lately been brought to light, together with huge Prakrit-Sanskrit commentaries. The limited studies that have been carried out indicate that the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras once had a common literature. Even today, common matter, expressed in almost identical terms, can be detected in the early literature of both. A full estimate of early Jaina literature and the ideology embodied in it is possible only by comparatively studying the older works preserved by both sections of the Jains.

The canon comprises works of different origin and age, and naturally,

* See for reference ibid., pp. 152-54.
therefore, it is difficult to estimate its literary character. The redaction brought together distinctly disparate parts of works, some in prose, some in verse, and some in prose and verse. The prose of the *Ācārāṅga* contains metrical pieces interwoven in it, and consequently presents manifold difficulties in interpretation. The old prose works are diffused in style with endless, mechanical repetitions, but some works contain pithy remarks pregnant with meaning. The didactic sections present vigorous exposition in a fluent style, while the standardized descriptions, obviously aiming at literary effect, are heavy in construction with irregular compound expressions. The rules for monastic life are full of details, and the dogmatic lessons show a good deal of systematic exposition. There are narratives which contain parables and similes of symbolic significance; and there are exemplary stories of ascetic heroes, and also debates on dogmatic topics. When studied along with Pali texts, the canon yields valuable information about contemporary life and thought, including biographical details about Pārśva, Mahāvīra, and their contemporaries.

Mahāvīra is said to have preached in Ardha-Māgadhī, which is therefore the name of the canonical language. The older portions preserve the archaic forms of language and style. These gradually disappear in the later works, and there is seen the influence of linguistic tendencies well known in Māhārāṣṭrī which, in the early centuries of the Christian era, was evolving as a literary language. Such a process of modernization was inevitable in the course of oral transmission, especially as the Śvetāmbara monks were already using Prakrit not only as a language for scriptures, but also as a vehicle of literary expression. In the verses common to both sects, the Digambara texts soften the intervocalic consonants; while those of the Śvetāmbaras lose them, leaving behind the vowel.

Prior to the Pāṭaliputra Council at the time of Candragupta Maurya, a body of Jaina monks, on the advent of a famine, migrated to the South under Bhadrabāhu. After the famine, a Council of monks was called at Pāṭaliputra to compile the canon, lest the scriptural knowledge fall into oblivion. The canon so compiled was, however, not acceptable to those who had migrated South. Possibly, the conditions of famine had created a gulf between the practices of the monks who remained in Magadha and of those who had gone South. Differences in dogmas and practices might also have been there even earlier; but scholars look upon this as the possible seed of the division of the Jaina Church into Śvetāmbara and Digambara.

This explains, to a certain extent, why the Digamberas disown the Ardha-Māgadhī canon of Pāṭaliputra. To satisfy the religious needs of the community, they began jotting down from memory notes which have come to us in the form of many Prakrit texts that deserve to be called the pro-canon of the Jains. The earliest of these are the *Ṣaṭkarma-prābhṛta* and the *Kāśya-prābhṛta*,

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which are the remnants of the Dr̥ṣṭivāda. The Virasena-Jinasena commentaries (A.D. 816) incorporate earlier commentaries in Prakrit; and they indicate what an amount of traditional detail was associated with the original sūtras. They deal with the highly technical and elaborate doctrine of Karma which is a unique feature, a speciality in Jainism among the Indian religions. Among the works of the pro-canon, the Mūlācāra of Vaṭṭakera and the Ārādhana of Śivārya have close kinship with the canon, giving elaborate details about the monastic life, its rules and regulations. The Prakrit bhaktis are a sort of devotional composition for daily recitation.

A large number of works are attributed to Kundakundācārya, but only a few of them have come down to us. His Pañcāṣṭikāya and Pravacanasāra are systematic expositions of Jaina ontology and epistemology. His Samayasāra is full of spiritual fervour. Yatigṛṣabha’s Tiloyapannatti covers a wide range of topics and has served the purpose of a source-book. The compilation or composition of all these works, based on traditional material, might be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era.

A good deal of Prakrit literature has grown round the canon itself by way of explanation, detailed exposition, illustration through tales, and topical systematization. On some canonical texts there are niryuktis. A niryukti is a kind of metrical commentary which explains the topics by instituting various inquiries. The niryuktis are attributed to Bhadrabāhu and are undoubtedly anterior to Devardhī’s Council. Some of them, in turn, on account of their systematic exposition, accuracy of detail, and solidity of argument, became the object of the learned labours of great scholars. For instance, Jinabhadra Kṣamāramaṇa (A.D. 609) wrote a highly elaborate bhāṣya (commentary) in Prakrit on the Āvasyaka-niryukti round which has grown a little world of literature. On some works both bhāṣya and cūrṇi commentaries are found. A bhāṣya is an elaborate exposition of the text in Prakrit, at times incorporating and supplementing the niryukti verses; while cūrṇi is a prose gloss written in a bewildering admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit. Jinadāsa Mahattara wrote his Nandi-cūrṇi in A.D. 676.

LYRICAL ANTHOLOGIES, DIDACTIC WORKS, AND HYMNS

The popular gāthā (song) had already found its way not only into the Pali canon but also into that unconventional drama, the Mṛcchakatika of Śūdraka. With its melodious ring and sentimental setting, it is successfully handled by Kālidāsa, especially in the mouth of his heroines. A large body of popular lyric songs in Prakrit, especially in Māhārāṣṭrī, appears to have grown up a couple of centuries or so earlier than Kālidāsa. A collection of some 700 gāthās, the Gāhā-sattasai, attributed to Hāla, has survived. The text is preserved in different recensions, and commentators even attribute some of the stanzas
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to different poets, a few of whom are known from literary records. The Sattasaśi is undoubtedly an anthology; the editor, who is a literary artist of some eminence, has collected these verses, together with a few of his own composition, from a large mass of popular songs, and presented them in a literary style with special attention to the choice of setting, themes, and sentiment. Hàla's collection is not only important for its artistic grace and poetic flourish; it also testifies to the fact that there was already a large mass of secular Prakrit literature, in the composition of which women, too, took an active part.

The themes of the Sattasaśi are drawn primarily from rural life, but the presentation is more or less satisfying to refined taste. The seasonal settings, the countryside, the village folk, the flora and fauna—all contribute remarkably to the realistic sketches which the poets draw with a few strokes of the pen in one or two stanzas. The chief sentiment is erotic, at times too openly expressed, but the foibles of love and the peculiar Indian ceremonies and conventions involved, are depicted in a vivid and touching manner. Some of the scenes are full of pathos and flavour. For example, a lovely maiden is pouring water for a thirsty traveller; he lets the water trickle through his fingers. She, in turn, lessens the stream of water from the pot in her hands, and thus they both extend the moments of feasting their eyes on each other. Within a verse or two an effective sketch is projected such as is possible only for a mature poet.

The Sanskrit rhetoricians have paid their respects, more, perhaps, than were due, to Hàla's genius by extensively quoting his verses by way of illustration. There is very little of religious setting in the poems, though Īśvara and Pārvatī, Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, and others are casually mentioned. The name Hàla stands for Sātavāhana who figures as one of the Āndhra-bhṛtya kings whose partiality for Prakrits is well known. In all probability the compilation is to be assigned to the second or third century A.D. It is quite natural that a work of this type should contain old material and, at the same time, easily admit later interpolations. It has been imitated in Sanskrit and Hindi, but the Prakrit original stands unrivalled.

Another Prakrit anthology, close in spirit to Hàla's work, but planned topically, is the Vajjālagga of Jayavallabha. Its date is uncertain. There are different recensions, the number of gāthās averaging about 700. The major portion of it was composed perhaps by Jayavallabha who, of course, included verses from Hàla and others. The subjects under which the verses are grouped embrace the three human ends, dharma (righteousness), artha (wealth), and kāma (love); almost half the verses are devoted to the last. The range of topics dealt with is quite wide and includes poetry, friendship, fate, poverty, service, hunting, elephants, the swan, the bee, etc. A good man is likened to a mirror, while a wicked man, like soda, only adds a little polish to his virtues. The
author reproves the camel for yearning for the desert which cannot be had when fate is adverse. The erotic sentiment often has a touch of righteousness and heroism about it. The author is a Jain, but there is nothing of sectarianism in his collection. His gāthās in Māhārāṣṭrī contain many Apabhramśa elements; and the spirit of some of the stanzas is similar to that of the quotations in Hemacandra’s Prakrit grammar.

Strange as it may seem, it is a fact that writers on poetics and rhetoric quoted many Prakrit verses the sources of which have not been traced. This would presuppose the existence of a good many earlier compositions or compilations like the Vaijñālīgū. Lately, another anthology, Chappānaya-gāhāo, has come to light. It is also a compilation of gāthās from various gifted poets, and is allied to the works of Hāla and Jayavallabha.

Similar to the anthologies in form, but with more religious leanings and bearing individual authorship, are some of the Jaina didactic poems in Prakrit. The spirit of religious instruction and moral exhortation is a patent trait of Jaina authors. The nirjukti, besides their explanatory and expository remarks, contain a great deal of didactic instruction and illustration, as well as the gnomic poetry so common in anthologies. Wealth and love are mentioned with indifference, if not disparagement; and the religious tone rules supreme.

The Uvaesamālā or Upadeśamālā is a didactic poem containing instruction on the duties of monks and laymen; it is in 540 stanzas and is by Dharmadāsa. It is no doubt an old work of considerable popularity as indicated by the fact that commentaries were written upon it as early as the ninth century, and also by its influence on later authors. In addition to moral instruction, it contains Jaina dogmatic details and references to illustrative stories of great men of yore. Another work of this kind is the Upadesāpada. Equally religious and didactic in outlook but more conventional in the treatment of topics, it is mnemonic and mechanical in presentation but unintelligible without an exhaustive commentary. It can be grasped only by the well-read. Containing more than 1,000 gāthās, it was written by Haribhadra, an outstanding author of the eighth century. It is a learned source-book rather than a literary composition meting out moral instruction.

The Upadeśamālā by Hemacandra, author of the Maladharīgaccha, contains more than 500 gāthās and gives instruction on some twenty religious topics such as compassion to living beings etc. The author is not only a preacher but a poet commanding an ornate style with poetic embellishments. He was a contemporary of Jayasimha Siddharāja of Gujarat (1094-1143) whom he persuaded to extend greater patronage to Jainism in that area.

The Vivekamañjarī by Āśaḍh was written in 1191. Containing 140 stanzas, it is a discourse on religious awakening, but the major part of it is moulded in a mechanical manner, quoting examples of holy persons. According to the
commentator, Bālacandra, who belonged to two generations later than Jaya-
simha Siddharāja, Āśaḍa was of royal descent, being the son of King Kaṭukarāja
of Bhīnmāl in Rajasthan. Between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries,
many other authors followed earlier models and produced religio-didactic
works in Prakrit. One is struck, however, more by the earnestness with which
they have reflected on their themes and preached them to posterity than
by the literary qualities of their works.

There are a number of hymns in Prakrit, addressed as prayers to the
Divinity as an ideal. Laudatory in spirit, these hymns may be assigned to the
class of religious poetry. Some of them were composed by eminent authors
like Bhadrabāhu, Mānatuṅga, Dhanapāla (a.d. 972), and Abhayadeva.
The Rṣимaṅḍala-sotra is a chronicle of monks, and the Doḍaṅga-pramāṇa is a
short description of the Ardhā-Māgadhi canon. Somasundara (fifteenth
century) wrote a few prayers almost as exercises in different Prakrit dialects.

NARRATIVE LITERATURE IN JAINA MĀHĀRĀṢṬRI AND APABHRAMŚA

There is an extensive and varied narrative literature in Prakrit, especially
in Jaina Māhārāṣṭri and Apabhramśa; only a few of the most important works
are being reviewed here. Broadly speaking, this literature includes the lives of the
triṣṭi-salākā-puruṣas, the sixty-three great men who are the celebrities of Jainism, and also lives of ascetic heroes and other holy men of eminence;
it includes legendary tales with didactic motifs, illustrative fables, semi-
historical narrations, and popular romances. Traces of all these elements are
found in the Jaina canon, while the commentators provide bulky narratives
in Prakrit and Sanskrit from earlier sources and also from some of their own
composition.

The Brhatkathā, the most important work, was composed by Guṇāḍhya
in Paiśācī, but it is lost beyond recovery. We possess, however, three Sanskrit
epitomes of it belonging to the Middle Ages. They indicate that the original
work was of great dignity and magnitude, worthy to be ranked with the
Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. The Brhatkathā supplied themes and motifs
to many authors, and it has been referred to respectfully by Daṇḍin, Subandhu,
Bāṇa, and others. Guṇāḍhya's personality is shrouded in myths, and this,
possibly, attests to his antiquity. Perhaps he is earlier than Bhāsa, and may
be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era.

Vimala Sūri composed his Purānic epic the Pañmacariya in a.d. 4, according
to his own statement, but some scholars assign it to the fourth or fifth century.
It gives the Jaina version of the Rāma legend. It shows acquaintance with
Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, but contains particular details which have nothing to do
with the Jaina outlook and which, consequently, are of great value in studying
the basic Rāma legend that has been worked out by various authors in different
ways. Here, Rāvana is not a monster, nor Māruti a monkey; they are both Vidyādharas, a class of semi-divine persons. Vimala Sūri’s religious sermons have a lofty didactic tone, and he also tells many an episode of romantic and legendary interest. His gāthās and elegant metres testify to his poetic ability, and his style is almost uniformly fluent and forceful. The dialect he uses is also interesting because of the age of the work and of the Apabhraṃśa traces seen in it.

Pādalipīṭa, of the early centuries of the Christian era, wrote in Prakrit a now-lost religious novel called Taranāgava. The legends surrounding Pādalipīṭa and the praise bestowed on his work bear evidence to its eminence. The subject-matter was a love story, concluding with a religious sermon. We possess only a later epitome of it written in Prakrit, called Taranāgalata, which testifies to its engaging literary qualities.

The Vasudeva-hīṇḍī of Saṅghadāsa and Dharmadāsa (before 600) is a voluminous prose tale which elaborately records the wanderings of Vasudeva of the Hari-waṃśa, and includes a good deal of extraneous matter in the form of sub-stories, legends, and fables. This work was definitely written earlier than 600. Bhadrabāhu’s work being lost, it is not possible to detect its indebtedness to his Vasudevacarīa of the fourth century B.C.; but there are indications that it closely corresponds in form to the Brhad-kathā by Guṇādhyāya.

In A.D. 868, Śilācārya wrote his Mahāpuṣṭa-carita which deals with the lives of the ālākā-puruṣas. The Kālācārya-kathānaka, written in about the tenth century, narrates the story of how the saint, Kālaka, went to the Śaka Satraps, called sāhīs, and with their help overthrew Gardabhilla, a king of Ujjayini, who had kidnapped his sister Sarasvatī. In narrating this historical incident, the author shows considerable poetic skill and observation.

Dhanesvara’s Surasundarīcarīa (1038) is a lengthy romance. In sixteen cantos it narrates the love story of a Vidyādhar chief as he passes through hope and despair. The technique of telling a story within a story is handled successfully and the narration of events is quite smooth; the descriptions are worthy of a trained poet. The Paṇcami-kathā by Mahēśvara Sūrya (earlier than the middle of the eleventh century) celebrates Śrutapaṇcami and, through illustrative stories, explains the importance of its observances. The life of Vijayacandra-kevalin in 1,063 gāthās composed in A.D. 1070 was written in simple, narrative style. It illustrates the merits resulting from eightfold worship. At the close of the eleventh century, Vardhamāna, the pupil of Abhayadeva, wrote two works, the Manorāmā-carita in 1083, a romance with religious leanings, and the Ādīnātha-carita in 1103, a regular Purānic epic dealing with the life of the first Tīrthaṅkara.

The Supāsanāhacarīa (1143) is a bulky work which gives the life of the seventh Tīrthaṅkara from his earlier births up to his liberation. It is full of
religious preachings, all conveyed with suitable stories, as is so common in Jaina works. The author has poetic skill and a remarkable command over language.

Just eleven years after the death of King Kumārapāla, Somaprabha wrote the Kumārapāla-pratibodha (c. 1195). It is a lengthy text giving many stories to illustrate the principles of Jainism. Some of the sections are written in Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa as well. After a description of Gujarat and its capital, the Cālukya kings are mentioned in quick succession. We are then told how Kumārapāla met Hemacandra. This is followed by a conversation between the two. After hearing various stories, Kumārapāla not only accepted the vows of Jainism but gave orders for their observance throughout his kingdom. These narrative works are extremely interesting as types of composition; and being of definite date and locality, they throw very useful light on the contemporary society.

Coming to the narrative works in Apabhraṃśa, we enter an altogether new world. The language shows remarkable traits; the metres are different; and the presentation has a melodious air about it. Apabhraṃśa forms were gradually admitted into Prakrit compositions from about the early centuries of the Christian era; and it is not surprising that Kālidāsa introduced Apabhraṃśa songs in his Vikramorvaśīya. Every language has its favourite metres: Sanskrit has the sloka; Prakrit has the gāthā, and Apabhraṃśa the dohā, couplet. Like the large body of gāthās prior to Hāla's collection, there must have grown up in later centuries a floating mass of dohās, many of which are quoted by Hemacandra in his grammar. The Apabhraṃśa metres with their rhymes and ghaṭṭā, have such a fascinating ring about them that many authors went out of their way to use these metres in Prakrit and Sanskrit also.

One of the early Apabhraṃśa poets is Caturmukha, but none of his works has come down to us. He has been praised for his choice of words; and perhaps he was responsible for popularizing the paddhādiyā metre. Of Svayambhū (eighth century) we know a good deal through his son Tribhuvana Svayambhū who brought to completion his father's Paīmacariu and Harivāṃśa Purāṇa which are huge epics covering the subject-matter of the Rāma legend and the Bhārata episode. As a rule, Apabhraṃśa poets give us a good picture of their own selves in addition to some biographical details. Thus Svayambhū tells us that he was very slender in body and had irregular teeth. His son's remarks about him may be translated thus: The mad elephant of Apabhraṃśa wanders about at will only so long as the restraining hook of Svayambhū's grammar does not fall on him. Victorious be the lion Svayambhū with his sharp teeth of good words, terrible to look at on account of his nails in the form of metres and figures of speech, and with a full mane in the form of grammar. Tribhuvana was a capable son of a worthy father; they remind us of Bāṇa and his son.
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The most important Apabhraṃśa poet, and one about whom we know a great deal, is Puspadanta who lived in the middle of the tenth century. He was the son of Kēśava and Mughādevi, who, before they accepted Jainism, were devotees of Śiva. Life had been cruel to Kēśava, and it was almost unbearable to Puspadanta, a man of outstanding talent and touchy self-respect. He wandered forlorn and came to Mānyakheṭa where Kṛṣṇarāja III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty was ruling; and there, once more, under the patronage of the minister, Bharata, his poetic genius fruitfully flowered. His three works Mahāpurāṇu, Jasaharacariu, and Nāyakumāracariu have been well edited. All that was best in Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry has been well expressed by him in Apabhraṃśa. His language is brisk and fluid; his metres are varied and descriptions elegant. With the flow of sentiments well regulated, the poetic embellishments are remarkable.

Another poet who describes himself is Kanakāmarā. He lived sometime in the eleventh century, but his place and date are still to be finally settled. His Karakaṇḍacariu, written in ten cantos in a comparatively lucid style, gives the life of Karakanda, one of the pratyeka-buddhas. His reference to the Tera caves is of great interest.

Dhanāpāla of the Dhakkaḍa family (c. tenth century) wrote Bhavissayatattakāhā in which the hero is depicted as suffering great miseries but finally achieving his aim through his outstanding virtues. The Neminādacariu (c. 1159) of Haribhadra contains beautiful descriptions; and it is composed in raḍḍā metre. The Kirtilatā by Vidyāpati (fifteenth century), though a late work, is of manifold interest. It is a specimen of the post-Apabhraṃśa language of eastern India; the subject-matter is historical. It is in both prose and verse, and presented in a conversational style.

A large body of Apabhraṃśa literature is still lying in manuscript form, and every year we come across new finds. Dhavala's Harivamśa (c. ninth century) is a lengthy text, and it gives a good deal of information about earlier authors. Hariśeṇa's Dharma-parikṣā (988) is earlier than Amitagati's Sanskrit work, and it records a still earlier work written by Jayarāma in gāthās. The Kathā-kośa by Śricandra (around the end of the eleventh century) gives the stories referred to in the gāthās of Ārādhana by Śivārya. Many Apabhraṃśa works which are still in manuscript form indicate that this literary Apabhraṃśa was being cultivated almost up to the close of the Mogul period. The linguistic material preserved in these works is of superlative importance in reconstructing the early history of Modern Indo-Aryan languages, especially Gujarati, Hindi, and Rajasthani.

CLASSICAL KĀVYA AND CAMPŪ

Since Prakrit literature grew side by side with Sanskrit literature, the
ornate and stylistic kāvyas and prose romances had a corresponding field in Prakrit. The Setubandha or Dahamuhavaha by Pravarasena of the Vakātaka dynasty deals with the incident in the Rāmāyana in which the monkeys build a setu (bridge) across the ocean. The author is well equipped in metrics and poetics, and his poem possesses all the traits of a mahākāvyā. He displays much skill in poetic description and metrical accomplishment. Despite its pompous style, the work as a whole has a poetic flavour flowing through its fine expression, charming imagery, attractive thought, and melodious alliteration. It is but natural that Bāna and Daṇḍin referred to this outstanding work with compliments.

Gaūḍavyāho by Vākpatirāja, a poet at the court of King Yaśovarman (c. 733), celebrates the slaying of the Gaūḍa king, and is thus built on a historical incident. The story element in the poem is, however, scanty and its structure rather loose. The major portion of the extant work is filled with highly ornate descriptions, full of imagination and learned allusions; the descriptions of the countryside are remarkably realistic. Vākpati invests every topic he touches with fresh life and beauty. Kālidāsa and Vākpati are two remarkable facets of Indian poetic genius: if one is unsurpassed in his upamā (simile), the other is unrivalled in his utpaksā (hypothetical metaphor).

Haribhadra (eighth century), was an eminent logician and a famous author. He called himself Tākini-mahattara-sūnu, and the word viraha occurs at the close of his works. To explain these appellations, a good many legends are associated with his personality. His Samarāicca-kahā is a Prakrit campū which delineates the inimical behaviour of two souls through nine births. He was a close student of human life and of people's behaviour under varying conditions. He was a master of artistic style in describing towns, lakes, jungles, and temples, and often interwoven in these descriptions are dogmatic teachings and didactic episodes with a religious flavour. At times his style is simple and conversational. Another Prakrit work of his is the Dhūrtākhyāna, a satire unique in Indian literature. Five rogues, four men and a woman narrate their personal experiences. The fantastic and absurd personal story of each one is confirmed by the others who bring forward parallel stories from the epics and the Purāṇas; thus the Purānic legends are satirized. This composition has a good literary form; its conception and construction are exemplary; and as a literary product it is far ahead of its time.

The Kuvalayamālā (779) by Uddyotana, a pupil of Haribhadra, resembles Samarāicca-kahā in its aim, but it uses Paisācī and Apabhramaśī in addition to the normal Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī in which the whole work is composed. When the author passes from the high-flown Prakrit to conversational prose in Apabhramaśī, one feels that he is imitating popular speech. A religio-didactic tone is apparent throughout the work, and the background of Jaina ideology
is not concealed. On the whole, however, it is a literary piece actuated by
the same spirit which permeates the works of Daṇḍin and Bāṇa. The author
was a learned litterateur, and his glowing references to earlier authors and
works and to the Yavana king, Toramana, have documentary value for they
supply much fresh material for the literary and political history of that period.

The Līlāvati by Kūtūhala, earlier than Bhoja, is a stylistic, romantic kāvya
composed without divisions, like Gaṇḍavyuha. However, it contains more racy
narration than the latter, and is less pedantic. It deals with the love story of
King Śātavāhana and Līlāvati, a princess from Simhahaladvipa, but the threads
of the story are rather complicated. It was the author’s own beloved who
requested him to compose the poem, and he undertook to discharge this
responsibility with modesty. Some of the scenes are attractively sketched,
and the sentiments are presented with freshness and an attractive flavour.
In all probability Hemacandra had knowledge of this poem. He used it for
his grammar.

It was in ornamental Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī prose and verse (with a few passages
in Apabhramśa) that Guṇacandra composed his Mahāvīra-carita (1082) which
gives a traditional account of Mahāvīra’s life, half the work being devoted to
his earlier births. The language shows remarkable regularity of grammar,
and is quite chaste, almost like classical Sanskrit by the model of which Guṇa-
candra’s expressions and ideas were much influenced. It is a studied perform-
ance, a scholar’s achievement, full of long compounds and poetic devices.
But it is a charming kāvya, a dish for the learned.

Some of the poems described above indicate how the popular Prakrit could
be dressed by learned artists, an experiment already started by Śūdraka and
successfully continued by Pravarasena, Vākpati, Uddyotana, Rājaśekhara,
and others. Hemacandra (1089-1172) was a dominant literary figure of
medieval India. He not only made Jainism great in Gujarat by winning the
kings into its fold, but also bestowed on Gujarat a greatness in literature.
It was he who opened almost a new era in literature through his manifold
contributions to different branches of learning, and these were vigorously
cultivated almost up to modern times. Tradition says that he brought the
goddess of learning from Kashmir to Gujarat. Later history fully bears out
the truth of this remark, both factually and figuratively. Though, by his
grammar and lexicon, he laid a sound foundation for Prakrit philology, he
has not given us any independent kāvya in Prakrit. His Kumārapāla-carita
deals with the life of Kumārapāla; its purpose, however, is neither historical
nor poetical, but purely grammatical. As a concluding portion of his Duyā-
śrayakāvya, it illustrates, as does Bhṛṣṭikāvya, the rules of Prakrit grammar.
Though his hands were thus tied, now and then the work reveals a poetic flash
and a capable handling of language.
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It is interesting to note that this stylistic Prakrit was cultivated in the extreme South as late as the eighteenth century; this was done, of course, through the study of the grammars of Vararuci and others. Kṛṣṇalāśuka (thirteenth century) wrote the Ṣiraśīdhākavaṇī, which is in twelve cantos and deals with the life of Kṛṣṇa, to illustrate the rules of the Prakrit grammars of Vararuci and Trivikrama. The Soricarītta by Śrvānaśtha (fifteenth or seventeenth century) is a yamaka kāvyā, the eight mātrās (beats) in two metrical feet having identical sound but different sense. By about the middle of the eighteenth century Rāma Pāṇīvāda wrote two tiny poems, Kaṃsāvahō and Uṣāniruddha, charming in conception and scholarly in execution; the first deals with the slaying of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa, and the second with the love and marriage of Uṣā and Aniruddha. They belong actually to the closing period of Prakrit literature; but due to their poetic merits and stylistic flourish, they deserve to be ranked with medieval poems.

DOCTRINAL TREATISES

Jainism possesses a highly elaborate and technical Karma doctrine, and for the elucidation of this doctrine a good many works have been written in Prakrit. This subject-matter, it is said, was originally included in the lost Pūrasas, the remnants of which form the basis of the śūtras of the Dhavalā, Jayadhavalā, and Mahādhavaḷā commentaries. There are other works, more or less compiling the traditional matter, such as Kamma-payāṇī by Śivaśarman, Pañcasāṇghara by Candrasaṃśi, and Gommaṭasāra by Nemicandra. Huge and learned commentaries in Sanskrit have been written on these works. The dry details of the doctrine have been worked on with the utmost scruple and scrutiny. The Sāvayapāṇīgattti by Haribhadra, written in some four hundred gāthās, is a succinct compendium of the Jaina code of morals with its metaphysical background.

Many legends are current about Siddhasena Divākara (c. sixth or seventh century) in whom we have a first-rate poet and an outstanding logician. His hymns in Sanskrit testify to his poetic genius. His Sanmatitarka in Prakrit is a brilliant treatise elucidating the Jaina epistemology and the doctrines of nayas (standpoints) and anekāntavāda. The Dharma-saṅgrahaṇī by Haribhadra is an exhaustive treatise on different aspects of Jaina dogmatics; while Kattigeyāṇuppekkhā by Kumāra deals mainly with the twelvefold reflection, but incidentally forms a good exposition of the fundamental Jaina dogmas. Devasena deals with various dogmatical topics of Jainism in his Bhāvasaṅgraha, Ārādhanaśāra, and Tattvasāra; and his Darśanasaṅgraha (933), which records the traditional account of the different saṅghas, is of some historical importance. There are also certain Apabhraṃśa texts dealing with mysticism worked out against the background of Jaina and Buddhistic dogmatics. Among these may be mentioned the Paramappayāṣu and Togasāra by Joindu (c. sixth century) and the Dohākoṣas of Kānha and Saraha.
Though certain quotations indicate the existence of Prakrit grammars written in Prakrit, all that are available today are written in Sanskrit and modelled on Sanskrit grammars. Naturally, they inherit the merits and demerits of their models as a systematic analysis of language. They are of no use in understanding inscriptive Prakrits; and even for the Ardha-Māgadhi of the canon they afford very little aid. Most of them are but partial, even perfunctory, attempts.

The grammar written by Vararuci, which is subjected to various commentaries by Bhāmaha (c. 700) and others, and the one written by Canda, though used by subsequent authors, stand somewhat apart; while the remaining grammars fall into two clear-cut groups. The works of Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Śinharāja, Lakṣmīdhara, and others form one group; those of Puruṣottama, Rāmatarkavāgīśa, Mārkaṇḍeya, and others belong to the other. The two groups show differences in the number of dialects and in the details of their descriptions. It is only Hemacandra and Mārkaṇḍeya who show close touch with earlier literary works; and in his treatment of Āpabhraṃśa, Hemacandra has worthily discharged his responsibility as a grammarian. Thus most of these grammars fall short of our needs and standards; but, however imperfect, the treatises of Vararuci, Canda, Hemacandra, and Mārkaṇḍeya are of great value not only in the understanding of Prakrit language and literature, but also in the study of the entire range of Middle Indo-Aryan.

LEXICONS

Turning next to lexicography, Pāiya-lacchī-nāma-mālā, written by Dhanapāla in 972-73, presents a list of Prakrit synonymous words. It was written for his younger sister Sundarī. Desī-nāma-mālā by Hemacandra has the specialized aim of giving desī words, that is, those words which cannot be directly or indirectly traced to Sanskrit, together with quotations to illustrate their usage. He refers by name to more than a dozen of his predecessors in the field, but their works have not come down to us. This Nāma-mālā is of unique value to a linguist interested in Middle Indian and Modern Indian vocabulary.

WORKS ON POETICS AND METRICS

A work of poetics attributed to Hari is perhaps lost; but we have Alaṅkāra-dappāṇa by an unknown author. Prakrit has its special metre in the gāthā, but most of the classical writers have used the longer syllabic metres current in Sanskrit. The Apabhraṃśa works, however, disclose altogether new paths in metrics. Nanditāṃśa, in his Gāthālakṣaṇa, fully discusses the varieties of gāthā. In Svaṇyambhūchandas, Svaṇyambhū discusses various metres and also gives many quotations mentioning the names of their authors, who number more than
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fifty. The Vṛttajātī-samuccaya is also an exhaustive treatise. Further, the Kavidarpāṇa and the Chandahkosa by Ratnaśekhara, and the Prākṛta Paṇṅgala give abundant details regarding Prakrit metres. Some Sanskrit texts, like the Vṛttaratnakara, include Prakrit metres as well, but the Chando'nuśāsana by Hemacandra is of special value for Prakrit metres. Professor H. D. Velankar has provided quite a systematic exposition of Apabhraṃśa metres.

ASTRONOMICAL AND MEDICAL TEXTS

The Jambuddiva-panṇatti-saṅgaha by Paūmaṇāṇidī deals with cosmological and astronomical subjects. The Jōṇi-pāhuḍa, an old medico-tantric text, has not come down to us, but its contents appear to have been included in the Jagatsundari-yoga-mālā, with which two authors Hariśeṇa and Yaśaḥkirti (c. twelfth century) are associated. Haramekhalā (c. 830) by Mahuka is a medical treatise which covers a wide range of topics, a talisman for all living beings. The Ritṭhasamuccaya by Durgadeva (eleventh century) deals with omens and the like.

CONCLUSION

Judging from its abiding values, especially the thoughts it contains and the way in which they are expressed against a background of human experience and natural and social environments, Prakrit literature is many-sided and remarkable. It records the noble thoughts of one of the greatest kings of the world; and it embodies the ideology of a religion which is realistic in philosophy, ascetic in morals, and humanitarian in outlook. It presents a valuable, though complicated, picture of linguistic and metrical evolution in the last two thousand years or more.

The society depicted in Prakrit literature is more popular than aristocratic. Eminent monks and outstanding poets have earnestly contributed to its treasures. Some of these authors are quite frank about personal details, and the chronological data afforded by them have special significance in reconstructing the history of Indian literature. Indian linguistics would certainly be poorer in the absence of Prakrit literature, for on its lap have grown the modern Indian languages. Prakrit literature goes a long way in helping to add important and significant details to our picture of Indian culture and civilization.
Gautama Buddha’s speeches, sayings, discourses, and conversations were handed down orally through a succession of teachers (ācariyaparamparā). Proper attention was not, therefore, paid for preserving Buddha’s actual words. Recitation and memorization were then the means for the preservation of records. Such practice had been in vogue in India since the earliest Vedic period. From the Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta¹ we learn that Buddha anticipated that his sayings might be misrepresented and so he advised his discipes to verify his words in four ways (cattāro mahāpaḍesa). His prophesy came true after his mahāparinibbāna. Subhadda who entered the Order (Sangha) in his old age felt happy at Buddha’s mahāparinibbāna. He thought that there would be none to take the monks to task for non-observance of the Vinaya rules thenceforth. They would be able to do what they would like.² The elder monks (theras) were highly annoyed at this and felt it necessary to avoid the dangerous effects of his disparaging utterances in the Saṅgha. They convened a Council headed by Mahākassapa Thera to settle all controversial points in regard to Subhadda’s sayings. This Council was known as the First Buddhist Council in the history of Buddhism. It was at this Council that a full collection of Buddha’s teachings was made and that the Dhamma (Doctrime) and Vinaya (Discipline) were settled. The Abhidhamma had no separate existence then. It formed part of the Dhamma. In other words, Dhamma and Vinaya were the two principal divisions under which the traditional teachings of Buddha were collected. A hundred years later another Council called the Second Buddhist Council was held in which the rules of morality were discussed. The violation of the Vinaya rules enjoined on the monks was the subject of discussion at this Council. We, however, find no mention of the Abhidhamma as having been discussed at this Council. There was another Buddhist Council known as the Third Buddhist Council held more than two hundred years after the mahāparinibbāna of Buddha. The texts of the Sutta and Vinaya were rehearsed and settled and the Abhidhamma was recognized as a part of the canon. Dhamma and Vinaya which were then two divisions of the Buddhist scriptures were divided into three parts in the Council—Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma. Dhamma was thus divided into two parts—the Sutta Piṭaka and the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. This Council

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thus witnessed the appearance of the whole of the Buddhist canonical literature in three divisions, viz. Vinaya Piṭaka, Sutta Piṭaka and Abhidhamma Piṭaka. This is technically called Tipiṭaka. It should be mentioned here that the term piṭaka literally means basket. But here it is used in the sense of tradition, i.e. ‘a long line of teachers and pupils handing on, in these three sacred Piṭakas or Baskets, from ancient times down to today, the treasures of the Dhamma (of the Norm)’.4

The Buddhist literature, both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, is preserved mainly in Pali, Buddhist Sanskrit, and Pure Sanskrit. The originals of some of these texts are lost. But fortunately they are preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. The Buddhist texts were also rendered into the language of the countries to which Buddhism spread. Of all the languages, Pali is the earliest. In other words, Pali Tipiṭaka represents the earliest and most complete collection of the Buddhist literature.

PAGI AND ITS ORIGIN

Pali means ‘row’ (па́нкти), ‘text’, ‘sacred text’ (пā́тхо иті пи па́лі), ‘reading’ (а́яхи пи пā́тхо), i.e. the text of the canon as distinct from the аṭṭhakahā (commentaries). Pali always signifies the text of the Buddhist scriptures. In the Mahāvaṁsa we find that ‘only the text has been brought here not the commentaries’.5 It also means that which preserves the import of words (Saddattam paḷettī pālī).

Pali belongs to the early Middle Indo-Aryan period. Opinions as to its origin, however, differ among the Indologists, both oriental and occidental. According to some scholars, Pali was Māgadhī Prakrit or Māgadhī-bhāṣā which was held out to be the mālabhāṣā, ‘the primary speech of all men’.6 Buddha spent most of his time in Magadha and preached his doctrine there in the dialect of that region. It is but natural that the early Buddhist scriptures were composed in Māgadhī in which Buddha himself spoke. According to others, Pali has a close relationship with Pāścāti Prakrit spoken at that time in the Vindhyā region. Some scholars further hold that Pali was the language of Kaliṅga (South Orissa and East Telugu country) whence Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka). There are again others who think that Pali was an old form of Śauraseni Prakrit as the phonetics and morphology of Pali are mostly identical with it.

It is said that Emperor Aśoka sent his son Mahinda to preach the Saddhamma

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3 This is the usual order of the Tipiṭaka. We also sometimes come across alternation of this arrangement—Vinaya taking the place of Sutta. The Vinaya Piṭaka has been placed at the head of the canon by the Buddhists themselves. See also M. Winternitz, HIL, Vol. II, p. 21.
5 Pāllimattān idānītum, n’attthi аṭṭhakahā idha—Mahāvaṁsa, ch. XXXVII, v. 227.
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(Buddhism) in Ceylon. Some scholars maintain that he carried with him the text of the Tipiṭaka, while according to others, he went to Ceylon after memorizing the whole of the Tipiṭaka. Through the patronage of the king, Buddhism was, however, well established there. The Tipiṭaka was committed to writing during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya in the first century B.C. According to Ceylonese monks, this Tipiṭaka and the Tipiṭaka which was compiled in the Third Buddhist Council, however, was the one and the same. Some scholars do not subscribe to this view. They hold that this Tipiṭaka was not the same as that compiled in the Third Council—it is but a revised edition. The Tipiṭaka composed in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit was derived from the old Tipiṭaka which was written in Māgadhī. This view is also corroborated by the manuscript fragments of the Tripiṭaka composed in Buddhist Sanskrit discovered so far.

It is striking to note here that before the compilation of the Tipiṭaka, the Buddhist literature was divided into nine aṅgas or parts. This is technically known as Navaṅga-sattathusāsana. This ninefold division is not the ninefold classification of the literature. It points out but specimens of nine types of composition in the literature. For instance, they are extant in the Aṅguttara Nikāya. It is said that these diverse forms existed in the Buddhist literature even at the time of the compilation of the Buddhist scriptures. Let us now turn to the Pali Tipiṭaka and give a brief survey of the texts constituting it.

THE VINAYA PIṬAKA

The Vinaya Piṭaka contains rules of discipline. It deals with the rules and regulations for the guidance of the Buddhist Saṅgha and precepts for the daily life of the bhikkhus (monks) and bhikkhunīs (nuns). These rules and regulations were promulgated by Buddha himself during the early period as the occasion arose. The Vinaya Piṭaka thus contains mainly moral instructions. It relates all that belongs to moral practices. Śīla (code of morality) is the principal subject-matter. The Buddhist tradition records that Vinaya is the life of Buddha’s teachings. And as long as Vinaya lasts, his teachings also last. It is the main gateway to nibbāna. The Vinaya Piṭaka comprises the following texts: (i) the Suttavibhaṅga, (ii) the Khandhakas, and (iii) the Parivāra or the Parivārapāṭha.

(i) The Suttavibhaṅga, i.e. the explanation of the suttas, tells in a sort of historical introduction how, when, and why the particular rule in question came to be laid down. The words of the rule are given in full, followed by a very ancient word-for-word commentary, which in its turn is succeeded by further

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7 These are: Sutta, Gaya, Veyyakaraya, Gāthā, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Jātaka, Abhinutadhamma and Vedalla.
8 M. Winteritz, op. cit., pp. 9 ff.
10 Vinaya anuppādaparinibbānatthāya. Ibid.
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explanation and discussion on doubtful points. It comprises (a) Mahāvibhaṅga which has eight chapters dealing with eight classes of transgressions against discipline, and (b) Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga, a shorter work, a commentary on the code for the nuns. The Mahāvibhaṅga and the Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga are also known as the Pārājika and Pācittiya respectively. They are also called Ubbhotavibhaṅga.

It should be noted that Pātimokkha, the oldest text, which is included in the Suttavibhaṅga, is the nucleus of the Vinaya Piṭaka. It deals with the ecclesiastical offences requiring confession and expiation. In other words, it contains a set of rules to be observed by the members of the Saṅgha in their daily life. In the Buddhist texts, the life of a good monk is described as ‘restrained by the restraints of the Pātimokkha’\(^\text{11}\). There are two codes—one for the bhikkhus called the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha-sutta and the other for the bhikkhuṇis known as Bhikkhuṇi-pātimokkha-sutta. The former consists of eight sections containing 227 offences while the latter only seven sections comprising 311.

(ii) The Khandhakas contain various rules and regulations for the guidance of the Saṅgha and the entire code of conduct for the daily life of the bhikkhus and bhikkhuṇis. They give us a coherent picture of the life in the Saṅgha. They form a sort of continuation and supplement to the Suttavibhaṅga. They are divided into two parts—the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga.

(a) The Mahāvagga contains ten chapters (khandhakas) furnishing the story of the formation of the Saṅgha and the rules for admission into the Order, the observance of the uposatha ceremony, the mode of life during the rains, observance of the pavāraṇa and the kathina ceremonies, food, clothing, seats, conveyances, medicaments, dress, and the like. It also furnishes us with many moral tales as also the everyday life of India. It further contains ample information on the social and urban life of the then India. In short, the Mahāvagga is replete with various kinds of invaluable materials for reconstructing the ancient history of India.

(b) The Cullavagga contains twelve khandhakas. It deals with the rules of conduct of the bhikkhus and bhikkhuṇis and with atonement and penances. It also deals with the dwellings, furniture, and lodgings as also the duties of monks and the exclusion from the pātimokkha ceremony. It furnishes us with an account of the formation of the Bhikkhuṇi Saṅgha (Order of nuns). It further gives us an account of the first two Councils held at Sattapāṇṇiguhā of Rājagaha and Vālukārāma of Vesāli.

(iii) The Pariśāra or the Pariśārapātha is the concluding text of the Vinaya Piṭaka and was composed much later than the Suttavibhaṅga and the Khandhakas. It was probably composed in Ceylon, and not in India, by a monk named Dipa. It is an appendix to the Vinaya and contains nineteen chapters. It is the only key which unlocks the subjects of the Suttavibhaṅga and the Khan-

\(^{11}\) Pātimokkhasamāvatasamāvata. Dīgha Nikāya, II. 42; XIII. 42; XXVI. 28.
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dhakas. Its first chapter gives us a list of vinayadhāras (masters of discipline). The list is indeed invaluable in the history of the Buddhist Saṅghas of India and Ceylon.

THE SUTTA PIṬĀKA

The Sutta Piṭaka is a collection of the doctrinal expositions, large and small. The suttas are usually in prose, occasionally interspersed with verses. They are the most important literary products of the Buddhist literature. The Sutta Piṭaka is thus the primary source for the doctrine of Buddha and his earliest disciples. It consists of five Nikāyas or collections, viz. Digha Nikāya, Majjhima Nikāya, Saṁyutta Nikāya, Aṅguttara Nikāya, and Khuddaka Nikāya which, however, comprises fifteen independent treatises. Here is given a brief survey of the Nikāyas:

(i) The Dīgha Nikāya is the collection of longer discourses on various points of Buddhism. It contains thirty-four suttas. These suttas are mostly longer in extent than the general suttas. There is no connection between the suttas. Each is complete in itself and capable of being regarded as an independent one. The Dīgha Nikāya is divided into three parts—Silakkhandha, Mahāvagga and Paṭika-vagga. They are diverse in contents and character, and contain earlier and later strata of tradition. The first part contains the earliest stratum while the third the later one. The second which comprises the largest suttas has grown in bulk due to interpolations. The Brahmajāla-Sutta provides us with sixty-two doctrinal and philosophical speculations current in the then India. The Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta, which is by far the best sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, contains a realistic account of Buddha’s last days, peregrination and his last speeches and sayings. It throws much light on the extent of the spread of Buddhism as also on our geographical knowledge of ancient India. The Mahāgovinda-Sutta is particularly important from the points of view of the ancient Indian history and geography. This sutta gives us a conception of the shape of India. It records that India is broad on the north and on the south it has the shape of the front part of a cart. The Janavasabha, Mahāsamaya, Sakkapāṇha, and other suttas mention different types of deities which are of special importance from the point of view of the history of religion. A comparative study of these deities with those mentioned in the Vedic literature and Purāṇas is a necessity for a proper understanding of these mythological deities. Lastly, the Singalovāda-Suttanta ‘is an exposition of the whole domestic and social duty of a layman, according to the Buddhist point of view, and, as such, it is famous under the name of Gihivinaya’. Some scholars believe that it is the basis of Āsoka’s dhamma.


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(ii) The Majjhima Nikāya is a collection of one hundred and fifty-two suttas of medium length. Most of these suttas are devoted to the refutation of the views of others (paravādamatana). All the suttas have been arranged in fifteen vaggas. The vaggas have roughly been classified according to subjects. Some of them have, however, been named from the first sutta. Like the Dīgha Nikāya, the Majjhima Nikāya also throws ample light on the sīla, samādhi, and pāñña, the three corner-stones of Buddhism. The most famous is the Mūlaparīyāya-Sutta which strikes the keynote of the entire doctrine of Buddha (sabbadhamma-mūlaparīyāya). A few suttas, however, enumerate different kinds of offences—burglary, robbery, adultery and the like and the consequent punishment thereof. It thus reveals the penal laws of the country. The Papañcasūdanī, a commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya, tells us that the Majjhima Nikāya was also called the Majjhimasangīti.

(iii) The Saṅyutta Nikāya contains fifty-six groups (saṅyuttas). They are divided into five vaggas. The vaggas have usually been named after the name of the first in the group, or the name of the interlocutor. The Māra and the Bhikkhuṇī saṅyuttas which are ballads in mixed prose and verse, are of great poetical merit. They are regarded as sacred ballads, counterparts of the ākhyānas with which the epic poetry of India began. The suttas of the Saṅyutta Nikāya have been arranged according to three principles:

(a) those that refer to the Buddhist doctrines, (b) those that refer to gods, men and demons, and (c) those that refer to prominent persons. In short, the Saṅyutta Nikāya contains subjects dealing with ethical, moral and philosophical matters.

(iv) The Aṅguttara Nikāya is a collection of suttas14 arranged serially in an ascending order. The suttas are arranged in eleven groups. Each group is called a nipāta (section). There are eleven nipātas in it. Some of the suttas deal with women. There are others which acquaint us with the methods of punishment and the criminal law of the then India. This Nikāya contains a variety of subjects which may be regarded as its distinguishing features. It, however, gives much emphasis on the doctrinal points. Lastly, as Winternitz observes, ‘the Aṅguttara Nikāya is only a forerunner of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, for the text of which it probably formed the foundation’.15

(v) The Khuddaka Nikāya, as already observed, consists of fifteen independent treatises. It is also called ‘collection of miscellanies’. There is not yet a consensus of opinion among the scholars as to its canonical dignity. Some scholars believe that the texts constituting the Khuddaka Nikāya were composed a few years after the appearance of the four Nikāyas. Judged from the standpoints of the subject-

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14 According to Winternitz the suttas are at least 2,308 in number, op. cit., pp. 60 ff, while G.P. Malalasekera points out that the total number is 9,557.—Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, Vol. I, p. 21.

15 Loc. cit., p. 66.
matter, there is no resemblance among the different texts—they are all independent texts. Most of the texts are composed in verse. They are of great value for the kāvya literature. Let us give here a brief survey of the texts from which a fair idea about them can be formed:

The Khuddakapāṭha consists of nine short texts. These are but a collection made out of the canon. According to the Paramatthajotiṅka, a commentary on the Khuddakapāṭha, the book derives its name from the first four texts, which are shorter in comparison with the remaining five. A young novice is enjoined to commit them to memory when he joins the Saṅgha. These suttas are also used as a kind of mantra prayers in the Buddhist cult. It is to be mentioned here that seven of these texts are used at the Buddhist paritta ceremony which is held on possible occasions even at the present day in the Buddhist world, particularly in Ceylon. The beautiful Maṅgala and Metta suttas illustrate how lofty ideals may be preached in the simplest words. In short, the Khuddakapāṭha is a manual of the Buddhist life.

The Dhammapada is an anthology containing four hundred and twenty-three verses divided into twenty-six vaggas (chapters). The gāthās (stanzas) of the Dhammapada have been collected together from various treatises of the Pali canon. The Buddhists believe that they are the very words of the Great Teacher. They were recited on various occasions and purposes. The title of the text indicates its subject-matter. It is a collection of religious sayings. The moral teachings embedded in the Dhammapada are to be found in the texts such as the Mahābhārata, the Gītā, etc. The Dhammapada is popular in Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist countries as it contains ideas of universal appeal besides being a manual of Buddhist teachings. It has been translated into various languages in Asia and Europe. It is the most popular book in the whole of the Tipiṭaka. It contains ethical teachings which are acceptable to all human beings—monks, novices and householders. The main objective of the Dhammapada is to impart moral teachings to the common man. The Dhammapada is now extant in Sanskrit, Buddhist Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. There is, further, a Chinese translation of the text available to us now.

The Udāna is a collection of eighty stories, in eight vaggas, comprising solemn utterances of Buddha on special occasions. The Udāna is mostly in verse and hardly in prose. Each Udāna is accompanied with a prose account of the circumstances in which it was spoken. Most of the Udānas throw much light on the Buddhist ideal of life and nibbāna, the perfect state of bliss.

The Itivuttaka is a book of quotations of the authentic sayings of Buddha in prose and verse. It contains one hundred and twelve short suttas divided into four nipātas. Each of the suttas begins with the words—"This is been said by the Blessed One—thus have I heard"¹⁶ and closes with "This meaning

¹⁶ Vuttāṁ k'etāṁ bhagavatā vuttāṁ arahatā tī me sutam.
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was told by the Blessed One—thus have I heard'. It contains mostly the ethical teachings of Buddha on a wide range of subjects. It is probable that 'the Itivuttaka was compiled as a result of a critical study of the authentic teachings of the Buddha, considered in a certain light and made for a specific purpose'.

The Suttanipāta is a collection of seventy suttas composed in verse. They are divided into five vaggas. The Suttanipāta is second only to the Dhammapada in its noble ideals and its pleasant language. It refers to the Brāhmaṇical ideas which are akin to those of the Bhagavad-Gītā. Its study is a necessity for a proper understanding of the ethical teachings of Buddha. It throws much light on the social, economic and religious conditions of India during the time of Buddha. It contains the earliest phases of Buddhist poetry and its language and subject-matter point to the beginning of Buddhism.

The Vimāna-vatthu and the Petavatthu are two short treatises which are believed to belong to the latest stratum of literature collected in the Pali canon. The Vimāna-vatthu contains eighty-five stories in verse, which are divided into seven vaggas. It gives us a graphic description of the various celestial abodes enjoyed by the different devas (gods) as reward for some meritorious acts performed in their previous lives. The Petavatthu contains fifty-one stories in verse, which are divided into four vaggas. It deals with stories of petas (ghosts) who are born in the peta world (hell) owing to their various misdeeds. The main objective of these two texts is to preach the profound doctrine of Karma. Rhys Davids writes, 'the whole set of beliefs exemplified in these books (Petavatthu and Vimāna-vatthu) is historically interesting as being in all probability the source of a good deal of mediaeval Christian belief in heaven and hell'.

The Therāgāthā and Therigāthā are the two collections of poems ascribed to the theras and the theris respectively. The Therāgāthā contains one thousand three hundred and sixty gāthās attributed to two hundred sixty-four distinguished monks, while the Therigāthā bears five hundred and twenty-two gāthās ascribed to seventy-three eminent nuns. On the first reading of the gāthās, one is inclined to believe that these were composed either by the theras or the theris. This supposition cannot hold good on a careful scrutiny of the verses. We find sometimes in a single verse the utterances of more than one monk or one nun. There is no doubt that some of the gāthās were the composition of either the theras or the theris. Some gāthās point to the poetic excellence and religious sentiments of the monks and nuns. The main purpose of these two texts is to expound the subtle points of the Buddhist philosophy of life, the principal characteristics as well as the fundamentals of Buddhism. Both of them are of considerable value from the point of view of the kāya literature. The pictures of real life are far more numerous in the Therigāthā than

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in the *Theragāthā*. They furnish us with the information regarding the social conditions, especially the social position of women in ancient India. These two texts may be regarded as ‘the best productions of Indian lyric poetry, from the hymns of the *Rg-Veda* to the lyrical poems of Kālidāsa and Amaru’.  

The *Jātaka* contains the tales of the previous existences of Buddha. The word *jātaka* (derived from *jan*) means birth, but it is employed in a technical sense in Buddhism. It means the previous existences of Buddha. Thus the *jātakas* are briefly the ‘stories of former births (of Buddha)’ or ‘Bodhisattva stories’. According to the traditional accounts, there are five hundred and fifty *jātaka* stories which describe Buddha’s past career. Most of the *jātakas* are composed in prose and verse. Some scholars believe that the original *jātakas* contained the *gāthās* only and a commentary on them containing the tales was added later on. The main objective of the *Jātaka* is to inspire in the minds of the people, a faith in Buddhism and thus popularize the religion. The *jātakas* are of immense value from the point of view of literature and have inspired Buddhist art, from the caves of Ajantā to frescoes of the present day. The *jātakas* throw considerable light on the economic and religious life, and social customs during Buddha’s time. The *jātakas* are thus replete with various kinds of information which help us greatly in rewriting the history of ancient India.

The *Niddesa* is a commentarial work ascribed to Sāriputta. It contains comments on the thirty-two *suttas* of the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pāṭīyanavagga* of the *Suttanipāta*. It is divided into two parts—the *Mahāniddesa* and the *Cullaniddesa*. The *Niddesa* is the oldest of the Pali commentaries and that is why it was included in the canon. It gives us a fair idea of how the sacred texts were explained in ancient days. Many important technical terms have also been explained here-in. It provides us with a long list of synonyms to interpret a word. It seems that it laid the foundation for dictionaries in later times.

The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* contains a systematic exposition of various topics in the form of questions and answers after the manner of the Abhidhamma treatises. It has been included into the Sutta Piṭaka owing to its form being that of the *suttas* and further the traditional opening ‘evaṁ me sutam’ (thus have I heard) and the address ‘oh monk’ are often to be found. It consists of three *vaggas*. The knotty problems of Buddhism have been discussed in these *vaggas*. The first *vagga* refers to *jñāna* (knowledge), *sati* (recollecition), *kamma* (action) and the like, the second to *cattāri ariyasaccāni* (fourfold noble truth), *mettā* (friendliness) and the third to *cariyā* (conduct), *pāṭihāriya* (miracle) and the like.

The *Apadāna* contains stories in verse which describe the pious deeds of the Buddhist monks and nuns. Unlike the *Jātaka*, the *Apadāna* contains noble deeds of not only Gautama Buddha and *paceka-buddhas* but also other distinguished

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monks and nuns. The major portion of the *Apadāna* is the *Thera-apadāna* followed by the *Theri-apadāna*. It contains biographies of five hundred and fifty monks and forty nuns, all mentioned as having lived in Buddha's time. There are besides two other introductory chapters, the *Buddha-apadāna* and the *Pacceka-buddha-apadāna*, dealing with Buddha and the *pacceka-buddhas* respectively. It is regarded as one of the latest books of the canon.

The *Buddhavaṃsa* gives us in verse an account of the twenty-four previous Buddhas supposed to have preceded Gautama Buddha during the last twelve ages of the world (*kalpas*). It contains twenty-six chapters. It narrates how all other Buddhas set 'the wheel of the Religion' in motion. The last chapter provides us with a list of Buddhas down to Metteyya, the successor of Gautama Buddha, along with an account of the distribution of Buddha's relics.

The *Cariyāpiṭaka* is a collection of thirty-five stories in verse from the *jātaka*. It is a work of the post-Aśokan period. It narrates how the Bodhisatta attained perfection in the *pāramitās* in his various previous existences. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* refers to seven *pāramitās* only instead of ten *pāramitās* as mentioned in the Buddhist texts.

**ABHIDHAMMA PIṬAKA**

The Abhidhamma Piṭaka is the third division of the Tipiṭaka. According to the Pali tradition, it is said that Buddha first preached the Abhidhamma to the *tāvatiṃsa* gods, while living among them on the Paṇḍukambala rock at the foot of the Paricchattaka tree in the *tāvatiṃsa* heaven during his visit to his mother there. Subsequently, he preached it to Śāriputta who used to meet Buddha when he came down to the Mānasasarovara for meals. Then Śāriputta handed it down to Bhadda and through a succession of disciples it reached Revata and others, and took its final form in the Third Council held during the reign of King Aśoka. The Kashmirian Vaibhāṣikas, however, maintain that Buddha delivered sermons to different persons at different places, and at different times. They were later on collected by the Arhats and the Śravakas and were worked into Abhidhamma treatises by them. In the *Atthasālinī*, a commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* by the eminent commentator Buddhaghoṣa as also in Āsaṅga's *Śūtrālaṅkāra* is given a lucid explanation of the term *abhidhamma*. 'As far as the contents of the Abhidhamma are concerned', writes Prof. Malalasekera, 'they do not form a systematic philosophy, but are a special treatment of the Dhamma as found in the Sutta Piṭaka. Most of the matter is psychological and logical; the fundamental doctrines mentioned or

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21 *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, p. 7.
discussed are those already propounded in the suttaś and therefore, taken for granted'.

The Abhidhamma Piṭaka consists of seven books, usually known as the Sattapakaraṇas, which are Dhammasaṅgani, Vibhaṅga, Kathāvatthu, Puggalapaññatti, Dhātukathā, Yamaka and Paṭṭhāna.

The Dhammasaṅgani (the title of the text indicates its subject-matter) literally means the enumeration of the Dhamma, i.e. the psychical conditions and phenomena belonging both to laukika (mundane) and lokottara (supramundane) realms. All phenomena belonging to the internal and external worlds have been classified and examined carefully. They are citta (consciousness), cetasika (mental properties), rūpa (material qualities), and nibbāna (the highest bliss). The work contains three principal divisions in which a minute and critical analysis as also divisions of these four ultimate categories are given. It is a learned work and has been held in great esteem in Ceylon.

The Vibhaṅga deals generally with the different categories and formulae given in the Dhammasaṅgani. Different methods of treatment have, however, been employed therein. The Dhammasaṅgani analyses the psychical conditions and phenomena while the Vibhaṅga synthesizes them. Thus the Dhammasaṅgani lays much emphasis on their analysis while the Vibhaṅga on their synthesis. The book is divided into eighteen chapters. Each of these chapters is called a vibhaṅga and contains three parts which are Suttantabhājanīya, Abhidhammabhājanīya, and Paññāpucchaka. The first three chapters of the Vibhaṅga serve as supplementary to the Dhammasaṅgani.

The Kathāvatthu is the only work of the Tipiṭaka ascribed to a definite author. It was composed by Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, President of the Third Buddhist Council held at Pāṭaliputta under the patronage of King Aśoka. It comprises twenty-three chapters containing discussion and refutation of the heretical views of various sects. It is important from the point of view of the history of Buddhism as it throws sufficient light on the development of Buddhist doctrine of the ages after Buddha.

The Puggalapaññatti is a short work which differs very much, both in language and subject-matter, from other books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. It deals with the nature of the personality according to the stages along the spiritual path. The sammāsambuddha, pacceka-buddha and ariyapuggala have been described herein. The main purpose of this text is to examine the various types of individuals and not the study of the various dharmas. It is significant to note that the Puggalapaññatti, one of the earliest parts of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, is nothing but a collection of portions selected from the Aṅguttara Nikāya.

The Dhātukathā is a discussion on the mental elements and their relations to other categories. The Khandhavibhaṅga, the Dhātuwibhaṅga and the Āyatana-

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vibhaṅga—the three chapters of the Dhammasanāgāṇi form the foundation of the Dhātukathā. There are fourteen chapters in this book. All these chapters discuss khandhas, dhātus and āyatanaś from different points of view in the form of questions and answers. Some scholars thus hold that the Dhātukathā should have been named the Khandha-āyatana-dhātukathā as it contains discussion mainly with reference to these subjects.

The Tamāka is a book on psychological subjects and their analysis is arranged as pairs of questions. It is so called because of its method of treatment. Throughout the work all the questions are presented and answered in two ways. It contains ten chapters. Each of the chapters is complete in itself and capable of being regarded as an independent one.

The Patṭhāna is the most notable and voluminous book of the Abhidhamma Pitāka. It is devoted to the discussion on causation and mutual relationship of phenomena. It is also called the Mahāpakaraṇa. The Patṭhāna is nothing but a detailed exposition of the paticeca-samuppāda. The twelve links of the paticeca-samuppāda have been explained very lucidly in the Patṭhāna in the form of twenty-four paccayas.

POST-CANONICAL PALI LITERATURE

Apart from the canonical literature in Pali, there are also a large number of post-canonical Pali works. Most of them are the works of the monks of Ceylon. They comprise mostly tikās and vipassipis, i.e. exegetical literature and grammatical treatises. Pali texts, especially the tikā, dipani, madhu, gandhi, i.e. the commentarial literature, were composed also in Burma later on. For the convenience of our treatment we propose to classify them into the extra-canonical works first, next the commentaries, then the chronicles, manuals, poetical works, grammars, and works on rhetoric and metrics, and lastly, the lexicons.

(i) Extra-canonical works: Let us take up the works composed in between the closing of the Pali canon and the writing of the Pali commentaries by Buddhaddatta, Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla. The works belonging to this period may rightly be called the extra-canonical works. Among them the Milindapañha, the Nettipakaraṇa, the Petakopadesa deserve our special attention as they originated in India.

The Milindapañha is the oldest and most famous work of the non-canonical Pali literature. The original text was not composed in Pali. It was composed in northern India in Sanskrit or in some North Indian Prakrit. The original text is lost, and the present work is a Pali translation of the original made in Ceylon. It contains a learned dialogue between King Milinda and venerable monk Nāgasena on a good number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism. The present work contains seven chapters. Some scholars believe that it contains three chapters only. Chapters IV-VII were interpolated later on. It is of im-
mense value from the points of view of the Buddhist literature and philosophy. It occupies a unique position in the post-canonical Pali literature.

The Nettipakarana is contemporaneous with the Milindaapanha. It is ascribed to Mahakacchana, a great disciple of Buddha. It is a work on the textual and exegetical methodology. It is the earliest text which gives us a connected treatment of Buddha's teachings. It is the text which refers first to the science of logic. Dhammapala wrote a commentary on it in the fifth century A.D.

The Petakopadesa is another treatise contemporaneous with the Milindaapanha. It is also composed by Mahakacchana. It is a continuation of the Nettipakarana. It is nothing but a different manipulation of the subject-matter taught in the Nettipakarana. It has quoted three chapters verbatim from the Nettipakarana. It contains teachings embedded in the Pitaka texts. In some places we find quotations from the Tipitaka. It also throws much light on the points not clearly explained in the Nettipakarana.

(ii) Commentaries: The commentaries have made Buddha's abstruse teachings intelligible to the common people, thereby making them popular. Among the Pali commentators the three most illustrious names stand out—Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa and Dhammapala. Of them Buddhaghosa was the most celebrated. Buddhadatta wrote a number of commentaries on the Vinaya and Abhidhamma treatises. Of them Vinayavininchaya, Uttaravininchaya, Abhidhammvatara and Ruparupavibhaga are the most important. The Vinayavininchaya and the Uttaravininchaya are the two commentaries on the Vinaya Pitaka. They contain rules of discipline for the monks and the nuns of the Saṅgha. The Uttaravininchaya is a supplement to the Vinayavininchaya. The Abhidhammvatara contains twenty-four chapters. It is composed in verse and prose. It deals with citta, cetasika, ārammaṇa (support), vipāka-citta (resultant consciousness), rūpa, nibbāna, and the like. The principal objective of this text is to analyse the dhammas contained in the Abhidhamma. It forms an introduction to the study of the Abhidhamma, and stands out foremost among Buddhadatta's works. The Ruparupavibhaga is composed in verse. Rūpa, citta, cetasika, and the like form the subject-matter of this treatise. It deals mainly with nāma and rūpa.

Buddhaghosa, whose name stands out pre-eminent as one of the greatest commentators and exegetists, wrote a number of commentaries on the texts of the Tipitaka. Apart from his commentaries, he wrote two other works, the Nāpodaya28 and the Visuddhimagga. Here is given a brief survey of some of his works:

The Visuddhimagga is Buddhaghosa's first work which was composed in Ceylon. It contains something of almost everything of the early Buddhist literature. It consists of twenty-three chapters. Buddhaghosa composed this monu-

28 It has not come down to us.
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mental work in order to explain clearly a *gāthā*. It is a digest of the whole of the Tipitaka texts. It is indeed an encyclopaedia of Buddha’s teachings.

The *Samantapāsādikā* is a commentary on the five treatises of the Vinaya Piṭaka. It was written on the basis of the *Mahāpaccari* and *Kurundi atṭhakathās* at the request of Buddhāsiri. The valuable Vinaya materials apart, it discusses the reason for holding the Buddhist Council, selection of members for the Council and the place of the Council. It is rich in historical and geographical informations.

The *Kaṅkhāvitarami* is a commentary on the *Pātimokkha* of the Vinaya Piṭaka. Apart from commenting on the rules of the *Pātimokkha*, it throws much light on the later development of the Buddhist monastic life. It is remarkable for the restraint and matured judgment that characterize Buddhaghoṣa’s style.

The *Sumāṅgalavilāsini* is a commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It furnishes us with valuable information on the social, political, philosophical, and religious history of India during the time of Buddha. It also gives us interesting geographical information.

There are, besides, other famous commentaries like the *Paṇaṅgasūdani* (commentary on the *Maññhima Nikāya*), the *Sāratthapakāsini* (commentary on the *Sānyutta Nikāya*), the *Manorathapūrani* (commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*) and the like composed by Buddhaghoṣa. His famous *Atthasālīni*, a commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgani* is very useful to students of Buddhism. It also contains some valuable historical and geographical information.

Lastly, we come to Dhammapāla and his works. He wrote a commentary known as the *Paramatthadīpani* on the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, *Thera-Therigāthās*, *Petavatthu*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Itivuttaka* and *Udāna* included in the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. He also wrote a commentary called the *Paramatthamaṇjūśā* on Buddhaghoṣa’s *Visuddhimagga*. We are told that he also composed a commentary on the *Netti-pakarana*. Dhammapāla’s commentaries throw much light on the religious condition of South India and Ceylon.

It should be mentioned here that other *atṭhakathās* (commentaries) and expository works were also written before the composition of the well-known commentaries by Buddhadatta, Buddhaghoṣa and Dhammapāla. Such commentaries have been referred to by Buddhaghoṣa in his different commentaries. The *Jātaka-atṭhakathā*, for instance, is one such commentary which gives in its introductory chapter called the *Nidānakathā*, the life story of Buddha. There is no connected biographical sketch of the life of Buddha in Pali literature until we come to the *Nidānakathā* which is regarded as the most informative in this regard.

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"Sīle paṭiṣṭhāya nara sopaṁno
cittam paṭikkante eva bhāvanam nyo;
Atāpi nīpano bhikkhu
so imaṁ viṣaya jñānāni."

Visuddhimagga, Nidānakathā.
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It contains a chronological biography of Gautama Buddha to a certain extent. Its authorship is not known.

(iii) Chronicles: Here is given a brief survey of a few of the important Pali chronicles. The Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa are the two great Pali chronicles of Ceylon. They were composed on the basis of the Pali atthakathās. The author of the Dipavamsa is not known; Mahānāma, who lived towards the later part of the fifth century A.D., was the author of the Mahāvamsa. The two works bear close resemblance in respect of subject-matter and composition. We find hardly any difference even in their language and style. The two works give us the life-history of Gautama Buddha. They trace the genealogy of the old royal families of India and Ceylon as also give us a brief account of the first three Buddhist Councils. They also relate the propagation of Buddhism in Ceylon by Mahinda and Saṅghamittā. The works are of great value for a comprehensive account of the spread of Buddhism not only in Ceylon but in India too.

The Mahābodhiyana or the Bodhiyana was composed by monk Upatissa at the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. It provides us with an account of the attainment of enlightenment of Gautama Buddha, his mahāparinibbāna and first three Buddhist Councils. It also furnishes us with the history of the coming of the Bodhi tree in Ceylon. It is written mostly in prose.

The Dāṭhāvamsa or the Dantadhātuwana was written by the distinguished monk, Dhammakitti, who was well versed in Sanskrit, Māgadhi, and vyākaraṇa (grammar). It contains five chapters. It is written not in pure Pali but in Sanskritized Pali. It gives us an account of the tooth-relic of Buddha brought to Ceylon by Dantakumāra, prince of Kaliṅga. From the point of view of the history of Buddhist literature it is indeed an important contribution to Pali literature. The work further shows us Pali as a medium of epic poetry.

The Thūpavamsa was written by Vācissara in the thirteenth century A.D. It exists in both the Sinhalese and Pali languages. The work may conveniently be divided into three principal chapters. The first chapter is devoted to the previous existences of Buddha and the thūpas (topes) erected over his relics. The second chapter provides us with the life of Buddha from his birth to his attainment of the mahāparinibbāna as also the distribution of his relics. The third chapter gives us a later account of the relics.

The Hatthawanagalla-vihāravamsa is a history of the monastery of Attanagalla. It contains eleven chapters and is composed in simple Pali. The first eight chapters give us an account of King Siri Saṅghabodhi and the remaining three chapters describe the various types of noble edifices erected on his last residence. The Chakesadhātuwana was written by a monk of Burma. Its language is very simple. It gives us an account of the thūpas erected over the hair-relic of Buddha.
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The Gandhavaṃsa was also written in Burma by a monk named Nandanā. It contains five chapters written mostly in prose. It provides us with the history of the Pali canon and further gives us an account of more modern Pali works written in Burma and Ceylon. In short, it is a brief and interesting outline of the history of Pali books. It is thus of immense value from the point of view of the history of Pali literature.

The Jinakīlamāli was written by Ratanapaṇṇa Thera in the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. It contains six chapters. It is an independent chronicle for the study of the religious history of northern Siam (Thailand). It has its importance also in the history of Buddhism in South-East Asia. It further discusses the story of Buddhism in India, the introduction and development of Buddhism in Ceylon as also the spread of Sīhala Buddhism and Sīhala Saṅgha in different regions of Siam.

The Cāmadevivanśa is another important chronicle for the study of Siamese (Thai) Buddhism written by the Bodhiramsi. It is written in prose and verse and divided into fourteen sections. It describes Buddha’s visit to northern Siam, the story of the foundation of the city of Haripūṇja, Cāmadevi’s accession to the throne, the establishment of Buddhism and reigns of several kings after Cāmadevi.

The Saddhammasaṅgaha was written by Dhammakitti, a monk of Ayodhyā, and probably belonged to the fourteenth century A.D. It contains nine chapters in prose and poetry. It gives an account of the missionaries to various places for the establishment of Saddhamma. It also refers to Buddha’s preaching at Campaka (Campakānagaravāsināṃ).

The Sandesakathā was written mainly in prose. It refers to the composition of the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha by Thera Anuruddha, the composition of a commentary known as the Abhidhammattha-vibhāṣaṇi by Thera Sumanāgalasāmi and the like. Many kingdoms such as Suvaṇṇabhūmi, Rāmaṇā, Jayavaḍḍhana, Ayudhāya, Sivi, Cīna, etc. have also been mentioned herein.

The Buddhaghosupattī deals with Buddhaghoṣa’s life and career. It gives us an account of his childhood, his admission to monkhood, his voyage to Ceylon, his career as a translator, and his passing away. It is more a romance than a historical chronicle.

The Sāsanawaniṇa was written by the distinguished monk, Paṇṇasāmi of Burma, towards the middle of the nineteenth century A.D. It relates mainly the history of the spread of Buddhism in Burma. The propagation of Buddhism in other countries have incidentally been discussed herein. It throws much light on the relation of the State and the Saṅgha in Burma.

(iv) Manuals: The manuals present their subject-matter systematically in a terse and concise form. The Saceasanikhepa was written by Culla Dhammapāla. It is a short treatise containing five chapters on Abhidhamma materials.
It deals with the rūpa, vedanā (feeling), cittappavatti (thought), pakinnakasaṅgha, and nibbāna.

The Abhidhammatthasangaha was written about twelfth century A.D. by Anuruddhācarīya, an Indian monk of Kāṇcipuram or Kāṇjivaram. It is a manual of the psycho-ethical philosophy of the Theravāda school. The work deals with the four ultimate categories, viz. citta, etasika, rūpa, and nibbāna. It is not a systematic digest of the entire Abhidhamma Piṭaka. But it gives us in outline the form which the teaching of the Dhamma took, when for the Buddhists, it became Abhidhamma. The Nāma-rūpa-pariccheda was also written by Anuruddha. It contains thirteen chapters in verse. It deals with nāma and rūpa. Two commentaries were written on it. The Sutta-saṅgaha was most probably written in Anurādhapura. It is a manual of select suttas. It is meant for learners who wished to have a knowledge of the canonical texts in brief.

The Khuddakasikkhā and the Mūlasikkhā are the two compendia containing a short summary of the rules of the Vinaya Piṭaka. They are mostly in verse. The Khuddakasikkhā is generally ascribed to Dhammasiri and the Mūlasikkhā to Mahāsāmi.

(v) Poetical works: There is no lack of poetical works in Pali literature. Most of the works were written about tenth-fifteenth centuries A.D. in Ceylon. Here is a brief survey of some of the important works:

The Anāgatavānsa was composed by Kassapa, a native of the Coḷa country. It is composed in verse. It is an account of the life and career of Metteyya, the future Buddha. It may be said that this work is a supplement to the Buddhavaṃsa.

The Jīnacarita was composed by Vanaratana Medhaṅkara. It is a poem of more than four hundred and seventy stanzas composed in different metres. It deals with the life of Buddha on the basis of the material found in the Nidānakathā.

The Telakaṭāhagāthā is a poem in ninety-eight stanzas supposed to have been uttered by Kalyāṇiya Thera who was cast into a cauldron of boiling oil by Kalyāṇi Tissa on suspicion of his carrying on an intrigue with his queen. It deals with the vanity of human life and the good religion of Buddha.

The Paṭijamadhū was composed by Coliya Dīpaṅkara or Buddhapāpyya. It is a poem of one hundred and forty-four stanzas. It deals with the eulogies of Buddha. Its language is Sanskritized Pali.

The Saddhammapāyana was composed by Buddharamapīya. It contains six hundred and twenty-nine verses dealing with the fundamentals of Buddhism in general and the ethical doctrines in particular.

The Pañcaagatidīpana is a poem of one hundred and fourteen verses. It enumerates the deeds performed in this world by body, word, and mind, for
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which human beings are reborn in one or other of the five conditions of life—as human beings, animals, ghosts, gods or hell creatures.

(vi) Grammars: There is no dearth of Pali grammars in the Pali literature. All the grammatical works were written in Ceylon and Burma. Of the grammarians, three deserve special mention. They were Kaccāyana, Moggallāna and Aggavaṃsa. Kaccāyana wrote the first Pali grammar named Susandhikapp. Many suttas of this work agree closely with those of the Sanskrit Kātantravyākaraṇa. The Mahārūpasiddhi, Bālāvatāra, and the like were composed on the basis of Kaccāyana's suttas. The Payogasiddhi, Padasādhana, and others were composed on the system of Moggallāna’s grammar. The famous Cullasaddanitī was composed on the system of the famous Saddanitī of Aggavaṃsa. There were, besides, many grammars written by eminent teachers later on.

(vii) Works on Rhetoric and Metrics: The number of works on this subject is very small. The few that we have were written on the model of Sanskrit works. They do not, however, exhibit any originality or profound knowledge of the authors concerned. A brief account of the treatises that are available at present is given below:

The Subodhālankāra is the only noteworthy work on rhetoric. It was written by the distinguished ācariya, Saṅgharakkhita of Ceylon, on the pattern of Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa. It contains three hundred and sixty-seven verses divided into five chapters. The life of Buddha has been illustrated by the figures of speech herein.

The Vuttodaya is the most notable work on metrics. It was also written by Saṅgharakkhita in imitation of the Sanskrit works dealing with metrics. The Kāmandaki, Chandovicitī, Kavisāra-pakaraṇa, and Kavisāra-ṭikānissaya are other works on this subject.

(viii) Lexicons: In Pali literature we have also lexicographical works, written on the pattern of Sanskrit lexicons. We are told that the Vevasacanahāra of the Netti-pakaraṇa containing synonyms may be regarded as the early model of the Pali lexicon. The two most well-known lexicons are the Abhidhānappadipañka and the Ekakkharā-kosa.

The Abhidhānappadipañka was written by the distinguished monk, Moggallāna of Ceylon, in the twelfth century A.D. It is divided into three parts.

The Ekakkharā-kosa was composed by Saddhānakītī, a student of Ariyavānsa in the sixteenth century A.D. It was also modelled on the Sanskrit works of the similar type.

The Pali literature is, indeed, vast and rich in varied compositions. But unfortunately it is deficient in drama or novel, strictly so-called. There are, however, some suttas like the Brahmacāla-Sutta, Sāmaññaphala-Sutta, Sakkāpāṇa-Sutta and the Mahāparinibbāṇa-Suttanta which exhibit vividly dramatic settings. In the Segāthavagga of the Saṃyutta Nikāya we come across stage action. It seems
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that one Devaputta appears therein to test Buddha's knowledge and retires and another appears on the stage. It shows that there are ample dramatrical materials in the Pali literature although there is no dramatrical work. As to novel, the historical narratives contained in the Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta, the Milindapañha, the Udānavatthu, and the Visākhavatthu are of special literary merit.

Lastly, it is worth noting that the contribution of Pali towards Indian history and culture is unique and unparalleled. As a literary language, Pali shows some remarkable points of agreement with the Jaina Artha-Māgadhī and with the languages of the inscriptions of Aśoka. Modern Indian languages, such as Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Hindi, Marathi, Maithili, and the like as well as the languages of the neighbouring countries of India, e.g. Burmese, Ceylonese, Siamese, and others, contain ample material traceable directly or indirectly to Pali.

BUDDHIST Sanskrit

Like the Pali Tipiṭaka, there is also the Tripiṭaka in Buddhist Sanskrit consisting of Āgama, Vinaya, and Abhidharma. But a complete set of the Tripiṭaka is still a desideratum. Some of them exist in fragments of manuscripts and others are lost beyond recall. Fortunately, some fragments of manuscripts of the Tripiṭaka of the Sarvastivāda school, one of the main branches of Hinayāna Buddhism, composed in Buddhist Sanskrit have been discovered in Central Asia and Gilgit (now in Pakistan).

As regards the characteristics of Buddhist Sanskrit, it may be observed here that there was a class of Buddhist writers of Sanskrit who paid more attention to meanings than to correct forms. In other words, they cared more for sense than for forms. And the consequence was that their writings abounded in grammatical and other irregularities.

HINAYĀNA BUDDHIST Sanskrit TEXTS

The Āgama as mentioned above is divided into four books entitled Dirghāgama, Madhyamāgama, Sānyuktāgama and Ekottarāgama, corresponding to the four Pali Nikāyas, viz. Dīgha Nikāya, Majjhima Nikāya, Sānīyutta Nikāya and Aṅguttara Nikāya.

The Dirghāgama consists of thirty sūtras only as against thirty-four in Pali. Among the sūtras, the fragments of the Saṅgiti and Aṭānātiya Sūtras have been discovered in Central Asia. The Madhyamāgama contains two hundred and twenty sūtras as against one hundred and fifty of the Pali text. The manuscript fragments of the Upāli and Śūka Sūtras have only been discovered. The Sānyuktāgama is divided into fifty chapters. It contains a larger number of sūtras than those of the Pali text. The manuscript fragments of the Pravāraṇa,
Candrapama and Šakti Sūtras have been discovered in Central Asia. The Ekottarā-gama contains fifty-two chapters, while the Pali text contains eleven nipātas (ekādaśakānipāta) consisting of one hundred and sixty-nine chapters. The manuscript fragments of the Pañcakā, the Pāṇīka and other sūtras have been discovered in Central Asia. The manuscript fragments of the Kṣudrakā-gama of this school corresponding to the Pali Khuddaka Nikāya have not yet been discovered. Fortunately, a complete copy of the Dhammapada as also a few fragments of the Stāvirāgātha have been discovered.

The Vinaya Piṭaka contains four divisions—Vinayavibhaṅga, Vinayavastu, Vinaya-ksudrakavastu and Vinaya-uttarāgrantha. The Vinayavibhaṅga corresponds to the Suttavibhaṅga, the Vinayavastu to the Khandhakas, i.e. the Mahāvagga and portions of the Cullavagga, the Vinaya-ksudrakavastu and the Vinaya-uttarāgrantha to the Cullavagga and Parivārapātha respectively. The Vinayavastu is further divided into seventeen chapters. The Vinaya-ksudrakavastu and the Vinaya-uttarāgrantha contain various minor rules of the Vinaya. Of the Tripiṭaka texts of the Sarvāstivāda school a large number of manuscript fragments of the Vinaya Piṭaka only have been discovered in Central Asia and Gilgit.

The Abhidharma Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school has seven treatises like the Theravāda. The Jñāna-prasthāna by Āryakātyāyaniputra: it is divided into eight sections covering forty-four chapters and deals with the pratiṣṭhāna, the faculties of organs, the question of final emancipation, etc. The Saṅgītikāyā by Mahākaśṭhila: it deals with eka-dharman (all beings living on food etc.), dvi-dharman (mind and matter—nāma-rūpa) up to paṇca-dharman (five skandhas), five balas and the like. The Prakaraṇa-pāda by Stāhira Vasumitra: it deals with the five dharmas, i.e. rūpa, citta, caitya-dharma, cittaviprayukta-saṅskāra, asaṅskṛta-dharma, ten kinds of knowledge, twelve organs and objects, etc. The Vijñānakāya by Stāhira Devasamā: it was composed 100 years after Buddha’s mahāparinirvāṇa and deals with Maudgalyāyana’s opinion about pudgalas, indriyas, cittas, klesas, viṣṇunās, bodhyaṅgas, etc. The Dhūtukāya by Purṇa: it was rendered into Chinese by Huien-tsang in a.d. 663. Pali Dhūtukathā has nothing in common with the present treatise. The Dharmaskandha by Ārya Sāriputra: it treats of five precepts, srotāpannas, four sorts of purity as to Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha and śīla, four stages of śrāvaniṣṭha, four āryamanis, etc. The Prajñāpti-jātra by Ārya Maudgalyāyana: in this book the instruction about the world (lokanāma-prajñāpti) belonging to the Abhidharma-mahāśāstra is supplied. It is to be mentioned here that these seven Abhidharma texts have nothing in common with the seven Pali Abhidhamma texts, except as to their total number.

The Mahāvastu is one of the most important works belonging to the school of Hinayāna. It is undoubtedly an encyclopaedia of Buddhist legends and doctrines. It claims to be the first book of the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Lokottara-
vāda, a branch of the Mahāsaṅghika school. It agrees with the Pali Nidānakathā in that it treats the life of Buddha in three sections. It also corresponds to that part of the Vinaya Piṭaka which recounts the history of the rise of the Saṅgha. The doctrines and stories found in it breathe the spirit of the Purāṇas testifying to the interrelation existing between the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical schools of thought. Though largely written in Buddhist Sanskrit, its language is not uniform. The arrangement of the topics discussed in this work is most disorderly and the text is full of repetitions. It, however, preserves many old traditions and old versions of texts which appear in the Pali canon. Its language and style of composition seem to suggest that the work must have been written as early as the first or second century B.C., even though it was enlarged in the third or fourth century A.D. and perhaps still later, by accretions and interpolations.

Apart from those mentioned above, this school has to its credit a large number of works under the caption Avadāna literature which comprises the Jātakamālā, the Avadānaśataka, the Divyāvadāna, the Avadāna-kalpalata, etc. Another important treatise, the Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā, a commentary on the Abhidharma-kośa, belongs to this school.

The Jātakamālā, also called Bodhisattvāvadāna, is the work of Ārya Śūra. It gives in thirty-four jātakas the stories of the past lives of Buddha as Bodhisattva and illustrates the value of the pāramitās (perfections) essential for the attainment of Buddhahood. The Pali Jātaka and the texts like the Cariyāpiṭaka and the Apadāna are the sources of these stories. A few of them are to be found in the frescoes in the Ajantā caves and Bharut stūpas. The Avadānaśataka (c. second century A.D.) is a collection of a hundred avadānas or tales of heroic acts which inculcate the doctrine of Karma, i.e. evil deeds produce evil fruits, while good acts good fruits. It is put into ten groups (vargas) comprising ten stories each. Many of the stories narrated herein recur in other collections of avadānas including a few in the Pali Apadāna. The Divyāvadāna contains thirty-eight avadānas. The stories are written by various authors; some of them contain a large number of grammatical irregularities while others are in genuine kāvya style. It has many legends in common with the Pali canon. The collection as a whole could not be written earlier than the fourth century A.D. The Avadānakkalpalata is the work of the Kashmirian poet, Kṣemendra. It contains 107 legends to which another was added by his son. It is held in high esteem in Tibet. It inculcates the doctrine of Karma and presents the Buddhist propensity to self-sacrifice in an impressive way.

28 Thus the famous legend of Siddhārtha’s departure, abhinīkramaṇa, may find a parallel with the account in the Majjhima Nikāya. There are also versions of the Khuddaka-piṭha, Pabbaḷā, Paddāna, and Khaggaśīlaṇa suttas from the Suttanipata, of the Sahassavagga from the Dhammapada, of the Mahāgavinda-Sutta from the Dīgha Nikāya, of the Dīghanakha-Sutta from the Majjhima Nikāya, and of the Mūra-sānyutta from the Sānyutta Nikāya.
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MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHIST SANSKRIT TEXTS

We now turn to the works which belong to the Mahāyāna school whose contribution to Indian thought is indeed unique. It had also an extensive literature of its own. Of the numerous Mahāyāna works, nine books, 'so-called nine Dharmas', which are held in great reverence, deserve to be specially noted inasmuch as they trace the origin and development of Mahāyāna as also point out its fundamental teachings. They are: Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā, Saddharmapuṇḍarika-Sūtra, Lalitavistara, Laṅkāvatāra, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, Gaṇḍavyūha, Tathāgata-guhyaka, Saṃādhīrāja and Daśabhūmikās. They are also known as Vaipulya-Sūtras. The Prajñāpāramitās belong to the earliest Mahāyāna sūtras and are considered to be the most holy and the most valuable of all Mahāyāna works. They are further of great importance from the point of view of religion. Of the different recensions of the Prajñāpāramitās, the Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā is probably the earliest. The Saddharmapuṇḍarika-Sūtra is the most important Mahāyāna sūtra and as a work of literature it stands foremost. It deals with the characteristic peculiarities of Mahāyāna and is more devotional. It is the main scripture of a few sects in China and Japan. The Lalitavistara is a biography of Buddha, more superman than man. In twenty-seven chapters, the text gives us an account of the Buddha legend up to the sermon of Vārānasī, embodying in it all the germs of an epic. It exhibits all the remarkable features of Mahāyāna. From the points of view of the history of religion and literature, it is of immense value to us. The Laṅkāvatāra, which is one of the latest books of this group, presents us with valuable material for the study of the early Yogācāra system. It teaches Viññānavāda. According to it, nothing exists but thought. The Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra is also one of the later Mahāyāna works. A few fragments of this work have been discovered in Central Asia. It is both philosophical and ethical. Tāntric rituals are further referred to herein. It is very popular in Mahāyāna Buddhist countries. The Gaṇḍavyūha which is not yet available in Sanskrit corresponds to the Chinese translation of the Avataṃsaka which comes just after the Śatāsāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā and Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā. It depicts the wanderings of the youth Sudhana who attained the highest knowledge through the advice of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. It is quoted several times in the Śikṣā-saṃuccaya. At the end of the Gaṇḍavyūha, there are a few verses which are used even at the present day for purposes of worship in all the Mahāyāna Buddhist countries. The Tathāgataguhyaka, which probably belonged to the seventh century A.D., contains Mahāyāna teachings mingled with elements of Tāntricism. It is regarded as one of the authoritative works on the earliest Tantras. The Saṃādhīrāja-Sūtra which is

It, however, originally contained the biography of Buddha for the Sarvāstivādins of the Hinayāna. It is probable that the present text is 'a recast of an older Hinayāna text...enlarged and embellished in the spirit of the Mahāyāna.' Cf. HIL, Vol II, p 252.
also one of the works of later Mahāyāna sūtras lays the greatest emphasis on meditation for the attainment of perfect knowledge. It also enumerates the practices necessary for developing the mental state. The Daśabhūmīśvāra contains an exposition of the ten stages of spiritual progress essential for the attainment of Buddhahood (enlightenment).

PURE SANSKRIT TEXTS

The Buddhist literature was further enriched by a galaxy of eminent scholars. Prominent among them were Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Sthiramati, Diśnāga, Vasumitra, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Śāntideva and Śāntarakṣita. Their works were composed in pure Sanskrit and mainly on Buddhist philosophy and logic. Some of them are available in Sanskrit and others are preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. Let us deal with some of the important works now extant:

The Buddha-carita and the Saundaramananda are the two important poetical works composed by Aśvaghoṣa. The former is a mahākāvya extant only in seventeen cantos in Sanskrit today. It gives us an account of the life and work of Buddha from his days in the royal palace till the conversions in Vārāṇasī. It is for the first time that the life and teachings of Buddha have been depicted by a real poet in a true kāvya style. The mythological traditions and the pre-Buddhist philosophical system of the then India are also mentioned herein. The latter is also connected with Buddha’s life-story, but actually it narrates the love-story of Nanda, Buddha’s half-brother, who was ordained as a monk by Buddha, and his beautiful wife Sundari. The Sāriputra-prakaraṇa, a drama in nine acts, is the oldest dramatic work extant in Sanskrit literature.

The Mādhyamika-sāstra, popularly known as the Mādhyamika-kārikā, can certainly be called Nāgārjuna’s masterpiece. It presents in a systematic manner, in twenty-seven chapters, the philosophy of the Mādhyamika school. It teaches śūnyatā (the indescribable absolute) to be the sole reality. This work alone is enough to show what a mastermind Nāgārjuna was and how he shines in solitary splendour among the intellectuals of this country, past and present.

Catuḥśataka of Āryadeva, which is available in Sanskrit at present, is next in importance to Nāgārjuna’s Mādhyamika-kārikā. It contains four hundred kārikās (verses) and is one of the principal works of the Mādhyamika philosophy.

The Togācāra-bhūmi-sāstra by Asaṅga in its original Sanskrit form has been discovered by Rahul Sankritayayana. It is divided into seventeen bhūmis

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28 It is often claimed that the first thirteen cantos were composed by the poet himself. Cf. HIL, op. cit., p. 259.
29 Tibetan and Chinese translations of the text, each having as many as twenty-eight cantos, run, however, up to the mahāparinirvāna of Buddha.
BUDDHIST LITERATURE

(chapters) and describes in detail the path of discipline according to the Yogācāra school.

The Viśūkī and the Trīṃśikā of Vasubandhu, containing twenty and thirty kārikās respectively, are the basic works of the Viśnunāvāda system of thought. Both repudiate all belief in the reality of the objective world, maintaining that citta (citramātra) or viśnā (vijnānamātra) is the only reality.

The Nyāyapravṛṣa of Diṅnāga, the father of Indian logic, is a monumental work on logic. It deals with different types of terms, viz. pakṣa, sādhya, deśāntas (examples), etc. for demonstration and refutation of fallacies. Perception and inference have also been discussed herein for self-understanding.

The Nyāyabindu by Dharmakīrti is regarded as one of the important works on logic. It is divided into three chapters: (i) pratyakṣa (perception), (ii) svārthātāmāna (inference for one’s own self), and (iii) parārthātāmāna (inference for the sake of others).

The Śīkṣā-samuccaya is a work of Śāntideva. It is a compendium of Buddhist doctrines. It consists mainly of quotations and extracts from various Buddhist sacred works. It is a manual of Mahāyāna Buddhism consisting of nineteen chapters. It deals with the following subjects: faith, restraint, avoidance of evil, sacrifice of the body, application of merit, duty of self-preservation, the snare of Māra, the Buddhist Satan, truthfulness, rules of decency, evil of talkativeness, contemplation of thought, good conduct, and so on. The Bodhicaryāvatāra, another work of Śāntideva, is an important and popular religious-cum-philosophical work of Mahāyāna Buddhism. According to Winternitz,²⁰ it is designated as the entrance into the bodhi life, i.e. into the way of life leading to enlightenment. According to this text, the perfect charity (dāna-pāramitā) is not an actual deliverance of the world from poverty, but an intention for such deliverance. It is a grace of the spirit. Poverty here means misery due to worldly desire. The purity of will is the greatest of all virtues and the foundation of all. The perfect conduct (ṣīla-pāramitā) consists essentially in the will not to hurt any living being.

The Tattva-saṅgraha of Śāntarakṣita is an important philosophical work. It criticizes various other philosophical systems of his time—Buddhist and non-Buddhist.

TANTRIC BUDDHISM

In the course of time, Mahāyāna Buddhism underwent profound changes yielding place to a new form of Mahāyāna, commonly known as the Mantrayāna or Tāntric Buddhism. Mantras, dhāraṇīs, mudrās and maṇḍalas and other Tāntric rites gradually crept in to this new system. Later, there appeared Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna from this system. A vast litera-

²⁰ Cf. HIL, op. cit., p. 370.
ture on Tāntricism also grew up. It is still popular and exerts a great influence over the spiritual life of the people of some parts of Asia including India. Most of these works are extant in Tibetan translations. A few of them that are available are discussed below.

The Jñānasiddhi, a work on Vajrayāna, points out that bodhicitta (thought of enlightenment) is really the vajra (invincible). When it would attain the nature of vajra (diamond), a meditating monk would then attain enlightenment (bodhi). The Dohākṣa and Cāyāgīti (in Old Bengali) give us a fair idea about the meditational practices of the Sahajayāna system. The Laghukālacakra-tantra-rāja-ṭikā or the Vimalaprabhā-ṭikā furnishes us with the doctrinal views of the Kālacakra system. The language used in these Tāntric texts is technically known as the sandhyā-bhāṣā having two meanings—esoteric and exoteric.

As it has been indicated, Tibetan has an enormous mass of Buddhist literature, Buddhist Sanskrit and Pure Sanskrit, originals of which are lost. It is contained in the Kanjur and Tanjur, the two principal divisions of the Tibetan literature. The study of Tibetan is, therefore, a necessity for a proper understanding of our glorious heritage. Those who want to know the history of literature and culture of ancient India can in no way neglect these Tibetan translations.

The Chinese canon, another vast store of Buddhist literature, preserves in translation many works of the various schools of Buddhist thought. The works embedded in the Chinese canon are of course of a very varying nature. Although it consists of works of very unequal merits and translated at different periods, its value as a storehouse of Buddhism cannot be doubted. An idea of the number of texts contained in the canon can be had from the catalogues of Nanjio and Hobogirin.

It is apparent from the foregoing discussion that Buddhist literature is the mainstream of Buddhist thought and culture. It contains works chiefly of religious nature. Considered from the point of view of antiquity, these works of Buddhist literature stand unparalleled for their sublime thought, super-intellectual treatment and unique literary excellences. They may easily be compared with the best productions of European literature.
PART II

SANSKRIT AND SANSKRITIC LITERATURE
SANSKRIT KĀVYA LITERATURE: A GENERAL SURVEY

The earliest writings that have come down to us in Sanskrit, the Rg-Vedic hymns, are in the form of poetry; even the Sanskrit name for a poet, kāvi, has come down from the Rg-Veda. The oldest form of prose is also in Sanskrit and is found in that part of Vedic literature called the Brāhmaṇas, where several examples of old narrative composition are found. The two great epic sagas of the heroic age, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, are called kāyas (poems), and are described as the model and source of all later literary creations. Of these two, the Rāmāyana is more specifically called the ādikāya (the first poem); in it all the characteristics seen in the later classical poems are already present. For theme and treatment, for metres and their variations, for style, and for the portrayal of characters and emotions, the classical authors of kāyas took Vālmīki, the ādikāvi, as their guide.

What the earliest classical poems in Sanskrit were we cannot say; but tradition treats Pāṇini as the author of a long poem whose name, alternatively given as Jāmbavati-vijaya and Pātāla-vijaya, is found in later anthologies, together with some of his stray verses. Pāṇini, who lived between 500 and 350 B.C., is the author of the first systematic grammar. In his grammatical aphorisms (IV. 3. 87-88), Pāṇini refers to, and names, certain old works which appear to be narratives in verse or prose. Another grammarian, Kātyāyana (also known as Vararuci), who added critical and supplemental dicta to Pāṇini’s aphorisms, classified these narrative works as ākhyāna and ākhyāyikā. Kātyāyana probably lived in the third century B.C.

Patañjali (second century B.C.), in his extensive scholium on both these grammarians, names as examples several old narratives. He also says (IV. 3. 101) that Kātyāyana (Vararuci) himself wrote a poem, Vāraruca-kāyam, which, according to Rājaśekhara (c. A.D. 900), was called Kaṇṭhābharaṇa. In his Śrṅgāra-prakāśa, Bhoja (A.D. 1018-63), quotes a half-verse by Kātyāyana which is a poetical fancy on the river Gaṅgā. Patañjali’s writings are full of material which reflects the active and wide cultivation of poetry. He quotes verses, or parts of verses, which can only be from older poems, and he quotes verses in a variety of metres, including the more rare ones. So, the evidence from Patañjali, taken together with the evidence found in the early treatise on prosody, the Chandah-Sūtra by Piṅgala (second century B.C.), attests to an early efflorescence of lyric poetry of extraordinary range and expressiveness.

A highly developed dramatic literature is vouched for in the early Mauryan age (324-187 B.C.), and drama, especially Sanskrit drama, naturally pre-
supposes the cultivation of poetry. The earliest elaborate treatise on drama is Bharata’s Nāṭya-śāstra. Its nucleus goes back to the pre-Pāṇinian Naṭa-Sūtras, and it grew into full shape in the period between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D. It deals with the text of drama as kāvyā, and is a work on poetics as much as on dramaturgy. It demonstrates a rich variety of metres with lyrical names, figures of speech, alliteration, and rhyme, and other stylistic features; it even gives examples of lyrical verse used as songs on the stage. All this shows that Bharata knew a highly developed art of poetic composition, and it shows too that there was a considerable output of literature in this field. The fact of the widespread and effective practice of poetry and drama on the themes, thoughts, and teachings of the Vedic and epic tradition is borne out by another phenomenon, that of the early Buddhist writers borrowing the medium of Sanskrit poetry and drama for the propagation of their new faith.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KĀVYA STYLE: ĀŚVAGHOṢA AND KĀLĪDĀSA

The ideology bequeathed to the classical poets by Vyāsa and Vālmīki, was the projection through the mahākāvya (the epic or long poem) of the personality and the heroic acts of one of exalted nature (dhirodāta), one who was a ruler-sage (rājarṣi), and an upholder of dharma. In the centuries immediately before and after Christ, the new Buddhist authors, some of whom were Brāhmaṇas, turned to the existing literary resources for the propagation of their faith. The technique and ideology of the Brāhmaṇical itihāsa-purāṇa literature and of the Sanskrit poem, play, hymn, and gnomic poetry came to be reflected in the Buddhahalological literature that then arose, viz. the Mahāvastu ‘The Great Theme’, which was a biography of Buddha; and the Lalitavistara, an elaboration of the lilā (sport or play) of Buddha. Apart from parallels and echoes, even the actual names of the two epics occur in these works. The best among these Buddhist poets is Āśvagoṣha who lived in the first or second century A.D. He was formerly a Brāhmaṇa of Sāketa, and he wrote two mahākāvyas and at least one play. One of his two mahākāvyas is the Buddha-carita, a life of Buddha. The full text of this work, in twenty-eight cantos, is available in a Chinese translation made in the beginning of the fifth century, and also in Tibetan translation. The Sanskrit manuscript that has survived has only a little over thirteen cantos.

Saundarananda, an earlier poem by Āśvagoṣha, is available in complete Sanskrit form. At the end of the work the author states that it is a kāvyā, but it is written mainly for the sake of mokṣa and vyupāṇiṣṭ (spiritual effort and the attainment of peace), the poetic character added to the theme being merely like the honey used to make a bitter medicine palatable (XVIII. 63).

It is difficult to estimate the amount of didactic material in the Buddha-carita, although the poet narrates the whole life of Buddha. In the Saundarananda,
however, the end part is given over mostly to exhortations relating to moral and spiritual discipline. Yet it is a poetical work, relating how Buddha converted his half-brother Nanda who was engrossed with love for his beautiful wife Sundari. At the end of the poem, the poet asks the reader to blow off the poetic dust and take the embedded spiritual gold (XVIII. 64); but Āśvaghoṣa’s poetry is too substantial to be thus blown away. In metrical variety and polish, in verbal effects, in striking similes which are sometimes given in a series, in picturesque descriptions, and in language and grammar, he shows an all-round mastery of technique. In both poems the influence of the Rāmāyaṇa is patent throughout; and in the Buddha-carita, where the figure of Buddha is drawn on the model of Rāma, his admiration for Vālmīki finds pointed expression.

Following Āśvaghoṣa, some other Buddhist poets applied the Sanskrit kāvyā medium to two other classes of works on Buddha, the Jātakas and the Avadānas, the cycle of his lives and his exploits, in prose and in hymns. Of the prose are the Kalpanā-maṇḍitaka by Kumāralāta, the Avadāna-sataka (c. A.D. 100), the Dīcyāvadāna (c. second century A.D.), and the Jātaka-mālā by Ārya Śūra. Among the hymns are two by a poet named Māṭrceṭa, one in a hundred and fifty verses, and the other in four hundred. These are the Śatapaṇcāśatikā-stotra and the Catusātaka-stotra, both of which are simple but intense expressions of devotion to Buddha. Little is known about Māṭrceṭa and he is sometimes identified with Āśvaghoṣa.

The continuity of the kāvyā style is seen not only in its reflection in the field of Buddhism, but also in the inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era. However, the earliest poems in the main current of the Vedic and epic traditions that we have are those of the great Kālidāsa. The perfection we find in his works, and his mention of predecessors in both poetry and drama, bear out an unbroken output of kāvyas, all of which have been lost. For example, Kālidāsa mentions as one of his predecessors in drama, Saumilla, who is remembered in later literature as the joint author, with one Rāmila, of a work called Śūdraka-kathā. Another work also called Śūdraka-kathā, by Paṇcaśikha, an old name in Sanskrit literature, is cited by Bhoja.

Between Āśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa there is frequent correspondence in ideas and expression. The Buddhist poet has generally been taken as the earlier of the two, the latter being taken as the borrower. On this and on other counts, Kālidāsa is usually held to be a poet of the golden Gupta age of Hindu revival, whatever this may mean. Yet the specific poetic character of Kālidāsa as against the mixed mission of Āśvaghoṣa, and Kālidāsa’s undoubted artistic superiority, make one hesitate to subscribe readily to the theory that Kālidāsa was indebted to the Buddhist philosopher. Moreover, the fact that Kālidāsa refers in Meghadūta to Vidiśā as a capital city, and in Mālavikāgnimitra to Agnimitra as a contemporary ruler, has induced several Indian scholars to place Kālidāsa,
the kavi-sārvabhauma (sovereign among poets), in the Śunga age which was equal to an age of Hindu revival.

However, whether he lived in the Śunga age or the Gupta, whether he was a native of Ujjain or of any other place, Kālidāsa is a national poet, a poet of all time. There is hardly a part of India which he has not mentioned with affection; and in his compositions he has embodied the enduring ideals of the Indian conception of life, which embraces life in all its aspects and which is formulated in the Śruti (scriptures which record revealed knowledge) and in the Smṛti (other scriptures based on the Śruti). So well has Kālidāsa done this that to this day he stands as the authentic voice of the culture in which his genius flowered, as much as any rṣi (ancient sage) or ācārya (later philosopher). It is not surprising that a philosopher like Kumārila quotes him. Kālidāsa depicted in his poetry the well-rounded philosophy of human endeavour, and all the different aspects were harmonized in a scheme which led by stages to the summum bonum of a rich life fully lived. This truth is apt to be overlooked when one looks at his achievements in the lyrical aspects of his poetry or in his portrayals of love. Yet here he did not fail to emphasize that the physical is ephemeral and has to be made spiritual and enduring. It is through the fire of suffering together that this is achieved, and also in the fulfilment which ties the two hearts in an inseparable common bond, the child, an image of the two in one.

THE WORKS OF KĀLIDĀSA

Kālidāsa began with a short poem, Ritusāṁhāra, describing the cycle of seasons, one canto being devoted to each of the six ritus (seasons). The descriptions are addressed by a lover to his beloved; each season, with its varying sights and sounds, augments his love; the cycle culminating appropriately in the spring.

Meghadūta is a singular testimony to the endless creativity of the poet’s imagination. Here he gives to the airy nothing of a cloud any number of forms and functions, making the cloud a partner and participant in all sorts of human experiences fancied by a fertile, love-laden mind. There is perhaps an autobiographical touch when Kālidāsa writes about a separated lover; the lover from the north is sojourning in the south, and through the cloud (megha) as a messenger (dūta) sends a message to his beloved in the north. This is one of the works in which are clearly seen the poet’s knowledge and love of different parts of the country, the beauty spots, the cities, rivers, mountains, shrines, and so on.

In the mahākavya class he wrote two poems, the shorter, Kumāra-sambhava in eight cantos and the longer, Raghuvarta, in nineteen cantos. Taking as leading characters Śiva and Pārvati, the prime parents of the universe, Kālidāsa effectively brings out in Kumāra-sambhava the idea of love triumphing through
tapas (austerity) and fulfilling itself in the birth of a heroic son, the one who is to deliver the world from its sufferings. By a suggestive simile, the poet adores in the divine couple the twin principles of vāk and artha (word and meaning) which are inseparably connected and to which again he pays obeisance in the opening verses of Rāghuvaṃśa. Kālidāsa introduces the Love-god (Madana) as a character, burns his gross nature, and resurrects him in a sublime form. Its message and meaning apart, Kumāra-sambhava is an illustration of the poet’s descriptive powers; he describes the beauty of Pārvati, of the forest in the bloom and gaiety of spring, and of the grandeur of the Himalayas. Indeed, it is in Kālidāsa that we realize to what an extent the Himalayas occupy the Indian mind.

Rāghuvaṃśa is a work that is studied by beginners in Sanskrit, yet it contains the fullest statement of the poet’s mind affording enjoyment and food for thought to mature minds. It is the saga of the Solar dynasty, presenting a pageant of kings from Dilīpa to Agnivaṃsa, through Rāghu, and Rāma. The work opens by setting forth the high ideals of this godly race, followed by an account of the lives and deeds of individual kings as they embodied those ideals. Taking the work as a whole, however, there may be seen behind it a deeper plan. It shows how each of the puruṣārthas (the scheme of life’s eternal values), dharma, artha, kāma, and mokṣa, is exemplified in one or another of the lives of these kings.

The first king of the dynasty to be mentioned in Rāghuvaṃśa is Dilīpa. Dilīpa tends a divine cow in order to gain a son befitting the race, and to this end performs sacrifices. He may be taken as exemplifying the first and foremost puruṣārtha, dharma (duty in the sense of contributing to the progress and well-being of the individual and society). The son, Rāghu, is born. He conquers the whole country and its neighbourhood. In this, he exemplifies artha (wealth). But he also exemplifies another aspect of artha, the aspect which says that the purpose of material gain is fulfilled only when it is given away to the deserving. Rāghu performs the viśvajit (universal conquest) sacrifice and gives away all his possessions. Next, kāma (worldly pleasure) is illustrated in an account of the romantic life of Aja, Rāghu’s son, and the premature death of Aja’s beloved queen, Indumati, which leads the grief-stricken king to give up his life. Mokṣa (spiritual salvation), the highest in the puruṣārtha series, is exemplified in Rāma, Rāghu’s great-grandson. Rāma is none other than Śrī Hari, Rāmābhīdhāno Hariḥ, and he is described as jagat-prathamamangala (the primary source of the world’s welfare). The final act in the story of this great race, as seen in the life of the profligate Agnivaṃsa, the last king, exemplifies the progressive deterioration of values in the cycle of ages. The poet does not, however, end his poem on this tragic note, but in his last lines sets out the hope of future regeneration (XIX. 57).
Canto IV of Rāguvaṁśa concerns Raghū’s digvijaya (conquest in all directions) and it brings out the idea of a country being under one cakravartin (emperor). In the cantos depicting Rāma’s story, we observe the poet’s intimate knowledge of Vālmīki’s epic and the artistry with which he introduces a gem here and a gem there within the framework of the ādikavi. The canto which depicts Sītā’s exile brings out the poet’s powers of pathos; and in his account of the birth of the Rāmāyaṇa and its recital by Lava and Kuśa, the poet pays homage to the pathikṛt (predecessor) to whom he owes so much. One of the most remarkable aspects of Kālidāsa’s poetry is his use of simile. Similes were his forte and in aptness and suggestiveness they are so unique that they have been termed upamā Kālidāsasya (Kālidāsa’s similes). Taking his style as a whole, his expression is distinguished for simplicity and grace, precision and proportion.

If it was the ādikavi that showed Kālidāsa the path, he in turn became the model and guide for all subsequent writers, and so he is known as the kavi-kulaguru, the prime guru of all poets. All later mahākāvyaśas, and the pattern of their treatment, follow his works. His Meghadūta alone has been endlessly imitated, and still continues to be imitated. In Sanskrit literary tradition, standing together with Kālidāsa’s two longer poems are creations of three later poets, Bhāravi, Māgha, and Śrīharṣa, their poems being the Kīrtitārjunīya, the Śiśupālavada, and the Naiṣadhiya-carita respectively. Together, these five poems attained special status and came to be referred to as the pañca-mahākāvyas (the great pentad). The five poems became part of the regular curriculum of studies, but this does not mean that there were no other noteworthy mahākāvyas in post-Kālidāsa times. Poems there were, but they have been lost. The Hayagrīva-vadha by Menṭha (sixth century), for example, is known to have existed, since it is mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgini and several verses are cited from it. It is described as an ‘outstanding production’. Similarly, Bhāmaha, the seventh century literary critic and rhetorician, mentions a work called Aśmakavāṃsa, citing it as an example of the Vaidarbhī style of poetry. A close follower of Kālidāsa in both time and style is the Sinhalese prince Kumāradāsa, the author of Jānaki-haraya. This poem, preserved in Sinhalese paraphrase, was recovered from South Indian manuscripts.

THE KĀVYAS OF BHĀRAVI, MĀGHA, ŚRĪHARṢA, ŚIVASVĀMIN, AND OTHERS

Bhāravi was a friend of King Kubjaśvānuvardhana (c. 608), the founder of the eastern Cālukya dynasty of Veṅgi. He wrote his poem, Kīrtitārjunīya, in the Deccan, taking his theme from the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata. This relates the episode of Arjuna doing penance and obtaining from Śiva the divine missile called pātupatāstra, a theme cherished very much at that time as is shown by its famous sculptural representation at Mahābalipuram. Bhāravi’s greatness as a mahākavi, although resting on a single production, is clearly next only to that
of Kālidāsa. His work is praised for its artha-gaurava (thought-content), and equally notable are his pure poetic gifts well brought out, for example, in the pictures he draws of rural life.

Closely modelled on the Kirātārjunīya, but more copious, is the work of Māgha (c. 700), the Śīṣupāla-vadha, written on a theme from the Sahāparavan of the Mahābhārata. Māgha's poetic powers are obvious, and the poem is packed with learning and displays of skill in using difficult types of composition. This characteristic, already seen in Bārāvī, gathers momentum in Māgha, and, through several other works of this class, reaches its climax in Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhiya-carita.

Before we speak of Śrīharṣa, however, let us turn to the Kashmiri poets of the ninth century. Śivasvāmin was the prodigious author of seven mahākāvyas, several plays, songs, and eleven hundred thousand hymns on Śiva. Like the other Kashmiri intellectuals, he was cosmopolitan in outlook, and wrote a mahākāvya on a Buddhist theme, the Kapphinābhhyudaya. Ratnākara, who was called vāgīśvara (lord of speech), wrote Haravijaya, a mahākāvya in fifty cantos on a Śaivite theme. Ānandavardhana (ninth century) was an eminent aesthete; he established the doctrine that dhvani (suggestion) was the essence of poetic expression. He wrote the Arjuna-carita. Abhinanda, the son of the gifted Kashmiri logician Jayanta, put into mahākāvya form the story of Bāṇa's Kādambari. In Bengal at that time, under the patronage of the Pāla kings, there was another Abhinanda. An even more distinguished poet, he wrote a Rāmacarita, but so far it has been only partly recovered. The greatest of the lost mahākāvyas of this period, quotations from which stimulate an appetite for more, is Haravilāsa written by Rājaśekhara whose works are so versatile and encyclopaedic. In Kashmir, the critic and polymath Kṣemendra (eleventh century) wrote four long poems and a shorter one summarizing the stories of the Rāmāvana, the Mahābhārata, the Bṛhatkathā, the Avadānas on Buddha, and Bāṇa's Kādambari; the last of these has not yet been recovered. He also wrote several stories of his own, but only one, the Daśavatāra-carita, is available. In the next century, also in Kashmir, another mahākāvya was written. This was Maṅkha's Śrīkanṭha-carita, glorifying Śiva. In the last canto the poet gives an informative account of his contemporary authors.

In the twelfth century flourished that unique genius, Śrīharṣa. He was a monistic dialectician, but he also produced several poetic compositions, the chief of which was the celebrated Naiṣadhiya-carita. This work, counted as the fifth of the pañca-mahākāvyas, consists of twenty-two long cantos. It presents the simple story of Nala and Damayantī, but, being the product of the massive mind of Śrīharṣa, it presents a veritable thesaurus of knowledge and has been correctly characterized as vidvadayaśadha (a tonic for the learned).

The latter part of the classical period witnessed the composition of many
more mahākāvyas, but they are all lost and we know only their names since they are mentioned in Bhoja’s Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa. Among them is Antarātma-carita, a work which introduced a philosophical theme. While philosophical drama was already known, this was the first philosophical mahākāvyā.

JAINA POETS IN THE SANSKRIT KĀVYA TRADITION

The Jains were comparatively slow to take up the mahākāvyā medium for their religion, but once they took to it they strove to excel their Brāhmaṇical compeers. Their endeavour was to surpass the Brāhmaṇical works in length, in the introduction of learned matter, and in displaying skill in different kinds of versification.

The Varāṅga-carita by Jaṭā Simhanandin was written before the middle of the eighth century. Two Tamil Jains, Kanakasena Vādirāja and Oḍayadeva Vādibhasimha (eleventh century A.D.) composed the Taśodhara-carita and the Kṣatra-cūḍāmanī respectively. In A.D. 978, Viranandin wrote the Candraprabha-carita; and in A.D. 988, Asaga wrote the Vardhamāna-carita. Hemacandra (1088-1172), who is known as the kalikāla-sarvaśa (the know-all of the kaliyuga), contributed, among his numerous works which did indeed cover all branches of knowledge, the long poem Triśaṣṭi-salākāpurṇa-carita, including supplementary material at the end.

Other notable Jaina poems include: Māṇikya Sūrī’s Taśodhara-carita (eleventh century); Vāgbhaṭa’s Nemi-nirvīṇa (twelfth century); Muniratna’s Amamāvāmi-carita (twelfth century); Ravigupta’s Candraprabha-carita; Haricandra’s Dharmasarmābhya; Devaprabha’s Pāṇḍava-carita; Cāritrasundara’s Mahīpāla-carita; Abhayadeva’s Jayanta-vijaya (1221); Amaracandra’s Bāla-Bhārata (thirteenth century); and Vāgbhaṭa II’s Rśabhadeva-carita and the work quoted by him, the Bājimati-parītyāga.

LATER MAHĀKĀVYAS : ŚEṢA-KĀVYAS

The later history of the pure mahākāvyā may be illustrated by specimens selected from different regions. Under the Pālas of Bengal, Umāpatidhara wrote Candracūḍa-carita. In Orissa, Kṛṣṇānanda produced the Sahyadīyānanda on the Nala-Damayantī story. In Andhra, Agastya Paṇḍita (thirteenth century), under the Kākatiyas, composed the Bāla-Bhārata; and in the same region, under another king, Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa (beginning of the fifteenth century) wrote the Nalībhyaḍa.

A South Indian, Utprekaṇavallabha, who flourished earlier, produced a new and interesting kind of mahākāvyā in his Bhikṣātana-kāvyā. In this work Śiva goes out to receive bhikṣā (alms) and he receives it from women of all ages and of varying mental states, who go out to make offerings to him. Two other leading poets of the Tamil region are Venkaṭanātha Vedānta Desika (1268-
1369) who wrote *Yādavābhuyudaya* on the life of Kṛṣṇa, and Nilakanṭha Dīkṣita (early part of the seventeenth century) who composed Śivālītārṇava, a mahākāvya on the legends, well known in Tamil literature, surrounding Madurai and its great temple. These two poets belonged to the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava school and were sarvatantra-svatantra (proficient in all aspects of the scriptures). Nilakanṭha Dīkṣita also wrote a poem on the descent of the Gaṅgā, Gaṅgāvatāraṇa. His contemporary, Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, wrote *Rukmini-kalyāṇa*, and his pupil, Rāmabhadrā Dīkṣita, wrote the *Patañjali-carita*. In Karnāṭaka, Vidyācakra-vartin III (1291–1342), under the Hoysalas, wrote *Rukmini-kalyāṇa*. In Kerala, the writers of mahākāvyas included two prominent poets, Sukumāra (fifteenth century) who wrote *Kṛṣṇavilāsa*, and Rāma Pāṇivāda (eighteenth century) the author of *Rāghavīya* and *Viṣṇuvilāsa*.

New interest in the mahākāvya form was aroused by the introduction of diverse innovations and experiments. Quite early, a new class of mahākāvya was established in which, through śīla (double entendre), two distinct stories were told in the same set of verses. Stories from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Mahābhārata, for example, were embedded in the same poem. Such poems were called dvisandhāna (pursuing the two), the earliest one, which is still known only through a quotation from it, having been written by that great critic and prose writer Daṇḍin of Kānci (seventh century). The earliest and best-known extant poem of this class is the *dvisandhāna* written by Dhanaṇjayā (c. 1000–1050). Rāghava-pāṇḍaviya, written by Kavirāja from Banavāśi at the end of the twelfth century, is also well known.

The skill of writing such poems was improved still further—three to seven stories narrated in one poem. Finally, the enthusiasm to display even greater ingenuity resulted in poems which told one story when read forwards, and another story when read backwards. Poems of this type were called vilomakāvya.

Kāvya was also used to display erudition or to teach some branch of knowledge. This trend bore early fruit in the famous Bhaṭṭi-kāvya. Bhaṭṭi (sixth-seventh century A.D.) wrote *Rāvaṇa-vadha* which achieved the double purpose of being a poem and also an illustration of Pāṇini’s grammar and poetics. Bhaṭṭi’s work again started a class represented by a number of grammar poems, the better known among these being *Rāvaṇārjunīya* by Bhīma (or Bhaumā); *Kavi-rahasya* by Halāyudha (tenth century); and three works from Kerala: *Subhadrā-harana* by someone called Nārāyaṇa; *Vāsudeva-vijaya* by Vāsudeva; and *Dhātu-kāvya* by the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīri. Then, as if these were not enough, Hemacandra, who was equal to any task of learning, worked into his poems history, and Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar. One such work was his *Dvīṣaṭra-kāvya* or *Kumārapāla-carita*. Another writer, Jinavallabha, composed a hymn on Mahāvīra which could be read either as Sanskrit or as Prakrit.
A comparatively more refreshing and useful innovation took place which concerned the subject of a mahākāvyā. The story of a Paurāṇika king was replaced by the story of a historical king or line of kings, and thus resulted the historical mahākāvyā. The background for the development of this trend was perhaps created by the historical inscriptions in high-flown Sanskrit, dating from about the beginning of the Christian era. In the north, the early Gupta inscriptions, and, in the south, the early Cola inscriptions could, indeed, be taken as short kāvyas. So, too, are the excellent Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia of this period.

The earliest historical kāvyā is Bhuvanābhuyadaya by Śaṅkuka of Kashmir (c. 850) which describes a local battle. The first mahākāvyā of this class is Padma-gupta Parimala’s Navavāhasanńka-carīta which is about King Sindhurāja of Mālava. In the Vikramāditeva-carīta, the celebrated Bihāna deals with his patron Cālukya Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇa (1076-1127). The greatest of the historical poems is Rājataraṅgini by Kalhaṇa (middle of the twelfth century) on Kashmir. In it the author sets forth the efforts he made to collect evidence and material for his work and the sources he consulted. Among the sources mentioned are some historical writings, Nṛpāvali by Kṛṣemendra and the works of Helarāja and Chavillākara which are all lost. Rājataraṅgini is not a mere chronicle of the names of kings or of political events, but a rich and vivid picture of the social and cultural life of the country, including the literary contributions of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa’s tradition was carried forward by Jonarāja and by Śrīvara both in the fifteenth century, and was taken up to the time of Akbar (1556-1605), by Prājya Bhaṭṭa and Śuka.

To write a biographical poem on the royal patron and his family became a regular activity for court-poets in medieval times, and there is hardly a part of India where such historical poems did not arise. In Bengal, Sandhyākara Nandin wrote the Rāmacarīta which is at the same time a historical kāvyā relating to Pāla rule during the period 1070-1120. Chandakavi wrote Pṛthvīraṇa-vijaya, a kāvyā on Pṛthvīraṇa of Ajmer. Someśvara’s Kīrti-kumudī, Sukṛta-saṅkīrtana, Vastupāla-carīta, and Vasanta-vilāsa form a set of works on the Vāghela kings of Gujarat and their minister Vastupāla. Nayacandra’s Hāmārī-mahākāvyā on the Caḥhāna king of Raṇastambhapura describes the king’s heroic stand against Alauddin.

In South India, the tradition of historical kāvyas dates from Pallava and Coḷa times. The Mayūravarma-carīta deals with the Kadamba dynasty of Banavāsi. Rājarāja-carīta, now lost, was written round a great Coḷa monarch and builder; Atula’s Māṣukanvaṁśa is on the history of North Malabar. The Kākatiya-carīta by Narasimha dealt with the Kākatiya kings of Warangal in Andhra. The great Vijayanagara kingdom of the South, which rose as a bulwark against
the advancing tide of Mohammedan rule, was celebrated in a series of biographical poems on its successive kings: Gaṅgādevī's Mathūra-vījaya, or Vīrākamparāya-carita, in which the goddess of the South appears in a dream to the Vijayanagara prince and asks him to deliver her from the atrocities of the Mohammedan invaders; Sāluvaḥhyudaya by Rājanātha II; and Acyutarāyābhyudyadaya by Rājanātha III.

Another series of poetic accounts of rulers was written on the Telugu rulers of the Tanjore offshoot of the Vijayanagara empire. The Telugu ruler Raghunātha Nāyaka was the subject of Sāhitya-ratnākara by Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, and also of Raghunāthābhhyudaya written by his court poetess Rāmabhadrāmbā. Maratha power, like that of Vijayanagara, arose from historical necessity and consequently inspired many poems and other works on Śivājī, Śambhājī, and others. The Śivabhāratra on Śivājī by Paramānanda Kavindra is the greatest work in this group. Other works were the Śambhurāja-carita and the Rājārāma-carita. The Maratha dynasty at Tanjore was celebrated in several biographical works of this nature. The largest number of these literary tributes centred round Śahājī (1684–1710), the foremost ruler and patron of the dynasty.

The rulers of the various Kerala kingdoms were similarly celebrated in poems and plays. The following random selection of works will show that an account of some kind of almost all the local dynasties in various parts of the country was given by the poets of their courts: Rudra's Rāṣṭraudhavānī-lālīya on the Bāgulas of Mayūragiri (end of sixteenth century); Jāmavijaya by Vaṇi-nātha on the rulers of the Navanagara (end of sixteenth century); Rāmacandra-vṣah-prabandha by Govindabhāṭṭa on the rulers of Bikaner; Kṛṣṇa Kavi's Isvara-vilāsa and Rāma's Jayavanī-kāvyā describing Śaiva Jains and his ancestors; and Cetasingha-kāvyā by Balabhādru on Cet Singh of Vārāṇasi.

Mohammedan rulers received similar attention from poets, as the following works will show. Maheśa Ṭhakkura translated Akbarnama into Sanskrit and named it Sarvadesa-vṛttāntasaṅgraha; the subject of Rudra Kavi's Dānāṭha-carita is Akbar's son; while Kirti-samullāsa and the Nabākhāña-carita by the same poet also celebrate Jahangir; in his Nṛpani-garbha-vṛtta, Lakṣmīpati narrates the events which followed Aurangzeb's death; Vijayapuri-kathā is on the Bijapur Sultans, but is written in bad Sanskrit.

To these accounts of kings, we may add the biographies of saints, the vijayas, in which are described the lives and works of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, and others. Works were also produced describing the lives of individual scholars and of families of scholars, relating their genealogies, their works, their migrations, and so on. Individual merchants or pious persons were also given biographical treatment showing that the trend towards biographical writing did manifest itself. Unfortunately, however, works of this class have remained in unmerited neglect.
Originally, geographical accounts were closely linked with cosmogony and pilgrimage, the earliest form being seen in the treatment of bhuvanakosha (a list of the different worlds), tirthas (places of pilgrimage), and ksetras (holy places) in the itihasa-purana literature. In classical kavya literature, the duta-kavyas involve geographical descriptions. Pilgrimage came to be a main subject for a kavya. Tirtha-prabandha by Vadiraja (sixteenth century) with a commentary, and Tatrara-prabandha by Samarapungava Diksita (seventeenth century) are examples of kavya and campa (a mixture of verse and prose) on this theme.

Another direction in which poets showed their skill was in poetry wholly in rhymed verses, called yamaka-kavya, and in difficult verbal feats, called duskaras. In yamaka-kavya, there is play upon a word which is repeated giving two different meanings. All these skills, limited to the extent of a single canto, are found in the poems of Bharavi and Magha.

The earliest poem to exhibit such difficult feats of composition is Ayutottara by Rama Sarman, mentioned by Bhama. Among those that are available, the earliest ones are the short Ghatakarpara, and Nalodaya and Kicaka-vadh by Nitivarman; and Mananka’s Vrnda and Meghabhuyada. In the tenth century, Vasudeva of Kerala composed three yamaka poems; and in Tamil country there was Yamaka-ratnakara by Srivatsanka. Anandavardhana’s Devi-sataka displays all the feats. Dharmadasa, earlier than Bhoja, produced Vidagdha-mukha-mandana which is a complete, illustrated work on enigmatology.

Prose was cultivated by poets much more than we are led to believe from the few extant specimens. In fact, the surviving works themselves mention some early prose works, the gadya-kavyas (prose literature). In the introduction to his Kadambari, Bana refers to two earlier kathas (fiction with no traditional or historical basis); similarly, in his Harasarita he refers to Bhattara Haricandra’s gadya-bandha (prose composition). Dhanapala in his Tilaka-manjari mentions Rudra’s Trailokya-manjari and Bhadrakirti’s Taraga, the former being quoted also in Vardhamana’s Gaparatna-mahodadi. An akhyayik (a fictional adventure story with some historical basis) called Madhavik is mentioned by Bhoja in his Srigara-prakasa; while Vardhamana mentions two works, called Narmada-sundari and Vilasavati. In his Dvanya-loka, Anandavardhana discusses many varieties of story literature, some of which, at least, should have been represented by actual examples. Earlier, the two rhetoricians, Bhama and Danidin, held pointed discussions on the differences between the two types of composition called katha and akhyayik.

SUBANDHU, BANA, AND DANIDIN

The three chief prose-poets of the classical age whose works have survived are: Subandhu (seventh century) who wrote Vasavadatta; the great Bana who
wrote Kādambari and the Harṣacarita; and Daṇḍin who wrote Avantisundarikāthā or the Daśakumāra-carita. The shortest of these, Vāsavadattā, has a brief romantic theme, but its special feature is that, at every step, it is wrought with śleṣa (double meaning). Śleṣa was then taken over by Bāna, but it figures in his works only as one among the several brilliant qualities which gave him the status of the pre-eminent master of gāḍya-kāvya.

Bāna's appearance in prose was like Kālidāsa's in poetry and drama: it threw earlier works into oblivion, and caused all later writings to fall in line with his style and technique. Bāna flourished under King Harṣavaradhana of Kanauj (606–48), of whom the Harṣacarita, the first prose historical kāvya, is a biography. But it is not only the king's biography, it is also the poet's autobiography and, as a combination of the two, it is a unique work in Sanskrit literature. Kādambari is woven round a tale told in the Brhatkathā; it shows, through successive deaths and rebirths, the steadfastness of love and its eventual fulfilment through persistence. In both these works, Bāna has a sustained story to tell; but he includes in them a mass of other things as well. In fact, as the traditional saying goes, there is hardly anything in the universe that Bāna has left untouched (Bāñocchiṣṭam jagat sarvam). His mind's universal sweep is constantly demonstrated in his descriptions and similes. It is usual, for Western scholars at least, to point out the difficulties of Bāna's style, particularly its śleṣas and long compounds. Yet to one well grounded in the language, these are no barrier to the enjoyment of the descriptions. The poet's son Pulinda, or Pulina, who completed his father's work, himself says that the sonorous passages and grand cadences are a sheer delight. But Bāna can also be brief and simple; he can touch us and move our hearts in situations of pathos. It is to Bāna that we owe the revelation that Sanskrit holds so much music in store in its prose, a revelation similar to that made by Vālmiki, Kālidāsa, and Jayadeva in respect of its verse.

When we read Daṇḍin, Bāna's compeer, who was no less a master of Sanskrit and its prose and no less encyclopaedic in his range, we are in a completely new world. With fewer compounds and shorter sentences, his prose produces quite a different rhythm. The number of characters, incidents, and other details, in which Daṇḍin revels, create a lively tempo. While Bāna's mind sweeps between earth and heaven, Daṇḍin's digs into the earth; he penetrates the world and reaches the underworld. His Daśakumāra-carita is the story of the adventures of three princes and seven sons of ministers. They separate and each one undergoes varied and exciting experiences. Finally, they reunite and each one mirrors the world, truly and fully, as he has seen it. Although this work was for a long time current under the title of Daśakumāra-carita, that was not its original name. This is an incomplete text, its beginning and end both being lost. A fuller version, recovered in part more recently, shows that it was origi-
nally called Avantisundari-kathā. Like the Harṣacarita, it carried an interesting autobiography of its author. Thus this poet-laureate of the Pallavas of Kāṇcī threw valuable sidelights on the history of South India between the sixth and ninth centuries.

Other prose stories or romances include Tilaka-maṭjàri by Dhanapāla, who wrote under Muṇja and Bhoja of Dhārā, and tried to follow the line of Bāṇa. Gadya-cintāmaṇi was a Jaina prose work by the Tamil Jaina writer already mentioned, Oḍayadeva. Ācarya-maṭjàri by King Kulaśekhara of Kerala is known only in citations. Rājaśekhara mentions a work called Mrgāṭkalekha written by someone called Aparājita.

Following Bāṇa’s Harṣacarita, a few historical works in prose appeared. Among these are Vikramāṅkabhyudaya by Cālukya Someśvara of Kalyāṇa, written on his father King Vikramāditya (1076–1127). This work has been recovered only in part. Gadya-karṇāṁṛta by Vidyācakravartin II dealt with the history of the Hoysalas in the thirteenth century. This work, too, has come down to us in an incomplete manuscript. A history was also written of the Reddi King of Andhra (1403–20). This was Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa’s Vemabhūpāla-carita or the Viranārāyaṇa-carita.

CAMPUS

From the earliest times, there was a tendency to use prose and verse together. Originally, this mixed style figured in religious and scholastic writings. The Buddhists, for example, employed it in their quasi-literary works. Finally, it was that great book of didactic fables, the Pañcatantra, which brought it fully into the literary field. The literary critic Daṇḍin had mentioned this class of writing and had identified its name as campū, on the basis of examples extant in his time.

The oldest extant campū-kāvya is the Nala-campū or the Damayanti-kathā by Trivikrama written at the beginning of the tenth century. Trivikrama followed Bāṇa’s diction, with all its śleṣa too. His second campū, Madūlasā, has not, however, survived. It was in the same period, under the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, that the versatile Jaina scholar Somadeva Sūri wrote the long Taṣastilaka-campū, which in the later parts turns completely didactic and religious. Another campū produced in South India in this period is the Jivandhara-campū by Haricandra. Two old campūs which are lost, and whose names we know from Bhoja, Damayanti and Vāsavadatta, are different works from those whose names are mentioned above.

The Bhoja-campū on the Rāmāyaṇa, attributed to King Bhoja, was very well known; even today all students of Sanskrit know this campū. Following this, numerous campūs were written, particularly in South India, on the stories of the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Two outstanding South Indian examples are Nilakanṭha-vijaya by Nilakanṭha Dikṣita, written in 1637, and Viśvagunādarsā
by Veṅkaṭādharvarin, written in the latter part of the seventeenth century. *Nilakanṭha-vijaya* tells the stories of the churning of the ocean and of Śiva drinking the poison, written with all the characteristic wit and originality of the author. In *Viśvaṅgūḍarśa* the world is reviewed by two aerial observers; one reports favourably, the other adversely. The originality of the work caught on and led to a few imitations. The campū form was also used in South India in historical and biographical works, such as the *Cola-campū* written by Virūpākṣa, and *Ānandaraṅga-vijaya-campū* by Śrīmivāsa (1752).

A new development in campū took place in Kerala. The Sanskrit writers were eager to spread knowledge of the classics among the masses, and in their efforts to do this adopted dramatic forms, using the gifted community of actors called cākyār. For them, campū compositions called prabandhas were composed on episodes from the two epics and from the Purāṇas. The cākyār were thus provided with full scope for recitation and exposition through word and gesture. The great Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri composed a large number of such campū-prabandhas for the use of one of these actors, with whom he was friendly. This was Ravi-nartaka, who was himself the author of a metrical résumé of the complicated story of the *Mudrārākṣasa-nāṭaka*.

**ANIMAL TALES**

Parables from the animal and bird kingdoms have been used since the time of the Upaniṣads, the Buddhistic writings, and the two epics. The *Mahābhārata*, in particular, contains a number of instructive animal fables. In a separate collection, the *Pañcatantra*, the fables are arranged in a way that they inculcate in kings the principles of polity and prudent conduct. The five sections of the book deal with (i) dividing friends; (ii) winning friends and allies; (iii) war and peace; (iv) the loss of things gained; and (v) thoughtless action or the lack of vigilance. Stories of animals and birds are inserted one within another, and strewn throughout the book are wise sayings and pithy didactic verses. The prose style is straight and simple, and has the patent quality of communication. The *Pañcatantra* is current in different recensions and recasts, the best-known recast being Nārāyaṇa’s *Hitopadesa*.

The remarkable thing about the *Pañcatantra* is that it is the ultimate source of animal fables throughout the world. It was translated first into Pahlavi in the sixth century; then, through derivative versions in Arabic and Syriac, it was adapted into almost all European languages. Over two hundred versions of it have been traced in more than fifty languages, three-fourths of these being non-Indian languages.

**NĪTI LITERATURE**

Closely related to the theme of the *Pañcatantra* is the question of nīti (right
conduct). This is the subject of several shorter poetic works, ranging in length from a few verses to a satak (a hundred verses). The best-known work in this category is the Niti-satak by Bhartṛhari. In popularity, it is second only to the Vidura-niti of the Mahābhārata. The Niti-dvīṣṭikā of Sundarapāṇḍya of South India, written in verse in āryā metre and widely extracted in anthologies, is of a markedly high literary quality. There are satakas in diverse recensions ascribed to Cāṇakya; and there is also Nitiśāra by Kāmandaka, which calls itself a kāvya. There are some anonymous nitisāras and collections of niti verses, but these do not exhaust the reflective type of poetry in Sanskrit. There is yet another form, and it is unique, allied to the animal fable. It is the anyokti or anuyāpadeśa, in which the poet conveys, by indirect suggestion, some criticism of the life around him, some praise or blame, and he does this by depicting a creeper, an animal or bird, or any other aspect of nature. The best collection of such anuyāpadeśas is the one current in the name of the poet Bhallaṭa of Kashmir (ninth century). Of equal rank is the Anyāpadeśa-satak by Nīlakaṇṭha Dikṣita of the Tamil region.

There also developed poems which were more directly didactic; in fact they sprang from most ancient roots in the epics and in Buddhist writings, such as sayings in the Mahābhārata and the Dhammapada. In this field, the Jaina output is especially large. A remarkable didactic poem is Praśnottara-ratnamālikā, in simple catechismal style, which inculcates virtues in an effective manner. The popularity of this poem is seen not only in its numerous manuscripts, but also in the fact that its authorship is shared, in different manuscripts with recensional differences, by the great Śaṅkara, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavāraśa, a Jain teacher Vimala, and a Buddhist teacher Śaṅkarānanda.

In this class the versatile Kṣemendra of Kashmir wrote several originally conceived works, some short, some long. On pride, he wrote Darpadalana; on master and servant, the Svyav-sevakopadesa; on the four ends of man, Caturegara-saṅgraha; and on the right and healthy conduct, Cāruçaryā. With satire and sarcasm, he produced two more pieces, the Deśopadesa and Narmamālā. To warn the people of various social pests and parasites, he wrote Kalā-vilāsa; and to warn the young of pitfalls, he wrote Samayamāṭikā; this was written on the lines of an earlier work, Kuṭṭanimata by the Kashmiri minister Dāmodaragupta (c. 800). Following both Dāmodaragupta and Kṣemendra, Jalaṇa wrote the Mugdhopadesa. On the model of Kṣemendra's Cāruçaryā, Gamāni, a later poet, composed the Upadesa-satak, embodying in each verse a principle of good conduct and an illustrative episode. On the model, again, of Kṣemendra's satirical and didactic pieces, Nīlakaṇṭha Dikṣita of South India wrote two brilliant satakas, Kalividambana and Subhāraṇjana. The Mahiṣa-satak by Vāñcheśvara Yajvan is a satire on an official of the Tanjore Maratha court. Employing śīsa, Vedānta Desika, in his Subhāsitanśi, drives home moral and ethical ideas. A more popular, simpler,
and an effective century of verses of this type is Kavirākṣasīya. There are other subhāṣita (epigrammatical saying) poems contributed by various individual writers, but on the border of these is the wider world of a mass of anonymous subhāṣitas, luminous nebulae embodying the wisdom of the people.

PROSE NARRATIVES IN SIMPLE STYLE

As a source-book of themes for poets and playwrights, the Bhāhatkathā ranks with the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. It was written by Guṇāḍhya in Pāśācī Prakrit, most probably in the Śātavāhana court between the first and fourth centuries A.D. Four Sanskrit versions were also written, the earliest by the Gaṅga king Durvinita, but this is not available now. The one by Buddhhasvāmin, Ślokasaṅgraha, has survived only in part. But the two Kashmiri versions are available. A rather too summary account of it was written by Kṣemendra, called the Bhāhat-kathā-maṅjari, and a longer form, Kathāsārita-sūgara by Somadeva (1063–81). Somadeva’s version, which the poet wrote for Śūryamatī, the Queen of Ananta, is of better quality and interest as a narrative. Śṛṅgāramaṅjari by King Bhoja, more recently recovered and published, narrates stories illustrative of psychological types of love. Popular collections of stories relating to the fabled kings Vikramāditya, Śūdraka, and Bhoja are Vētāla-paṇcaviṃśati, the Śālīvāhana-kathā, the Vīra-carita, and Śīṁhāsana-dvāstriniśki. Of a different type, and originally conceived in purpose and in mode of narration, is Śukasaptati, in which the ingenious poet makes a parrot tell a story and pose a question to prevent a lady from going astray. Of later story-books, Purusa-parikṣa by Vidyāpati of Mithilā stands high above all others. Mādhavānala-kāmakandalā, by Ānanda, and Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, Prabandha-kośa, the Prabhāvaka-carita, and the Bhoja-prabandha are the best known. Śrīvara’s Kathākautuka is translated from the Persian. Śivadāsa’s Kathārṇava gives tales of knaves and fools. The Jains produced numerous kathākoṇas with a religious purpose; in some of them they ridiculed the Paurāṇika stories, sometimes overdoing this tendency.

LYRIC POETRY : EROTIC, DIDACTIC AND DEVOTIONAL

Kālidāsa’s Rūtasaṃhāra and Meghadūta, which have already been discussed, stand at the head of lyric poems. Meghadūta has been endlessly imitated, in Sanskrit and also in local languages. Of the numerous dūta or sandeśa-kāvyas (poems which send a message or news), Pavana-dūta by Dhoyi of Bengal (twelfth century) and Haṁsa-sandeśa by the great South Indian philosopher, Vedānta Deśika, are noteworthy. In this type of kāvya the route of the messenger has to be described. Thus, as already mentioned, the sandeśa-kāvyas have a secondary use in disseminating knowledge of local geography and place-names.

Love-lyrics are best referred to by the collections of verse, often in hundreds and called śatakas, depicting an infinite variety of moods of love. The earliest
of these collections is the Śṛṅgāra-śataka by the famous Bharṭṛhari. In fact, this work, together with his century on nīti, and another on vairāgya (dispassion), formed his triṣatī (three centuries) and became part of the curriculum of studies. Then, like Bharṭṛhari, to write triṣatis on nīti, śṛṅgāra (mundane love), and vairāgya became a vogue with poets, and they began to produce śatakas on the three subjects or on one or two of them.

For artistry, for fineness of feeling, and for portraiture, the Amaru-śataka of the poet Amaru (c. seventh century) is unexcelled. Amaru was made immortal by his hundred verses. He was imitated freely; his collection was added to, and manuscripts of his verses were provided with colour illustrations. These illustrations, in fact, have attained importance in the study of Indian painting. In dance, his verses became part of the repertoire for abhinaya (imaginative exposition through gesture).

Another writer who carved a niche for himself as a love-poet was Bilhana (eleventh century). In Caura-paṇḍāśikā, his portraits of love-situations take the form of a series of recollections. The popularity of this lyric is borne out by the growth of recensions of the poem. Also, a Bilhana-kāvya arose to supply a story framework for the lyric.

Like Kālidāsa’s Meghadūta, Gitagovinda by Jayadeva (twelfth century) is one of the most imitated among Sanskrit poems. Depicting the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the form of a song-poem intended for dance and gesticulation, Jayadeva’s work holds a unique place in the widely different but interrelated fields of poetry, music, dance-drama, and bhakti (devotional practices). Keith\(^1\) observes that in Jayadeva’s poetry ‘the art of wedding sound and meaning is carried out with such success that it cannot fail to be appreciated even by ears far less sensitive than those of Indian writers on poetics. The result, however, of this achievement is to render any translation useless as a substitute for the original; if to be untranslatable is a proof of the attainment of the highest poetry, Jayadeva has certainly claim to that rank.’ He also set the model for music compositions. Inscriptions, and also practices which have not yet died out, show that Jayadeva’s poem has been used in temples, in bhajana (devotional songs) gatherings, and in dance recitals. Outstanding among the numerous imitations of the Gitagovinda is Kṛṣṇalīlā-taraṅgini by Nārāyaṇātirtha of the Tanjore area (c. seventeenth century). This work is still part of the Karnatic music tradition, and of the Kṛṣṇagiti or Kṛṣṇaṭtam of Mānadeva, the Zamorin of Calicut (seventeenth century). Kṛṣṇagiti, which is still produced at the Guruvayur temple was the precursor of the more famous Kathākali art.

Govardhana, Jayadeva’s fellow court poet, wrote an important lyrical poem, Āryā-saptasati, a Sanskrit counterpart of the old Gāthā-saptasati in Prakrit; and, on the same model, Viśveśvara wrote a śataka, Āryā-śataka. With Bharṭṛ-

\(^1\) HSL, p. 195.
hary as model, Dhanadarāja (fifteenth century) wrote śatakas on niti, śṛṅgāra, and vairāgya; and the well-known Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha (seventeenth century) his Bhāmini-vilāsa. Bhartrhāri's Vairāgya-śataka gave rise to a number of śatakas on the theme of retirement and peace, vairāgya and śānti; a considerable number of these were written by Jains. The more noteworthy śatakas in this class are: the Śānti-śataka by Śilhāna of Kashmir; Moha-mudgara ascribed to Śaṅkara; Amītagati's Subhāṣita-ratna-sandoha, and Somaprabha's Sakti-muktācali among the Jain works; Vairāgya-paṇcaka by Vedānta Deśika, and the Vairāgya-śataka and Śānti-vilāsa by Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita.

BHAKTI HYMNOLGY

Between mundane love (śṛṅgāra) on the one hand and total detachment (vairāgya) on the other, there is devotion to a personal God (bhakti), and its manifestation in the form of stotras, devotional lyrics. Stotras form a very substantial part of writings in Sanskrit. The Rg-Veda is the oldest and greatest book of stotras; next come the two epics and the Purāṇas as storehouses of hymns. From these sources come Āditya-hṛdaya and Viṣṇu-sahasranāma, which have a continuous tradition from very early times. We have already mentioned Māṭrceṣa’s Buddha-stotras. Other works which together form the chief Buddhist stotras are: Nāgārjuna’s Catuḥstava; King Harṣavardhana’s Suprabhāta-stotra and Aṣṭa-mahāśrīcaitya-stotra; Vajrārati’s Lokesvara-śataka (ninth century); the Nāma-stotra, Paramārthanāma-saṅgīti, and the Sragdhara-stotra on Tārā by the Kashmiri Sarvajñamintra.

The mahākāvyas written by Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, and Māgha contain hymns; while some stotras, many of them of high poetic quality and esoteric significance, are ascribed to Kālidāsa, we cannot be sure of their authenticity. The earliest historical hymns, śatakas, are those of Bāña and Mayūra at Harṣa’s court, and also the Caṇḍi-śataka on Goddess Devi and the Śūrya-śataka on the Sun. The Śūrya-śataka is famous through frequent quotations in treatises on rhetoric.

In Kashmir, in the ninth century, Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara, both of the same court, wrote the Devi-śataka and the Vakrokti-paṇcāšikā in which they exhibited their skill and wit in verbal feats and double entendre. From a purely religious point of view, the stotra literature gained greatest momentum at the hands of the great Śaṅkarācārya. Although there is difficulty in deciding the genuineness of the host of hymns, printed and unprinted, ascribed to him, there is no doubt that he composed a number of stotras on various forms of the divinity, and at the various sacred places he visited during his triumphal march and mission through the length and breadth of the country.

In the area of devotion to Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, the Mukunda-mālā by Kulaśekhara, which is often taken to be identical with the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvār of that
name, attained canonical status together with the Stotraratna by the pre-Rāmānuja philosopher Yāmūnācārya. Of equal or even higher status on the Śaivite side is the Mahimṇaḥ Stava by Puṣpadanta. Commentaries were written on this work and its verses were often cited as authority in philosophical discussions. Kashmir Śaivism developed a corpus of hymns which were at the same time authoritative for the doctrines of the school. Among these are: Stava-cintāmaṇi by Bhāṭṭa Nārāyaṇa; Cakrapāṇi’s Bhāvopahāra-stotra; Utpaladeva’s Śiva-stotrāvali; and Jagaddhara’s Kusumāṇjali. Four other important Śiva stotras are taken together with that of Puṣpadanta and referred to as Śivapāṇeṣtavi. These are: the Anāmaya-stotra ascribed to Daṇḍin; and one each ascribed to Bilhana, Halāyudha, and Malhaṇa. Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta by Līlāśuka is an independent collection of verses which are unique as devotional outpourings centred round young Kṛṣṇa. Here ecstatic devotional poetry registers a high watermark. From South India, where it was produced, this work went to the north-east and spread across Bengal and into Assam where, together with Jayadeva’s poem, it became an inspirer of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti.

The leading Sanskrit hymnists of South Indian Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism are: Śrīvatsānka who wrote Pañcastavi; Parāśara who wrote Śrīgūṇa-ratnakosa; and the most prolific Veṅkaṭanātha Deśika. Madhvācārya’s Dvādaśa-stotra has appealing, devotional, and didactic aspects. In the field of Devī worship, canonical significance combined with high poetic quality attaches to four sets of hymns: the Lalitā-stavaratna or Āryādviṣati ascribed to Durvāsas; the much commented upon Saundarya-lahari associated with Śaṅkara; the Devī-paṇcastavi, a pentad comprising the Laghu-, Carcā-, Ghaṭa-, Ambā-, and Sakalajananī-stavas, some of which have commentaries, and the five satakas on the Goddess Kāmākṣi at Kāṇchi, the Pañcaśati written by Mūka Kavi. Regarded as dumb, Mūka Kavi is said to have broken into verse by the grace of the Goddess. Vallabhācārya, Viṭṭhala, and Haridāsa enriched the Puṣṭi school with their hymns on Kṛṣṇa, and Rūpa Gosvāmin enriched the Caitanya sampradāya (school).

The versatile Appaya Dīksita wrote hymns expounding Śaivite doctrines; but he also contributed some that were notable for their poetic and devotional qualities. Among these are the Varadarāja-stava; Mānasollāsa, and the Ātmarpaṇastuti. His brother’s grandson, the poet Nilakanṭha Dīksita, wrote Śivotkārṣamaṇjari and the Ananda-sāgara-stava on the Goddess Mākṣi in Madurai. Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha’s five laharis are praises and prayers addressed to Śūrya, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Lakṣmī, and Viṣṇu. An exclusive Rāma hymnist was Rāmabhadrā Dīksita of Tanjore (c. 1700) who wrote several stotras on Rāma. There was also Śrīdhara Venkaṭesa, of the same time and village as Rāmabhadrā Dīksita, who was the author of several hymns, including a notable one on the Lord’s name. He was, in fact, one of those who revitalized the bhajana tradition and nāma-siddhānta (recitation of the Lord’s name) in Tamil country.
Kerala’s gift to hymnology is the long poem Nārāyanīya by the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīrī (1560–1646). It is at once a hymn to the deity at the great shrine of Guruvayur, the Tirupati of Kerala, and a résumé of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Associated with a miracle, it is widely used in devout daily reading and recitation in Kerala, and today its influence is spreading beyond that area.

This account of devotional poetry will not be complete without at least a mention of the more famous among the Jaina stotras: Akalaṅka’s Āṣṭaka; Vidyānanda’s Brhat-paṇcanamaskāra-stotra; Samantabhadra’s Stutividyā; Mānatuṅga’s Bhaktāmarā; Siddhasena Divākara’s Kalyāṇa-mandira; and the hymns by Hemacandra, Dhanapāla, and Śobhana. Jaina authors used their hymns for doctrinal exposition, and also as a means of exhibiting their skill and as ingenious literary exercises.

**WOMEN WRITERS AND ROYAL POETS AND PATRONS OF SANSKRIT**

At least in the classical ages, Sanskrit education was common among women. Thus, Sanskrit literature was cultivated not by men alone, but by women too. From the anthologies and other literary evidence, we know of several poetesses whose verses, if not works, are preserved in citation. The foremost of these is Vijjikā or Vijayāṅkā, a Karṇaṭaka princess. Next come Śīlā Bhaṭṭārikā, Vīkṣaṇitambā, Mārulā, Morīkā, Indulekhā, Prabhudevi, Subhadrā, Avantisundarī, and several others. In medieval and modern times, too, the line of women writers in Sanskrit has continued. In South India the works of some of them have been preserved. These are: the Madhurā-vijaya or the Vīrakamparāya-carita by the Vijayanagara queen Gaṅgādevī (fourteenth century); the Varadāmbikā-parinaya by Tirumalāmbā of the Vijayanagara court (sixteenth century), and Raghunāṭhābhayudaya by Rāmahadrāmbā of the Tanjore court (seventeenth century).

The kings who patronized the poetry we have reviewed were not mere passive patrons. The system of education for a prince in ancient India included the study of Sanskrit literature. Indeed, several important works have come down in the names of kings; and the greatest of these is King Bhoja of Dhārā (eleventh century). One might naturally expect that the royal connoisseurs, sitting with the poets and enjoying their verse, would participate in their creative activity. Glimpses of such literary gatherings in courts, the names of kings, and their own verses come to us in works on poetics, such as Kāvyamānsā; in poems, such as the Śrīkanṭha-carita; in Kṣemendra’s minor works of criticism, such as Aucitya-vicāracārca and Kavikanṭhābharaṇa; and in the anthologies. The anthologies, in fact, are windows on much larger fields of literary output in Sanskrit than have survived through the ages. They give us an insight into the works that have been lost and, to those of literary taste, they are companions in reading and enjoying the finest verse of every kind and on every theme, drawn from the whole range of Sanskrit literature. The floating mass
of muktakas (stray verses), handed down orally, were only found in the anthologies. Part of the training of Sanskrit students and scholars was to learn by heart choice and quotable verses on diverse subjects. Everyone had his own store of verse in mind, especially the writer on poetics and dramaturgy, who was able to reel off illustrative verses at will. Some went further by making systematic collections of such verse, and thus the anthologies came into being.

Of the anthologies, the earliest is the Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa made by Vidyākara (1110) of eastern India, which was published by the Harvard University Press in 1957. This was followed by Saduki-karnāmya by Śrīdharadāsa (1205), of the same part of the country. Other anthologies included: the Subhāṣitāvalī by Vallabhadeva of Kashmir; the Sūktimuktāvalī by Jalhaṇa (thirteenth century) who lived under the Yādavas of Devagiri; Śāṅgadhara's Paddhati (1363); the Subhāṣita-sudhānī by Sāyana of Vijayanagara (unpublished); the Sūktiratnāhara by Kāliṅgarāya Śūrya (fourteenth century) of South India; the Padyāmyta-taranā by Haribhāskara; the Padyaveni by Veṇidatta (seventeenth century); the Padya-racanā by Lakṣmaṇa; the Rasika-jivana by Gacādāhara; the Sūkti-sundara by Sundara (seventeenth century); and the Vidyākara-sahasraka by Vidyākara (nineteenth century) of Mithilā.

CONCLUSION

The kāvya literature, being derived from the epics, provided a continuation, differently expressed, of the concepts and values of Indian thought. The total output of kāvya literature during the two and a half millennia of its history is prodigious in quantity and remarkable in variety. Although, according to the principles of Indian aesthetics, Indian writers set no great store by mere originality, this great mass of classical Sanskrit poetry constantly showed new forms, new themes, new modes of expression and treatment. The greatest assets of these poets were the language itself and its wealth of lyrical metre. The great masters of poetry and of prose brought out and developed the latent possibilities for sound offered by the language, and discovered its extraordinary capacity for matching sound and sense. The whole gamut of human emotions was gone through and given expression to; in particular, the possibilities for expressions of love seemed inexhaustible. In drawing miniatures of moods, in depicting men and women in a variety of human situations, in recreating scenes from nature, the Sanskrit poet was a consummate artist.

Despite the barriers of language and unfamiliar forms, the kāvya literature has today reached out, directly and through translation, to the wider readership of the world, and the readers are held primarily by the qualities of humanism and universality which Sanskrit literature presents. While the Upaniṣads and

2. D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gobhale, eds.
their philosophy have strongly appealed to the modern West, the kāvyā literature, the product of the same spirit of Vedānta, the same integration of man, nature, and the universe, expressed in the more universal medium of art, does not fail to evoke a similar response.

It is significant that, along with the Bhagavad-Gītā, the first Sanskrit classic to be translated into English was Kālidāsa’s Śakuntalā. The poems and plays of Kālidāsa and Śūdraka, the fables of the Pañcatantra, the lyrics of Amaru and Jayadeva, the prose of Bāṇa and Daṇḍin, these are the glistening white mountain peaks in the great range of Sanskrit literary achievement. The fact is that great range is no less than the range of human nature, and in the subhāṣītas, with brevity and pointed expression, the innate wisdom of the pure human mind shines forth, with few parallels in world literature.
SANSKRIT DRAMA: GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

SIR William Jones, by his translation of Kālidāsa’s Śakuntalā in 1789, introduced Sanskrit drama to the West and created a critical interest in the study of Sanskrit literature. Since then the labours of Sanskritists have gradually made available most of the important works of Sanskrit drama, which can now be legitimately regarded as one of the most interesting products of the Indian mind and as one of India’s finest national heritages.

The number of Sanskrit plays, which have been printed or which still exist in manuscript form, exceeds six hundred; but most of these are inferior and imitative productions belonging to comparatively recent times. The extant masterpieces of Sanskrit drama belong to the flourishing period of Sanskrit literature, which is usually regarded as extending roughly from the fourth to the twelfth century of the Christian era. Recent researches have, however, shown that the extant literature probably does not give a proper indication of its great antiquity. Kālidāsa himself records the names of some of his famed predecessors, while dramatic fragments, belonging to the early Kuśāna period, have been discovered in Central Asia. One of these fragments is actually the work of Aśva-ghośa, whom the Buddhist tradition places as the court poet of Kuṇaśka. This evidence, though meagre, is extremely important, for even at its first appearance the Indian drama reveals a relatively perfected form and indicates that it must have had a long history behind it. This history, unfortunately, cannot be traced today, for the earlier specimens which might have enabled us to do this appear to have perished in the course of time. The orthodox account of the origin of Sanskrit drama, by describing it as a gift from heaven in the form of a developed art discovered by the divine sage, Bharata, envelops it in an impenetrable mist of myth; while modern scholarship, professing to find the earliest manifestations of the dramatic idea in the dialogue-hymns of the Rg-Veda, and presupposing a development of the dramatic form from the religious after the manner of Greek drama, shrouds its origin in a still greater mist of speculation. The various modern theories, again, of the original ‘shadow-play’ or ‘puppet-play’ do not stand up to critical examination in the light of historical facts. The lack of exact dates still precludes a definite conclusion. Nevertheless, references in early literature indicate that drama of some kind probably existed at least as early as the fourth century B.C., although there is nothing extant which bears the same relation to the classical drama as the earlier epics do to the later classical epics.
SANSKRIT DRAMA: GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

NO GREEK INFLUENCE

There cannot be any doubt that Sanskrit drama, either in its origin or in its development, did not receive the necessary impetus from the contact of Greece with India. Even if certain striking parallels and coincidences may be admitted between the Greek and the Sanskrit drama, the search for positive signs of influence has only produced a negative result. There are so many fundamental differences that borrowing or influence is out of the question, and the affinities should be regarded as independent developments. Sanskrit drama is essentially of the romantic rather than of the classical type, and affords greater points of resemblance to Elizabethan than to Greek drama. The unities of time and place are entirely disregarded between acts as well as within acts. Twelve years may elapse between one act and another, and the time-limit of an act often exceeds twenty-four hours, while the scene may easily shift from earth to heaven. Romantic legendary elements are freely introduced; tragi-comedy or melodrama is not infrequent; verse is regularly mixed with prose; puns and other verbal manipulations are often favoured. There is no chorus, but there is a metrical benediction and a prologue, which are integral parts of the play and set the plot in motion. Certain dramatic devices, such as the introduction of a play within a play and the use of a token of recognition, are common, while a parallel to the vidūṣaka is found in the Elizabethan Fool. There is no limit in Sanskrit drama to the number of characters, who may be either divine, semi-divine or human. The plot might be taken from legend or from history, but it might also be drawn from contemporary life and manners. With only rare exceptions, the main interest almost invariably centres round a love-story, love being the only passion which forms the dominant theme of such romantic dramas. Special structures of a square, rectangular or triangular shape for the presentation of plays are described in the Nāṭya-śāstra, but they have little resemblance to the Greek or modern theatre and must have been evolved independently. Very often, plays appear to have been enacted in the music-hall of the royal palace, and there were probably no special contrivances, elaborate stage-properties or even scenery in the ordinary sense of the word. The lack of these theatrical make-shifts was made up by the imagination of the audience, which was aided by a profusion of verses describing the imaginary surroundings, by mimetic action, and by an elaborate system of gestures possessing a conventional significance.

AESTHETIC IDEALS: EVOCATION OF A RASA

Besides these more or less formal requirements, there are some important features which fundamentally distinguish Sanskrit drama from all other dramas. The aim of the Sanskrit dramatists, who were mostly idealists in outlook, was not to mirror life by a direct portrayal of action or character, but to evoke a particular sentiment (rasa) in the mind of the audience, be it amatory, heroic
or quietistic. As this was regarded, both in theory and practice, to be the sole object of the dramatic art, everything else was secondary; complications were to be avoided so that they would not divert the mind from an appreciation of the sentiment. A well-known theme, towards which the viewer’s mind would of itself be inclined, was normally preferred; the poet’s skill was concerned entirely with the developing of its emotional possibilities. The criticism, therefore, that the Sanskrit dramatist showed little fertility in the invention of plots may be just, but it fails to take into account this defined object of Sanskrit drama.

Thus, Sanskrit drama came to possess an atmosphere of sentiment and poetry, which was conducive to an idealistic creation in subordination of action and characterization, but which in the works of lesser dramatists overshadowed all that was dramatic. The analogy is to be found in Indian painting and sculpture, which avoid the crude realism of bones and muscles and concentrate exclusively on spiritual expression, but which often degenerate into specimens of empty stylization. This, of course, does not mean that reality was entirely banished; but the sentimental and poetic envelopment certainly retarded the growth of the purely dramatic elements. It is for this reason that sentimental verses, couched in a great variety of lyrical measures and often strangely undramatic, preponderate, prose parts merely acting as a connecting link, to purvey information, or to carry forward the story. Dialogue was, therefore, more or less neglected in favour of lyrical stanzas, to which its very flatness made an effective contrast. The absence of scenic aids, no doubt, needed these stanzas to suggest the scene or the situation to the imagination of the audience and to evoke the proper sentiment; but the method progressively enhanced the lyric and emotional tendencies of the drama, and elegance and refinement were as much encouraged as in poetry. It also follows from this sentimental and romantic bias that typical characters were generally preferred to individual figures. This does not mean that the ideal heroic characters were all represented as devoid of common humanity. Cārudatta, for instance, is not just a marvel of eminent virtues, but a well-balanced man of the world, whose remarkable qualities were softened by an equally remarkable touch of humanity; nor is Dusyanta merely a typical lover prescribed by convention. At the same time, there was a tendency to indulge in generalizations and a reluctance to deviate from the type. It meant an indifference to individuality, and consequently to realistic characterization, plot and action; also a corresponding proneness towards idealization with the result that Sanskrit drama, as a rule, had to make frequent use of such accessories as lyric, dance, music, song, and mimetic art. As there is, thus, a fundamental difference in the respective conception of drama, most Sanskrit plays, judged by modern standards, would not be regarded as dramas in the strict
sense of the word, but rather as dramatic poems. In some authors, the sense of the dramatic became hopelessly lost in their ever-increasing striving after the sentimental and the poetic; and they often made the mistake of choosing lyric or epic subjects which were hardly capable of proper dramatic treatment. It is not surprising, therefore, that a modern critic should accept only Mudrārākṣasa, in the whole range of Sanskrit dramatic literature, as a drama proper. This is indeed an extreme attitude, for the authors of the Abhījñāna-Sākuntala and the Mṛchakatīka knew very well that they were composing dramas and not merely a set of elegant poetical passages; but this view brings out very clearly the characteristic aims and limitations of Sanskrit drama. There is, however, an advantage which is not often seen in the modern practical productions. The pulsating breath of poetry and romance animates Sanskrit drama; it does not represent human beings under ordinary commonplace circumstances; it has often the higher poetic authenticity, which is no less attractive in revealing the beauty, as well as the depth, of human character; and even when its dramatic qualities are poor, it appeals by the richness of its poetry.

GENERAL ATMOSPHERE

As the achievement of concord and harmony was a necessary corollary to the ideal character of the drama, nothing was allowed to be represented on the stage which might offend the sensibility of the audience and detract from the suggestion of the desired sentiment by inauspicious, frivolous, or undesirable details. This rule regarding the observance of stage-decencies included, among other things, the prohibition that death should not be exhibited on the stage. This restriction, as well as the serene attitude of the Indian mind towards life, made it difficult for the dramatist to depict tragedy in its deeper sense or comedy in its higher forms. Pathetic episodes, dangers, and difficulties were allowed to contribute to the unfolding of the plot with a view to the evoking of the desired sentiment, but in the final ending discord was totally ruled out. The poetic justice of the European drama was not permissible in Sanskrit. Dramatic conflict hardly received a full or logical scope; and the dictum was that all should end well by the achievement of all-round happiness and reunion. There are indeed exceptions to this general rule; the Uṛubahāṅga has a tragic ending. There were also instances where the rule was obeyed in the letter but not in spirit; for Vasantasenā's apparent murder in the Mṛchakatīka occurs on the stage, and a dead person is restored to life on the stage in the Nāgānanda. Nevertheless, the injunction makes Bhavabhūti alter the tragic ending of the Rāmāyaṇa into one of happy union, while the sublimity of the self-sacrifice of Jīmūtavāhana, which suggests real tragedy, ends in a somewhat lame denouement of divine intervention and complete and immediate reward of virtue at the end. In Western drama, death overshadows
everything and, by its loss of hope, forms the chief ingredient of poignant tragedy; the Indian dramatist, no less pessimistic in his belief in the inexorable law of Karma, does not deny death, but, finding in it a condition of renewal of life, can hardly regard it in the same tragic light.

TRAGEDY AND SANSKRIT DRAMA

It is, however, not correct to say that Sanskrit drama entirely excludes tragedy. What it really does is to exclude the direct representation of death, and to insist upon a happy ending. It recognizes a form of tragedy in its pathetic sentiment and in the portrayal of separation in love; tragic interest strongly dominates some of the great plays. In the Mrçchkaññika and the Abhijnāna-Sanquñala, for instance, tragedy does not indeed occur at the end, but it occurs in the middle, and in the Uttara-Rāma-carita where tragic interest prevails throughout, it occurs in an intensive form at the beginning of the play. The theorists appeared to maintain that there is no tragedy in the mere fact of death; in itself, it is a disgusting, terrible, or undignified spectacle inimical to aesthetic pleasure. Grim realism, in their view, did not exalt but debase the mind, and thereby caused a disturbance of the romantic setting. They held that tragedy either precedes or follows the fact of death, which need not be visually represented, but the effect of which may be utilized for evoking tragic pathos. It appears, therefore, that tragedy was not totally neglected, but it was often subordinated to other sentiments and was thus left comparatively undeveloped. Nevertheless, the very condition of happy ending makes much of the tragedy of Sanskrit drama unconvincing. In spite of the unmistakable tone of earnestness, the certainty of reunion appears to present the pathos of temporary separation as a needlessly exaggerated sentimentality.

PRODUCTION FOR CULTURED PEOPLE

There were also certain other conditions and circumstances which seriously affected the growth of Sanskrit drama. From the very beginning, this drama appears to have moved in a cultured environment, having been fostered by the patronage of the wealthy or in the courts of princes; like Sanskrit poetry, it believed in a tradition which insisted upon literature being a learned pursuit. Even if it did not lack high, serious interests, the drama naturally reflected the graces and the artificialities of courtly life; and its exuberant fancy was quite in keeping with the taste which prevailed in this environment. In the course of time, the canons of poetics and dramaturgy reduced this taste into elaborate stereotyped conventions, and there was a gradual preference for the subtle and the exquisitely contrived to the fervently warm and the spontaneous. The dramatist became an impeccable master of his craft, but he seldom transported his audience. The drama gained in refinement and elegance but lost
its accent of passion and freshness; and in the constant striving after sentimental effects nothing remained in the end but tortured ingenuity and a luxuriance of diction.

One result of this sequestering of drama for the pleasure of the cultured audience was that in the course of time there developed a distinct cleavage between urban sophisticated drama and real life with its unfettered directness. This is seen not only in the stilted and unconvincing diction of later dramas but also in its limitation of form and theme to epic or legendary cycles of stories or to fictitious amourettes of court-life, in its more conscious inclination towards the elegance of the language and sentiment and in the more pronounced absence of direct experience and dramatic originality. The heroic (or rather pseudo-heroic) and erotic drama of a distinctly abstract kind alone survived, with only a meagre surplus of plays of other kinds. Theoretically, middle-class life was not excluded, but the excessive poetic atmosphere in which Bhavabhūti represents it indicates the attitude; common life was ignored or left to inferior talents, whose productions naturally passed, in the course of time, into oblivion. Although various types of drama were theoretically distinguished, few old specimens have survived, making the question purely academic.

THE URBANITY OF SANSKRIT DRAMA

But it is not court life alone nor the elegant poetic conventions of the sahṛdaya (aesthete) which inspired the drama. Its dominant love-motif is explained by the fact that at its centre stood the nāgaraka, the much-sought-after polished man about town, whose recognition was eagerly coveted and whose culture, tastes, and habits it naturally reflected. Apart from the picture we get of him in the literature itself, we have a vivid, if somewhat heightened, sketch of an ancient prototype of the nāgaraka in the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana. The pessimism of the Buddhistic ideal had disappeared, replaced by more accommodating views about the pleasure principle. Even the Buddhist author of the Nāgānanda does not disdain to weave a love-theme into the lofty story of Jīmūtavāhana’s self-sacrifice; and in his benedictory verse he does not hesitate to represent Buddha as being railed at for his hard-heartedness by the ladies of Māra’s train. This revaluation of life brought in its wake a general demand for polish, culture, and luxury. The people could heartily enjoy the good things of this world, while firmly believing in the next. If pleasure with refinement was sought for in life, pleasure with elegance was demanded in art. It is natural, therefore, that the love theme of this literature seldom transports or moves deeply by means of its joys or its sorrows; for love is conceived not in its depth or plenitude but in its playful moods of enjoyment, as an artistic emotion, not individual but impersonalized in accordance with the theory of codified sentiment. It is true that the love plots, which predominate
in the drama, are not allowed to degenerate into portrayals of the petty domestic squabbles of a polygamic system, but the dramatists often contented themselves with the developing of the commonplace erotic possibilities by a stereotyped sentimental pattern of love, jealousy, parting, and reunion.

PREDOMINANT TONES

Although the theorists laid down an elaborate classification for the various categories of sentiments, it is curious to note that in practice the sentiments that were usually favoured were the heroic and the erotic, with an occasional suggestion of the exotic. This accords well with the ideal and romantic character of the drama as well as with the miraculous and supernatural elements which were freely introduced. The comic, under the circumstances, hardly received proper treatment. Even in heroic or lofty subjects, an erotic underplot was often woven; and in the course of time, the erotic dominated every other sentiment, and became the exclusive prevailing theme. Sanskrit playwrights took delight in minutely analysing the diversities of the amatory condition and in arranging into divisions and sub-divisions, according to rank, character, circumstances and the like, all the conceivable types of the hero, the heroine, their assistants, and abettors, as well as the different shades of their feelings and gestures. These afford ample opportunities for exuberant lyrical stanzas. This technical analysis and the authority of the theorists led to the establishment of fixed rules and rigid conventions and resulted in a unique growth of refined artificiality.

There was a great deal of scholastic formalism in the dramatic theory of sentiment, which had a prejudicial effect on the practice of the dramatist. The fixed category of eight or nine sentiments, the subordination to them of a large number of transitory emotions, the classification of determinants and consequences, the various devices to help the movement of intrigue, the normative fixing of dramatic junctures or stages in accordance with the various emotional states, no doubt, indicate considerable power of empirical analysis and subtlety; but, generally speaking, this scholastic pedantry concerned itself more with fortuitous events than with essentials. One conspicuous drawback of the theory, which had a practical effect on the development of the drama as drama, lay in the fact that it enforced concentration of the sentiment round the hero or the heroine, and did not permit its sharing by the hero’s rival, who therefore became an inferior character at every point. The theorists were aware of the value of contrast. To preserve the usual romantic atmosphere, the ideal heroes were often contrasted with vicious antagonists. But the possibility was ignored of making an effective dramatic creation of the antagonist (like Rāvaṇa, for instance), who thus often became a stupid or boastful villain. Sanskrit drama was thereby deprived of one of the most important motifs of real dramatic conflict.
In practice the theory of sentiment confined itself, with a few notable exceptions, to the elaboration of the sentiment of love, which alone came to be the dominant theme of this romantic drama. The exceptions refer to the Mudrā-rākṣasa of Viśākhadatta, the Veyūsaṇīhāra of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and the Nāgānanda of Śrīharṣa. The first of these is a remarkable drama in seven acts, which has only one minor female character and which concerns itself with interests other than love. It is a drama of political intrigue, in which the action takes the form of a game of skill, and the interest is made to depend on the plots and counterplots of two rival politicians. One may wonder if such a subject is enough to absorb the attention of the audience; but the action of the play never flags, the characters are admirably drawn, and the diction is clear, forceful, and direct. In spite of its somewhat prosaic theme and cast, it is undoubtedly one of the great Sanskrit plays; but as it does not conform to the standard model, its merits have never been fully appreciated. The same remarks, however, do not apply to the second drama mentioned above, which has a little ineffective love-interest, but which really attempts in six acts to dramatize a well-known epic episode from the Mahābhārata. The work is faithful to dramaturgic rules, but narrative details hamper the action and mar the result of an otherwise good characterization. There is enough of fire and energy, horror and pathos, but the diction is laboured and the general effect wholly undramatic. The play is a good example of that peculiar kind of half-poetic and half-dramatic composition, which may be called declamatory drama; and it shares all the merits and defects of this class of work. The third five-act play Nāgānanda, which dramatizes the obviously Buddhist legend of the self-sacrifice of Jīmūtavāhana, differs from the ordinary Sanskrit play both in its theme and inspiration. It admits an erotic underplot, which describes the love of the hero for Malayavatī, but it is rather loosely connected with the main theme. The drama freely introduces the supernatural and the miraculous, and concerns itself with the lofty emotions of charity, magnanimity, resolution, and sacrifice; but the dramatic conflict is somewhat feebly presented, and neither the action nor the characterization creates effective dramatic interest.

DRAMAS OF LOVE: A POPULAR GENRE

Śrīharṣa’s two other dramas, the Rataṇāvalī and the Priyaḍarśikā, effectively but conventionally devised in plot, are elegant little plays dealing with the overworked love-intrigues of royal courts. Each is based on one of the numerous amourettes of the gay and courtly lover Udayana, the semi-historical beau ideal of popular tales. The hero is depicted as a care-free and courteous gentleman with a great capacity for falling in and out of love; while the heroines are rather faintly drawn ingénues with nothing but good looks and a willingness to
be loved by the incorrigible royal lover. The stock theme of the progress of the love-intrigue and its denouement in the ultimate discovery of the princely status of the lowly maiden has little that is original or absorbing. The theme must have been popularized by Kālidāsa’s Mālavikāgnimitra, a presumably youthful production of the great poet; but in this play the motif is not yet defined; it is a light-hearted comedy in which the passionate impetuosity and jealousy of the discarded Irāvatī are finely set off against the subdued dignity and magnanimity of queen Dhārini. More effectively devised in plot, however, is the Svapna-Vāsavadatta attributed to Bhāsa, which deals in six acts with the same theme of courtly love but rises above its banality; for the motif of the dream in this play is finely conceived, the characters of the two heroines are more successfully differentiated, and the gay old lover of Harṣa’s dramas is figured as a more serious, if somewhat love-sick and imaginative, lover. The main interest of the play lies in the dramatic skill and delicacy with which the feelings of Vāsavadattā are depicted, to whose noble and steadfast love no sacrifice is too great; while her willing martyrdom is set off by the equally true, but helpless, love of Udayana, a victim of divided affections and the demands of statecraft. It is a drama of fine sentiments; the movement is smooth, measured, and dignified; and the treatment, brisk and forceful, is free from the intrusion of melodrama, or of rant and rhetoric, to which such sentimental plays often incline.

Of the other so-called Bhāsa plays, the Pratimā and the Abhiseka give us, in seven and six acts respectively, dramatizations of the time-worn Rāma story, just as the five-act Bālacarita is a less extensive but similar attempt applied to the legends of the youthful Krṣṇa; while the Avimāraka in six acts is interesting for its more refreshing plot, based probably on folk-tale, of the love of a plebeian for a princess; but it has a rather flat denouement of a happy marriage and a melodramatic set-up in which the hero seeks to commit suicide twice and the heroine once. The Mahāvīra-carita of Bhavabhūti, the two Rāma dramas of Murāri and Jayadeva respectively, and the enormous Mahānātaka on the same theme, which is anonymous and exists in more than one recension, have some poetic but little dramatic interest. The two South Indian dramas, the Āścaṇa-cūḍāmani of Śaktibhadra and the Kunda-mālā of Dhiranāga (or Vīranāga), exhibit no remarkable peculiarities other than the utilizing of the pretty device of a mark of recognition (abhiyāna), which is so familiar in Sanskrit drama. It is also not necessary to linger over the rather insipid plays of Rājaśekhara, which deal with stories from the two great epics. His Viddhajāla-bhaṇjikā and Prakrit Karpūramaṇjari, both of which are light-hearted conventional plays of court-life in four acts, are hardly above the level of Śrīharṣa’s two plays on the same subject; for Rājaśekhara was more concerned with elegant exercises in versification than with real poetry or dramatic values. Most of the Rāma dramas
in Sanskrit suffer from the error of choosing an epic theme for the drama and of preferring types to individuals.

**SOME POPULAR PLAYS**

More interesting are the *Mālati-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti and the *Vikramorvaśīya* of Kālidāsa, both of which are indeed immature productions of their respective authors but mark a departure in some respects from the conventional erotic plays mentioned earlier. The *Mālati-Mādhava*, the less poetical of the two plays, has yet an interesting, if somewhat loosely constructed, plot, some comic relief and contrasted situations, some touch of the unearthly and supernatural; but there is little individuality either in the hero or the heroine, who are of the conventional type of sentimental lovers. There is, however, a great deal of tenderness and pathos in Bhavabhūti’s picture of youthful passion, which reaches its most mature and mellow expression in his *Uttara-Rāma-carita*. The setting here passes from royal courts to a more plebeian atmosphere; it is the story in ten acts, of the love of Mālatī, daughter of a cabinet minister, and Mādhava, a young student. While much of the talk of love and grief in this drama is unconvincing, Bhavabhūti appears to be far more serious than most light-hearted Sanskrit poets, and the intense poetic quality of his erotic verses relieves their banality. The intensity of undisciplined passion and its poetical possibilities, which Bhavabhūti so forcefully describes, are, however, seen in a more poetical and poignant form in the frantic search of Purūravas for Urvaśī in the fourth act of the *Vikramorvaśīya*. It depicts in five acts the romantic story of the love of a mortal for a nymph, of which the earliest version is found in a hymn of eighteen stanzas in the tenth book of the *Rg-Veda*. Though melodramatic in places and weak in its denouement, the drama reaches lyrical heights in the description of the king’s ardent but hopeless passion. There is hardly anything else remarkable in the drama but for this lyric passion of great intensity, which, however, makes it unique.

It has been said by a critic of Sanskrit drama that Kālidāsa, as well as Bhavabhūti, showed no interest in the great problems of life and destiny. While this criticism may be applied to the dramas mentioned above, in which we have nothing but unrelieved individual passion, it is not true of the respective masterpieces of these great dramatists, in which love is taken as a factor of a larger life and is envisaged in its fulness. The *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala* of Kālidāsa, which represents the perfection of his art, is not based on the mere banality of a court-intrigue but gives us a picture of love, at first youthful and heedless, but soon purified by suffering and gaining in depth and beauty by tribulation of the spirit. Contrasted with the *Mālati-Mādhava* and *Vikramorvaśīya*, the suffering of the hero and the heroine in this drama is far more human, far more real; for love here is no longer an explosive emotion, ending in a frame of mind akin
to madness, but a deep and steadfast feeling, or rather a developing emotional experience, ending in an abiding spiritual enrichment.

KĀLIDĀSA'S ABHĪJÑĀNA-SĀKUNTALĀ

The drama opens with a description of the vernal season, made for enjoyment (upabhoga-ksama); and even in the hermitage where thoughts of love are out of place, the season extends its witchery and makes the minds of the young hero and heroine turn lightly to such forbidden thoughts. At the outset we find Śākuntalā, an adopted child of nature, in the daily occupation of tending the friendly trees and creepers and watching them grow and bloom, herself a youthful blossom, her mind delicately attuned to the sights and sounds in which she had grown up since her desertion by her amatūra (non-human) mother. In this scene appears the more sophisticated royal hero, full of pride of youth and power, but with a noble presence which inspires love and confidence; possessed of a scrupulous regard for rectitude, but susceptible withal to rash youthful impulses; considerate of others and alive to the dignity and responsibility of his high station, but accustomed to every fulfilment of his wishes and extremely self-confident in the promptings of his own heart. He is egoistic enough to believe that everything he wishes must be right, and everything happens as he wishes it. In his impetuous desire to gain what he wants, he does not even think it necessary to wait for the return of Kaṇva. It was easy for him to carry the young girl off her feet; for though brought up in the peaceful seclusion and stern discipline of a hermitage, she was yet possessed of a natural inward longing for the love and happiness which were due to her youth and beauty. Though fostered by a sage and herself the daughter of an ascetic, she was yet the daughter of a nymph whose intoxicating beauty had once conquered the austere and formidable Viśvāmitra. This beauty and this power she had inherited from her mother, as well as an inborn intelligence and a desire for love. Is she not going to make her own conquest over this great king ? For such youthful lovers, love can never think of the morrow, it can only think of the moment. All was easy at first; the secret union to which they committed themselves obtains the ratification of the foster-father. But soon she realizes the futility of taking love as an end in itself, of making the moment stand for eternity. The suffering comes as swiftly and unexpectedly as the happiness was headlong and heedless.

To these thoughtless lovers the curse of Durvāsas comes to play the part of a stern but beneficent providence. With high hopes, and unaware of the impending catastrophe, she leaves for the house of her king-lover, tenderly bidding farewell to her sylvan friends, who seem to be filled with an unconscious anxiety for her; but very soon she finds herself standing utterly humiliated in the eyes of the world. Her grief, remorse, and self-pity are aggravated by the accusation of unseemly haste and secrecy from Gautami, as well as by the stern rebuke
of Śāṅgara: ‘Thus does one's heedlessness lead to disaster!’ But the unkindest cut comes from her lover himself, who insultingly refers to instincts of feminine shrewdness and compares her, without knowing, to the turbid flood which drags others also in its fall. Irony in drama or in life can go no further. But the daughter of a nymph as she was, she had also the spirit of her fierce and austere father, and she ultimately emerges triumphant from the ordeal of sorrow.

She does stand up for her rights, but comes to realize that she has lost all in her gamble for happiness and that wordy warfare is useless. She could not keep her lover by her youth and beauty alone. She bows to the inevitable; and chastened and transformed by patient suffering, she wins back in the end her husband and her happiness. But the king is as yet oblivious of what is in store for him. Still arrogant, ironical, and self-confident, he wonders who the veiled lady might be; her beauty draws him as irresistibly as it once did, and yet his sense of rectitude forbids any improper thought. But his punishment comes in due course; for he was the greater culprit for having dragged the unsophisticated girl from her sylvan surroundings and left her unwittingly in the mire. When the ring of recognition is recovered, he realizes the gravity of his act. Her resigned and reproachful form now haunts him and gives him no peace in the midst of his royal duties; and his utter helplessness in rendering any reparation makes his grief more intense and poignant. The scene now changes from earth to heaven, from the hermitage of Kāṇva and the court of the king to the penance-grove of Mārica; love that was of the earth, changes into love that is spiritual and divine. The strangely estranged pair are again brought together equally strangely, but not until they have passed through the baptism of sorrow and become ready for a perfect reunion of hearts. There is no explanation, no apology, no recrimination, nor any demand for reparation. Sākuntalā has now learnt in silence the lessons of her suffering; and with his former self-complacency and impetuous desires left behind, the king becomes chastened and subdued, a wiser and sadder man. The young year's blossom now ripens into the mellow fruit of autumnal maturity.

BHAVABHUTI'S UTTARA-RĀMA-CARITA

Through the same chastening influence of sorrow, the Uttara-Rāma-carita of Bhavabhūti idealizes conjugal love in a way which is unparalleled in Sanskrit, or perhaps in any literature. It depicts in seven acts the later history of Rāma; and Bhavabhūti's literary characteristics may be studied to the best advantage in this work, which reaches no high level as a drama but which undoubtedly ranks high as a dramatic poem. Bhavabhūti derives his main theme from the Rāmāyana, but to suit his dramatic purpose he does not hesitate to depart in many points from the authoritative epic original. The conception, for instance, of the picture-gallery scene, derived probably from a hint supplied by Kālidāsa,
and of the invisible presence of Sītā in a spirit form during Rāma’s visit to Paṇcavaṇṭi, of Rāma’s meeting with Vāsanti and confession, the fight between Lava and Candraketu, the visit of Vaśiṣṭha and others to Vālmiki’s hermitage, and the enactment of a play on Rāma’s later history composed by Vālmiki, are skilful details which are invented for the proper development of his dramatic theme, as well as for the fullest expression of his poetic powers. Bhavabhūti’s principal problem here is not the creation but the adequate motivation of an already accepted story. While not monotonously adhering to his original, he accepts for his particular dramatic purpose the epic outlines of a half-mythical and half-human legend of bygone days, which had already taken its hold on the popular imagination by its pathos and poetry; but he reshapes it freely with appropriate romantic and poetical situations, which bring out all the ideal and dramatic implications of the story. In taking up the theme of conjugal love as a form of pure, tender, and spiritual affection ripening into an abiding passion, Bhavabhūti must have realized that its beauty and charm could be best brought out by avoiding the uncongenial realism of contemporary life and going back to the poetry and idealism of olden days. It was not his purpose to draw the figures on his canvas on the generous and heroic scale of the epic; he wanted to add to the ancient tale an intensity of human feeling and a genuine emotional tone which should transform an old-world legend into one of everyday experience, the story of high ideals into a tale of vivid reality.

Bhavabhūti’s Rāma and Sītā are from the beginning a man and a woman of more strenuous and deeper experience than Duṣyanta and his woodland love. In the opening act, which has been praised so often and which strikes the keynote of the drama, the newly-crowned king of Ayodhya, with his beloved spouse and his ever faithful brother, looks over pictures which recall the poignant scenes of their past sorrow. This scene, which is made the occasion for the tender and deep attachment of Rāma and Sītā to show itself, also heightens by contrast the grief of separation which immediately follows. There is a fine note of tragic irony not only in Rāma’s assurance that such a separation as they had suffered would never happen again, in Lakṣmaṇa’s inadvertent allusion to the fire-ordeal and Rāma’s instant declaration of his disbelief in baseless rumours, but also in Sītā’s passionate clinging to the memories of past joy and sorrow on the verge of a still more cruel fate. The blow comes just at a moment when the tired, confiding Sītā falls asleep in the arms of her husband, who is lost in his own thoughts of love. When the cup of happiness, full to the brim, was raised to his lips, it was dashed from Rāma’s hand; and one can understand the breakdown which immediately follows in the conflict between his love and his stern sense of kingly duty. With the responsibilities of the State newly laid on his shoulders, Rāma is perhaps more self-exacting than just to himself and his beloved. But having abandoned the faithful and dear wife, who was his constant
companion ever since childhood, his suffering knows no bounds. Both his royal and personal pride is deeply wounded by the thought that such an unthinkable stain should attach to the purity of his great love and to the purity of the royal name he bears.

The scene of the next two acts is laid in the familiar setting of Dandaka and Paścavāṭi, which Rāma revisits. Ten years have elapsed; his sorrow has mellowed down; but he is still loyal and devoted to the memory of his banished wife. The sorrow, which has become deep-seated, is made alive with the recollection of their early experience of married love in those forests, where even in exile they had been happy. The situation is dramatically heightened by making the pale, sorrowing but resigned Sītā appear in a spirit form, unseen by mortals, an unwilling but happy listener to the confessions which her husband makes to Vāsanti of his love and fidelity. Unknown to each other, the reconciliation of hearts is now complete; and with an admirable delicacy of touch the dramatist describes her gradual but generous surrender to the proof that, though harsh, he deeply loves her and has suffered no less. The denouement of reunion is only a logical development of this scene; and the recognition scene in Act IV, in which Bhavabhūti, like Kālidāsa, represents the offspring as the crown of wedded love, forms a natural psychological climax leading to it.

Bhavabhūti praises himself for his ‘mastery of speech’ and claims merit for ‘felicity and richness of expression as well as depth of meaning’; and the praise that he claims for himself is fully deserved. The qualities in which he excels are his power of vivid and often rugged description, the nobility and earnestness of his conception, a genuine emotional tone, and a love for all that is deep and poignant as well as grand and awe-inspiring in life and nature. Contrasted with Kālidāsa, he lacks grace and polish and a fastidious technical finish. He is interested not in studied reticence but in full and forthright statements, not in restrained elegance but freedom of fancy. This would explain, to a certain extent, why his so-called dramas are in reality dramatic poems, and his plot a string of incidents or pictures without any real unity. Bhavabhūti cannot write in a lighter vein; he takes his subject too seriously. He has little humour, but enough of dramatic irony. He can hardly attain perfect artistic disinterestedness, too often merges himself in his subject, and he has too much feeling for the tranquillity of real poetry.

KĀLIDĀSA AND BHAVABHŪTI: A CONTRAST

This characteristic will be better understood if we consider for a moment Bhavabhūti’s treatment of pathos, which has been contrasted with that of Kālidāsa. R. G. Bhandarkar has remarked with insight that while Kālidāsa suggests, Bhavabhūti expresses, and that ‘the characters of the latter, overcome
by force of passion, often weep bitterly, while those of the former simply shed a few tears, if they do so at all. This is nowhere more clear than in the picture of Rāma’s suffering on the eve of Śītā’s exile, drawn respectively by the two poets. Bhavabhūti’s tendency is to elaborate scenes of pathos in the theatrical sense of the word. It is probable that popular taste did not disapprove of such excesses and very few Sanskrit poets, in unthinking allegiance to the accepted theory of sentiment, would have resisted the opportunity of indulging in an outpouring of sentimental prose and verse unmindful of the theory’s emphatic warning that the sentiment should be suggested rather than dealt with in extenso. It never lent its authority to the fatal practice of wordy exaggeration or overstatement. Bhavabhūti, however, like most Sanskrit poets, was unable to stop when enough had been said. He prolongs the description of agony almost to the verge of crudity; he omits no circumstance, no object animate or inanimate which he thinks can add to the effectiveness of the scene. But the method of Kālidāsa, like that of Shakespeare, is different. There is no exaggeration, no long lingering on the subject, no beating out the theme threadbare. Great sorrow uses few words. Not one of those who gather round the body of Cordelia utters a phrase; the emotion is tense, and there is no declamation to work it up. When Kālidāsa’s Rāma hears of the popular rumours about his wife, his heart, tossed in a terrible conflict between love and duty, broke in pieces ‘like the heated iron beaten with a hammer’; but he does not declaim nor faint nor shed a flood of tears. He simply calls his brothers together and declares his stern resolve in a brief and dignified speech, bidding the faithful Laksmana take Śītā, whom he does not even see, into exile. It is not until Laksmana returns and delivers to him the spirited but sorrowful message of his banished wife that we find the king yielding to the man; but even here his eyes become dim with unshed tears, and only one short verse compresses the whole pity of the situation in just a few words.

Śūdraka’s Mṛcchkaṭāṭka

When we turn from these masterpieces of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti to the third great Sanskrit drama, the Mṛcchkaṭāṭka or the Toy Clay-cart, attributed to Śūdraka, we find ourselves descending, as it were, from the refined atmosphere of poetry and sentiment to the firm rock of grim reality. It is a strange world which this drama unfolds, a world in which thieves, gamblers, rogues, political schemers, mendicants, courtiers, police constables, housemaids, bawds and courtesans jostle with one another freely; and the love that it depicts is not the romantic love of Duṣyanta and Śākuntalā, nor yet the deep conjugal affection idealized in Bhavabhūti’s Rāma and Śītā, but simply and curiously, the love of a man about town for a courtesan, which is nevertheless as pure, strong, and tender. A fitting background is supplied to this strange love by the equally
strange world in which it moves; and an inventive originality is displayed by linking the private affairs of the two lovers with a political intrigue which involves the city and the kingdom.

The Myrochakatika is one of the few Sanskrit dramas which are not dramatic poems but possess distinctively dramatic qualities that should appeal to modern taste. In the history of Sanskrit literature the work is unique in many respects. Apart from the graphic picture it presents of some interesting facets of life in ancient India, the work is truly worthy of a great dramatist in its variety of incidents and characters, in its comparative freedom from the usual fault of over-elaboration, in its sharpness of characterization, in its use of direct and homely imagery conveyed in a clear, forceful, and unaffected diction, in its witty dialogues, in its general liveliness and dramatic effect, in its mastery of deep pathos, and in its rare quality of quiet humour. In spite of its somewhat conventional happy ending, it verges almost upon tragedy and neither the plot nor the characters can be regarded as conventional. Not only does it eschew the banal theme of courtly love and intrigue but it is also the most human of all Sanskrit plays. A ten-act comedy of middle-class life, the scene is set in the cosmopolitan city of Ujjainī. Characterized as a play ‘full of rascals’, its host of desppicable riff-raff of society, who at any moment are capable of all kinds of daring acts from the stealing of a gem-casket to the starting of a riot, furnish an excellent foil to the realistic yet romantic story of the love of a nāgaraka of breeding and refinement for a famous and beautiful courtesan. The drama is bold and original in conceiving these characters, and they are presented not as types but as individuals of diversified interest. They are living men and women drawn from all ranks of society, from the high-souled Brāhmaṇa to the low-down thief; and the drama includes, in its broad scope, farce and tragedy, satire and pathos, poetry and wisdom, kindliness and humanity.

Indeed, each of the twenty-seven minor characters possesses an individuality which is rare in Sanskrit drama. But in the midst of this motley assemblage, the hero and the heroine stand out prominently. The Śakāra Saṁsthānaka, with his ignorant conceit and brutal lust, presents an excellent contrast, but the author’s power of effective characterization is best seen in his conception of the two main characters. The noble Cārudatta, a large-hearted Brāhmaṇa by birth and wealthy merchant by profession, does not represent the typical nāgaraka, whose whole round of life consists of love and pleasure; for there is nothing of the gilded dandy and dilettante in his refined character, and his chief interest is not gallantry. There is a note of quiet self-control in most of his acts; and even in love, most of the courtship is done by Vasantaśenā. He is an upright young man of good breeding and culture, whose princely liberality won the admiration of the whole city but reduced him to loneliness and poverty. If the change of fortune has made him bitter, it has not made him a misanthrope,
nor has it debased his mind; it has only taught him to take life at its proper value. Cārūdatta is endowed with great qualities, but like the conventional hero he is not made a paragon of virtue. He is by no means austere or self-denying. He is a perfect man of the world, who loves literature, music, and art, does not disdain gambling, and never assumes a self-righteous attitude. His great virtues are softened by the milk of human kindness. His youth does not exhibit indifference, and the most outstanding feature of his character is his quiet and deep love for Vasantasesā.

The stain attached to such unconventional love disappears in the ideal beauty which gathers round it; and its purity, strength, and truth make it escape degradation. Vasantasesā has neither the girlish charm of Śakuntalā nor the mature womanly dignity of Sītā. Witty and wise, disillusioned and sophisticated, she has seen much of a sordid world; yet she has a romantic heart and her love is true and deep even in a social status which makes such emotion difficult. Wealth and position she achieved by an obligatory and hereditary calling, but her heart was against it, and it brought her no happiness. Her meeting with Cārūdatta affords a way of escape, but she is sad and afraid lest her misfortune of birth and occupation should stand in the way. It is a case of love at first sight, and for the first time she is really in love. The touch of this new emotion quickens rapidly into a spreading flame and burns to ashes her baser self. It is all so strange, even to herself. She can hardly believe that she, an outcast of society, has been able to win the love of the great Cārūdatta, the ornament of Ujjayinī, and asks, half-incredulously, the morning after her first union with her beloved if all that is true. She is fascinated by the lovely face of Cārūdatta’s little son and stretches out her arms in the great hunger for motherhood which has been denied to her. Her love makes her realize the emptiness of riches and the fulness of a pure and true affection. When the Śakāra threatens to kill her for not submitting to him, and taunts her as ‘an inamorata of a beggarly Brahmin’, she is not ashamed but replies: ‘Delightful words! Pray, proceed, for you speak my praise.’ Growing furious, the brutal and cowardly Śakāra takes her by the throat. She does not cry out for succour, but she remembers her beloved Cārūdatta and blesses his name. ‘What, still dost thou repeat that name,’ spits out Śakāra, blinded by rage, as he throttles her; but on the verge of imminent death the name of Cārūdatta is still on her lips, and she murmurs in a struggling voice: ‘My homage be to Cārūdatta!’

HARṢA

The dramas of Harṣa, Viśākhadatta and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa show greater variety and vitality. Three dramas, Priyadrīśkā, Ratnāvali, and Nāgānanda, have come down to us under the name of Śrīharṣa who was identical with King Harṣavardhana, the patron of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa. The Priyadrīśkā and the Ratnāvali
are almost identical in form and structure and depict a single theme of numerous amourettes of the gay and gallant Udayana. The two plays are four-act nāṭikās and centre round the two heroines Sāgarikā and Āraṇyakā respectively. The theme consists of love-intrigues of the king with a maiden of unknown status, their secret meetings through the help of the jester and the damsel's friend, the jealousy of the queen and her final acceptance of the situation, when the maiden is discovered to be her long-lost cousin. The Priyadarśikā is an effective introduction of play within a play (garbhārika). It is undoubtedly a better play than the Ratnāvalī, but has no strikingly dramatic incident.

The Nāgānanda, a five-act nāṭaka, is a more serious drama depicting the Buddhist legend of Jīmūtavāhana's self-sacrifice. It contains an erotic sub-plot of the hero's love for Malayavati which is linked with the main quietistic theme of heroic sacrifice. But the one part is not the development of the other and hence there is no unity of action. The embodiment in Jīmūtavāhana of the high ideal of self-sacrificing magnanimity in a romantic atmosphere of pathos and poetry adds to the merit of the play. If Kālidāsa supplied the pattern, Harṣa has undoubtedly improved upon it in his own way and succeeded in establishing the comedy of court-intrigue as a distinct type of Sanskrit drama.

VIṢĀKHADATTĀ

Viṣākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa is undoubtedly one of the great Sanskrit dramas. It is a drama of purely political intrigue, in which resolute action in various forms constitutes the exclusive theme. The main theme is the reconciliation of Rākṣasa, the faithful minister of the fallen dynasty of the Nandas, by the traditional master of polity, Cāṇakya, who wants to win him over into the service of Candragupta Maurya. The drama is unique in avoiding the erotic atmosphere. It is a drama without a heroine. There is nothing suggestive of tenderness or domestic virtues. Politics is represented as a hard game for men. In characterization, Viṣākhadatta fully realizes the value of contrast. Both Cāṇakya and Rākṣasa are astute politicians, but both are admirable as excellent foils to each other. Cāṇakya is clear-headed and vigilant, while Rākṣasa is soft, impulsive and blundering. The secret agents of Cāṇakya, Bhāgurāyaṇa and Siddhārthaka, faithfully carry out their commissions from a feeling of abject submission, but Rākṣasa's agents, Virādha Gupta and Śakaṭadāsa, are moved by a sincere attachment to Rākṣasa. Viṣākhadatta's dialogues have the dramatic quality necessary for fast-moving and direct action and bold characterization. The only serious defect is that the drama lacks grandeur, with a grand subject.

BHĀṬṬA NĀRĀYĀṆA

Bhāṭṭa Nārāyaṇa's Venīsamhāra dramatizes in six acts a well-known episode of the Mahābhārata but practically goes over the entire epic war. The main
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theme is the satisfaction of Bhīma’s ferocious revenge, celebrated by the killing of Kaurava chiefs and by binding up, with blood-stained hands, the braid of Draupadi, which she had sworn to leave unbraided until the wrong done to her is avenged. There is enough of pathos and horror, but the pathos is tiresome and the horror uncouth; there is enough of action, but the action is devoid of dramatic conflict. The work is hardly a unified play, but is rather a panoramic procession of actions and incidents. The modifications introduced for the purpose of transforming it into a real drama are hardly effective. It is that peculiar kind of half-poetical and half-dramatic composition which may be called the declamatory drama.

LATER DECADENT DRAMA

With Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Bhavabhūti, the great epoch of Sanskrit dramatic literature ends and the age of decline sets in. The drama now surrenders itself to poetical kāvya. In this group Murāri, Rājaśekhara, Kṣemiśvara and Kṛṣṇamiśra have enjoyed traditional reputations.

Murāri’s Anarṣha-Rāghava dramatizes the traditional narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa in seven acts. One would like to remember Murāri more as an elegant poet than as a dramatist in the proper sense. Rājaśekhara’s Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa dramatizes in ten acts the entire story of the Rāmāyaṇa up to Rāma’s coronation. His Bāla-Bhārata is a drama on the Mahābhārata story, but it is left incomplete. His Karpūrāmaṇja is a sāṭaka and Vīddhaśāla-bhaṇḍjīkā is a nāṭikā. The former is written entirely in Prakrit. The theme in both the plays is the traditional amorous intrigue of court life. Kṣemiśvara’s Cauḍa-kauśika deals with the story of Hariścandra in five acts. But it has little dramatic quality.

Kṛṣṇamiśra’s Prabodha-candrodaya is a symbolical drama with purely personified abstractions. The treatment is interesting not only for its novelty but also for the spirit of allegorizing which it represents. The theme is a profound philosophical allegory in six acts of the whole life of man. It is conceived as an internecine struggle between the two powerful sons Moha and Viveka of the regal Mind (manas) born respectively of his two wives Pravrýtī and Nivrṛtī. In this drama Kṛṣṇamiśra succeeds, to a remarkable degree, in giving us an ingenious picture of the spiritual struggle of the human mind in the dramatic form of a vivid conflict, in which the erotic, comic and devotional interests are cleverly utilized. On the doctrinal side, the composition attempts to synthesize Advaitic Vedānta with Viṣṇu-bhakti, but the philosophical content does not make it heavily pedantic. The theme is made a matter of internal experience. The allegorizing is consistent and there is no frigidity in the plot. The author undeniably possesses the gift of satire and realism as well as of poetry and the Prabodha-candrodaya must be singled out as an attractive effort of real merit,
MUCH less attention has unfortunately been devoted to Sanskrit prose than to Sanskrit poetry even in authoritative treatises on the history of Sanskrit literature. The prose works mentioned there are very few indeed. Sanskrit prose—its origin, style, syntax, vocabulary, its application in different genres of literary art and in the Sāstras, its beauty and wealth—should be accorded an honourable place in a critical representative history of Sanskrit literature. It is true that prose works, belonging to literature proper, are not as abundant as metrical works in Sanskrit. This may be one of the reasons that called forth the following scathing and uninformed observation from James Mill, the author of The History of British India. As he observed: ‘All their (viz. of the Hindus) compositions, with wonderfully few exceptions, are in verse. . . . Their laws, like those of rude nations in general, are in verse. Their sacred books, and even their books of science, are in verse; and what is more wonderful still, their very dictionaries.’

That this view is prejudiced and is the product of a kind of complex is beyond doubt. Sanskrit prose from its rudimentary stage to its finished and sophisticated form has had a chequered history which deserves to be studied with an unbiased outlook and in a scientific spirit. To give an idea of its richness and variety, a brief chronological account of its origin and development, as well as of its use in different branches of Sanskrit literature, is sought to be presented in the sections that follow.

EARLIEST SPECIMEN: THE BRĀHMAṆAS

The earliest evidence of the employment of prose as a vehicle of sacerdotal and esoteric disputations is found in the Tājus, and the running commentary thereon, viz. the Brāhmaṇas. The nivids, nigadas, and non-metrical portions of the Atharva-Veda should also be comprehended under this head. One might recall in this connection the definitions of Rk, Sāman, and Tājus as furnished by Jaimini in his sūtras. The Brāhmaṇa texts are mostly composed in prose, though interspersed with occasional verses. Eggeling, in his introduction to the


2 Tatrātra-raṭhena pāḍāvyavasthāḥ sā ṛk
Gītīṣu śāntākhyā
Sāya yajjuḥ-sabdaḥ. (Jai, S., II. I.35-37)
English translation of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the Śukla Yajur-Veda, has spoken very disparagingly of the Brāhmaṇa literature as a whole. The general reaction of Western scholars with regard to this extensive literature, which forms one of the two constituent parts of the Veda, may be gauged from the following words of his:

‘For wearisome prolixity of exposition, characterized by dogmatic assertion and a flimsy symbolism rather than by serious reasoning, these works are perhaps not equalled anywhere, unless, indeed, it be the speculative vapourings of the Gnostics, than which, in the opinion of the learned translator of Irenaeus, “nothing more absurd has probably ever been imagined by rational beings”’.

Yet, Eggeling himself has to revise his opinion as regards the importance of the Brāhmaṇa texts from the standpoint of linguistic development of Sanskrit prose. There are important myths and anecdotes narrated in unadorned Sanskrit prose in the course of apparently dry and unimportant speculations on the subtleties of the various ritualistic acts. He observes: ‘...these works (together with their supplements, the Āraṇyakas, and their metaphysical appendages, the Upaniṣads) are of the highest importance as the only genuine prose works which the Sanskrit, as a popular language, has produced.’

Most of the Brāhmaṇas have little ‘literary value’ in the usually accepted sense of the expression. But occasional flashes of literary grace, mostly due to lack of long compounds so common in later Sanskrit prose and the apparently artless manner of narrating myths and stories, are noticeable in some of them. This is particularly so in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the Śukla Yajur-Veda and the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa of the Śāma-Veda. Some scholars notice a kind of subtle stylistic parallelism between the prose of the Brāhmaṇas and the early canonical Pali texts.

It is not possible to determine precisely the age of the Brāhmaṇas. But that all these texts were not of the same age and clime can be fairly ascertained from the linguistic and grammatical data. Such data are most important for tracing the historical development of Sanskrit from the Mantra period up to the age of Pāṇini, when the standard form of classical Sanskrit appears to have been established. Pāṇini, in his śūtra: ‘purāṇa-prokteṣu brāhmaṇa-kalpeṣu’ (IV. 3.105), is supposed to have discriminated between some Brāhmaṇa texts as older and some as later or more or less contemporaneous. Besides, he seems to have been more familiar with the texts of the schools that flourished in the north or in the south than with those flourishing in the eastern region.

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9 Ibid., pp. xxiv-xxv.
10 Compare Dr Batakrishna Ghosh’s remarks in The Vedic Age (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1952), pp. 416, 418. This characterization, however, of the prose of classical writers is a bit too strong. See, in this context, Keith’s observations on the stylistic peculiarity of the Rg-Vedic Brāhmaṇas in HOS, Vol. XXV, pp. 97-98.
SANSKRIT PROSE

The extent of the vast Brāhmaṇa literature can be fairly gathered from the fragments of the lost Brāhmaṇa collected together by late Dr Batakrishna Ghosh in his scholarly brochure on the subject. His critical and exegetical annotations on those fragments help us to realize the importance of this apparently meaningless jargon for following the chronological development of Sanskrit prose. The Brāhmaṇa passages in his suggested derivations. The prose of the Upaniṣads like the Brhadāranyaka and the Chāndogya, which constitute the concluding portions of the Brāhmaṇa, is admittedly most lively and picturesque even when it is used as a vehicle for propagating profound metaphysical truths. This is evident from the dialogues between Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī or Āruṇi and Śvetaketu, and a good many similar examples. The language is simple, conversational, bristling with vivid illustrations, similes, and proverbs and free from the lengthy awe-inspiring compounds that were to become a regular feature of Sanskrit literary prose. Such prose could easily become a medium of communication for the educated élite.

THE SŪTRA LITERATURE

At the close of the Brāhmaṇa period Sanskrit prose assumed a new form in the hands of the authors of the Sūtra texts. For the purpose of easily memorizing the contents of the vast Brāhmaṇa literature, the authors of these texts developed a peculiar mnemonic style—brief, compact, and elliptical. This style was adopted at first for the treatment of sacrificial matters—both of the śrauta and the grhya type—but was later extended to other domains as well, especially to juridical and social subjects in the Dharma-Sūtras belonging to various Vedic schools and forming the chief source of the later Smṛti-samhitas. There is another division of Sūtra literature, viz. the Śulva-Sūtras, containing minute rules and measurements for the construction of sacrificial altars etc. These, therefore, are justly regarded as the earliest texts to provide the basis of Indian geometrical science. This mnemonic style of the Vedic Kalpa-Sūtras was later adopted by the great teachers of the Indian philosophical systems, and by the classical grammarians, chief among whom is the great Pāṇini. The dictum: ‘ardhamātra-lāghavena putrotsavai manyante vaiyākaraṇah’ (‘economy of even half a mātra [short vowel] gives as much pleasure to grammarians as the birth of a son’) gives us a glimpse into the mental discipline of the grammarians, who always sought verbal economy in the formulation of their aphorisms. A body of intricate technique and methodology, known as paribhāsās, was developed to achieve this.

* See Keith’s remarks on the style of the prose portions of the Taittirīya Samhitā in particular, and of the Brāhmaṇa literature in general, in HOS, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, pp. cix-clx.
Nirukta or the science of etymology was regarded, like the Kalpa-Sūtras, as an important Vedāṅga, a knowledge of which was essential to understand the message of the Vedas. Yāska’s Nirukta, a commentary on the Nighaṇṭu, is the sole extant specimen of the vast Nirukta literature that was once current. This important treatise is composed in prose which, though savouring of the prose of the Brāhmaṇas, has become more sophisticated. Yāska’s prose style is terse, free from long compounds, and retains to a great extent the archaic character of Sanskrit as used in the Brāhmaṇas. But it resembles the Sanskrit prose of the classical age as regards morphology and syntax. The dates of Yāska and Pāṇini are still in dispute, though from a comparative study of the grammatical data available in Yāska’s text and Pāṇini’s technique and terminology there seems to be strong evidence in favour of regarding him as prior to Pāṇini. Yāska’s Nirukta is ‘the oldest existing Veda-exegetical work’ and it led to the writing of detailed commentaries on the Vedic texts at a later period.

DEVELOPMENT OF SANSKRIT PROSE

It is somewhat difficult, with the insufficient data at our disposal, to trace systematically the development of Sanskrit prose in the post-Brāhmaṇic epoch. It was put to various uses, as seen in literary forms like the kathā, the ākhyāyikā, epistles, etc., in inscriptions, royal grants and edicts, and also popular dramas where it is used as a medium for conversation. It is also illustrated in the bhāṣyas, vārttikas, and other exegetical works belonging to various philosophical schools, as well as in technical treatises dealing with particular disciplines like medicine etc. Classical Sanskrit, as distinguished from Vedic Sanskrit, was brought to perfection and standardized by the endeavours of eminent grammarians, both pre-Pāṇinian and post-Pāṇinian. Unfortunately it has been dubbed by a good many Western scholars as the imposition of the Brāhmaṇical priestly class which, in their opinion, was never employed as a popular medium of communication. Some have even gone to the length of considering the great epics and the Purāṇas as well, as no more than artificial Sanskrit versions of original works ‘composed in different forms of Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) or Prakrit. According to them the Sanskrit language, at least in its classical form, had no direct relation with the popular dialects of these times but was artificially foisted by the crafty hieratic class as ‘the speech of the gods’ (dāivī vāk) on the unwilling readers. Rather it was the Old Indo-Aryan or Vedic language, the evidence of which we meet with in the vast Brāhmaṇa literature, that was akin to the popular speech of the masses, and in the course of time, this Vedic

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7 A recent study on the subject by Mantrini Prasad, entitled Language of the Nirukta (D. K. Publishing House, Delhi, 1975) may be consulted.

dialect developed into various forms of MIA including Pali, which are thus direct descendants of the Old Indo-Aryan. In support of this theory, the employment of the various forms of MIA in the inscriptions of Asoka and other epigraphs belonging to the pre-Christian era is cited as corroborative evidence. This paucity of epigraphic and literary data in Sanskrit during a period covering several centuries before and after Christ led Max Müller to propound his novel theory of 'Renaissance of Sanskrit language and literature' which had once been so much in vogue among Western Sanskritists. But we should be wary of running to hasty and fanciful conclusions, however novel they might appear at first sight. The great commentaries or bhāṣyas, some of which belonged to the pre-Christian era, were composed in Sanskrit prose that was lucid, lively, colourful, full of wit and humour when occasion demanded, and also free from long compounds. It is decidedly not Vedic Sanskrit, but lokabhāṣā, as prevalent among the cultivated sīkṣas (wise men), that is employed in these texts. Bhartṛhari in his Vākyapādiya has characterized the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali as ‘alabhagādhe gāmbhiryād uttāna iva sausṭhanavād’ (‘unfathomable in import but apparently intelligible on account of grace’). Perspicuity (prasāda) which is one of the chief merits of the bhāṣya style, is in evidence, not only in the Mahābhāṣya, but in the style of Śabara’s bhāṣya on the Jaiminiya-Sūtras, in Vatsyāyana’s bhāṣya on Gotama’s Nyāya-Sūtras, in Praśastapāda-bhāṣya on Kaṇḍa’s Vaiśeṣika aphorisms, in Vyāsa’s bhāṣya on Patañjali’s Yoga-Sūtras, and similar other treatises of indisputable antiquity. It should also be remembered that Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya itself is but an abridged version of Vyādi’s Saṅgraha, a critical exposition of Pāṇini’s sūtras, composed most probably in prose and running to the extent of a hundred thousand ślokas. Thus it is beyond all doubt that Sanskrit prose was employed as a vehicle of highly sophisticated and refined scientific and philosophical disquisitions from very early times, when the Vedic period had been brought to a decisive close with the propagation of the Brāhmaṇas. The diction or grammatical construction of the bhāṣya texts is simple and straightforward, but the difficulty of these texts lies in the abstruse thoughts embedded therein as well as in the employment of the subtle, refined method of ratiocination. In Vatsyāyana’s Kāmasūtra and Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra, the bhāṣya style has been very effectively imitated, though the expression in these texts has become more compact and the diction much more recondite due perhaps to the novelty and technicality of the subject-matter. Rājaśekhara, in his Kāvyamimāṃsā, artfully adopted the style of Vatsyāyana and Kauṭilya, the prose being interspersed with verses. This lends a unique grandeur to the treatment, though it has a certain rigidity and affected impersonality which is

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9 Vākyapādiya, II. 480.
totally lacking in the ancient bhāṣyas like those of Patañjali, Śabara, and Vātsyāyana.

The employment of Sanskrit prose in secular literary works for the treatment of well-known legends, anecdotes, and myths can be attested from the data available in Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī and Kātyāyana’s vārttikas thereon. Besides slokas and gāthās, Pāṇini refers to ākhyānas as a distinct species of literature dealing with stories like those of Paraśurāma, Yayāti, etc. Of course, it is not certain whether these ākhyānas were actually in prose, but from the evidence of twofold classification of prose into kathā and ākhyāyikā as noticed by later ālānākārikas like Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha as also by the celebrated lexicographer Amarasimha, it seems probable that ākhyāna, too, formed one of the species of prose narrative current in those times. Āṇandavardhana, in his vytti on Dhanvantarīkha (III. 7), notices several divisions of kāvya, composed either in prose or in verse, whether in Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa, like paryāya-bandha, pari-kathā, khaṇḍa-kathā, sakala-kathā, besides the well-known types like sarga-bandha, abhinेयārtha, ākhyāyikā, and kathā. It should be kept in mind that the authors who employed Sanskrit for composition of their literary works did not eschew the various Prakrits and Apabhraṃśas. They were, in most cases, equally at home in more than one MIA dialect besides Sanskrit. Rājaśekhara has elaborately dwelt on this point in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā.

Thus it is evident that there could have been no unbridgeable gulf between Sanskrit as the literary medium of the learned and aristocratic classes on the one hand, and the popular dialects or Prakrits that were spoken by the

11 Cf. Pāṇi. VI. 2. 103. Vide Mahābhārata and Kālīkā thereon, where texts like Pūrṇādhīrāma, Apara-dhirāma, Pūrva-ja-jyota, and Apara-ja-jyota are referred to as examples.

12 Cf. Dhanvantarīkha-vytti on III. 7, and Abhinavagupta’s Leema thereon. It appears from Abhinava’s gloss that khaṇḍa-kathā and sakala-kathā were composed in Prakrit or popular dialects, just as kathā itself was composed in dialects other than Sanskrit as well, which is corroborated by Daṇḍin also in his Kāvyadārāma, I. 38; also Bhāmaha’s Kāvya-latakārā, I. 28. See also L’Indo Classique, Tome I, p. 299 (Par Louis Renou et Fillozat, Imprimérie Nationale, Paris, 1953). On the various sub-varieties of kathā as recognized by later theorists A. K. Warder’s Indian Kāvya Literature, Vol. I, Chapter VII may be consulted (Motilal Banarsidass, 1st Edn., 1972).

13 Cf. Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, Adhyāya IX, p. 48 (GOS. Edition, 1924). In Adhyāya X, again, Rājaśekhara discusses the arrangement of seats for poets assembled in a conference, where there is mention of Sanskrit poets, poets proficient in many dialects, poets who can use Prakrit alone or those eminent for their mastery of Apabhraṃśa. Thus it can be easily gathered, that the literary writers in those days were highly catholic in their taste, though the pre-eminence of Sanskrit as the sophisticated medium of expression par excellence was admitted by all. In this connexion Rājaśekhara in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā notes:

’Sanskṛtyastu varnāśāpā śhāsasŚāhamsāte naṃ yathā-ruci yathā-kautukām cāvahitaḥ syā... taduktaṃ: Ekaaśeṣāḥ saṃskṛtātyaḥ sa sukṣāvānām prakṣāṃ vṛttam amya-pabhraṅgārāhīṃ kīm apanam apana bhātābhāyakrameṇa, devirāhīṃ ko’pi vāghāni bhāvati cutāyāhīṃ kitca kaicid vivektaṃ yaṣṭiṣṭhaḥ dhīḥ propanā naṣṭaṃ sukses tasya kīrtiṣ jagati.’

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common folk on the other. In fact, Prakrit works of acknowledged merit like the Gāhā-sattasāi of Hāla composed in Māhāraśṭri Prakrit and Guṇḍāhya's Bhṛhatkathā, no longer extant, in bhūta-bhāṣā or Paisaci Prakrit, were looked upon with great respect, and Govardhana, the author of the Ārya-saptasati, does not hesitate to rank Guṇḍāhya with Vālmīki and Vyāsa and declares unambiguously that the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Bhṛhatkathā form, as it were, the three main streams along which our speech flows just like the three streams of the Ganges. So it is absolutely wrong to theorize that the early Sanskrit prose texts dealing with fables, romances, etc. were mere adaptations from original Prakrit versions. It is much more reasonable to look upon the Sanskrit and the Prakrit versions as existing side by side and exercising mutual influence on form and content in a spirit of happy rivalry. The only difference was that while the Prakrits were meant for the people belonging to the lower strata in general, the Sanskrit versions had in view the enlightened and sophisticated sections of the community. Sanskrit was also employed in order to impart to the themes the stamp of permanency, which would be lacking in the case of the former. It would, however, be unwarranted to conclude therefrom that Sanskrit, in its simple and popular form, was completely unintelligible to the masses and it is also futile to trace in the Pali jātakas the origin of the vast fable literature composed in Sanskrit.

FABLES AND FAIRY TALES

The Sanskrit fables and fairy tales, that were generally called kathā, have close affinity with the Sanskrit prose romances as also with didactic and gnomic poetry as regards style and import. As Professor Macdonell notes: 'the abun-

14 Consult also R. C. Dutt's remarks on the relation of Sanskrit with the Prakrits in his Later Hindu Civilization (A.D. 500 to A.D. 1200), Calcutta, 1909, pp. 175-76. Prof. A. B. Keith also observes in much the same strain, in the course of comparison of Sanskrit with Latin in the Middle Ages, as also with Standard English vis-à-vis the various spoken dialects of England. Vide his HSL. (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 11.

15 Cf. 'Śrīrāmāyaṇa-bhṛata-bhṛatkathānāṁ kavīn namaikvarṇaḥ, Trisrotā iva sarasā vahati yāḥ sarasvatī bhīmā.'—Ārya-saptasati. For the numerous encomiums heaped upon Guṇḍāhya and his Bhṛhatkathā by later Sanskrit poets and theorists vide A. K. Warder, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 140.

16 Prof. Keith has justly observed:

'What is clear is that Sanskrit represents the language of Brahmanical civilization, and the extent of that civilization was ever increasing, though the Brahmanical religion had to face competition from new faiths, in special Buddhism and Jainism, from the fifth century B.C. The Buddhist texts themselves afford the most convincing evidence of all of the predominance of Brahmanism; the Buddha is represented as attempting not to overthrow the ideal of Brahmanism, but to change its content by substituting merit in place of birth as the hall-mark of the true Brahmin. The public religious rites and the domestic ritual were recorded and carried out in Sanskrit, and education was in Brahmin hands. The Buddhist texts repeatedly confirm the Brahmanical principle that instruction of the people (lokapāktī) was the duty of the Brahmins, and the tales of the Jātakas show young men of all classes, not merely Brahmans but boys of the ruling class, Kṣatriyas, and children of the people, Vaiśyas seeking instruction in the north from Brahmin teachers.'—Op. cit., pp. 7 & 12.
dant introduction of ethical reflection and popular philosophy is characteristic, the apologue with its moral is peculiarly subject to this method of treatment.\textsuperscript{17} This practice of narrating tales with a view to teaching some ethical, philosophical or practical lesson is traceable in the \textit{Mahāvaipulya-Sūtras} of Buddhistic literature and the \textit{Avadāna}, which can also be linked with their somewhat archaic parallels in the Brāhmanas. In the Upaniṣads also such allegories are not rare, ‘where we have the allegory of satire of the dogs who search out a leader to howl food for them, the talk of two flamingoes whose remarks call attention to Raikva, and the instruction of the young Satyakāma first by a bull, then by a flamingo, then by an aquatic bird.’\textsuperscript{18} Even in the various philosophical systems, such fables (ākhyāyikās) were made use of by renowned teachers with a view to clarifying abstruse points, as can be easily gathered from references in Kapila’s Sāṁkhya aphorisms and their exegesis—the Sāṁkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya by Viśiṣṭa Bhikṣu. Not only Brāhmaṇical teachers, but also those belonging to other schools like the Jaina, the Baudhā, etc. followed this custom in propagating their doctrines.

The earliest collection of fables known to us is Guṇaḍhya’s \textit{Brhatkathā} which was composed in Paśācī, a very low form of Prakrit, as can be gathered from Daṇḍin’s reference to it as \textit{bhūta-bhāṣā}, though it did not lose any of its importance on that score. The original is presumed to have been written in prose.\textsuperscript{19} But, strangely, all the extant versions of this encyclopaedic collection of Indian fables, available in Sanskrit, are in verse. The best known are two Kashmirian versions, one by Somadeva, called \textit{Kathā-sarit-sāgara} and the other the \textit{Brhat-kathā-maṇjarī} by Kṣemendra. The Nepalese version, known as the \textit{Brhat-kathā-śloka-saṅgraha} of Budhasvāmin, is considered by scholars as more faithful to the original, though incomplete. There were versions of this work in other languages as well, one in Tamil, another in Persian. There is also a Jaina adaptation of this work called \textit{Vasudeva-hīndī}. Śaṅkhatārā’s lately recovered version in archaic Māhārāstrī has been assigned to a period earlier than the sixth century A.D. The \textit{Brhatkathā} stands as the prototype for a whole species of Sanskrit prose narratives dealing with fables and romances, where tales are embedded or contained within tales in the manner of a Chinese box. This method of narration is closely imitated in the \textit{Pañcatantra}, though the lyrical and epic elements noticeable in the former are conspicuous by their absence in the latter.

The \textit{Pañcatantra} explains the principles of polity as laid down in Kauṭilya’s \textit{Arthaśāstra} and allied works, through popular tales and fables, for the plea-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} See Macdonell’s \textit{Sanskrit Literature}, p. 368.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Keith, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 242.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Renou et Filiozat, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 240.
\end{itemize}
surable instruction of young princes. It is a model of simple Sanskrit prose, which deserves to be emulated. There are occasional traces of the elaborate kāvyā style, so much in vogue in later prose texts, such as the use of long compounds, *double entendres* (*śleṣa*), and elaborate metres. The habit of denoting the past by means of active or passive participles, the regular use of aorist, the growing fondness for passive construction resulting in nominal verbal forms, as also for long compounds, and the excessive use of gerunds and adjectival participles are other stylistic characteristics of this work. In fact, the linguistic and grammatical evidence gathered from the extant versions goes to show that the simple unaffected mode of expression of earlier Sanskrit prose was gradually undergoing changes. This was to culminate in the ornate prose style of the classical writers. The judicious mixture of verse with prose is also an attractive feature of the *Pañcatantra*. Animals and human beings are brought together in a most natural way to play their distinctive roles. The jackal has been endowed with a personality at once wise and shrewd that might well be a projection of the character of Kauṭilya, the arch-diplomat as traditionally conceived (*'Kauṭilyah kuṭilamatiḥ').

The *Pañcatantra*, along with the *Tantrākhyāyikā*, had an unequalled success in that it was translated in various languages all over the world. About two hundred versions in some sixty languages have been traced so far, and it is second only to the *Bible* from this point of view. Besides, within the Indian sub-continent it was circulated in different recensions, more or less faithful to the original prototype, some being longer and some shorter. The resemblance between the fables of the *Pañcatantra* and those of Aesop on the one hand and those of La Fontaine on the other is striking, and the originality and uniqueness of the Indian version have been admitted by almost all scholars. Benfey once tried to establish the indebtedness of the *Pañcatantra* to the Buddhist Jātaka, but the evidence of apparent borrowing can be explained as due to the common Indian heritage.

Diverse works dealing with popular tales and fables (*kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*) were composed in Sanskrit prose during the centuries following, mostly inspired by the *Brhatkathā* and *Tantrākhyāyikā* or *Pañcatantra*, of which the *Vetāla-paṇca-viṁśatikā*, the *Śīhāsana-dvātrimśikā* (also called *Vikrama-carita*), the *Mādhava-nalakāmandala-kathā*, having Prince Vikramāditya as the hero, the *Sūka-saptati*, of unknown date and authorship, the *Kathārnava* of Śivādāsa, the *Puruṣāparikṣā* of Vidyāpati, the well-known Maithili poet, and the *Bhōja-prabandha* of Ballāla (or Vallabha), deserve particular mention, besides the two Jaina collections, the *Prabandha-cintāmāni* and the *Prabandha-kośa*.

**REFINED PROSE NARRATIVES**

Alongside the popular specimens of *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* the parallel develop-
ment of a refined and artistic type of prose narrative was discernible. Prose was looked upon not merely as a popular medium of communication, but it was raised to the status of artistic expression. It was made as ornate, refined, and sophisticated as the court-epics and lyrics of poets like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, etc. What more, prose came to be looked upon as the real touchstone of poetic gifts, inasmuch as the writer of prose had to do without the aid of the natural rhythm of metres. There is an oft-quoted saying: gadyān kavīnān niṣayaḥ vadanti 20 (‘the touchstone of literary composers is prose’).

Consequently, a gifted writer of artistic and ornate prose was ranked as in no way inferior to an epic or lyric poet. Prose works were recognized as specimens of genuine kāvyā, rivalling versified poetical works in literary excellence. This shift from popular, simple, and unadorned prose narratives to an artificial, ornate, and sophisticated prose style as the vehicle of artistic expression can be traced in such works as Ārya Sūra’s Jātakamālā, the diction of which is highly praised by Dharmakīrti in a verse attributed to him by Tārānātha. Bāna, in one of the introductory verses to his Harṣacarita, speaks very highly of the prose of Bhāṭṭāra Haricandra, its diction being right ‘royal’. 21 Thus in the course of time, prose narratives came to vie with classical epics both in theme and artistic excellence. This can be easily gathered from the theme and diction of prose works like Subandhu’s Vāsavadattā, Bāna’s Kādambāri and Harṣacarita, and Daṇḍin’s Daśakumāra-carita, to name only the chief representatives of this class. The style, too, gradually became varied, sometimes abounding in long compounds, sometimes employing compounds of medium length, sometimes

20 Cf. ‘Kāvyān gadyān padvaḥ ca’—Vāmana’s Kāvyālaṅkāra-Sūra, I.3.21 and his own vṛtti thereon: gadyāvya pārvamirdevo durakya-viṣayatena durbandhatetāḥ, tathāḥ: ‘gadyān kavīnān niṣayaḥ vadanti’. Note also the comments of Gopendra Tripurahara on this vṛtti-text in his commentary Kāndañhemi.

21 Cf. ‘Padabhanjajalau hāri kṣtra-corpā-kramasthitī, Bhāṭṭāra-haricandra-gavyādhanabho mpaıyate.’—Harṣacarita, I.13. There is a reference to Haricandra in Rājaśekhara’s Kāvyā-mimāṃsā, Adhyāya X, in connexion with a conference of poets convened at Ujjainī:

‘Srīyate vojyāmāni kāvyakārān parikṣeṇa
Iha kālidāsa-menēpa-vatrsturāma-rañja-sūra-bhāravayya
Haricandra-candra-gupta parāskēta-viśākṣāya.’

Haricandra is also mentioned along with such great poets as Subandhu, Kālidāsa, Dākṣīputra (i.e. Pāpini), Sūra, Bhāravi, and Bhavabhūti in the well-known stanza:

‘Subandhu bhaktir naḥ ka iha rāghukūr na namate dākṣīputra harati haricandro’pi ṣādiyam
Vīrankhoṭiḥ śūraḥ prakṛtimadhumā bhāravi-girās-tathāpyantar modah kampi bhavabhyūtā vitarate.’

In a verse of questionable authenticity Haricandra is mentioned as one of the sons of Śabarā, the great Māmāśīśat, born of four wives of different castes, he being born of a Vaiṣya wife and Vaidya (physician) by caste. See D. V. Garge’s Citations in Śabarā’s Bṛhā, p. 18, fn. 6. Haricandra was, according to Vīvarahā-kośa of Mahāsvāra, the court-physician of King Śāhāsīka and a commentator of Caraka’s Satīkāla, the name of the commentary being Kharapāla. A physician Haricandra, son of Iśānaacandra, is also mentioned in the Bhāṣa entitled Pādāvatīkā. But it is not certain whether the poet Haricandra referred to by Bāna and Rājaśekhara, was identical with Haricandra, the physician. See V. S. Agarwal’s Harṣacarita—Eka Sāhāṣākī-kośa Adhyayana (in Hindi) [Bihar Rastabhasha Parishad, Patna, 1953], p. 6.
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again conspicuous by the absence of compound forms. At times, it savoured of metrical feet, adding rhythmical grace to the even monotony of jejune prose narratives. Artifices like double entendre, poetic fallacy (utprekṣa), pompous syllables (aḍḍara-dambhara) were freely made use of by poets all over the vast sub-continent. And, in Bāṇa’s prose all these devices are artistically and judiciously utilized, harmonizing with the theme, the context, the sentiment, and the speaker. In this way the difference between prose ākhyāyikās and kathās on the one hand and ornate high-flown metrical compositions of acknowledged poetic worth like the mahākāvyas, the khaṇḍa-kāvyas, and the various species of rūpakas (dramas) on the other, became gradually narrowed down. Consequently the authors of prose narratives endowed with all the poetic embellishments that were regarded as the hallmark of metrical kāvyas were considered full-fledged poets, fit to be mentioned in the same breath with eminent mahākavis like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, etc.

Originally there was a clear-cut distinction between the two types of prose narrative, viz. kathā and ākhyāyikā, from the point of view of theme as well as of form. The kathā had an imaginary plot, whereas the ākhyāyikā was based upon some historical anecdote. The prose of kathā had to be manoeuvred with an eye to the sentiment to be evolved, and as such it avoided excessive use of long compounds. But in ākhyāyikā the writer had complete liberty to give vent to his power of stringing together lengthy compounds that added force and compactness to the prose style. But this judicious discrimination of form and content as regards the two time-honoured divisions of gadya-kāvyā (prose narrative) was completely ignored by later writers. Thus there was no meaning in observing any distinction between them as Daṇḍin unambiguously asserts. The authors of gadya-kāvyās were as punctilious as the renowned authors of court-epics regarding choice of words. This choice was directed by their anxiety to display their knowledge of organic and inorganic nature, and their vast erudition. Their vast learning extended to mythology, religion, philosophy, alchemy, even the art of theft, and the art of warfare and polity, including espionage, and to popular customs and beliefs. This gave the whole work an

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22 Cf. ‘Cūṇakam alpaṃsūtanā divyahasamāsām utkaliḥprāyaṃ, Saṃśararhītam aciddhāḥ vṛttadhāgānītaḥ vṛttagandhi.’ Vāmana, too, mentions three varieties of gadya—vṛttagandhi, cūṛpa, and utkaliḥprāyā in his Kāvyālaṅkāra-Sūtra, I. 3.22-25 and illustrates them in his vṛtti thereon. Viśvanātha, in his Saūhitya-śarpaṇa, VI. 330-32, considers four varieties of prose instead of three, adding muktaka, which is defined as ‘vṛttagandheśita’ and marked by a complete absence of compounds.

23 See Harṣacarita, I. 8-9. V. S. Agarwal thinks that in earlier prose narratives like Lolitavistara, Jātaka-mālā, etc. the emphasis was on realistic description of nature and man (stvahāvokti or jāti), which gradually came to be looked down upon and gave way to ornate prose embellished with various poetic devices like vakrokti and aṣṭa, as it appears to have been hinted at by Bāṇa in the couplet:

’Santi ivaṁ śoṣaṁśoṣa jātihāyo grhe grhe,
Utpāḍakā na bahavah kavyāh sarabhā iva.’—Harṣacarita, I. 6.
encyclopaedic character, raising it far above the simple art of story-telling meant to please the ordinary folk. Bhamaha has observed with reference to the poet’s versatility: What a great burden the poet has to bear in that he cannot omit anything in the world in his composition!\textsuperscript{24}

Thus the later kathās and ākhyāyikās could be easily regarded as mere prose counterparts of classical court-epics or mahākāyas, the difference lying in the medium and not in theme. Such works were obviously meant for the élite who had access to the kāvyā-गोष्ठिः\textsuperscript{25}—that were organized under the patronage of princes and wealthy citizens. The interest of these works lies not in their plot, but in the manner of narrating it and the writer’s ability to bring the vast storehouse of his worldly experience and erudition to bear upon the art of narration. Attracted by his unparalleled virtuosity in the art of story-telling and mastery of vocabulary, the equally distinguished connoisseurs lost all interest in the theme.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{24} Kāvyālakāra, V. 4: Na sa āhado na tad pācyah na sa nyāyo na sā kalā, jāyate yanna kāvyāgam aho bhāro māhān kaseh.

The concluding remarks of Professor Cowell in his preface to the English translation of Bāṇa’s \textit{Harṣacarita} almost echoes the same sentiment: ‘The book is full of Sanskrit lore of every kind; but its author was not (as Gibbon says of Librius) ‘a recluse student whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war and the Athenian Commonwealth.’ He was by no means the mere lover of what was abstract and difficult; he had also an eye for the picturesque and the pathetic, and he could sympathize with the men and women of his own time; like Apollonius Rhodius he was a poet as well as a grammarian.’—\textit{The Harṣacarita of Bāṇa}, translated by E. B. Cowell & F. W. Thomas, Royal Asiatic Society, London, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, Preface, p. xiv. Similarly, speaking of his work \textit{Yātastilaka-campū} the author Somadeva declares with pride:

‘Uktayāh kawita-kāntāh sūktayo-viṣarocitāh
Yuktayāh sarvaśāstraśāstra tasya yasyādā kauvitam.’—\textit{Yātastilaka}, I, 15.

\textsuperscript{25}Goṣṭhi\textsuperscript{26} has been explained by the commentator Śaṅkara as: ‘SāmānADVĀTSA-.vars-ad-buddhi-sūryasād
anurāpaśāli alapāśa ekatārasanandha goṣṭhi.’ Goṣṭhi might, according to Vatsyāyana, be either good (loka-
 civilian) or bad (lokādivīśa parahindūnīmikā goṣṭhi). Various types of goṣṭhi are noticed in Jinasena’s \textit{Mahāpurāṇa}, XIV. 190-92, viz: padagōṣṭhi, kāya-, jāla-, gīta-, nṛya-, vādy-, vin-, etc. Bāṇa refers to vīra-goṣṭhis as well. In such goṣṭhis various literary competitions, recitals of ākhyānas, ākhyāyikās, itihāsas, purāṇas, and discussions on the important philosophical and learned topics used to be held as can be easily gathered from the frequent references to such assemblages in Bāṇa’s works. \textit{Vide} V. S. Agarwal, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 12-13.

\textsuperscript{26} Speaking of the literary merit of Subandhu’s \textit{Vāsavadattā}, Gray observes:

‘In the West the subject-matter comes first in nearly every form of literary composition; and the more tense and nervous the people, the more simple and direct is the style. In the East, on the contrary, the form is often more important than the matter especially in periods of hyper-civilisation, such as was that during which Subandhu wrote. We must, therefore, consider the \textit{Vāsavadattā} from the luxuriant atmosphere of the land of its author, not from the “practical” point of view of the West. To me, at least, there is true melody in the long, rolling compounds, a sesquipedalian majesty which can never be equalled in Sanskrit, and the alliterations have a hullying music all their own to ears weary of the blatant discords of vaunted modern “progress”. There is, on the other hand, compact brevity in the paronomasias, which are, in most cases, veritable gems of terseness and twofold appropriateness, even though some are manifestly forced and are actually detrimental to the sense of passages in which they occur. The entire romance may, in a sense, be likened to India’s
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Subandhu’s Vāsavadattā, Baṇa’s Kādambari and Hārśacarita, and Daṇḍin’s Daśakumāra-carita are four great works in Sanskrit prose, of which the first two may be regarded as specimens of the kathā and the last two of the ākhyāyikā type of composition though poetic fancy and mastery of expression are equally noticeable in all of them. The original trait of an ākhyāyikā, viz. its historicity, which marked it off from kathā, a purely imaginary narrative, became gradually blurred and the two types were identified for all practical purposes, as is evident from Daṇḍin’s remarks. Though Sanskrit prose style was classified under three broad heads, viz. utkalikā-prāya, cūrtaka and vṛttagandhi, according to the degree of preponderance of compounds, the great prose writers mostly preferred the utkalikā-prāya variety of prose, abounding in long compounds (dirgha-samāsā samghatanā) and marked by the quality called ejas (force). This use of long compounds was also approved by great theorists like Ānandavardhana in the case of prose narratives in general, though in the case of kathā certain reservations were made. Weber’s criticism of Baṇa’s prose style, which is compared to an Indian wood, is unsympathetic and, to say the least, based on a total misconception of the traditional Indian view-point as to the form of kathā and ākhyāyikā and the milieu in which they flourished. Baṇa’s Kādambari, a kathā, or his Hārśacarita, an ākhyāyikā, should not be viewed as being on the same level with the Bhāt-kathā, which charmed the common village-folk by virtue of its varied contents, whereas the main attraction of the former consisted in the finesse and perfection of their form. Besides, it is not true that Baṇa always revelled in utkalikā-

own architecture, where the whole structure is so overlaid with minute detail that the eye forgets, the outlines of the building in amazement at the delicate traceries which cover it.”—Vāsavadattā (a Sanskrit romance) by Subandhu, translated with an Introduction and Notes by Louis H. Gray, Columbia University Press, Introduction, pp. 26-27.

87 ‘Tat kathākhyāyikayejāśī sanjñādaśyakāśitā, atraiśūntarbhuvayantī śeśāś cākhyāṇajitayah.’—Kāvyādāra, I. 28. Cf. ‘The great merit of the Hārśacarita consists in the fact that it is a very early attempt at an historical romance. Baṇa’s other work, the Kādambari, and Subandhu’s Vāsavadattā deal with mythological fiction, and everything is viewed through a highly poetical atmosphere; and the Daśakumāra-carita is equally based upon pure imagination, although its characters, as in the picaresco literature of modern Europe, are the exaggerated pictures of the vulgar rogues and ruffians of every great city.’—Cowell & Thomas, loc. cit., p. viii. According to some scholars development of the biography ākhyāyikā as a kātya form may be traced to the Mahāparinibbāna-Sūtanta of the Dīgha Nikāya (II. 72), in both Pali and Sanskrit versions. See A. K. Warder, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 74. The difference between kathā and ākhyāyikā, from the point of view of plot and milieu, can be illustrated by that between nāṭaka and prakaraṇa, the two principal dramatic types, the former being based upon ākhyātta and dealing with characters of high rank, and the latter being utpādya-casta and having characters belonging to the middle and lower strata of society.

88 Vidē Dharmāloka, III. 8 and vṛttī thereon; also III. 9.

89 Cf. ‘Baṇa’s prose is an Indian wood where progress is impossible through the undergrowth until a traveller cuts out a path for himself, and where even then he is confronted by malicious wild beasts in the shape of unknown words to terrify him.’ See Keith, HSL, p. 326.

90 Cf. Meghadūta: ‘prāyavantih dayamakathā-kvidagrañāgyddhān.’—v. 30 (K. B. Pathak’s Edn.)
His use of curnaka or simple prose is picturesque, lively, and calculated to evoke the desired emotion—be it pathos, wonder, love, awe or anger. Bana knew not only how to heap poetic figures one upon another, but could, whenever necessary, write simple, unadorned, and short sentences with equal felicity and grace.

The tradition of artistic prose narratives was firmly established by the three great masters of classical Sanskrit prose just mentioned. A host of gifted writers tried to keep it alive by composing extensive narratives interspersed with verses, as in the afore-mentioned works of the masters. In this connection, Dhanapala’s Tilaka-maunjari (c. tenth century A.D.), Sodhala’s Udayasundari-katha, a tale in eight ucchvasas, Odayadeva Vadilbhasimha’s Gadya-cintamaani in eleven lambhas, Vamana’s Vemabhupala-carita, a life of his royal patron who ruled during the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. at Kundavidi, and Ahobila Nesimha’s Abhinava-Kadambari (close of the eighteenth century A.D.), though inspired by Bana’s art, deserve special notice. Among the various sects, the Jains especially cultivated this art with great enthusiasm and a missionary zeal for propagating their own religion and demonstrating its excellence.

CAMPU

Besides katha and akhyayikka, another species of sravya-kavya in Sanskrit has been noticed by Dandin in his Kapayadaris, viz. campu, which is a mixture of prose and verse in almost equal measure, and has therefore been regarded as a specimen of mistra-kavya. This technique of mingling prose and verse is in evidence in the Brahmaṇas and later in the Puranas as well. But the element of poetry and the artistic excellence of the classical age are not discernible in these early specimens.

Arya Sura’s Jatakamalā can be regarded as the earliest specimen, as yet available, of this genre. There are thirty-four jataka tales narrated in this collection in prose and verse mixed almost in equal proportions, and the artistic fineness of Arya Sura’s prose and his skillful employment of elaborate metrical forms are beyond dispute. His command of Sanskrit vocabulary is striking and

Vamana openly declares that his attempt is to show that good prose-writing is possible even after the great Banabhatta:
Bana-kaivindra anve kopa sarasagadyasaraninu
Iti jagati riqkhamayalo vattakaulo vamana’dhunan maresi.
It has been justly said by an unknown critic with reference to Bana’s uniqueness as a poet in prose in the following verse—
Sinya koema tahagunthwasisyagya kacid rasa cilpara’saakāre kacit sadarthaasasye edave katha-vayana
Asamatra gahhirdhistrakviti-vidhyajana- ihturi-sahcriti kavi-kumbhi-kumbha-bhiduro bājastu patcūnanvah.

Cf. ‘The Jatakamalā (Garland of Births) is a campū narrative with roughly equal amounts of prose and verse, regarding thirty-four of the most popular Jataka stories. The critic Ratnasrijana gives it as an example of the campū form.’—Warder, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 247.
his virtuosity in the manipulation of difficult metres evoked the praise even of Dharmakīrti, as noticed by Tārānātha. In an anonymous verse cited by Vidyākara, in his celebrated anthology Subhāṣita-ratnakāra, Śūra is lauded for the purity of his diction ('vīśuddhakīti śśrāk'). It would not be unjust to assert that Śūra's prose style formed a link, as it were, between the unadorned simple prose style of the early story-tellers and the sophisticated, heavy, artificial prose of the later classical authors.32

Earlier specimens of campū are not available at present, and it is difficult to determine the actual works which called forth Daṇḍin's definition just referred to.33 From the tenth century A.D. onwards, campūs became very common, particularly in South India,34 though such works were composed in other parts of this sub-continent as well. Of the principal works of this class, Trivikrama's Nala-campū has had wide popularity, and he compares his prose mixed with verse to a song accompanied by notes of musical instruments. His style is artificial and strained, and he has consciously imitated the art of Bāṇa and Subandhu, without having their literary virtues. Somadeva's Yaśastilaka-campū, consisting of seven āśvāsas, was evidently written to eulogize the religion of Jina. It is a very important work from the viewpoint of the cultural history of the times.35 Bhoja's Rāmāyaṇa-campū also is a notable campū work. Originally it ran up to the Kiśkindhā-kāṇḍa, but was later supplemented by the addition of the sixth kāṇḍa, the Yuddha-kāṇḍa, by Lakṣmanakavi. The problem of authorship of this important campū is still disputed as there is doubt as to whether Bhoja is the famous king of Dharā or a king of Malwa bearing the same name. A sequel to the story was added to include the incidents of the Uttara-kāṇḍa as well. Campū works based upon the incidents of the Bhāgavata and the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa were also composed. Of these, Abhinava Kālidāsa's Bhāgavata-campū and the Anandakanda-campū of Mītra Mīdra deserve special notice. The Viśvaṅgūḍaraja-campū of Venkaṭādhvarin (the latter half of the seventeenth century A.D.) utilizes the campū form to give, in humorous, satirical vein, a picture of the contemporary society. The author's wide experience, his

32 See Warder, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 255-56; also F. Edgerton's Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit: Language and Literature (Ten public lectures), p. 35, where it is remarked that the prose of the Jñātakamālā might be Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit.

33 In the Pali Kuṇḍala Jātaka (Jātaka, V. 416-56) alternance of prose and verse is, however, noticeable and according to Warder 'the work is a true campū-kāḷīya in form. Probably this campū was designed as a bitter response to the actions of Asoka's last empress who tried to undo her husband's good works after gaining influence over him in his old age: One should never trust a woman'.—Warder, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 71-75.

34 The origin of the campūs, according to a majority of scholars, is to be traced in South India. Cf. 'On a présomme une origine méridionale pour le genre littéraire tout entier.'—Renou et Filliozat, op. cit., p. 259.

35 For a detailed study of Somadeva's campū from various aspects—historical, literary and cultural, see K. K. Handiqui's Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture (Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala, No. II., 1949).
VERSATILE LEARNING AND MASTERY OF DICTION ARE IN EVIDENCE THROUGHOUT THE WORK. THE ŚEṢHAŚUḌHĀKARA-CAMPŪ OF NĀRĀYANA (SEVENTEENTH CENTURY) AND ŚAṆKAṆAṆA’S ŚAṆKAṆARACETAVIJAYA-CAMPŪ, IN HONOUR OF THE FAMOUS CHAIT SINGH OF BANARAS, DESERVE MENTION IN THIS CONNECTION. NUMEROUS WORKS OF THIS GENRE WERE COMPOSED WITH BIOGRAPHICAL THEMES OR THEMES OF LOCAL INTEREST. MANY SUCH HAVE BEEN NOTICED IN THE VARIOUS DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUES OF MANUSCRIPTS. THE GAṆḌĪYA VAISHĀVĀYA TEACHERS ALSO MADE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS IN THIS FIELD, OF WHICH THE GOPĀĻA-CAMPŪ OF JĪVA GOSVĀMIN AND THE ANANDA-Vrndāvana-CAMPŪ OF KAVI KARṇAPUṆṆA ARE NOTEWORTHY BOTH FROM LITERARY AND THEOLOGICAL STAND-POINTS.

EPIGRAPHS AND EDICTS


— Loc. cit., II. 10-12.

III. 10.6. Kautilya defines the last three guṇas as:
‘Sukhoṇḍita-cārvartha-labdaḥbhidhānam mādhuryam
Agrāmtyalabdbhidhānam audāryam

In the early Sanskrit inscriptions of South India, especially those of Vākṣṭa, Kadamba, and Viṣṇukūḍaṇḍin, the prose, though ornate, is less elaborate and much simpler in comparison with the inscriptions of North India. See Renou, Histoire de la Langue Sanskrite, p. 98 (Paris, 1956). Ārya Śūra’s prose is one of the earliest specimens of Vaidarbha style, as Śūra was a southerner (vaidarbha), according to Ratnāśirṣṭā, an old critic and commentator of Daṇḍin’s Kāvyalakṣaṇa. Besides, Aśmaka-vanāśa, a specimen of Vaidarbha-mārga, according to Bhāmaha (Kāvyalakṣaṇa, I. 33), had as its theme the dynasty of Asama, belonging to the south of Vidarbha, and most probably was composed in that locality. Thus Vākṣṭa might have been the region where the vaidarbhi riti had its origin and it is not strange that it would leave its stamp on the prose style of the royal edicts and inscriptions of that region. See Warder, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 260-61. For employment of gaṇḍī riti in Sanskrit inscriptions Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya’s informative article entitled The Gaṇḍī Riti in Theory and Practice in IHQ, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 388 ff., may be consulted with profit.
style, even in prose, can be pushed back, beyond any doubt, to at least the first century of the Christian era, if not much earlier.

This high-flown, artistic, and sophisticated prose style was introduced into drama as well. Bharata in his Nātyaśāstra unambiguously lays down that the language of dramas should be easily intelligible to all—it should be janapada-sukha-bodhya and should eschew rare grammatical forms and recondite vocabulary. Ānandavardhana, with his characteristic keen critical sense, categorically enjoins that long compounded expressions should be avoided by all means in drama as they impede the development of the emotion (rasa) which is the quintessence of dramatic art, and particularly in cases where śṛṅgāra (love) and karuṇā (pathos) are the principal emotions. The prose style of earlier dramatists like Bhāsa and Kālidāsa faithfully keep up to these norms. That the language used by different types of characters in the dramas of these two great writers is always easy to understand, though dignified, is certainly beyond dispute. But as the centuries rolled on, the prose style cultivated by the great masters became gradually more and more sophisticated and endowed with all the characteristic features of ornate poetic art. Dramatic prose correspondingly became more and more heavy, artificial, and burdened with long compounds that could be thought hardly befitting even a regular prose narrative. This can be seen in the dramas of Bhavabhūti, Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, Kṣemīśvara, and others. This artificiality of Sanskrit prose influenced the speeches of Prakrit-speaking characters as well and the Prakrit dialogues in the dramas of Bhavabhūti, Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, and their contemporaries are as ornate and difficult to understand (due to abundance of long compounds and obscure vocables) as the Sanskrit spoken by characters of high rank. But in the dialogues of the available dramatic pieces of the earlier period, we find a form of simple unaffected Sanskrit prose that might reflect the popular spoken form of Sanskrit of the times.

PHILOSOPHICAL PROSE LITERATURE

We have already noticed in brief the employment of Sanskrit prose in the various bhāṣya texts. Almost all of them are couched in a medium that is characterized by clarity (prasāda) and depth (gāmbhirya) at the same time. But in the later exegetical works affiliated to different disciplines like philosophy, logic, poetics, jurisprudence and so on, Sanskrit prose was variedly employed. Though it was chiefly expository and polemical in character, founded on incisive dialectics, some of the works of this genre had grace and dignity mixed with admirable

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39 Cf. Ānandavardhana’s uttī on Dvānapśloka, III. 6.
40 Consult Dr S. K. De’s HSL, pp. 275-76, 283 ff., on the prose style—both Sanskrit and Prakrit, of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa and Bhavabhūti.
41 See Renou, op. cit., pp. 150-51.
literary flavour, which would befit even a purely poetical product. Just as the poets made use of their wide learning in different śāstras to enrich the contents of their works, in the same way these authors of exegetical texts belonging to various śāstras wrote with a view to making dry philosophical and scientific subjects attractive and persuasive to the readers. To that end they utilized their literary abilities to the full, making their prose full of verve, humour, wit or satire, as occasion demanded by virtue of their mastery of the Sanskrit idiom. As illustrations, we may mention the bhāyas of the great Śaṅkarācārya, the prose of Maṇḍana Miśra in his Brahmāsiddhi, Vācaspati Miśra’s incomparable prose in his masterly commentaries like Bhāmatī, Tatvo-vaiśāradya, Śāṅkhya-tattvaśākamudi and Nyāyavārtika-tātparyāṭikā, Jayanta’s graceful, dignified, and almost poetical exposition of the dry topics of logic and metaphysics in the Nyāyamaṇḍari, Śriharṣa’s terse and polemic prose style as evidenced in his Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādyā, Udayana’s masterly idiom and succinct expressions full of suggestiveness, Ānandavardhana’s measured and dignified exposition of the theory of suggestion in his Dhvanyāloka, and Abhinavagupta’s incomparable commentary Locana thereon, to cite only a few instances, are notable specimens of exegetical prose composition in Sanskrit. According to Rājaśekhara, śāstra and kāmya must stand in helpful, but not intrusive, alliance to each other so that one might fruitfully enhance the effects aimed at by the other. In keeping with this wise maxim, our śāstrakāras, poets of no mean order as they themselves were, did not hesitate to use their poetic skill in order to make their arguments convincing as well as attractive.

BUDDHIST PROSE LITERATURE

Before we conclude, a few words ought to be spoken about the peculiar Sanskrit prose style cultivated by the Buddhists of the Sarvāstivādin, Mūlasarvāstivādin, and Mahāsāṅghika schools in their extra-canonical texts. The Avadānasāataka, the Dīvyāvadāna, and the Mahāvastu are remarkable prose narratives. Their style is simple, graceful, and much nearer to a spoken idiom than the ornate artistic prose of classical Sanskrit. The language of the Mahāvastu is not pure Sanskrit, but a sort of hybrid Sanskrit that was much in vogue among the Buddhist communities. In it popular elements of speech and various sorts


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of Prakritism got mixed with the Sanskrit, evolving direct from the Vedic prose of the Brāhmaṇas. There are a good many examples of solecism noticeable in the prose of these Buddhist narratives, that can by no means be justified by the norms laid down by classical grammarians. Prof. Edgerton’s pioneering works in the fields of grammar and lexicography relating to Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit have opened up new vistas for students of Indo-Aryan linguistics. It is of great help in forming an idea about the widespread use of Sanskrit among the masses and the aberrations introduced therein through the centuries.44

It may, however, be noted in this connection that even among the orthodox Brāhmaṇic schools, ritualists and philosophic thinkers, Sanskrit as a spoken language did not always strictly conform to the rigid norms laid down by grammarians. Various solecisms were also tolerated outside the jurisdiction of ritual performances. This is attested by the reference in Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya to a group of rṣis nick-named ‘Yavānastavōṇaḥ’ because of their peculiar pronunciation of the expression yadvā-nas-tad-vā naḥ based upon a defective euphonic combination. But such solecisms were never tolerated in ritual acts proper.45

Thus, it is no wonder that the Buddhists would adopt a form of popular Sanskrit, easily understandable to the masses, even though it did not faithfully conform to the rigid norms formulated by grammarians of old. But as Buddhism declined and as linguistic standards, especially those set down by the Pāṇinians, gradually gained ascendancy and came to be looked upon as inviolable, the so-called Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit disappeared from the linguistic map of India.

CONCLUSION

This brief and rapid survey of Sanskrit prose literature in its widest connota-

44 Edgerton thus summarizes broadly the peculiar traits of this hybrid dialect in one of his lectures: ‘Let me summarize the results of this lecture. The Buddha commanded his disciples to use only popular dialects in reciting his teachings. They followed his instructions for a time. Many dialects all over North India were thus used by local schools of Buddhists. One such dialect, perhaps originally spoken at Ujjain, was Pali, which was carried to Ceylon, Burma etc., and became the canonical language of Southern Buddhism. Another such dialect, of unknown original location, began after a time to be modified by the local Buddhists to make it look more like Sanskrit, the socially respected language of their Brahman neighbours. This Sanskritization was at first slight and partial. As time went on it increased, but it never became complete. Prakritic forms continued to be used, and many forms were mixed or hybrid, neither genuine Prakrit nor standard Sanskrit. The vocabulary, especially, remained largely Prakritic. Thousands of words were used which are unknown in Sanskrit, or not used there with the same meanings. To this curious language, which became widespread in North India, I have given the name Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. After more than twenty years of research I have published, in 1953, the only complete Grammar and Dictionary of the language ever attempted.’—F. Edgerton, op. cit., Lecture I, p. 7.

45 Cf. Mahābhāṣya, Āhīka I (Pāścāt): ‘Evaṃ hi śṛṇyate—Yavānastavōṇo nāma praye babhūcāḥ pratyakṣadharmoṣṇaḥ parāparajāḥ viditaveda-
tasyād bhūgta-tāyuḥ śāstraḥ, te tetrabhavante yaduānastaduṣāna iti prayogakramo yavānastavōṇa iti prayunjate, yāte pariḥ karmaṇā nāpabhūyante.’
tion would, we think, help us in forming an unbiased opinion as regards its infinite variety and inherent possibilities. It would not be just if an appraisal of Sanskrit prose is made purely on the basis of the prose of the Pañcatantra and similar books of fables on the one hand and the ornate and artificial prose of such master stylists as Daṇḍin, Bāṇa, and Subandhu on the other. We must take into account the varied ramifications that Sanskrit prose underwent in diverse fields like popular fables, romances, various technical disciplines, philosophical and exegetical treatises, royal edicts and inscriptions, in Buddhist extra-canonical works, dramatic dialogues and epistles, and numerous other domains since its dim beginnings in the nīvīds and yajus. Only thus can we gain a comprehensive and dispassionate view about its wealth, range, variety, richness and wonderful capacity to adapt itself to the topics under discussion.⁶⁶

⁶⁶See, however in this connexion, Dr S. K. De's observations: 'In practice, certainly, if not in theory, the separate existence of prose as a vehicle of expression is sparingly recognised, the writers fancying that prose is but a species of verse itself and of poetry which is conveyed in verse, and making their prose, endowed with florid rhetorical devices, look as much as possible like their own verse and poetry.'—HSL, p. 418.
ALTHOUGH no actual animal fable is found in Vedic literature, in the Rg-Veda itself there is a wealth of material with the characteristics of the fable, and this indicates the fondness of the Vedic Aryan for tales of all sorts. Thus in the Rg-Veda there is a frog song in which Brahmaṇas singing at a sacrifice are compared to croaking frogs. Besides, this throws light on the fact that the attitude of seeing kinship between men and animals belonged to the early Aryan. The Chāndogya Upanisad goes one step further and introduces a satirical account of dogs moving in a procession and howling for food, the object of this idea being that it might serve as a standard of comparison with the Brahmaṇas engaged in the performance of sacrifices and the chanting of hymns. In the same Upanisad the young Satyakāma is instructed first by a bull, then by a flamingo, and subsequently by an aquatic bird. These examples show that the early Indian was able quite easily to transfer the habits and behaviour of men to his neighbours, the animals; the teachings of the Upanisads helped to a considerable extent in the formation of this attitude.

In the Mahābhārata, the fable leaves its embryonic stage and becomes more full-bodied. Thus we hear of the naughty cat who deceived the little mice by appearing so virtuous, and they ultimately delivered themselves unto her power. Then there is the crafty jackal who cheated his allies and enjoyed alone the booty won previously with their aid. This developed form of the fable is found even more in the literature of the Buddhists who believed in the doctrine of transmigration into animal as well as human forms, and in the Jātaka tales they took recourse to beast stories in order to demonstrate the greatness of Buddha. Besides these, there are the stories which constitute the avadānas, stories depicting those pious deeds by which one becomes a Buddha. Sanskrit poetics does not draw a distinction between a Jātaka and an avadāna, but both are ignored possibly because of their religious objectives. What the curious reader misses most is an attempt to discriminate between the fable and the tale. A rigid differentiation between the two is possibly not practicable, however, since the characteristics of one cannot be entirely excluded from the other. While the fable becomes enriched by the folk-tale or spicy stories of human adventure, the tale becomes complex by assimilating the features of beast stories and also their didactic motive.

THE PAñCATANTRA AND THE HITOPADEśA

Absorbing into its frame the elements of the fable and of the tale, the
Pañcatantra is apparently the creation of a great artist who reveals himself as a master of narrative as well as the perfect man of the world. At its outset the Pañcatantra claims to be a work specifically intended to teach practical wisdom to princes. In doing this it shows its connection with the Niti-śāstra and the Artha-śāstra, two important branches of study which deal with action in practical politics and in the conduct of the ordinary affairs of everyday life. Nevertheless, there lingers round the Pañcatantra the definite influence of the Dharma-śāstra, the code of morals, for the fable never extols cleverness and political wisdom divorced from morality. This didactic nature of the work explains its peculiar pattern, the pattern of em boxing stories within a main tale, developed, possibly, on the model of the method of presenting narratives found in the Mahābhārata. As the Pañcatantra is intended mainly as a book of instruction, the moral of the story is conveniently summed up in a concluding para. The characters usually try to support their maxims by allusions to other fables, and this naturally results in the insertion of a tale within a tale. It requires, of course, the superb skill of a great literary artist to interweave the fables in such a manner that the whole becomes a unit and completeness of effect is obtained. In this task the author of the Pañcatantra gives evidence of his superior skill and profound genius.

The Pañcatantra, it is said, emanated from the pen of one Viṣṇuśarman to whom the sons of King Amaraśakti were entrusted on his promising to teach them polity within six months. As its name suggests (pañca, five), the Pañcatantra is divided into five parts, each of which deals with an aspect of practical wisdom. The first book, entitled Mitrābheda, handles efficiently the theme of the separation of friends. The frame-story relates how a wicked jackal brings about the estrangement of the lion Piṅgalaka from the bull Sañjivaka. Piṅgalaka treats Sañjivaka as a dear friend, to the absolute disgust of the sly jackal, Damanaka, and his mate. Ultimately the lion is made to distrust the bull and slay him. As Piṅgalaka, feeling penitent, laments the death of his one-time faithful attendant, Damanaka refers to the principles of polity to console him. Polity, he says, recommends extermination of even the nearest and dearest, if he endangers the stability of the administration. Statecraft, Damanaka adds, is sometimes false and sometimes true, sometimes harsh and sometimes soft, sometimes marked by ferocity and sometimes by compassion, sometimes bestows pain and sometimes profit; and in all this, he says, it may be compared to a clever courtesan who presents herself in different forms. Damanaka then cites from the Bhagavata-Gītā the memorable teaching of the Lord never to lament the living or the dead. Finally Piṅgalaka is consoled; he continues to administer his forest domain with the help of his jackal minister Damanaka.

Then there is the story of the crow-couple and the cobra, which shows the advantage of clever ruse over force. The cobra has slain the offspring of the
crows. To punish him the female crow puts into his hole a golden chain stolen from the prince. The chain is found there by the king’s men, and they kill the cobra. The next story, about the heron and the crab, demonstrates the error of over-greed. The heron deceives the fish into trusting him to remove them from their lake to another in order to save their lives from the fisherman. Each day, however, he eats the fish he carries away. When it is the crab’s turn to be saved he discovers the heron’s trick and with his nippers cuts off the heron’s head. That intelligence leads to success and folly to ruin is proved by the tale of the lion and the old hare. The hare kills the lion by persuading him to leap into a well in order to attack and kill his rival. The lion he sees there, however, is only his own reflection in the water. Another interesting story embosed within other stories concerns two friends, the sons of merchants. Their names are Honest-wit (Dharmabuddhi) and Evil-wit (Papabuddhi), also translated as Right-mind and Wrong-mind. Together, the two friends bury a sum of money under a tree, but it is removed by Evil-wit who then charges Honest-wit with the theft. In the court Evil-wit mentions the tree as the witness to the crime; he then persuades his father to conceal himself in the hollow of the tree. In the presence of the magistrate the tree-spirit declares the guilt of Honest-wit. But Honest-wit sets fire to the tree, and Evil-wit’s father comes out and confesses everything. Evil-wit is punished. This story is intended to be a warning against embarking upon a project without knowing the various effects that are likely to follow from it.

With the winning of friends as the topic of its central theme, the second book, *Mitra-sampatti*, tenders the advice to have friends and deal with them fairly; as it says at the end, one with a rich collection of sincere allies is never put to difficulty by his antagonists. The frame-story opens with a description of the way the clever king of the doves, Bright-neck (Citragrīva), with his whole retinue fell into the hunter’s net. Bright-neck makes all the doves fly up together, carrying the net with them; and ultimately he has the bonds cut by the mouse Goldy (Hiranyak), being careful to see that he himself is released last of all. A crow, Light-wing (Laghupatanaka), who watches Goldy as he helps the doves, succeeds in making friends with the mouse and is introduced by him to his old friend the tortoise, Sluggish. A fifth friend is added in the shape of a deer who, in the course of his wanderings, is caught in a snare but is released finally by his comrades. The slow-moving tortoise is also taken by the hunter, but by a clever stratagem his friends rescue him. This frame-story provides ample scope for the introduction of a number of tales, each of which is incorporated in order to substantiate a point raised by one of the characters.

The third book, *Kākolūkya*, illustrates the theme of war and peace, using a frame-story about the crows (*kākāh*) and the owls (*ulakāh*). The king of the owls, Foe-killer (Arimardana), destroys the retinue of the king of the crows, Cloud-
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colour (Megha-varṇa), who summons his ministers and seeks their advice on the
steps to be taken against Foe-killer. This gives the author an opportunity to
discuss the six expedients recommended in the treatises on polity and also to
throw light on the relative strength of these expedients. At last, on the advice
of the old minister, Firm-life (Sthirajīvi), Cloud-colour decides to apply the
policy of dissension. Firm-life presents himself to the owls as a suppliant for
help, saying that he has been cast out by the crows for offering good counsel to
the king. He expresses a desire to burn himself and become an owl in his next
birth. The owl-minister, Red-eye (Raktākṣa), warns the foolish sovereign, but
Foe-killer persists in permitting his enemy to live within the gates. Finally at an
opportune moment, the stronghold of the owls is set on fire by Cloud-colour and
his retinue and, as a result, the entire host of owls perish.

The fourth book has for its central theme Labdha-prāṇāśa, the loss of one's
gettings, and this is illustrated by a frame-story about a monkey and a croco-
dile. The monkey and the crocodile are friends, and every day the monkey
entertains the crocodile with delicious fruits. The friendship between the two
grows so strong that the crocodile's wife is jealous. She begins a fast, saying
that she will be content with nothing save the monkey's heart. The crocodile
invites the monkey to his home and they set out together. On the way, how-
ever, the crocodile reveals his purpose; but the monkey declares that his heart
has been left behind on the fig tree, and together they go back for it. As soon
as they reach the bank of the river, however, the monkey takes shelter in the
tree and tells the crocodile that, following in the footsteps of Gaṅgadatta, he
will never return. Thus starts the story of the king of the frogs, Gaṅgadatta,
who to have his enemies destroyed invites a serpent into the stronghold. The
serpent destroys the enemies but eats the frogs themselves as well, whereupon
Gaṅgadatta escapes never to return. The monkey tells the crocodile further
that he is not a fool like that ass, Long-eared (Lambakarṇa). This introduces the
story of the lion, the jackal, and the ass. Long-eared is persuaded by the jackal
to visit the lion who is old and feeble. The lion tries to jump upon Long-eared
but misses, and Long-eared escapes. A second time, however, Long-eared is per-
suaded to return and is killed. Before eating Long-eared, the lion goes to bathe;
but the jackal eats the heart and the ears and then convinces the lion that the
ass had had neither. The story praises the cunning of the jackal and blames
the stupidity of the ass and of the lion who is no less a fool.

The theme of the fifth book, Aparikṣita-kārika, is hasty or ill-considered
action. The frame-story opens with the young merchant Maṇibhadra mourning
over the loss of his fortune. In a dream he is bidden to slay a monk who will
visit him in the morning; the monk will then turn into his lost treasure. The
merchant does as he dreamt and gets back his wealth. A barber, having seen all
this, clubs to death several monks, expecting a lot of treasure. Instead, he
receives the death sentence at the hands of justice. The fate of the barber reminds the merchant of the tale of the Brāhmaṇa and the mongoose, and he relates the tale to the judges. The Brāhmaṇa leaves the mongoose to guard his sleeping child. On his return, however, the mongoose runs to greet him with paws red with blood. Thinking that the mongoose has killed his child, the Brāhmaṇa kills the mongoose. He then discovers the mutilated body of a snake, while his child is safe. The Brāhmaṇa is filled with remorse for his thoughtless action in killing the mongoose who had actually saved his child’s life.

The tone of this book is rather unhappy since the different tales are intended to demonstrate the bad effects of diverse types of human weakness. There is, for example, the story of the goblin and the weaver. The goblin offers to give the weaver anything he wants. The weaver hurries home and consults first the barber and then his own wife. The barber tells him to ask for a kingdom, but his wife says that that would involve a lot of trouble. Instead, he should ask for a second pair of arms and a second head, for then he would be able to double his weaving. The weaver follows his wife’s advice and the goblin grants his wish. On the way home, however, the weaver is mistaken for a fiend and killed by the villagers.

Thus ends the Pañcatantra, all five books of which are interspersed with verses containing maxims which deal with moral, religious, philosophical, and political ideas and also with general codes of conduct.

Among the numerous treatises which have descended from the Pañcatantra is the Hitopadesa which has currency mostly in Bengal. Emanating from the pen of one Narāyaṇa, whose patron was King Dhavalacandra (date not known), it is an independent work intended for instruction in Sanskrit. At the outset, however, Narāyaṇa admits that his purpose is twofold and that he also intends instruction in a code of conduct. His sources are the Pañcatantra and another book, which is anonymous. Like the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadesa cites maxims relating to political thought; and the copious citations from the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra which are incorporated into it show that the work is intended mainly as instruction in the principles of polity.

The Hitopadesa consists of four books entitled ‘The Winning of Friends’, ‘The Loss of Friends’, ‘War’, and ‘Peace’. Thus we find that the order of the first two books of the source book has been reversed, while the third has been divided into two. Into these two, much of the contents of the fifth book have been inserted. The Hitopadesa includes a number of new tales; the majority of these are fables, some being fairy tales, a few tales of intrigue, and others edifying stories. The sources of much of the new matter in the third and fourth books are not known. One fine tale, among the new ones, is the story of Viravara, in which Narāyaṇa comes out very well as a painter of human character. Viravara approaches King Śūdraka and demands a fabulous sum as his daily wages. The
ruler readily agrees, and appoints him. Vīravara spends one-fourth of his wages on himself, and three-fourths he gives away in charity. One night the king hears a pitiful cry and asks Vīravara to find out what it was. Vīravara goes out and meets the Goddess of Fortune; from her he learns of the king’s impending death. In his bid to save the life of his royal patron he ultimately sacrifices his only son Śaktidhara. But Śūdraka had followed Vīravara, keeping himself concealed, and now he tries to put an end to his life before the image of Goddess Sarvamaṅgalā. She at last intervenes and prevents the king from committing suicide; at his request she brings Śaktidhara back to life. The tale ends happily with the coronation of Vīravara as the king of the Karpāṭa region. Thus Vīravara is a fine piece of characterization, showing the faithful servant ready to sacrifice himself for his master. In another story a sharp contrast to the character of Vīravara is provided by that of a mouse. A pious hermit changes a mouse successively into a cat, a dog, and a tiger, but reduces him to his original form when, as a tiger, he seeks to destroy his benefactor. This story, which is perhaps a revised version of a similar anecdote in the Mahābhārata, shows how a mean person behaves when he obtains an exalted position.

TALES AND FABLES IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE

While in the Mahābhārata fables and fairy tales are introduced for the purpose of propagating religious, philosophical, and political ideas, in Buddhist literature they are introduced in order to establish the supremacy of Buddhist thought and philosophy over other parallel systems. This is in evidence in the Khuddaka Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka. One of the most interesting sections of the Khuddaka Nikāya is the collection of stories known as the jātakas, stories relating to the former births of Buddha. In Buddhist ideology, a Bodhisattva is a person who is destined to obtain enlightenment. Consequently, Gautama the Buddha is competent to be regarded as a Bodhisattva not only in his last earthly existence, but in all the countless existences which he experienced as a man, an animal, or a god before he was reborn for the last time as the son of the Śākya prince. A tale in which this Bodhisattva, in one of his former existences, plays a part whether as the central figure or as a minor character or as a neutral spectator is, in the terminology of the Buddhists, a jātaka. The Buddhist monks took full advantage of the fondness of ancient Indians for anecdotes, and they converted into a jātaka any story, however worldly and however far removed from the sphere of Buddhist thought it might be. The jātaka collection therefore becomes a storehouse of fables, fairy tales, moral narratives, romantic tales, and pious legends; and the majority are not of Buddhist origin, for there are popular tales and anecdotes, heroic songs and ballads, and sacred legends and myths of the Brāhmaṇas and forest hermits.

The jātakas are composed in a mixture of prose and verse. The verse enlivens
the prose and the prose provides passages to explain and expound the moral teaching of the verse. In content, form, and extent, the jātakas are greatly varied. Side by side with short stories they may contain an extensive composition capable of being regarded as an independent work. There are numerous fables which occur in different recensions of the Pañcatantra which are also found in the Jātaka. Many of these stories have passed out of India into the literatures of other countries. The Pañcatantra's frame-story of the lion and the bull, between whom estrangement is brought about by the sly jackal, reappears in the Jātaka. Here, too, we have several variants of the delightful story of the monkey who outwits the crocodile by saying that his heart is left behind on the fig tree. The tale of the hypocritical cat who devours the mice while pretending to be a pious ascetic is a recast of the story in which the cat, pretending to be highly religious-minded, swallows up the young ones of the birds kept in the care of the old vulture. While in the Pañcatantra the ass clothes himself in a tiger's skin, in the Jātaka he appears in a lion's skin.

Among other well-known fables to be found in the Jātaka are those of the jackal who praises the crow's beautiful voice, thereby gaining some nice fruit for himself; the ox who envies the pig's good food until he hears that the pig is being fattened only for slaughter; the parrot sets to watch over the doings of a faithless wife, who finally kills the bird for being so watchful. In some fairy tales relating to animals and human beings, it is the animals, as a rule, who come out better than the men and women. One such fairy tale describes how an ascetic saves in turn a snake, a rat, a parrot, and a prince from the surging waves of a turbulent river. They all promise their undying gratitude to the ascetic. Ultimately, the prince tries to execute the sage, whereupon all the people gathered there seize the tyrant and put him to death. Some of the tales are intended to bring home this or that point relating to the code of ordinary conduct; thus they bear testimony to the popularity of the story as a means of religious instruction. One such tale narrates the experiences of a lover. Although he saves his wife's life by giving her his own blood to drink, the wife falls in love with a wretched cripple and pushes her husband down from a hill. However, the husband is saved in a strange way by a lizard, and ultimately he becomes king and punishes his faithless wife. Another story explains the necessity of scolding an inquisitive wife. By virtue of a spell, a king is able to understand the language of beasts, but he is forbidden to betray the secret on penalty of death. The over-inquisitive queen presses the king to tell her his secret, whereupon Śakka, the king of the gods, appears in the form of a goat and advises the king to give his wife a thrashing. The king does so and the desired effect is produced. A third story censures the common weakness of men for women and money. A monkey returns from the palace of the king and is asked by his fellows to describe life in the world of human beings. The monkey
speaks of men’s love for women and money, whereupon all the monkeys cover their ears and run away. A whole chain of stories laughs at man’s folly. Thus we hear of the son who shatters the skull of his sleeping father in his attempt to kill a mosquito sitting there; of the monkeys who, while watering the plants, pull up every plant by its roots; and of the monk who meets a fighting ram—the monk expects the ram to show him honour and make room to let him pass, but the ram just knocks him down.

THE POPULAR TALE

Another widely admired book of stories is the Byhatkathā, ‘The Great Story’, written by Guṇādhya; it epitomizes the ‘popular tale’. Bāna and Subandhu both refer to its importance; and Daṇḍin records that Paiśāci Prakrit was the language of this storehouse of wonderful tales. It was most probably written between the first and fourth centuries A.D. The original is lost, but its contents can be known through two main sources, one from Kashmir, the other from Nepal, each of which employs a different medium of expression. Two metrical Sanskrit adaptations of the Byhatkathā were written in Kashmir: the Byhat-kathā-maṇjarī written by Kṣemendra; and the Kathā-sarat-sāgara written by Somadeva. Both were written in about 1050. The adaptation written in Nepal is the Byhat-kathā-dokā-sangraha written by Budhasvāmin, whose date is assigned by tradition to the eighth or the ninth century.

Guṇādhya had the unique advantage of having before him the epics and also the Buddhist legends. While the epics provide the decisive element of the plot, the Buddhist legends give him the conception of his central figure. From the Rāmāyaṇa he obtains the motif of a husband searching for a wife cruelly stolen from him soon after marriage. Guṇādhya describes the adventures of Naravāhanadatta, the son of Udayana. He is a man of pleasure and of many loves. His chief love is Madanamaṅcukā whom he discovers after she has been carried off by force by Mānasavega. He makes her his bride and the land of the Vidyādhars his empire. In the course of this achievement he visits many countries and marries a number of women. In the two Kashmir works the narrative is interrupted by countless tales and legends, and there is such a mass of diverse stories that it is very difficult to maintain the continuity, although in the hands of Somadeva the effect of the main story is retained to a considerable extent. Somadeva’s composition also possesses another merit: it presents a large number of stories of great variety and thus justifies the title ‘Rivers of Stories Forming an Ocean’. There is, for example, a series of tales recording the acts and words of fools: the foolish servant who keeps the trunks open in an attempt to protect the leather from the rain; the silly person who eats seven cakes and then, feeling distressed, thinks he should have eaten the seventh one first; and the simpleton who repeatedly declares himself to be a ‘mind-
born son' because, as he says, his father would have nothing to do with a woman.

Another series records the achievements of rogues. A rogue dressed as a rich merchant enters into a contract with the king to present him with five hundred gold coins every day instead of appearing daily at the king's reception. The courtiers, thinking the man to be all-powerful with their master, bribe him and make him the proprietor of fifty million pieces. In another story a rogue is suffering in hell-on account of his misdeeds. A single gift, however, entitles him to become Indra for one day, whereupon he visits all the sacred places and through the merit thus acquired he remains Indra for ever.

In these stories women are usually presented as being vicious in their propensities, but a third series is comprised of exciting tales relating to the loyalty and disloyalty of women. There is the faithful wife who follows her husband in death; but there is also the murderous wife who mutilates her husband in revenge for a beating; another wife regularly betrays her husband, but insists on burning herself on his funeral pyre. There is the episode of the woman who gets rid of ten husbands and apparently meets her match in the man who has repudiated ten wives; but she becomes annoyed with him also and ultimately turns to the ascetic life. Another story is of a king with a white elephant. The elephant is ill and can only be healed by the touch of a chaste woman. Such a woman, a poor young wife, is found, whereupon the king marries her sister, only to be betrayed by her in the end. How many of these numerous tales of fools, rogues, and naught women belong to the original Brhadkathâ and how many are an accretion appended to the original, it is difficult to determine. It is possible, however, to assert that they combine to form an unrivalled repository of stories of distinctive quality and vigour, presented in an attractive, elegant, and unpretentious form.

More racy stories find place in the next oldest collection of popular tales. This is a work entitled Vethâla-pancaavanishati, a number of versions of which are available. Of these, the most popular is the recension by Sivadâsa, which is in prose interspersed with verse. Another version is the prose recast by Ksemendra; and a third is a textually poorer work by Vallabhadeva. The frame-story, in which twenty-five tales are dovetailed, concerns King Trivikramasena or Vikramasena who in later accounts becomes Vikramaditya. An ascetic brings to the king every day a fruit containing a concealed gem. To oblige the ascetic, the king agrees to go to a cemetery and bring down from a tree a corpse which has been put there for the purpose of some magic rites. But the corpse is already possessed by a vetâla, a ghost, and he agrees to give up the body only if the king can answer certain questions he will put to him. The Vetâla relates a story, and at the end poses a question which is in the nature of a puzzle. The stories are extremely enigmatic and to furnish replies to the riddles is no easy task.
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With great ingenuity, however, Vikramâdiya solves them and comes out triumphant. One of the problems is to determine the relationship inter se of children whose father marries the daughter of a widowed lady whom his son marries. Another problem is to ascertain the best lover among three: the one who burns himself on the funeral pyre with the body of the dead girl; the one who builds a hut in the crematorium and lives there; or the one who, after much suffering, brings the dead girl back to life by means of a charm. A similar problem is to find out the noblest among these three: the husband-to-be who allows his fiancée to keep her last tryst with her lover; the robber who lets her pass him unscathed; and the lover who returns her untouched to the prospective husband. The stories show great cleverness and much knowledge of life's possible problems, and are certainly very pleasing.

ETERNAL MAN, ETERNAL WOMAN

The ancient Indian beast fables and similar stories in Sanskrit, Pali, or Prakrit have great human value in their penetrating knowledge of the human character. We see before us the eternal man and the eternal woman. These stories show men and women, their virtues and vices, their strengths and weaknesses, their wisdom and folly. By introducing beasts and birds who act as people would, the stories become allegories which provide moral instruction through amusement. This deep insight together with an abiding social awareness, conferred on the authors of these books of stories a keen sense of realism and an almost uncanny power of penetration into people's actions and the motives behind those actions. Thus they were able to sum up the social experience of their own and other ages. Saints and devils, fools and knaves, the wise and the unwise, the honest and the dishonest, the unwiseely honest and the dishonestly wise, the righteous and the evil-doer, the innocent and the ruffian, all rub shoulders together, whether as birds and beasts or as men and women. In and through them all we can easily recognize eternal man and eternal woman.

These stories thus have much to offer us today. To know this multi-minded person, the human being, and to discern the maladies of our own society, it would be helpful to pay attention once more to our storehouse of the wonderful tales and fables from ancient India.
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SANSKRIT HISTORIES AND CHRONICLES

The charge often levelled against Indians, on the strength of the testimony of Alberuni (A.D. 1030), that they lacked historical sense is but partially true. Though we do not find actual chronicles for the ancient period, lists of teachers in the Vedic texts, dynastic lists in the Purāṇas (ancient tales), church history and biographies in the Buddhist works, and the pāṭṭāvalis (narratives) of the Jains indirectly postulate the existence of chronicles of some sort even in remote antiquity. The royal and dynastic chronicles composed by Bāṇa (seventh century), Kalhāna (twelfth century), and subsequent writers, and the regional chronicles in medieval times prove the continuation of the practice for a long time.

VEDIC TEXTS

There are references of some historical significance in the Vedic literature from the earliest times, of which mention may be made of the vanīśas (lineages) and lists giving the gotra-pravara (race and the sages contributing to the family) which, as Ghoshal says, 'have a substratum of historical reality' and 'would form at best a skeleton of historical composition properly so called'. There are also the gāthās (songs) and the nārāśamsis (songs in praise of heroes), which are 'the precursors of epic poetry' and 'forerunners of the Indian historical kāvyā' (poetical class of literature); and the itiḥāsas (histories) and the Purāṇas, which as yet had 'no trace of genealogies of kings and dynasties with chronological references, such as were to constitute an essential ingredient of the later Purāṇas, according to the standard definition'.¹

Ākhyāna (tale), itiḥāsa, and purāṇa in the Vedic literature constituted the rudimentary specimens of history. The terms have been indiscriminately used as synonyms or as distinct words, sometimes each individual word implying the other two or one of them. The ancients did not clearly distinguish between the three. The same account was designated as ākhyāna, itiḥāsa, and purāṇa in different places, while different kinds of narratives were styled ākhyānas, itiḥāsas, and purāṇas. The Mahābhārata calls itself, besides the best of itiḥāsas, an ākhyāna and a purāṇa, and both the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas appear to have treated these three terms as identical.

¹ Ghoshal, Studies in Indian History and Culture (Calcutta, 1957), Chapter I, especially pp. 7, 8, 15, 17-18.
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ITIHĀSA AND PURĀNA

In Kauṭilya’s time (fourth century B.C.), itihāsa occupied an important position and comprehended six branches which comprised purāṇa (in its earlier form dealing with cosmogony, cosmology, and divine pedigree), itivṛtta (probably dynastic chronicles and events of the past), ākhyāyikā (historical narrations and anecdotes), udāharana (illustrative stories, biographies, or events), dharma-śāstra (works on law), and artha-śāstra (political science). This shows Kauṭilya’s comprehensive conception of history which incorporated, besides historical chronicles in their widest significance, law and legal institutions, and social, moral, and economic theory and practice.

Originally comprising sarga, pratisarga, and dharma-śāstra matters, the Purāṇas later became paṇcalakṣaṇa (having five characteristics): sarga (original creation), pratisarga (dissolution and recreation), vaṃśa (divine genealogies), manvantara (ages of Manu), and vaṃśānucarita (genealogies of kings). The Purāṇas themselves state that the ancient sage, Vyāsa, compiled a Purāṇa Sarṇhitā from the material supplied by ākhyāna, upākhyānas (episodes), gāthās, and kalpa-jokiṭis (descriptions of the aeons or cycles) and kalpa-śuddhis (descriptions of the correct systems and customs for each kalpa). The nucleus of the political history in the Purāṇas was thus supplied by the genealogies of gods, sages, and kings, and by the traditions of great men culled from Vedic texts.

Scholars hold divergent views regarding the historical importance of the Purāṇas. The present writer considers that there is no material difference or contradiction between the data offered by the Vedic texts and the data offered by the Purāṇas; the apparent differences or contradictions can be satisfactorily explained on the basis of differences regarding aims and objects, the sphere and region of influence, and the circumstances surrounding the origin of these two. The omission of particular persons or events in one text is explicable on the ground of the comparative unimportance or the insignificance of those persons or events in the view of that text, or of their mention in both under different names. Some of the Rg-Vedic kings can be fitted into the gaps in the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas. The proper procedure for the writing of traditional history is to base the account on the joint testimony of the Vedic texts and the Purāṇas, wherever available, to harmonize the conflicting texts as far as possible, and to give very careful consideration to the evidence of the Purāṇas before rejecting it.

The sūtas (professional bards) were entrusted with the task of preservation and transmission of the traditional lore incorporated in the Purāṇas. The genealogical accounts in the Purāṇas ended with the period of the Guptas (A.D. 320-467), probably on account of the proper organization of royal archives which rendered these lists unnecessary. Also, the inclusion of fresh matter in
sacred works of hoary antiquity, as the Purāṇas were regarded in those days, was deemed sacrilegious. Purāṇic genealogies have their counterparts in later days in the vanisāvalis (genealogies) of Nepal, the Jaina prabandhas (collections of historical narratives) of Gujarat, and the burañjis (Assamese records).

THE HISTORICAL KĀVYAS: FUNDAMENTAL PRESUPPOSITIONS

Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, who visited India in the seventh century, testifies to the existence of an official for each province whose task was to maintain written records of ‘good and evil events, with calamities and fortunate occurrences’; and, curiously enough, we find a contemporary literary record in Bāṇa’s Harṣacarita. Apart from the historical material found in the Vedic texts, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas, some kind of historical information can be found in literary works of a subsequent period—the so-called historical kāvya. But the concept of kāvya that prevailed assigned a superior place to the characteristics of the form, so that in historical kāvyas history occupies but a minor place.

Before turning to these historical kāvyas, a reference should be made to the basic or fundamental presuppositions which operate as conditioning factors not only in literary productions in general, but also in the earlier specimens mentioned above. The Indian mind, permeated by religion and philosophy, is ingrained with the peculiar theories of time, avatāra (incarnation), destiny, Karma (results of action), Māyā (the basic principle of creative power), and so on. The Purāṇas evolve a cosmic framework of time and a cyclic conception of history in their theory of yugas (ages), caturyugas (cycles of four yugas, also called mahāyugas), and kalpa (2,000 mahāyugas). Within the caturyugas the four yugas are repeated in the same order, each succeeding yuga being a progressive deterioration. The theory of avatāra propounded that when deterioration reached its extreme limit the omniscient, omnipresent, and omnipotent God would descend to this earth and rescue the world from all calamities. The Golden Age would then be ushered in, followed, in due course, in subsequent yugas by a return to the utmost limit of deterioration when once more God would come to the rescue of humanity, and the cycle would continue. The theory of fate or destiny regards everything as predestined and considers that a cosmic purpose eggs the individual on to a predestined goal, whether he wills it or not. The doctrine of Karma holds that all human actions are the results of actions done in previous births. Two other presuppositions were: belief in transmigration and belief in the divinity of kings.

PRAŚASTIS

The beginnings of the historical kāvyas can be traced, as we have seen, to the


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gāthās and nārāyaṇaśis, and in the prāṣastis (eulogies) we get the earliest specimens of them. The main aim of the author or poet in composing the historical kāvyā was to create a piece of aesthetic literature conveying the Indian ideals of life. Historical accuracy being but of secondary importance, there is in these compositions a curious mixture of history, myth, legend, and imagination.

Prāṣastis, both in prose and verse, which possess poetic merit of a modest kind, constitute historical documents. Besides the usual benedictions and invocations, the description of the donation and the condition and privileges accompanying it, the names of the architect, priest, poet, and scribe connected with the memorial, and also the date, the historically important part is the genealogy and the account of the donor and of the ruling prince. The genealogies are generally correct. These prāṣastis, written from the first century B.C. onwards, may be regarded as the first step towards recording history.

Historical works can be divided into two categories: caritās or biographies, not only of kings but of other important historical personages, and prabandhas or collections of historical narratives which were akin to chronicles.

THE HISTORICAL WORKS

The Harshacarita: Chronologically after the prāṣastis comes the Harshacarita, a prose romance by Bāṇa who lived in the seventh century. Though called a mahākāvyā (epic) in the colophon, the Harshacarita is styled by Bāṇa an ākhyāyikā (a work based on fact) as distinguished from kathā (fiction). The work does not give the history of the reign of Harṣa (first half of the seventh century), but deals with a particular episode in his life, working it out as a literary masterpiece. Starting with a description of his capital, Śrīnāgara, and an account of his predecessors, the Harshacarita describes the marriage of Harṣa’s sister Rājyaśri with Graha-varman who belonged to the Maukhara dynasty, and goes on to narrate the death of Harṣa’s father, Prabhākaravardhana, the self-immolation of Harṣa’s mother, the sudden murder of Graha-varman, the imprisonment of Rājyaśri, the murder of Harṣa’s brother, Rājyavardhana, Harṣa’s expedition in search of his sister, the escape of Rājyaśri, and her rescue from the funeral pyre by a Buddhist monk. The story ends abruptly with the meeting of Harṣa and Rājyaśri.

Though intended to be a romantic story rather than sober history, the Harshacarita has been a valuable corrective and supplement to the data supplied by Hiuen Tsang and the inscriptions, and gives a cultural picture of the life of the society of the period.

The Gaudaragho: Vākipatirāja, who describes himself as a pupil of Bhavabhūti, probably composed the Gaudaragho in A.D. 725, before the defeat of his patron Yaśovarman at the hands of Lallitāditya Muktāpiḍa of Kashmir. The Gaudaragho, which describes in a more or less conventional manner Yaśovarman’s victorious
campaigns of conquest, is more of a panegyric than the historical poem it claims to be. The fact of Yaśovarman’s campaigns in the east finds confirmation in inscriptions, while that of those in the west and south is partially supported by indirect evidence. Kalhana refers to Yaśovarman, the patron of Vākpati and Bhavabhūti, as being defeated by Lalitāditya.  

The Bhuvanabhuyadaya: According to Kalhana, the Bhuvanabhuyadaya by Śaṅkuka (ninth century) described the battle between Mamma and Utpala of Kashmir,⁴ but it is not extant now.

The Kavi-rahasya: Halāyudha’s Kavi-rahasya (tenth century), while illustrating the grammatical formations of the present tense of roots, incidentally eulogizes Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III. Bhandarkar⁵ identifies Halāyudha with the author of the Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā.

The Navasāhasānka-carita: Padmagupta or Parimala, the court poet of Sindurāja Navasāhasānka of Mālava, wrote the Navasāhasānka-carita in a.d. 1050. Dealing, as it does, with the marriage of Sindurāja with the Nāga princess Śaśiprabhā, it has not much value as history, though it stands fairly high as a kāvyā.

The Vikramāṅkadeva-carita: Bilhaṇa (eleventh century), the Kashmiri, who became the vidyāpati (director of education) of Cālukya Vikramāṅḍita Triḥuvanamalla, purports to give the history of the Cālukyas in his Vikramāṅkadeva-carita. Starting with the mythical origin of the Cālukyas, the work attains historical character with Tailāpa (tenth century), of the restored dynasty, whose victory is recorded, but not his defeat by the king of Mālava. The exploits of Vikramāṅḍita’s father are followed by his conquests before accession, which are described with conventional embellishments. Then follow the marriage of Vikramāṅḍita with a Coḷa princess, his campaigns in the south, and his accession after supplanting his elder brother Someśvara II. Then are narrated the defeat and capture of his younger brother Jayasimha, and his several wars with the Coḷas.

The Vikramāṅkadeva-carita deals, in the traditional kāvyā style, with royal wars and royal marriages and includes all the conventional amplifications. The intervention of Śiva is brought in at crucial moments to tide over inconvenient situations for the hero and in order to whitewash him and blacken his enemies. Though the poet could not give a full historical narrative of Vikramāṅḍita’s life on account of the restrictions of traditional form and method, the account in the Vikramāṅkadeva-carita, divested of poetic exaggerations, is corroborated by inscriptive evidence.

The Karnasundari: During his stay at the court of King Karnadeva

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² Rājatarangini, IV. 144.
⁴ Ibid., IV. 704-5.
Trailokyamalla of Anahilavada, Bilhana wrote the semi-historical drama Karnaasundari, dealing with the marriage of his patron with Mayanalladevi. Though of little historical importance, the drama may have been based on a contemporary incident.

The Rajaatarangini: Kalhana's Rajaatarangini (twelfth century) is the nearest approach by an Indian author to the writing of history according to modern conceptions. Divided into eight chapters of unequal length, the Rajaatarangini deals in the first three chapters with fifty-two fabulous kings of whom all record had been lost. The next two chapters cover the Karakoja (or Naga) and Utpala dynasties. Though the Karakoja dynasty has been assigned a mythical origin, Kalhana's chronology of this dynasty is found to be wrong by only about thirty years. The concluding chapters deal with the two Lohara dynasties, of whom a complete account has been given from almost first-hand information.

According to Indian standards, which require a poet to be an adept in several arts and sciences, Kalhana may be said to have been well equipped for his task. He was well versed in mahakavyas and historical kavyas, works on astrology, polity, administration, law, poetics, geography, economics, erotics, and also the epics and legendary lore. He utilized for his Rajaatarangini not less than eleven historical chronicles besides the still extant Nila-mata Purana. Of the authors mentioned, we know only Ksementra (eleventh century) and Helara who are stated to have been the authors of the Ntpaval and the Pathfinder respectively, though these works are not available to us. Besides these, Kalhana drew upon not only literary texts, living traditions, and folklore, but also coins, inscriptions, and records of land grants, wherever available. The Rajaatarangini supplies valuable data for reconstructing the cultural life of Kashmir through the ages.

Kalhana believed in the omnipotence of fate ruling historical events, and in the operation of supernatural forces in shaping them. This belief Kalhana shares with many who preceded and followed him, and, by modern standards of historiography, it constitutes a defect. Also, it is found that Kalhana neither properly assesses his sources, nor substantiates his statements by citing authorities; nor does he differentiate between the sources for ancient and recent periods. He believes, moreover, in the epics and the Puranas, and in the traditional lore.

Continuations of the Rajaatarangini: Jonaraja, Srishara, and Prajya Bhatta continued Kalhana's work. Jonaraja (fifteenth century), in his Deviyuddha Rajaatarangini, intended to bring the history of Kashmir up to the time of his patron Zain-ul-Abidin, but he died before completing the work. His pupil Srishara started his Triyuddha Rajaatarangini from the period where Jonaraja left it and completed it in four chapters covering the period, 1459 to 1486. Prajya Bhatta
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(sixteenth century) and his pupil Śuka, in their Rājavali-palākā, carry the account up to 1586 when Kashmir was annexed by Akbar.

The Rāmacarita: Sandhyākara Nandin’s Rāmacarita (eleventh-twelfth centuries) is a śleṣa-kāvyā (the stanzas having double meaning). It gives simultaneously in four cantos, the story of Rāma and a detailed history of Rāmapāla (c. 1084-1130). It speaks of the revolution in North Bengal, the murder of Mahipāla II, the restoration of the kingdom by Rāmapāla, and his eventful and remarkable reign. The story continues even after the reign of Rāmapāla and ends with Madanapāla (who reigned 1140-55). It possesses great historical values as a contemporary record, but fails as a poetical composition.

The Prthvirāja-vijaya: Probably a product of Kashmir, the Prthvirāja-vijaya (authorship not definitely known), which is available as an unfinished fragment, was commented on by Jonarāja. The work deals, in a conventional manner, with the victories of the Cāhāmāna king, Prthvirāja of Ajmer (twelfth century), who fought with Shihab-ud-din Mohammed. A short account is given of the ancestors of Prthvirāja who appears in this poem as an incarnation of Rāma.

Though it is not possible to state the extent of the story in the absence of the concluding portion of the work, which is not available, it appears that the work was written during Prthvirāja’s lifetime to celebrate his victory over Shihab-ud-din Mohammed in the battle of Tarain. Several incidents in the work have been corroborated by independent evidence, and it constitutes a valuable source for the history of the Cāhāmānas of Śakambhari.

The Hammira-mahākāvyā: Another work dealing with the Cāhāmānas is the Hammira-mahākāvyā by Nāyacandra Sūri, the spiritual grandson of Jayasimha Sūri. In fourteen cantos the work describes the heroic deeds of Hammira, the last ruler of the Cāhāmāna dynasty at Raṅgastambhapura (Ranthambhor), who was killed in an encounter with the Muslims, and the self-immolation of the womenfolk before he met his heroic end. Contemporary Muslim chronicles establish the general accuracy of the historical events recorded in this work.

THE GUJARAT CHRONICLES

We now turn to the Gujarat chronicles. There are about half a dozen chronicles and some dramatic works dealing with Kumārapāla (twelfth century) and his reign.

The Kumārapāla-carita: This work is a doyāśraya-kāvyā (a poem in two languages), partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit; it proves its author, the celebrated Jaina polymath Hemacandra (1088-1172), to be at one and the same time a poet, a historian, and a grammarian of two languages. Comprising twenty cantos in Sanskrit, of unequal length running into 2,439 verses, and eight cantos in Prakrit, the Doyāśraya-kāvyā simultaneously gives an account.
of the Cālukyas from Mūlarāja to Kumārapāla and illustrates the rules of the author's grammar, the Siddha-haima-vaikaraṇa. The first seven cantos of the Prakrit portion of the Devāśraya-kāvyā illustrate the first seven chapters of the Siddha-haima-vaikaraṇa, and the eighth illustrates the rules of Prakrit grammar. The main interest of the work lies in its learned and propagandist object, and with its emphasis on Kumārapāla's efforts to turn Gujarāt into a model Jaina State, it cannot be called history or even a good chronicle.

The Kumārapāla-pratibodha: Written in Prakrit by Somaprabha (twelfth century), the Kumārapāla-pratibodha is of little value as history. It gives the teachings of Jainism as preached to Kumārapāla by Hemacandra, resulting ultimately in the former's conversion to Jainism.

The Kumārapāla-bhūpāla-carita: Only the first canto of the Kumārapāla-bhūpāla-carita, written by Jayasimha Sūri II (thirteenth century), has some historical interest; it deals with the origin of Mūlarāja, giving a different version which is partially supported by an inscription. The other cantos, which are about Kumārapāla and Hemacandra, are a mixture of fact and fiction.

The Kumārapāla-prabandha: Jinamaṇḍana’s Kumārapāla-prabandha, lacking any critical merit, is but a loose compilation of material collected from unreliable sources.

The Mudrita-kumudacandra: A drama in five acts, the Mudrita-kumudacandra by Yaśasandra (probably twelfth century), deals with the controversy between two Jaina teachers, the Śvetāmbara Devacandra and the Digambara Kumudacandra, which took place in 1124 at Siddharāja's court, in which the latter was completely overcome (mudrita, literally 'sealed up'), his defeat resulting ultimately in the expulsion of Digambaras from Gujarāt.

The Moharāja-parājaya: Written in the thirteenth century, Yaśahpāla's Moharāja-parājaya is an allegorical drama in five acts. Mixing allegory with reality, it describes Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism and his marriage with Princess Kṛpaśundari, Hemacandra acting as the priest.

The Kīrtikaumudi: This work by Someśvara (1179-1262) gives an account of the Vāghelā dynasty of Gujarāt. The author's ancestors were purohitas (priests) to the successive Cālukya rulers. The narrative in the second canto up to the death of Mūlarāja II (who reigned 942-97) provides 'possibly the best history of the Cālukyas up to the period'.

The Surāthotsava: Another work by Someśvara, the Surāthotsava is a political allegory depicting the changing fortunes of Cālukya Bhima II. The concluding verses of the last canto give the history of the poet's family and also eulogize Vastupāla, a well-known minister of the princes of Gujarāt.

The Sukṛta-saṅkirtana: Arisimha (thirteenth century) wrote the Sukṛta-saṅ-

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*A. K. Majumdar, Chaulukyas of Gujarāt (Bombay, 1956), p. 413.*
kirtana which speaks of the pilgrimages and religious and charitable activities of Vastupāla. It gives the genealogy of the Cāpotkaṭa or Cāvḍā kings right from Vanarāja, the founder of Anahilapattana. This is followed by an account of the reigns of the Cālukya kings from Mūlarāja to Bhima II, leading up to the advent of Vastupāla and another minister, Tejāhpāla.

The Vasanta-vilāsa: Bālacandra Sūri’s Vasanta-vilāsa, written soon after Vastupāla’s death (1242) for the delectation of his son Jaitrasimha, treats of the same subject.

The Sukṛta-kirti-kallolini: Another eulogy of Vastupāla and Tejāhpāla, composed on the occasion of their pilgrimage to Śatrūnjaya, is Udayaprabha Sūri’s Sukṛta-kirti-kallolini. It is a prāṣasti of the sukṛtas (pious deeds) and kirti (glory) of these heroes, and contains, besides the genealogy of Vastupāla, the genealogy and a eulogy of the Cāpotkaṭa family and the Cālukyas.

The Vastupāla-carita: Jinaharṣa eulogizes Vastupāla in the Vastupāla-carita as a statesman, warrior, philanthropist, constructor of temples, poet, patron of poets, and founder of big manuscript libraries.

The Hammira-mada-mardana: Jayasimha Sūri wrote the Hammira-mada-mardana, a drama in five acts, to describe the alliances of Viradhavala, the greatness of Vastupāla as a politician, and the defeat of a Muslim prince.

The Prabhāva-carita: Prabhācandra’s Prabhāva-carita is a continuation of Hemacandra’s Triṭasi-śalaka-puruṣa-carita and Pariśṭa-parvan. It contains biographies of twenty-two Jaina ācāryas (preachers), and gives accounts of several kings as a background to the activities of the ācāryas. Prominent among the kings dealt with are Paramāra Bhoja, Cālukya Siddharāja, and Kumārapāla, the last two receiving detailed treatment in connection with the life of Hemacandra.

The Prabandha-cintāmaṇi: Of the five prakāśas (sections) of the Prabandha-cintāmaṇi by Merutūṅga (fourteenth century), the first gives the legends of Vikramāditya and Sātavāhana and accounts of the Cālukya kings of Anahilavāḍa and of Paramāra Muṇja and Bhoja of Dhārā. The second, third, and fourth prakāśas continue the account of Bhoja, and this is followed by an account of the Cālukyas up to Kumārapāla. The concluding prakāśa contains miscellaneous stories including those of Śilāditya, Lakṣmaṇa Sena, Jayacandra, Umāpati, and Bhartrihari. Curiously enough, Merutūṅga writes nothing about the contemporary Vāghelās, of whom he had personal knowledge, except to say that Viradhavala came after Bhima II. Merutūṅga usually gives a continuous account in chronological order; and the portion dealing with the time nearer the author’s own has some historical value.

The Prabandha-koṣa: Written in Delhi in 1348, Rājaśekhara Sūri’s Prabandha-koṣa is a collection of twenty-four stories. Ten of the stories refer to religious
teachers; four refer to the poets Śrīharṣa, Harihara, Amaracandra, and Digambara Madanakīrti; seven refer to kings, and three to laymen in the royal service.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

The Jagadū-carita: Sarvānanda’s Jagadū-carita (fourteenth century) is perhaps the earliest of the cycle of stories and legends that gathered round its hero, Jagadū, who instead of being the usual king or minister, is a simple merchant. Jagadū does much for his native town in Gujarat by building the city walls anew and by mitigating widespread distress in the terrible famine of 1256-58.

The Rājavinoda: Udayarāja was a poet at the court of Sultan Mohammed of Begarha of Ahmedabad. His Rājavinoda deals with the life of the Sultan and, in complete disregard of facts, depicts him as if he was an orthodox Hindu king.

The Guru-guṇa-ratnākara: Somacaritragaṇi’s Guru-guṇa-ratnākara mentions the Prāgyaṇa dynasty and also describes the life of Lakṣmīsāragaṇi of Tapāgaccha. It is a work of considerable importance for the history of Gujarat.

The Rāṣṭrauḍha-vanśa: Written in the sixteenth century, Rudra’s Rāṣṭrauḍha-vanśa gives the story of the Bagulas of Mayūragiri from Rāṣṭrauḍha, the founder of the dynasty, to Nārāyaṇa Sāh, the patron of the poet.

The Mathurā-vijaya: Also known as the Vīarakampa-carita, the Mathurā-vijaya is by Gaṅgādevi (fourteenth century), queen of Kampana or Kamparāya. In it she narrates her husband’s conquest of Mathurā, which he took from the Muslim Sultan.

The Varadāmbikā-paṇiṇa: Tirumalāṁbā’s Varadāmbikā-paṇiṇaya (sixteenth century) is a campū. It tells of the love of Varadāmbikā for Acyutarāya and of their marriage.

The Raghunāthābhhyudaya: Rāmabhadrāṁbā was a mistress of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore. Her Raghunāthābhhyudaya is a semi-historical poem which describes some incidents that took place in the hero’s life in 1620.
THE beginnings of Sanskrit poetics or *Ālāṅkāra-śāstra* may be discovered in the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata which is a monumental treatise on dramaturgy. In it we find an aphorism which purports to enunciate the soul or essence of all aesthetic experience, i.e. *rasa* experience. Succeeding generations of writers on poetics have based on it their views on the psychological process involved in the enjoyment of a drama or a piece of poetry. The growth and development of poetics, however, cannot be traced back beyond the seventh and the sixth centuries of the Christian era. The literature on this subject from that time till the eighteenth century, is extremely rich in its contents. Sanskrit poetics embraces within its scope a variety of topics including dramaturgy. The theory of poetry, the purpose of poetry, the types of poetry, the equipment of a poet, the styles of poetic composition, the embellishments and defects of word and import as the constituents of poetry, the inherent marks of poetry and nature of aesthetic experience—these are the various subjects which have been discussed in different works on poetics.

In this context it is necessary to explain why Sanskrit poetics which deals with so many topics has been called the *Ālāṅkāra-śāstra*. Great importance was attached to *ālāṅkāra* or figure of speech in the early days of Sanskrit poetics. When *rasa-dhvani* came to be looked upon as the soul of poetry, *ālāṅkāra* was considered the source of poetic grace. But it is, after all, only one of the many branches of poetics. It is suggested that the name *Ālāṅkāra-śāstra* for a work on poetics has its justification in the fact that poetics inquires into and lays down the principles and canons of beauty in a work of poetry. Further, unlike other branches of poetics, *Ālāṅkāra* has held a unique position in the domain of poetics from the earliest times when the ālāṅkārikas were not aware of a soul of poetry till the days of the neo-ālāṅkārikas. These latter ranked *dhwani-kāvya*, in which the suggested sense is predominant, as higher than *gunabhūta-vyāhga*, in which the unexpressed plays a subordinate part. They unequivocally declared that figures of speech are included in the first category of poetry. It will not be out of place to mention here that even the sponsors of the *dhwani* theory were constrained to admit that a few figures of speech have the characteristics of *dhwani-kāvya*, in view of the fact that in their opinion it is the suggested sense which is of more importance than the denoted meaning. It is therefore understandable how the science of poetics has been designated as *Ālāṅkāra-śāstra*. In this connection, it may be pointed out that quite a number of earlier works on poetics have been called *Kāvyāālāṅkāra*.
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

ORIGIN

Even the earliest recorded specimens of Indian literature manifest the instinctive love of the ancient Indians for graceful speech. There are several hymns in the Rg-Veda, which may be looked upon as genuine specimens of fine poetry. Some monologues and the dialogue-hymns of the Rg-Veda are characterized by poetic fervour and dramatic verve. A study of the Rg-Vedic hymns at once reveals the various rhetorical devices so aptly employed by ancient poets to add grace and grandeur to their expressions. Upamā (simile), rūpaka (metaphor), aśīyakta (hyperbole), etc. are some of the figures freely used by these poets who also appear to be quite alive to the effect of the repetition of the same letters or words. Some Rg-Vedic stanzas contain evidence to show that sweet and charming expressions as distinguished from ordinary speech were aspired after even in that hoary past of Indian civilization. It is noteworthy that the words kāyga, gātha, etc. in their usual import occur in the Rg-Veda. Poetic elements of delightful variety are easily traceable in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads as well. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are monumental works of wisdom and imagination, showing at the same time rare poetic skill. We have reason to believe that there existed a class of literary compositions called the akhyāyikā long before Patañjali who quotes from many earlier works. All this shows that the origin of Indian poetry may be traced to a very remote antiquity. But it is yet to be proved that a science of poetics was in the making in that ancient period of Indian poetry.

The study of a number of Pāṇini’s sūtras and Kātyāyana’s vārttikas as discussed in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali enables us to understand the concept of comparison. The genesis of a scientific search into the nature and constitution of the figure upamā and its varieties is discernible in linguistic and grammatical dissertations beginning from the days of the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta. So it appears that the entire superstructure of Indian poetics which assumed magnificent dimensions in later years has its foundation laid in the grammatical speculations of earlier times. Stalwarts like Bhāmaha, Ānanda-vardhana, and others rightly recognize the supreme importance of grammar in the growth of the science of poetics. It is also interesting to note that Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra, in a chapter on the mode of writing śāsanas, mentions among other things the ideal qualities of mādhurya (sweetness), audārya (loftiness), etc. to be observed in a composition.

POETICS AND LITERATURE

It is well-nigh impossible to assign a definite date when Sanskrit poetics got its first recognition as a distinct system of study. It may be noted that poetics as a subject is not included in the list of the various branches of study as enumerated in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad or in the treatises of Āpastamba and Yājñavalkya or
in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. There are references, however, in the Lalitavistara, the Śukraniti, and some old Pali texts, which include or imply poetics and in some places dramaturgy too as among the several sciences for cultivation. Epigraphical researches have provided us with a number of inscriptions in Sanskrit as well as in Prakrit which are obviously composed in a literary vein and contain unmistakable marks of poetic craftsmanship deliberately employed to make the language forceful, sonorous, and pleasing. These inscriptions indicate the existence and progressive cultivation of certain theories and standards of poetry, whether the form is prose or verse, extending from the first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. The Buddha-carita and the Saundarananda of Aśvaghoṣa of the first century A.D. are distinctly composed in accordance with some set principles of poetry. These poems, which are termed mahākāvyas in the technical sense of the word, containing the use of some important figures of speech like upamā, rūpaka, utpaksā ( poetical fancy), aprastuta-praśāsana (indirect description), etc. stand out as clear evidence of the existence from an earlier period of a regular system of poetics with which the poets were in all probability perfectly acquainted. The works of Kālidāsa are endowed with the exquisite grace and polish of a highly finished literary art, the prose-romances of Subandhu and Bāna display skill in the use of rhetorical devices, often appearing as a tour de force of puzzling verbal jugglery, and the poetic achievements of Bhāravi are outstanding. All these evidently leave no room for doubt in the presumption that there had been remarkable progress in the cultivation of poetics during the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era.

Rājaśekhara in his Kāyamīmāṃsā assigns a remote antiquity to the origin of the science of poetics. He tells us that the science was propagated by Śiva to Brahmā and from Brahmā it came down to others and was divided into eighteen chapters (adhi kaparas) each of which was taught by a particular teacher. About the many pioneers in the various branches of the science, as named by Rājaśekhara, we are absolutely in the dark, except that Suvarṇanābha, Kucumāra, Bharata, and Nandikeśvara are now more than mere mythical names to us.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE ON POETICS AND DRAMATURGY

Classical Sanskrit is conspicuously rich as regards literature on poetics and dramaturgy. With the advance of study and speculation on the subjects, there came into being, together with various other matters of kindred nature, four main schools of thought which maintain different views with regard to the essential characteristics of poetry. Thus from time to time, alāṅkāra, riti (style), rasa, and dhvani (suggestion) have been declared to be the essential factors of poetry.

Bharata’s Nāṭya-śāstra is the earliest extant work on poetics and dramaturgy.
Although the text itself is the source of much controversy and the date of the work is uncertain, being variously assigned by scholars to periods ranging from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D., it has a legitimate claim to be regarded as the oldest available record comprising a systematic exposition of a tradition which has preceded it by at least a century. We have reference in Pāñini to Krśāsva and Silālin who were writers on dramaturgy. Pāñini refers also to a Nāṭa-Sūtra. In the extant version of Bharata’s Nāṭya-Sūtra, which existed in the eighth century A.D., we find together in crystallized form the views of several authorities on the subject including predecessors of Bharata as well as his successors like Kōhala and others. The Nāṭya-Sūtra is a work of encyclopaedic character, embodying an elaborate analysis of the sources of aesthetic pleasure and detailed instructions regarding all matters relating to drama and allied topics. Abhinavagupta of the tenth century commented upon this work, and his commentary is known as Abhinava-Bhārati. There were also many other commentators, e.g. Mātrguptācārya, Udbhaṭa, Lollāta, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭanāyaka, Harṣa, Kṛtidhara, etc. whose actual treatises are unfortunately lost to us.

Bhāmaha’s Kavyālāṅkāra is one of the earliest works on the science of poetry, which took up a systematic discussion of poetic embellishments after Bharata’s treatment of figures. Bhāmaha is thus rightly deemed to be the oldest exponent of the Alāṅkāra school of poetics. He flourished probably towards the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century A.D. His work is divided into six chapters and contains about four hundred verses. He treats of the qualifications of a poet; the various forms and types of kāvyā; the Vaidarbhī and the Gaūḍī styles of composition; the three gunas, viz. mādhurya, prasāda (clarity), and ojas (force); doṣas or the defects in poetry; and other subjects of kindred nature. These are in addition to the figures of speech, as many as thirty-nine in number, which he discusses mainly in the third chapter of the book. Bhāmaha had a predecessor in Medhāvin whose work has not come down to us. Udbhaṭa had written a commentary on Bhāmaha’s Kavyālāṅkāra, which is now lost.

Dauṇḍin is another great name in the history of Sanskrit poetics, often pronounced in the same strain with the name of Bhāmaha. The relative priority of Bhāmaha and Dauṇḍin is still an unsettled controversy. The majority of scholars, however, regard Bhāmaha to be prior to Dauṇḍin who is generally assigned to the seventh century A.D. It is supposed that Bhāmaha was a senior contemporary of Dauṇḍin who appears to have been greatly influenced by the theories current in his time and specially by the Alāṅkāra school having its first forceful exponent in Bhāmaha. Dauṇḍin’s Kavyādarśa is a very popular and useful work which comprises three chapters and about six hundred and sixty verses. Various topics on poetry including the two mārgas, styles or ways of com-
position (Vaidarbha and Gauda) and ten guṇas pertaining to them have been discussed here. It also deals with thirty-five arthālaṅkāras as well as varieties of śabdālaṅkāras, ten doṣas or faults of composition, and so forth. Daṇḍin is the precursor of the Riti school which was developed by Vāmana. His most outstanding contribution to poetics is the concept of guṇa. His definition of poetry puts more emphasis on the word-element than on the sense-element. There are numerous commentaries on the Kāvyādarśa, most of which are comparatively modern except the commentary of Taruṇavācaspati who probably belonged to the eleventh century A.D.

Udbhata is another rhetorician and a poet too, who adorned the court of King Jayāpiḍa of Kashmir and must have therefore flourished in the eighth century A.D. Udbhata probably wrote a commentary on Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra. He is also reported to have written a commentary named Bhāmaha-vivarana, a vivṛti on Bhāmaha. We are further informed that he wrote a poem called Kumāra-sambhava which is extant only in the illustrations quoted in his well-known treatise on poetry, namely, the Kāvyālaṅkāra-saṅgraha or Sāra-saṅgraha. The Kāvyālaṅkāra-saṅgraha consists of six chapters, defining and delineating forty-one figures of speech. Udbhata has followed in the line of Bhāmaha, but he omits a few alaṅkāras of Bhāmaha and adds some new ones not found in Bhāmaha. Udbhata's work was commented upon by Pratīhārendurāja, a pupil of Mukula, to whom is attributed the authorship of a grammatico-rhetorical work called Abhidhā-vṛtti-mātrikā. Pratīhārendurāja flourished in the middle of the tenth century A.D. He appears to be conversant with the dhvani theory as explained by Ānandavardhana, but he does not favour it and remains an adherent of the Alāṅkāra school.

Vāmana, probably a contemporary of Udbhata, is supposed to have lived about the end of the eighth century A.D. His Kāvyālaṅkāra-Sūtra with his own gloss, divided into five chapters and twelve sections, embraces the whole sphere of poetics. Vāmana asserts that riti (style) is the soul of poetry and that the ten guṇas are important in so far as they constitute riti. Although his theory was not completely a new one in the field, it was indeed he who clearly propounded and boldly defended it, bringing into being a distinctive school of poetics. Vāmana's work earned for him a wide popularity, though his views were adversely criticized by many later writers on poetics. There are a few commentaries on Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkāra-Sūtra. Sahadeva, the earliest known commentator, tells us that Vāmana's work had gone out of use until it was restored by Mukula Bhāṭṭa. The Kāmadhenu, which is a lucid commentary on the work, is by one Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla who probably belonged to the sixteenth century A.D.

Rudraṭa, who may be assigned to the period between the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. and its end, is the author of a comprehensive work called
Kāvyālaṅkāra. The work has sixteen chapters and is in seven hundred and thirty-four verses, covering almost the whole range of poetics. He treats of sixty-six figures as against the maximum number of about forty that was available until his advent in the field. As the very name of his work signifies, Rudraṭa was a defender of the Alaṅkāra school. A special importance of his work lies in the rational method he has adopted in classifying the alaṅkāras. The classification has necessarily caused some changes over earlier authorities in respect of the names and the relative position of certain figures. We know of three commentaries on Rudraṭa, viz. those by Vallabhadeva, Namisādhu, and Āśādhara. The commentary of Vallabhadeva is yet to be discovered, and that of Āśādhara is rare. Namisādhu’s commentary, already a published work, is undoubtedly very important. Rudraṭa should be distinguished from Rudra Bhaṭṭa of uncertain date, author of a work called Śṛṅgāra-tilaka. While Rudraṭa is a teacher of poetics, Rudra is chiefly a poet. Unlike Rudraṭa’s work which is concerned with a systematic study of the discipline, Rudra’s treatise apparently intends to serve as a psychologico-poetical guide to the gay science of erotics.

OTHER TREATISES ON SANSKRIT POETICS

The Viṣṇudharmottara, a minor Purāṇa, which is supposed to have been compiled not later than A.D. 500, has devoted as many as twenty-eight chapters to poetics and dramaturgy. The materials contained therein are in the nature of a compilation presenting no definite system. The Agni Purāṇa, a major work of its kind, encyclopaedic in character, contains also a section dealing with various topics relating to poetics, rhetoric, and dramaturgy. This section, as many scholars contend, may be assigned to a period not later than the middle of the ninth century A.D. The treatment of alaṅkāras etc. in the Agni Purāṇa is more comprehensive and scientific than it is in the Viṣṇudharmottara; but it is chiefly a compilation with no obvious doctrinal background behind it.

One of the very famous works in the domain of Sanskrit poetics, is the Dhvanyālōka of Ānandavardhana of the court of Avantivarman of Kashmir (A.D. 855-84). It opened up a new arena of speculations by expounding an important doctrine, viz. the doctrine of Dhvani. The work named above is also called Kāvyālōka or Sahādayālōka. It is divided into four chapters called uddyotās, containing a number of kārikās and a vṛtti. Scholars are inclined to make a distinction between the author of the kārikās and that of the vṛtti. Dhvanikāra, the supposed author of the kārikās, was therefore different from and anterior to Ānandavardhana, author of the vṛtti. If Dhvanikāra is deemed to be the founder of the Dhvani school, Ānandavardhana may be described as the earliest to have introduced the theory successfully, countering the arguments of the previous schools of thought. According to the doctrine of Dhvani, ‘suggestion’ is the essence of poetry. This doctrine, as Ānandavardhana informs
us, is really very old with its dim beginnings now lost in obscurity. According to the theory of dhvani as formulated in the Dhvanyāloka, word is endowed not only with the two powers of abhidhā and laksāṇā, but also with the power of vyañjanā through which either a fact (vastu) or a figure (alaṅkāra) or a sentiment (rasa) is revealed.

In Abhinavagupta we have a forceful and erudite commentator on Ānandavardhana. A rare personality endowed with outstanding talent and scholarship, Abhinavagupta flourished in Kashmir during the period from the last quarter of the tenth to the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. His commentary called Locana on Ānandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka is admittedly a work of extraordinary merit, wherein the views of Ānandavardhana have assumed a large and definite shape. Abhinavagupta thinks that all suggestion must be of sentiment to which, according to him, may ultimately be reduced the suggestion of fact or the suggestion of figure. There was also another commentary on the Dhvanyāloka which was called Candrika, written by some ancestor of Abhinavagupta.

Here we may recall the famous Lollata who is supposed to be the earliest interpreter of Bharata's aphorism on rasa. Lollata flourished in the eighth century A.D. Another interpreter of this rasa theory is Śrī Śaṅkuka who has criticized the views of Lollata. He is believed to have been a junior contemporary of Lollata. Bhaṭṭanāyaka is the most celebrated commentator of the Rasa school. He is said to have flourished between the last quarter of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century A.D. Bhaṭṭanāyaka has rejected the views of Lollata and Śrī Śaṅkuka. It is interesting to note that Bhaṭṭanāyaka has recognized two additional powers of words, viz. the power of bhāvakatva and the power of bhojakatva. The works of these interpreters, as already noticed, are all lost to us, but their views may be partially gathered from other sources. It is worthy of notice in this connection that it is Bhaṭṭanāyaka who for the first time explained and elucidated the psychological process of rasa experience and held firmly the view that the aesthetic experience is purely subjective in character. The view of Bhaṭṭanāyaka was accepted by Abhinavagupta who, however, differed from his predecessor by pointing out that rasa experience is possible through the instrumentality of the suggestive power of word and meaning and that the assumption of any other power, viz. bhojakatva is hardly warranted for that purpose.

Rājaśekhara, author of a number of celebrated works, lived in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. His Kāvya-mimāṃsā is a hand-book for poets. It is held to be a uniquely interesting work of literary discipline and tradition. The work quotes extensively, gives many fine verses and anecdotes and 'is usually lively if pedantic'. It has been used to great advantage and held in esteem by many later writers including Kṣemendra, Bhoja, and Hemacandra. Rājaśe-
khara’s conception of poetry is in accord with the traditional view. He supports Vāmana’s doctrine of style and defines a kāvyā as an expression in words possessing guṇas and alankāras.

Kuntaka or Kuntala, as he is otherwise called, flourished in the middle of the tenth century. He belonged to a school antagonistic to dhvani, upholding vakrokti (figurative speech) as the essence of poetry. He is thus known to be the founder of the Vakrokti school, an offshoot of the Alaṅkāra school, which is of a definitely earlier origin. Kuntaka’s work Vakrokti-jitvita profusely quotes Bhāmaḥa, Daṇḍin, and Udхаta. The book is in four chapters. It consists of kārikās along with their explanations and illustrations. Later writers have mostly been critical of Kuntaka’s theory of poetry.

Dhanaṇjaya of the tenth century A.D. composed a work called Daśarūpaka, which in four chapters deals with various theoretical and practical aspects of dramaturgy including the rasa theory. Dhananjaya’s brother, Dhanika, wrote a commentary on the Daśarūpaka which is entitled Daśarūpāvaloka. There were also some other commentaries on the Daśarūpaka. The Daśarūpaka became very popular in later times. Viśvanātha and Vidyānātha depended largely on it in handling the subject of dramaturgy.

Aucitya-vicāra-carca and Kavi-kaṇṭhābharana, two important works in the realm of Sanskrit poetics, are by the polymath Kṣemendra of the eleventh century A.D. Of these the Aucitya-vicāra-carca discusses propriety as essential to sentiment and as the soul of poetry. The Kavi-kaṇṭhābharana treats of such topics as the possibility of becoming a poet, the borrowing from other poets, etc.

Bhoja of the first half of the eleventh century is the author of the renowned works Saravati-kaṇṭhābharana and Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa. The first-named treatise is a voluminous compendium, divided into five chapters, dealing with the various traditional topics of poetics and dramaturgy. He takes into account as many as six ṛitis (styles of composition) and speaks of eight rasas putting the greatest emphasis on śṛṅgāra. The work has a number of commentaries including the Ratna-darpaṇa. Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa is a supplement to this work and contains a section on dramaturgy.

Rājānaka Mahimabhaṭṭa of the second half of the eleventh century A.D. owes his celebrity to his Vyakti-viveka, a work composed in the context of the theory of dhvani as expounded by Abhinavagupta with reference to Anandavardhana’s Dhvanyāloka. The work is divided into three chapters and contains sagacious discussions on the possibility of including dhvani under inference. Ruṣyaka of the first half of the twelfth century wrote a commentary on the work. It may be stated that Mahimabhaṭṭa’s critique failed to impress later writers.

Mammatā, the great rhetorician of Kashmir belonging to the middle of the eleventh century, has left in his Kāvyā-prakāśa a singular stamp of his profound knowledge of the subject as well as his originality of outlook. It is contended
that the whole of the work was not written by Mammaṭa. Scholars think that Mammaṭa wrote up to the Parikara-alankāra, and the remaining portion was written by Allata or Alāta. The Kāvya-prakāśa is divided into ten chapters and covers the whole range of poetics. Mammaṭa seems to have been highly influenced by the writings of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. He upholds the importance of dhvani for poetic composition. He criticizes many of the renowned forerunners in the field, e.g. Bhāmaha, Udbhata, Rudraṭa, Vāmana, Mahimabhaṭṭa, etc. Mammaṭa is thus both an ideal compiler and a sound critic. The extreme popularity of his work is proved by the numerous commentaries that were written on it in the course of time.

Ruyyaka composed his Alankāra-sarvasva, an authentic treatise on figures of speech, probably not earlier than A.D. 1150. The work consists of kārikās and a vṛtti. According to some scholars, Ruyyaka wrote the kārikās and Maṅkha, his pupil, wrote the vṛtti. Ruyyaka compiles the views of older writers some of whom he also chooses to criticize on certain points. He discusses the importance of dhvani in so far as it embellishes the expressed meaning. Ruyyaka's work afforded a great stimulus to many of his successors, viz. Viśvanātha, Vidyādhara, and others. The work was commented on by Jayaratha, Vidyācakravartin, and others.

The Kāvyānusāsana of Hemacandra of the twelfth century A.D. is a compila
tory work written in the form of sūtra and vṛtti. It contains eight chapters and discusses several topics of poetics. The author owed a great deal to Rājaśekhara, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, and others from whom he had borrowed freely and profusely. He, however, failed to leave any abiding influence on his successors.

OTHER IMPORTANT WORKS

The twelfth century also witnessed the production of the following notable works: Vāgbhaṭālankaṇa, Candrāloka, Rasa-maṇjari, Rasa-taraṅgini, and Nātya- darpaṇa. The Vāgbhaṭālankaṇa, a work in verse, by Vāgbhaṭa I, is divided into five chapters containing two hundred and sixty kārikās. All the usual topics including Alankaṇa, Riti, etc. are explained and illustrated in the work. It has a commentary by Siṁhadevagani. The Candrāloka by Jayadeva is a convenient manual of figures of speech with good illustrations. The Rasa-
maṇjari and the Rasa-taraṅgini, written by Bhānudatta, treat of rasa and allied topics. The Nātya-darpāṇa, jointly authored by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, is a work on dramaturgy differing widely from the Nātya-
sāstra of Bharata.

During the thirteenth century of the Christian era there came out some other works deserving of notice. They are: (i) Kāvyānusāsana by Vāgbhaṭa II, (ii) Kavitā-rahasya or Kāvyā-kalpalatā by Arisimha and his pupil Amaracandra,
(iii) Kavi-kalpalata by Devesvara, (iv) Nataka-laksana-ratna-kosa, a work on dramaturgy, by Sagarapanandin.

The fourteenth century is specially remarkable on account of three reputed works which came out during this time. The works are: (i) Ekavali by Vidyadhara belonging to the Dhvani school and commented on by Mallinatha in his Taral; (ii) Pratapa-rudra-yaso-bhushana by Vidyarnatha, a voluminous treatise containing various information about poetics and dramaturgy; (iii) Sahityadarpana of Visvanatha. This work, in ten chapters, contains discussions of both poetics and dramaturgy. The author upholds rasa as the soul of poetry, fully acknowledging, however, the importance of any kind of dhvani. He criticizes the views of Mammata.

Rupa Goswamin of the sixteenth century composed a work entitled Ujjvalanilamanji where it is asserted that the erotic is only a different name of the devotional. The work had its commentary in the Lecana-rocani of Jiva Goswamin who flourished in the same century. There is a work called Alankara-sekhara by Kesava Misra who also belonged to the sixteenth century. It is a short treatise on poetics.

Citra-mimamsa and Kuvalayana are two rhetorical works by the noted Appaya Dikshita of the seventeenth century. Jagannatha of the same century is a notable name in Sanskrit poetics. His famous work, the Rasa-gangadhara, an outstanding study in the dialectics of Indian poetics, ranks with Dhvanyaloka and Kavya-prakasa, evincing the author's superb power of criticism and presentation. The treatise contains karikas, vrttis, and illustrations which are all by the author himself. The book is abruptly cut short in the second chapter. It seems that Jagannatha could not find time to complete it. According to Jagannatha, poetry consists not in rasa but in ramanjyakatva (charmingness). Studies in poetics went on unabated even after Jagannatha and the total output during the succeeding centuries is considerable.
SANSKRIT METRES: THEIR EVOLUTION AND PRINCIPLES OF DIVISION

SĀNGĪTA—MĀTRĀ—VṛTTA

A metrical composition is distinguished from prose by means of some kind of music or rhythm with which it is associated. In ancient India three different kinds of music are found to be underlying a metrical composition. They are: (1) the music of voice-modulation or the svara-sāṅgīta, (2) the music of sound-variation or the varna-sāṅgīta, and (3) the music of time-regulated accent or the tāla-sāṅgīta. The first variety depends upon the modulation, i.e. raising or lowering of the human voice (or the corresponding sound of a musical instrument) so as to produce different tones. The second variety is produced by a pleasant variation of short and long sounds which are employed in the composition of a metrical line. In this variety, the first kind of music is present in its elementary stage where there exist only three broadly distinguished tones, namely, high, low, and middle; but the chief pleasure is derived from the fixed arrangement of short and long sounds and the music which it produces. On the other hand, short and long syllables do exist in the first variety of music; but their succession is not fixed and they occur at random, being thus unable to strike the mind with a peculiar sensation which is possible only when their succession follows a definite order. As against these two, however, the music in the third variety is produced neither by a skilful modulation of the voice, nor by the fixed succession of short and long sounds, but by means of stressing the voice or sound after the lapse of a definite period measured by time-moments called the mātrās, i.e. kāla-mātrās. To produce the musical effect, this stressing has to be prominently done and so it is made to accompany the strokes of the palms one upon another or of the palms or sticks upon a time-keeping instrument like a hand-drum. The Sanskrit name for these strokes is tāla, derived from the root taḍ, to strike. The variety of music is essentially based on the well-regulated time-element and is wholly absent in the first two categories. This third variety or the tāla-sāṅgīta is undoubtedly popular in origin. It appears to have been developed by the people from the regularized movements of their bodies and limbs required in a dance which usually accompanies popular music.

VEDIC METRE—VOICE MODULATION

The first of these three varieties of music lies at the base of the Vedic metres.
Rg-Vedic music is a music of voice-modulation which is still in its elementary stage, being based upon the three broadly distinguished accents or rather tones, namely, the udātta, the anudātta, and the svarita; or the high, low, and middle. The tones are still closely associated with the letters of a word and generally influence its meaning, though their chief value is musical. The varṇas or letters are not yet mutually distinguished as regards their musical value. No difference is made between short and long sounds so far as metrical music is concerned, and a letter, whether short or long, is considered as the metrical unit in the Rg-Vedic metres. The chief representatives of the Vedic metres, which may thus be called aksara-vṛttas in view of this principle, are three, namely, the gāyatri-anuṣṭubh, the triṣṭubh and the jagati. They respectively contain eight, eleven, and twelve letters in each of their lines. The anuṣṭubh, the triṣṭubh, and the jagati have four lines each in their stanzas, while the gāyatri has only three. The gāyatri is evidently the oldest of these and the anuṣṭubh represents only an attempt to bring the gāyatri to the level of the triṣṭubh and the jagati, by having four instead of three lines. Similarly, a jagati line seems to have originated as an extension of the triṣṭubh line by a single letter where, however, the monotony of the two long letters at the end of the triṣṭubh line was sought to be broken by the introduction of a penultimate short in the jagati line. But the introduction of a jagati line of twelve syllables may have also an additional reason, namely, the extension of the gāyatri line by a half. This newly invented line could thus be freely mingled with the gāyatri line, while the older triṣṭubh lines would not so easily mingle with it. We actually find many a jagati line which, by the construction of its last part of four letters, indicates unmistakably that it was but an extension of an original gāyatri line augmented by four letters. It thus paved the way for the introduction of strophes and particularly of mixed metres. It is noteworthy that the real mixed metres, i.e. those that were really intended to be such and not those that were unconsciously turned into such ones, are generally based on a combination of these two types of lines, namely, the gāyatri and the jagati. Thus we have the brhati and the sañobhram of four lines each and the ṇiṣṭik, the kakubh, and pura-ṇiṣṭik having three lines each.

NEW RHYTHM BASED ON SOUND-VARIATION

The musical difference between a short and a long letter was not made use of in the Vedic metres as said above. But since short and long letters had to be used in different orders in a line in actual practice, the consciousness of this musical difference could not be avoided for long. Very likely, it was first perceived in the process of extending the triṣṭubh into a jagati line. The penultimate of a jagati line is always short while that of a triṣṭubh line is generally long. This music produced by the alternation of short and long letters at the end of the jagati line was gradually carried a little further back, i.e. up to the second
metrical break in the line and the last four or five letters of the triṇṭubh and the jagati lines were unconsciously or at least without any idea of compulsion, adapted to this music which is known as the Iambic rhythm. This same tendency is seen in the latter part of a gāyatrī line, but usually in the second line of a hemistich. It will thus be clear that the Vedic poets were gradually becoming conscious of a different kind of music which could be produced by the alternation of short and long letters. By the end of the Samhitā period the older music of voice-modulation seems to have been generally given up in preference to this new kind of music based on sound-variation. The older music, however, was taken up for special treatment and development by the schools of the Śāma-Veda and the growth of the different rāgas and rāginīs (modes in music) of the later days must be traced to their early and original efforts.

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT: VARṆA-VṛTTAS

The three main Vedic metres, namely, the anuṣṭubh, the triṇṭubh, and the jagati, must have naturally been adapted to this new music in the early stages of the growth of the classical varṇa-vṛttas. Actually, we have a larger number of the varṇa-vṛttas having eight or eleven or twelve letters in each of their four lines than those having more or less. But the Prāṭiśākhyas must have helped in the origin of longer metres containing thirteen or more letters in each of their four lines. They had already devised class names like the ati-jagati, the śakvari, the ati-śakvari, etc. to signify Vedic metres whose lines together contained more than forty-eight letters in them. Thus a metre containing fifty-two letters in it, regardless of the number of lines it contained, was called the ati-jagati and that which contained one hundred and four letters was called the ukṛti. The classical poet took his clue from this and devised new metres of different length, adapting them to the new music, namely, the varṇa-saṅgīta, yet deviating from the Prāṭiśākhyas in one important respect. He made it a rule that all his metres shall consist of four lines each, and further that these lines shall be equal in length and exactly similar to each other in respect of their structure based upon the alternation of short and long letters. The lines of the Vedic metres were not necessarily of the same length, nor was their structure of an identical pattern. This is why the classical gāyatrī stanza as understood by Piṅgala and others has twenty-four letters in it like the Vedic one, but has four lines of the same length and structure instead of three. Naturally, owing to the many different ways in which the varṇa-saṅgīta may appear in lines of the same length, the gāyatrī, the śakvari, the ukṛti, and the like came to be employed as class-names of groups of metres. There are twenty-six classes of such metres. In theory, each of these twenty-six classes was capable of yielding a very large number of metres owing to different variations of long and short letters in the lines; but in actual practice, a few only were selected by the classical poets. Some-
times, a few metres containing more than one hundred and four letters, that is longer than the *ulkṛti*, or less than twenty-four letters, that is shorter than the *gāyatri*, are recorded by Sanskrit prosodists. These two are based on the same, i.e. the *varṇa-saṅgīta*, but they are not mentioned by Bharata or Piṅgala, whose treatment begins with the *gāyatri* class and ends with the *ulkṛti* class.

**Characteristics of Varṇa-Vṛttta Metres**

This metrical music, namely, the *varṇa-saṅgīta*, to which the classical Sanskrit metres are adapted, is based upon the essential difference between a short and a long letter in respect of the three things, viz. (1) sound-value, (2) syllabic quantity, and (3) the time taken up by their utterance. A long letter is double the short one in respect of these three and the music is produced not by their mere presence but by the order of their succession. This is why a new scanning unit had to be devised for their sake whether for defining or for measuring a given line. The older unit was a single letter and the lines were defined in terms of the number of such single letters, short or long, which were used in them. The sequence of letters was of no account for the Vedic metres and had not to be mentioned in their definitions. But in the new metres, not only the number, but more especially their sequence also was important. Hence a new unit which would describe this sequence, but would not be too short or too long was discovered. It was found out that the sequence could be mentioned only with the help of groups of letters containing a particular sequence and that the group of three letters would be the most suitable one, being the smallest among the big ones and the biggest among the small ones. In ancient India this unit of three constituents had been adopted in many spheres for developing multiplicity, which was supposed to have started with number 3 and not with number 2. In view of the different order of short and long letters this unit of three letters is of eight kinds. Piṅgala is undoubtedly the earliest prosodist who had used this unit and was very probably the originator of it. He calls the eight *trikās* (triplets) by the different letters of the alphabet such as *ma, ya, ra, sa, ta, ja, bha*, and *na*, and he is followed by the later writers.

An important feature of the *varṇa-vṛttas* is the *yati* or the metrical pause introduced in the middle of a line. This is regularly admitted at specific places as against the irregular pause which is noticed in the case of the Vedic metres. Its origin has of course to be traced to the ease of recitation; but gradually it first became conventional and then compulsory. It is interesting to note how the introduction of the *yati* in the metrical lines helped the formation and fossilization of many different metrico-musical units of different length. The music of these units became popular with the poets as well as the listeners, and so these units in their turn guided the structure of newer metrical lines.

Among the *varṇa-vṛttas* there are some which are known as the *ardha-sama-
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ūrttas. The first and the third lines of these as also the second and the fourth are exactly similar to each other. As a matter of fact, these metres consist of two halves, each of which is divided into two unequal lines exactly at the same place. This, however, is a peculiarity of the Prakrit metres and it need not be doubted that the Sanskrit ardhā-sama-ūrttas have originated from their Prakrit prototypes. The starting point seems to have been the vaitāliya and the aupac- chandasiska, which in their garb of a varṇa-ūrtta are known as the viyogini or the prabodhitā and the mālakhārini, respectively. They are employed for the composition of the main part of the canto by Aśvaghosa as early as the second century A.D. There are also a few visama-ūrttas among the Sanskrit varṇa-ūrttas and the most ancient among them is the udgata, similarly employed by Aśvaghosa.¹

CHARACTERISTICS OF MĀTRĀ-ŪRTTA METRES

We have thus seen that the Vedic metres are based on a music which is founded on voice-modulation and that the classical metres are similarly based on a music of sound-variation, or alternation of short and long sounds. Both these are Sanskrit metres, even though the latter, especially those which are amenable to tālā and constructed with identical and recurring trikas, are freely adopted by the Prakrit and particularly the Apabhramśa poets. Among the Sanskrit metres there is one more class called the mātrā-ūrttas. In these there does not appear to be any definite kind of music as the basis, except the negative type of the varṇa-saugīta where a long letter has to be avoided at the junction of the mātrā-gaṇas of which a line in the mātrā-ūrttas is made up. The mātrā-gaṇas have to be kept separated from each other and this can be done only by avoiding a long letter at their junction. This means that a long letter must not be used so as to combine the last mātrā of an earlier gaṇa with the initial mātrā of the later gaṇa. In a gathā, for example, the line is not made up of thirty mātrās employed at random, but it must be divided into seven and a half mātrā-gaṇas kept separate from each other. If this is not done the gathā will surely lose its peculiar rhythm.

Sanskrit mātrā-ūrttas are of three kinds: (1) the āryā group, (2) the mātrā- samaka group, and (3) the vaitāliya group. The āryā seems to be the oldest among these and evidently was a geya-ūrtta meant for singing as against the varṇa-ūrttas which are pāthya-ūrttas meant for reciting for a long time in the early days of its career. In Sanskrit dramas the nafi or the actress is often made to sing and the metre is the āryā. The difference between the gāna (song) and the pāthana (recitation) is that the former is a tālā-ūrtta while the latter is not so. But in the course of time the āryā must have lost this characteristic when it was abundantly used by Sanskrit pundits for their manuals of the different Śāstras

¹ For details see Jagadāman (Published by the Haritasha Samiti, Bombay, 1949), General Introduction, paras 12-16.
or scriptures, since they had no ear for the tāla. The origin of the āryā and particularly its fourth shorter pāda is shrouded in mystery, at least at the present stage of our knowledge. But the other mātrā-ṛttas which are not amenable to tāla, whether in Sanskrit or Prakrit, are mostly the product of the efforts of learned men who tried their hand at a metrical composition but had no ear for any music. They could not follow the intricacies of tāla, particularly when they stuck to their correct pronunciation of short and long letters. They equated the kāla-mātrā required for the tāla with the varṇa-mātrā and carried on with the latter, neglecting the former. The equation of kāla-mātrā, on the other hand, is of no account to the Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa poets, who would pronounce letters short or long according to the necessity of their tāla. This was unbearable to the Sanskrit pundits who were, at their best, expert versifiers. This is why the mātrā-ṛttas in Sanskrit as well as in Prakrit, i.e. those that are not amenable to tāla, are devoid of any definite music. The tāla-saṅgīta could not be used owing to the difficulty mentioned above. The varṇa-saṅgīta was too complicated owing to the restriction of the sequence of short and long sounds, while the svara-saṅgīta had already fallen into disuse so far as metres were concerned. The Sanskrit pundits, therefore, whether they wrote in Sanskrit or in Prakrit, devised a new variety of metres which they called the mātrā-ṛtta as it was founded on a new unit, namely, the varṇa-mātrā, the counterpart of the kāla-mātrā required for the tāla-ṛttas. From the Sanskrit varṇa-ṛtta they adopted the idea of groups and thus we have the mātrā-gaṇas of two, three, four, five, and six mātrās employed in the composition of lines.²

TĀLA-SAṄGĪTA AND METRICS

The third main variety of music is the tāla-saṅgīta which is explained in the first paragraph. It is produced by stressing the voice or the sound by means of strokes after the lapse of a definite period measured by time-moments or the kāla-mātrās. This stressing is done either after the fourth or fifth or sixth or seventh kāla-mātrā or their multiples; in other words, there are four different basic tālas of four, five, six, and seven mātrās.

The commonest tāla, however, is the tāla of eight mātrās which is double the tāla of four mātrās. These tāla-gaṇas, too, like the mātrā-gaṇas must be kept separated by avoiding a long letter at their junction which might combine in itself the last mātrā of an earlier and the first mātrā of a later tāla-gaṇa. For it is impossible to represent separately these two mātrās, pronouncing the former without the stress and the latter with the stress, which indicates the commencement of a fresh tāla-gaṇa. These tāla-gaṇas representing four, five, six, seven kāla-mātrās, or their multiples are necessarily made up of letters which can or

² Ibid., paras 17-23.
must be pronounced so as to cover the period of their mātrās. Usually a short letter takes up one kāla-mātrā while a long one takes up two, and a tāla-gaṇa of five mātrās shall consist of five short letters or two long and one short letters or one long and three short letters in it. Sometimes, however, this conventional time-value of letters is disregarded by the poets and the tāla-gaṇas are filled up by improperly pronounced letters to which time-value is attached by the poets according to their sweet will or sometimes even by a silent rest in which no letters are pronounced at all. Popular bards, who are the real custodians of the tāla-ṛttas, are generally negligent about the conventional time-values of letters, caring only for their tāla which must not be disturbed at any cost, and so sometimes they squeeze any number of letters within a tāla-gaṇa, pronouncing them quickly or slowly according to the needs of the kāla-mātrās of the gaṇa.

The tāla-ṛttas may be of the dvipadi (two-footed) or catuspadi (four-footed) or satpadi (six-footed) type; but the last two types are very common. In a continuous narrative, however, a stanza whether of four or six lines has no importance whatsoever. In it the unit is a couplet of lines which are parallelly constructed and rhymed; many such couplets held together by a common topic or an aspect of it as also by the common metre and the tāla are used to form a kadavaka and several kadavakas form a sandhi. Sometimes single unrhymed lines are added to these couplets here and there; but every line whether belonging to the couplet or not must obey the particular tāla which is prevalent in the kadavaka. A mixture of different tāla-gaṇas is never permitted in the same line or couplet or even kadavaka. The kadavaka is preceded and followed by a ghauttā which is either a dvipadi or a satpadi stanza. A dvipadi-ghauttā appears to have been without a tāla and sung with appropriate modulations of voice in prose, the time-keeping instrument being held silent for a while. This must have served as a transition to the next kadavaka which may be sung in a different tāla. It must have also given a breathing time to the singer. The satpadi-ghauttā, on the other hand, was sung in the same tāla as the main kadavaka and generally came at its end. In narrative poetry the most general tāla-ṛtta that is employed is the pājhaṅkāra which is sung in the tāla of eight mātrās. But sometimes, even the varṇa-ṛtta whose lines are made up with identical trikas being repeated a number of times are employed, the tāla in this case being the tāla of that number of mātrās which the trika contains. The poets, however, take liberties and often substitute two short letters for a long one in any of the trikas. This disturbs the varṇa-saṅgīta of the original metre, but keeps up its tāla-saṅgīta which is not concerned with the order of short and long letters. Stanzas of four and six lines sung in the tāla of five, six, or seven mātrās are sometimes employed for stray and lyric poetry. But on the whole they are very rare. The following examples are few, but I hope convincing: The dipaka (Prākrit-Paṅgala, I.181), the jhulana (Prākrit-Paṅgala, I.156), the madanāvatāra (Haima
Chando'nmukásaṇa, IV. 83) are sung in the tāla of five or ten mātrās; the hira (Prākṛta-Paṅgala, I.199) is definitely sung in the tāla of six mātrās; and the harigīta or gīta (Prākṛta-Paṅgala, I.191) is undoubtedly sung in the tāla of seven mātrās. The tāla-vṛtta of five mātrās, however, is employed by Apabhraṃśa poets for their narrative poems now and then. Thus the madanāvatāra is employed for his kaḍavakas by Puṣpadanta in his jasaharacari (I.16; VII.16-17; III.13, 27). Similarly, the varṇa-vṛtta-bhujāṅgaprayāta and sragvini, both sung in the tāla of five or ten mātrās, are used by him for a kaḍavaka at I.18, IV.17, and III.3. In the same work (I.10; II.2, 15-16), he employs for his kaḍavakas two or three varṇa-vṛttaś which are sung in the tāla of six mātrās. But on the whole, the tāla of eight mātrās is very common.

MĀTRĀ-VṛTTA METRE IN PRAKRIT AND APABHRAṃŚA

In many of the metres which are adapted to tāla, a silent pause of two to five mātrās has sometimes to be adopted at the end of each line in a stanza for the smooth running of the tāla. This becomes clear when the stanza is sung or heard.

The ancient metricians do not mention the tāla at all in respect of their metres. Accordingly, they do not divide or classify the metres on the basis of the tāla with the result that the tāla-vṛttaś are defined side by side with the pure mātrā-vṛttaś which do not obey any tāla in treatises like the Prākṛta-Paṅgala, the Svayambhu-chandas, the Kavi-darpaṇa, Hemacandra’s Chando’nmukásaṇa, and such others. Yet the distinction between the metres which can be sung properly only with the help of the tāla, and others which can be merely recited and do not obey any tāla is quite obvious to any one who hears these metres sung or sings them himself. The music of the former is absent in the latter, which may be called the pure mātrā-vṛttaś like their prototypes, namely, the classical Sanskrit mātrā-vṛttaś. As in the case of these latter, their lines are made up of the mātrā-gaṇas which must be kept separate by avoiding a long letter at their junction. They thus possess only a negative kind of the varṇa-saṅgīta and nothing more. Like the Sanskrit mātrā-vṛttaś these also must have originated from the enjoyment of a poetic licence which craved for freedom from the restrictions either of the varṇa-saṅgīta or of the tāla-saṅgīta.

It is obvious that Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa poetry must have originally consisted of the tāla-vṛttaś; but an unskilful handling of these and an external imitation gave rise to the several mātrā-vṛttaś which are in no way amenable to tāla. On the other hand, the early and original tāla-vṛttaś must have been developed independently by a school of bards and poets, who specialized in the tāla-saṅgīta and produced a large number of popular songs and the verses or poems (padyas), intended to be sung to the accompaniment of dances or other

kinds of bodily movements and gestures. We should remember how the early svara-sangita of the Rg-Vedic days was developed in the schools of the Sama-Veda and gave rise to the different rāgas and rāginiś of the later day. Ultimately, at some time in the middle ages, these two streams of our music, viz. the one of voice-modulation and the other of time-regulated stress, came to be combined into a harmonious whole by music enthusiasts. This combination enhanced the charm of the music; but it totally neglected the poetical side of the composition itself. Besides, it became too complicated to be utilized in their poetical works by bards and poets for whom, naturally, poetical merit was more important than music.
THE origin of Sanskrit grammar is shrouded in mystery. The first-ever mention of it by name is found in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* in which various grammatical terms also occur. Earlier, the urge to analyse speech, which is the basis of all grammatical literature, was alluded to in the *Taittiriya Samhitā*. One of its oft-quoted passages relates the myth of how the gods went to Indra and requested him to split up speech. Indra obliged them by parting it in the middle, thus splitting it up.

PĀṆINI: HISTORY AND TRADITION

The earliest extant systematic treatment of grammar is Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, with its 3,995 sūtras (formulas), divided into eight adhyāyas (chapters) of four pādas (quarters) each. There were, however, grammarians before Pāṇini, for the great grammarian himself mentions by name many of his predecessors and hints at the existence of many more. Thus he testifies to considerable grammatical activity having taken place before him. This fact is also borne out by the various older technical terms he uses, and also the discrepancies and the promiscuous use of some expressions in his work. Pāṇini deals with both Sanskrit and Vedic grammar and mainly Vedic accent, though he deals more fully with Sanskrit grammar.

According to tradition, Pāṇini lived in the fifth century B.C., although critics like Keith would like to place him about 350 B.C. He was a native of Śālātura, near Attock, now in Pakistan; Hiuen Tsang records that he saw a statue there to his memory. Pāṇini, as his name would suggest, was the son of Pāṇina, although the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* would have us believe that his father’s name was Sāmana. Pāṇini’s mother, Dākṣiṇ, was the sister of Vyāḍi who composed *Sangraha*, said to have contained a hundred thousand verses on Sanskrit

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1 I. 24.
2 VI. 4.7
3 Vide Pāṇini’s reference to earlier dṛṣṭāntas in IV. 1.17; IV. 1.157; VII. 3.46; etc.
4 Āpiśali (VI. 1.92), Kāśyapa (VIII. 4.67), Gārgya (VII. 3.99; VIII. 3.20; VIII. 4.67), Gālava (VI. 3.61; VII. 1.74; VIII. 4.67), Gākravarna (VI. 1.130), Bhāradvāja (VII. 2.64), Śākaṭāyana (III. 4.111; VIII. 3.18; VIII. 4.50), Śākalya (I. 1.16; VI. 1.127; VIII. 3.19; VIII. 4.51), Sphoṭāyana (VI. 1.123).
7 II. 31.2.
grammar and, more particularly, grammatical philosophy. Tradition regards Pāṇini as the pupil of the sage Varṣa who was the brother of the sage Upavarṣa. A legend ascribes Pāṇini’s death to an encounter with a lion. Pāṇini lived after Yāska, the author of Nirukta (a work on Vedic etymology), and, according to some texts, was a contemporary of Mahāpadma Nanda in the fifth century B.C. Highly scientific and precise in his treatment, which won him well-deserved praise, Pāṇini was greatly concerned with the economy of words. To effect this economy he adopted many devices in which, in the words of Keith, ‘the cases are used pregnantly, verbs are omitted, leading rules are understood to govern others which follow; above all algebraic formulae replace real words’. The whole scheme of his work covering the eight adhyāyas, as described by Keith, comprised the treatment of ‘technical terms and rules of interpretation (i), nouns in composition and case relations (ii); the adding of suffixes to roots (iii) and to nouns (iv, v), accent and changes of sound in word formation (vi, vii) and the word in the sentence (viii). But this scheme is constantly interrupted, rules being interposed illogically because it was convenient to do, or because space could thus be saved, for the whole book is dominated by the aim to be as brief as possible.

KĀTYĀYANA, PATAṆJALI, AND BHARTRHARI

Many grammarians followed Pāṇini during the next two centuries, but their works are no longer extant; we know of them because their names and quotations from their works are found in Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya. Some of these names are: Kātyāyana, Bhāradvāja, Sunāga, Vyāghrabhūti, and Vaiyāghrapadya. All these grammarians wrote vārttikas (aphorisms) on Pāṇini’s work. Among them, Kātyāyana wrote vārttikas on 1,245 of Pāṇini’s sūtras and these were incorporated and commented upon by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya.

Patañjali is believed to be an incarnation of the Serpent Śeṣa, who is Vīṣṇu’s resting place. He may be said to belong to the second century B.C., a contention that is supported by the fact that he refers in his Mahābhāṣya to the Mauryas (V. 3. 69), to Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty (III.1.26), and to a Greek invader, identified as Menander (III.2.3). In addition to his comments upon Kātyāyana’s vārttikas, Patañjali deals with some of the sūtras in Pāṇini’s work not taken up by Kātyāyana, explaining and justifying them, and occasionally rejecting them.

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9 Vīdra: Śīhha vyākaraṇasya kartur abarat prājña priyān pāśineḥ—Patañjalastra, II. 36.
10 Āryamahāyujñimālakalpa, 427; Kathāsaritsāgara, I. 4.
11 Cf. Iti Pāñjini. TattāPadini. Pāñjināshado loke prakāśata...and...śāsaṁāraḥ yaśaḥ pāṁśineḥ.—Kālikā under the sūtras II. I.5, 13.
Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is one of the most important treatises on Sanskrit grammar; it influenced later grammatical works to a very great extent. It is written in a pleasant and lively conversational style, while the proverbial expressions which occur in it and its references to matters of everyday life serve both to enliven the discussion and to provide valuable hints regarding the conditions of life and thought in Patañjali's time. According to a tradition recorded by Bharṭṛhari and by Kalhaṇa (twelfth century), the study of the *Mahābhāṣya* at one time fell upon bad days; it was, however, later revived by scholars such as Candrācārya (fifth century A.D.). There are numerous *vṛttis* (commentaries) on this work, and a good number of them are still in manuscript form. One commentary is *Pradīpa*, written by the pre-thirteenth century Kashmirian scholar, Kaiyaṭa; the seventeenth century critic Nāgeśa wrote a commentary on *Pradīpa*, which he called *Uddyota*. Bharṭṛhari's commentary was called the *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā*; Helārāja, however, referred to it as *Tripadi*, suggesting that it covered only the first three *pādas* of the first *adhyāya*. Its only available manuscript, now in Berlin, is but a fragment; it goes up to the fifty-third *sūtra* of the first *pāda* of the first *adhyāya*.

The three great grammarians we have so far referred to, Pañini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali, are called collectively the *muniitraya* (the three sages). After them came Bharṭṛhari, although his date is very uncertain. He is usually assigned a date between the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., and according to the Chinese traveller, I-tsing, he died about A.D. 615. Some scholars, however, place him in the fifth century between A.D. 450 and 500, while others place him in the third century, or even earlier.

Bharṭṛhari is the author of two works, the *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā*, already mentioned, and the *Vākyapadīya*, a grammatico-philosophical work in three *kāṇḍas* (sections) called the *Brahma-kāṇḍa* (dealing with supreme Logos), the *vākyakāṇḍa* (dealing with sentences), and the *pada-kāṇḍa* (dealing with words), the last being styled the *prakīrtaka-kāṇḍa* (miscellaneous section). Since it consists of these three books, the *Vākyapadīya* also carries the alternative name of *Trikāṇḍi* (the three-sectioned book). Altogether it has 1,966 *kārikās* (comment in metrical form). Of these, 1,323 are found in the *pada-kāṇḍa* divided into fourteen *samuddeśas* (chapters). A commentary on the first and second *kāṇḍas* was written by Bharṭṛhari himself, while commentaries were written on the third *kāṇḍa* by Helārāja and another Kashmirian scholar, Punyarāja. An

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12 *Vākyapadīya*, II. 4.89.
14 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I. 176.
unidentified later commentator, probably of the North, condensed and simplified Bhartrihari's own commentary, while Vṛṣabhadeva, probably hailing from the South, wrote Paddhati in which Bhartrihari's commentary was explained at length.

THE AŚṬĀDHYÄyü : COMMENTARIES AND REARRANGEMENTS

The first extant vṛtti on Pāṇini’s Aśṭādhyāyu is the Kāśikā-vṛtti, the Banaras commentary, written jointly by Vāmana and Jayāditya, who are usually regarded as having lived in the seventh century. The Kāśikā-vṛtti is presumed to be a Buddhist work on account of the complete absence in it of maṅgala (benedictory verse) and also because of the liberty with which it handles the text, for it shows as many as fifty-eight variations from the original. The writers are also credited with the authorship of an independent treatise, the Vṛtti-Sūtra. Among other prominent commentaries on the Aśṭādhyāyu is Bhāga-vṛtti by Bhartrihari or Vimalamati, although this work is now no longer available. There is also the Bhāṣā-vṛtti by Puruṣottamadeva (sixteenth century A.D.) who drew inspiration from both the Kāśikā and the Bhāga-vṛttis. Durghaṭa-vṛtti, a work on some selected sūtras from the Aśṭādhyāyu, was written by the Buddhist scholar, Śaṅkara-deva; he mentions the date of his work as Śaka era 1095, which is A.D. 1172. The name of this work is derived from the fact that it seeks to offer justification for durghaṭas, i.e. points which are normally difficult to justify by grammar. The last of the important commentaries on the Aśṭādhyāyu is Sūtra-prakāśa by the well-known sixteenth century South Indian writer Appaya Dīkṣita.

The Kāśikā-vṛtti has two important commentaries. In the seventh century was written Nyāsa or Kāśikā-vivarana-paṇjikā by Jīnendrabuddhi, and in the eleventh century was written Haradatta’s Pada-maṇjari.

In about the eleventh century, the Aśṭādhyāyu was given a new form by the Buddhist scholar, Dharmakṛtī. He rearranged some of the useful sūtras topicwise. In about the fourteenth century another Buddhist scholar, Vimalasarvasvātī, did precisely the same thing in a work called Rūpamālā. About a century later, the Andhra scholar Rāmacandra, in his Prakriyā-kaumudi, followed the same pattern but extended the scope of his work by including some of the sūtras left out by his predecessors. Two commentaries were written on this work:

18 An era founded by a Śaka king Śālīvakhana approximately in A.D. 78.
21 K. P. Trivedi takes Dharmakṛtī and Vimalasarvasvātī to be contemporaries. According to him, the Rūpamālā and the Rūpamālā were composed about the same time, vide Introduction to his edition of the Prakriyā-kaumudi, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No. LXXIII, 1925, p. xxxii.
the Prakriyā-prakāśa by Śeṣakṛṣṇa (sixteenth century A.D.), the teacher of the famous Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita; and Prasāda by Viṭṭhala (sixteenth century A.D.). Next came Siddhānta-kaumudi by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (A.D. 1600-1650), which, in arrangement, closely followed Prakriyā-kaumudi and the earlier works, but differed from them in that it incorporated all of Pāṇini’s sūtras. Siddhānta-kaumudi is the most popular extant manual on Sanskrit grammar. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita himself wrote a commentary on this work, which he called Praudha-manoramā and his grandson Hari Dīkṣita wrote a commentary on it called Śabda-ratna. His principal aim in writing Śabda-ratna was to refute what he regarded as unfair criticism of Praudha-manoramā, which occurred in Praudha-manoramākūta-mardini by Paṇḍitārāja Jagannātha, a contemporary of his father, Bhaṭṭuṇji Dīkṣita.

Another commentary on Siddhānta-kaumudi was written by Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa (eighteenth century A.D.), a pupil of Hari Dīkṣita. He wrote his commentary in two versions, the longer being called (Bṛhat) Śabdendu-śekhara, and the shorter Laghu-śabdendu-śekhara. Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa wrote another work in three versions, the Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-maṅjūṣā. The longer version was called simply Maṅjūṣā, the shorter version Laghu-maṅjūṣā, and the still shorter version Parama-laghu-maṅjūṣā. This work was an independent treatise on grammatical philosophy and semantics in the Navya-Nyāya style (neo-logical style of argumentation). The author based his discussion mainly on Pataṇjali’s Maṅgalkārya and on Bhaṭṛhari’s Vākyapadiya, but not unoften he differed from them, showing remarkable originality. Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa also wrote Paribhāṣendu-śekhara, a gloss on the paribhāṣa (grammatical dicta). This was in line with such treatises as the Paribhāṣā-vṛtti by Śiropaṇa.

A work by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita which deserves special mention is Śabdakaustubha, although now it is available only in two fragments; one fragment comprises the first portion of the work, from the beginning to the end of the second pāda of the third adhyāya; the other fragment contains the fourth adhyāya. Śabdakaustubha is an independent commentary on Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī and is based primarily on Pataṇjali’s Maṅgalkārya, as the author himself expressly states and as Haradatta Miśra also states in his Pada-maṅjari. Śabdakaustubha was written earlier than Siddhānta-kaumudi, for it is referred to there, and it is in this work that the true greatness of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita as an original thinker is revealed. He summarized the main conclusions of his work in seventy-four kārikās. Kaunḍabhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita’s nephew, embodied and expounded these seventy-four kārikās in his Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣana which he wrote in three versions: the longer, (Bṛhat) Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣana; the shorter, Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣana-sāra; and the still shorter, Laghu-vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣana-sāra. Like the later work, Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa’s Maṅjūṣā, Kaunḍabhaṭṭa’s work deals with

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23 Phaṇibhāṣāitabhāṣyāādhe śabdakaustubham uddhare – verse 3.
grammatical philosophy and semantics. Kaunḍabhaṭṭa lived in the middle of the seventeenth century.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Varadarāja, Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita’s pupil, evolved from Siddhānta-kaumudi two school manuals, Madhya-kaumudi and Laghu-kaumudi. These two manuals, especially the shorter one, Laghu-kaumudi, are very popular in jols (traditional Sanskrit schools) and pāṭhaśālas (primary schools) even to this day.

Among the works which are ancillary to Pāṇini’s sūtras is the Uṇādi-Sūtra which is presupposed by Pāṇini; it is ascribed to Śāktaśāyaṇa. A later work, Dhaṭu-pāṭha, which is in substance that of Pāṇini, was the source of inspiration for three works: Dhaṭu-pradīpa by Maitreyarakṣita (a.d. 1165); Daiva by Deva on which Kṛṣṇalilāsūka Muni wrote a commentary, Punuṣakāra; and Mādhavīja-dhaṭu-vṛtti by Śāyana (thirteenth century a.d.). Gaṇa-ratna-mahodādhi by Vardhamāna (1140) does not seem to be based on the Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini, for Pāṇini’s work itself has not been handed down in its authentic form, since it has additions and alterations made in the light of the Gaṇapāṭhas of other grammatical treatises. A post-Patañjali writer, Śaṅtavanna, composed the Phīṭ-Sūtras, in which he dealt with the rules of accent, Vedic and classical.

POST-PĀṆINIAN SCHOOLS

The Kātantra school: The earliest of the post-Pāṇinian schools is the Kātantra (‘little treatise’). It is also known by two other names, Kaumāra and Kālāpakā according to two traditions associated with its origin. The author of Kātantra, Śarvaravarman, is said to have propitiated Lord Śiva who in turn ordered Kumāra-Kārttikeya, his son, to give instruction to Śarvaravarman; thus the work came to be called Kaumāra. Kumāra-Kārttikeya is said to have inscribed it in the first instance on the tail (kalāpa) of his peacock and thus the work came to be called Kālāpakā, or because of the incorporation into it of some parts from a bigger treatise, an obvious reference to brevity, for it is the shortest extant grammar. Kātantra was composed by Śarvaravarman in about the first century a.d. for a Sātavāhana king, as a tradition recorded in an old text would have us believe. A vṛtti on it was written by Durgāsimha in the eighth century; and on the vṛtti a nyāsa (an elaborate commentary) called Śisyāhitā, was written by Ugrabhūti in the eleventh century. A number of other commentaries on Kātantra were also written. Kātantra also appears in Tibetan translation.
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with a supplement and Durgasimha’s commentary. Kātantra had a considerable influence on the Pali grammarian Kaccāyana and also on the Dravidian grammarians, and is still popular in Bengal.

The Cāndra Vyākaraṇa school: Cāndra Vyākaraṇa by the Buddhist scholar Candragomin (fifth century) is a work longer than Kātantra but shorter than Aṣṭādhyāyī, its length being three-fourths of the length of Aṣṭādhyāyī. It was once popular in the Buddhist countries of Kashmir, Tibet, and Nepal. According to internal evidence, it was composed in about A.D. 470, the reference in the text being to the victory of a Jarta king over the Hūṇas. ‘Jarta’ is taken to be a corruption for ‘Gupta’, and the king was, most probably, Skandagupta. From external evidence, however, its date of composition seems to be A.D. 600, the date mentioned in the accounts of the Chinese travellers. Candragomin, who is also called Candrācārya, mentions in the beginning of his own vṛtti on Cāndra Vyākaraṇa that the special characteristics of his grammar are brevity, lucidity, and comprehensiveness. He was deeply versed in Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya, and was associated with the revival of its study, as Bhartrihari and Kalhaṇa (twelfth century) testify.

The Jainendra Vyākaraṇa school: Although the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa is considered to be the work of Jina Mahāvīra himself, it was actually composed by Pūjya-pāda Devanandin (c. sixth century). The colophons in the manuscript itself testify to this. It is a sort of condensation of the works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali; it has a recast, meant for beginners, which is called Paṇca-vastu. Two recensions of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa are extant, the northern and the southern. There is wide divergence between the two texts, for the northern recension has about three thousand sūtras while the southern has three thousand seven hundred. There are also many variations in expression in the sūtras. There are two vṛttis on the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa: the Mahāvṛtti by Abhayananandin and the Laghu-jainendra by Mahācandra. There is also a nyāsa, Sabdāmbhoja-bhāskara, by Prabhācandra (A.D. 1075-1125).

The Śāktaṭyaṇa Vyākaraṇa school: The Sabdānusāsana by Pālyakirti (ninth century) now goes by the name of Śāktaṭyaṇa Vyākaraṇa. It was composed during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Amoghavarṣa I (A.D. 814-77). The evidence for this is furnished by the fact that he gave the name Amoghā to the extensive commentary he wrote on his own work, and also by the actual mention of the name of the king in one of the illustrations. Prabhācandra wrote a nyāsa on the Amoghā-vṛtti. Yakṣavarman wrote a commentary, Cintāmani on the Śāktaṭyaṇa Vyākaraṇa, in which he alluded to its all-comprehensive nature; the sūtras, he said, included what in other grammars would be conveyed by ʿiṣṭā (grammatical principles) or by upasamkhyaṇas (additional grammatical rules).

\[\text{Adahad amoghavarṣa-vṛttin.}\]
The Siddha-Hemacandra school: The Siddha-Hemacandra, or simply the Haima Vyākaraṇa, was based on the Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa and was written by Hemacandra Sūri for King Jayasimha Siddharāja. The king procured from Kashmir eight older works for Hemacandra Sūri's use. The Haima Vyākaraṇa is a grammar of Prakrit as well as of Sanskrit; 3,566 sūtras, constituting the first seven adhyāyas, deal with Sanskrit grammar, while 1,119 sūtras, constituting the eighth adhyāya, deal with Prakrit grammar. The work is a good manual, practical in arrangement and terminology—an aspect in which it agrees mainly with Kātantra. It omits Vedic grammar and accent. Hemacandra Sūri wrote his work in two versions called Lagho, the shorter, and Bhāti, the longer. He also wrote a vṛtti on his work, and an extensive treatise called the Bhṛhanyāsa.

The Sarasvati-kaṇṭhābhartaraṇa school: The most extensive of the grammars is the Sarasvati-kaṇṭhābhartaraṇa written by the Paramāra king Bhoja (eleventh century A.D.). The total number of sūtras in it is 6,421, which is 2,426 more than even the Aṣṭādhyāyī has. This is because, included in the very sūtras are the uñādis (the suffix uṣa etc.), the paribhāṣās, and the gaṇas (groups of words). The work deals with Sanskrit and Vedic grammar. The first seven adhyāyas are devoted to Sanskrit grammar, while the eighth deals with Vedic grammar and accent. Three commentaries have been written on the Sarasvati-kaṇṭhābhartaraṇa: Hṛdayahārini by Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa; Puruṣakāra by Kṛṣṇalilāśuka Muni; and Ratna-darpaṇa by Rāmasimhadeva.

OTHER WORKS

Grammars continued to be written in later centuries too, but they could at best find only local acceptance. Of these, the following four are of some importance:

The Sāṁśipta-sāra: Kramadīśvara wrote the Sāṁśipta-sāra after 1150. In its first seven adhyāyas it deals with Sanskrit grammar, and in the eighth with Prakrit grammar. This work is also known as Jaumāra after its redactor Jumaranandin. In the colophons of many of the manuscripts Jumaranandin is styled Mahārajādhirāja. Goyicandra Autschāsana, a later writer, appended supplements to this grammar and wrote commentaries on its sūtras, uñādis, and the paribhāṣās. The Sāṁśipta-sāra, however, was popular only in the western part of Bengal.

The Mugdha-bodha: Among the works written by Vopadeva (thirteenth century), who flourished under King Mahādeva of Devagiri, was the Mugdha-bodha, a small manual on grammar. Many commentaries have been written on it, the best known among them being the one by Durgādāsa Vidyāvāgīsa (seventeenth century A.D.). The Mugdha-bodha attained great popularity in Bengal, and it is still in use there. Two other works by Vopadeva are the
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Kavi-kalpadruma, a work on roots, and a commentary on this called the Kāma-
dhenu.

The Suñḍma Vyākaraṇa: Written in 1375 by Padmanābha (fourteenth cen-
tury A.D.), the Suñḍma Vyākaraṇa was popular in the eastern part of Bengal. Five commentaries have been written on it, including the Pañjikā by the author himself and the Suñḍma-makaranda by Viśṇu Misra.

The Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa: This grammar is traditionally ascribed to Anu-
abhūtisvarūpācārya, although it might actually have been composed by Naren-
drācārya, Anabhūtisvarūpācārya being merely a prakriyākāra. As Vopadeva
does not mention this work, it was probably written after him but before the
Mohammedan ruler Ghiasuddhin Khalji (A.D. 1469-1500), since one of his
ministers, Puṇyarāja, wrote an extensive commentary on it called Prakriyā.
This grammar has been widely commented upon; in fact, it has as many as
eighteen commentaries and two recasts.

The Liṅgānusāsanas: Of some grammatical importance are the treatises
on gender known as the Liṅgānusāsanas. Some of them are ascribed to Pāṇini,
Vararuci, Śākaṭāyana, and Hemacandra (twelfth century). There are two
about whose date and authorship there is no dispute. These are by Harṣadeva
(A.D. 606-47) and by Vāmana (c. A.D. 800).
THE SPIRITUAL OUTLOOK OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

We shall surely do grave injustice to the grammatical literature of India, if we are inclined to look upon grammar only as a number of aphorisms serving no other useful purpose than the formation and analysis of words with which people are generally acquainted. In ancient India no enquiry was ever made that did not directly or indirectly aim at a higher realization of truth and a greater fulfilment of life. And no department of study seems to have been more fruitful than grammar in this respect.

The grammatical dissertations of the Hindus were not confined to a narrow fold, nor were the Hindu grammarians content with mere formulation of rules for the guidance of words. It must be said to the credit of the sābdikas (grammarians) that they succeeded in discovering a path of spiritual discipline even through the labyrinthine mass of grammatical speculations. Enquiries into the ultimate nature of vāc (speech) led them to a sublime region of sādhanā (spiritual discipline)—a region of perfect bliss and joy. The cultivation of grammar gave rise to a spiritual vision which, so to speak, enabled the vāg-yogavīd (knower of the secret of speech) to visualize Brahman in the varnamālā (wreath of letters). Letters are denoted in Sanskrit by the same term (aṅkāra) as is often applied to Brahman. A glance into the words in which aṅkāra has been interpreted by grammarians of old will serve to open our eyes to the supreme importance of varṇas (letters). To the spiritual insight of Patañjali, varṇas were not only phonetic types but glowing sparks of Brahman illuminating the entire sphere of existence.

Besides its spiritual significance, Sanskrit grammar seems to be the only branch of study that can claim a sufficient degree of scientific precision in its procedure. It is a unique record of the development of Indian mind in the domain of linguistic pursuit. It is not too much to say that the science of grammar deserves a prominent place in the world of sāstras (scriptures). It is called the ‘mouth of the Vedas’ and is intimately connected with the Vedas as one of the six Vedāṅgas. Grammar derives its importance from the fact of its being indispensable for understanding the Vedas. It is held that the study of grammar is a kind of religious penance (tapas) the result of which is immediately perceived.¹ It is stated further that the cultivation of grammar is a path which ultimately leads to the Pure Light of God.² This is why Patañjali eulogized gram-

¹ Mahābhāṣya, I. 1. 2. Also Vārttika.
² Vākyapadīya, I. 2.
³ Ibid.

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mar as the most important member of the Vedāṅgas. Bhartṛhari, the philosopher-grammian, has not only raised the status of grammar to the dignity of the Smṛti and the Āgama, but went to the length of asserting that ‘Grammar is veritably the door leading to final beatitude.’ Grammar is also said to be the purest of all branches of learning.

The study of grammar represents a remarkable phase of Indian culture. No other country can boast of having produced such an extensive literature in the field of grammatical speculations, and in no part of the world was the study of grammar carried on with so much zeal and assiduity. According to the custom prevalent in ancient India, the Brahmans used to read grammar as soon as the sacrament of upanayana (investiture of holy thread) was over; and it was only when they became considerably conversant with grammar that they took to the study of the Vedas. The necessity of making a thorough study of grammar was even felt by the gods. Tradition runs that Indra took up the study of grammar under the tutorage of Bṛhaspati.

We should not, however, forget the main issue. While paving the path for one’s admission into other departments of study, the study of grammar used to serve a still more beneficial purpose. Grammar in its religious and mystical speculations has been in line with the teachings of the Upaniṣads, reinterpreting the same doctrines of yoga and upāsanā as are found in the sacred texts of India.

In reviewing the history and development of grammatical speculations, the basic issue that often needs elucidation is the question of spiritual significance of the study of grammar: How may the study of grammar be of any direct help to the spiritual inspiration of man? Those who are trained to suppose that grammar has nothing to do with the highest problem of our life labour under a pitiable delusion. It was left to Patañjali and his followers to unlock the portal of a new kingdom of thought, so as to throw light upon the ultimate end of all enquiries into words. The Mahābhāṣya portended the birth of a form of sādhanā in which sabda as sphota or eternal verbum had to be worshipped with all the reverence of a divinity. In order to attain union with Brahman or to get oneself completely merged in the Absolute, one is directed to take up the mystic path of sabda-sādhanā.

Patañjali seems to have been the first among the Indian grammarians to give a spiritualistic colour to the speculations of grammar. The Sabdabrahmo-

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Mahābhāṣya, I. 1. 1.


Patañjali says that one should pursue the study of grammar for the supreme object of attaining equality with the great God.

While commenting on the ṛk (R.V., X.6.71), Patañjali has laid stress on the necessity of making a thorough study of grammar, because it renders one capable of attaining union with Brahman.
pāsanā (the worship of Brahman as Logos or Word), as is depicted in the Upaniṣads, had undoubtedly influenced his trend of religious thought. Then came Bhartṛhari, the author of the Vākyapadīya, who brought his robust genius and spiritual discipline to bear upon the problems of grammar. A purely Vedāntic outlook permeates all his interpretations. We find in the Vākyapadīya the emergence of a developed form of sādhanā where the dominant note is more philosophical than grammatical. The last of the trinity is Nāgaseśa who, following in the wake of Patañjali and Bhartṛhari, made an elaborate attempt to elucidate the philosophical side of grammatical dissertations.¹⁰

The mysticism underlying the phenomena of speech was undoubtedly the aspect which made the deepest impression upon the grammarian. The utterance of sound is to him a vivid materialization of consciousness. To the grammarian śabda (word) is not a lifeless mechanism invented by man. It is more than a mere sound or symbol. It is consciousness that splits itself up into the twofold category of śabda (word) and artha (meaning), and what we call vāc as the vehicle of communication, is nothing but an outer expression of Caitanya (spirit) that is lying within.¹¹

Patañjali has taken notice of two kinds of words, namely, nīya (eternal) and kārya (created). By the former he understands the supreme Reality that transcends all limitations of time and space. The attributes whereby the Vedāntins describe Brahman or the Absolute have all been used by Patañjali in his interpretation of nīya-sabda.¹² He has more than once drawn our attention to this eternal character of śabda. This will give us some idea of the magnitude in which śabda was understood by the reputed grammarian whom tradition makes an incarnation of the Lord. His poetical description of vārṇas (letters), to which we have already referred, best illustrates the spiritual outlook of his mind. From what he has quoted from the Vedas in laudation of vāc and vṛtākaraṇa (word and grammar), it is sufficiently clear that he was an ardent and devout worshipper of vāc,¹³ belonging to that class of mystics who in their spiritual experience make no distinction between Parā Vāc and Para Brahman. Patañjali used to look upon śabda as a great divinity (mahān devaḥ) that makes its presence felt by every act of utterance. He was a yogin whose inward intuitive vision (prātibha-jñāna) permitted him to have a look into that ‘eternal flow of Pure Consciousness undisturbed from outside’.¹⁴ He was a true type of Brahmin who visualized the ultimate nature of vāc by dispelling the darkness of ignorance through the aid of his illuminating knowledge of śabda-tattva. The worship of

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¹⁰ Cf. his Sabdena-śekhara.
¹¹ Punyārāja under Vākyapadīya, I.1.1.
¹² Mahābhāṣya, I.1.1.
¹³ Punyārāja has alluded to that subtle and invisible form of vāc which is undifferentiated from meaning.
¹⁴ Helārāja under Vākyapadīya, III.32.
vāc with its origin in the Upaniṣads\textsuperscript{15} which found so prominent an expression in the Āgamas, was earnestly followed up by the sābdikas, particularly by Patañjali and Bharṭṛhari. Śabdabrahmopāsanā as we find in grammatical dissertations, is only a reproduction of the teachings of the Upaniṣads.

A flash of divine light is said to dawn upon a man who knows the secret relation between the denoted thing (vācyā) and the denoting word (vācaka). Patañjali has quoted a verse which enjoins that he who knows the proper use of words is allowed to obtain eternal bliss in the next world.\textsuperscript{16} This is the consummation pictured to himself by a vāg-yogavid; and this is all that he longs to attain as the highest reward of his lifelong pursuit. The conception of vāc as a powerful deity (vāg-devi) and the glorification of the same as aksara or udgīta resulted in most important consequences for the spiritual discipline of life. This is a mode of upāsanā (worship or meditation) from which the grammarians of India drew all their spiritual inspirations.

Words are not mere sounds as they ordinarily seem to be. They have a subtle and intellectual form within. The internal source from which they evolve is calm and serene, eternal and imperishable. The real form of vāc, as opposed to the external sound, lies far beyond the range of ordinary perception. We are told that it requires a good deal of sādhanā to have a glimpse of the purest form of speech. The Vedic verse (ṛk) to which Patañjali has referred bears evidence of this fact. Vāc is said to reveal her divine self only to those who are so trained as to understand her real nature.\textsuperscript{17} Such was the exalted nature of vāc upon which the grammarian used to meditate.

Patañjali has also shown the religious consequence resulting from the study of grammar. The application of words in conformity with the rules of grammar is considered to be a kind of dharma (religious duty). Though correct and corrupt words are equally significant in ordinary parlance, he strongly believes that the use of correct words is alone attended with religious merits.\textsuperscript{18}

Having regard to the facts under review, one may be led to believe that the science of grammar belongs to the class of religious texts and it has actually received the same treatment at the hands of Bharṭṛhari and others. It may, however, be asked how a matter-of-fact science like grammar could come to be regarded as such. An answer to this riddle is suggested by the author of the Sabda-kaustubha. Just as one, he observes, is said to have received through accidental fortune the much-coveted jewel (cintāmani)\textsuperscript{19} in his search after shells (śukti), so the grammarians, while dealing with the nature of words, preached

\textsuperscript{15} Chā. U., VIII.2.
\textsuperscript{16} Mahābhāṣya, I. 1, 1.
\textsuperscript{17} R.V., X.6.71.
\textsuperscript{18} Mahābhāṣya, I. 1, 1.
\textsuperscript{19} A fabulous gem believed to fulfil any wish of its possessor.
the doctrine of absolute monism of the Upaniṣads and ultimately found Brahman as the essence of vāc. Grammarians, as we all know, started with the physical analysis of words and conceived sound as that which clothes itself with varṇas. They did not, however, rest there but proceeded still further and on minute examination of the internal phenomena, grasped the remotest form of sound, i.e. sphota, the eternal verbum, indivisible and really significant unit of speech, which is manifested outwardly by letters and words.

The doctrine of sphota, as expounded and nourished by the grammarian, marks the climax of mysticism reached by Sanskrit grammar. The assumption of a spiritual phenomenon like sphota, to which all sounds are reducible and from which all meanings follow, furnishes a clue to the origin of sound. To the grammarian sphota is indivisible (akhaṇḍa) and represents consciousness (cāitanya) in its purest form. Its sacred and lofty nature was so much exaggerated by the grammarians that it was finally identified with Brahman (cf. Vaiyākarana-bhūṣana-sūra). The conclusion at which the grammarians had arrived after all their speculations on śabda-tattva is the supreme identity of vāc and Brahman.

Bhartṛhari, as a staunch advocate of sphota-vāda, started with the proposition that śabda-tattva and Brahma-tattva are interchangeable.20 Though their procedure is secular and artificial to all appearance, the grammarians, says Bhartṛhari, had an eye to the reality of things. He has more than once sought to impress upon us how avidyā or negation of truth has always been resorted to by all departments of study in their respective manners of presenting facts. But the grammarian succeeded by the grace of intensive meditation (sādhana) in grasping the supreme truth though walking along the bewildering track of illusion. This was the triumph of their spiritual experience.

No grammarian seems to have gone farther than Bhartṛhari in harmonizing grammatical speculations with the sublime teachings of Advaita philosophy. All words and meanings, he holds, are but the apparently different aspects of one and the same thing. He was thus conscious of that mahāsattā or Highest Universal which permeates all. He makes his Vedāntic position perfectly clear when he says: sattā represents the real essence of all things; it seems to be manifold in consequence of the diversity of objects; it is to be regarded as the summum genus which is denoted by all words, all prātipadikas (basic nominal stems), verbal roots and suffixes like tva and tal.21 It goes without saying that sattā, as spoken of above, is the eternal supreme Self of the Vedānta.

20 Vākyapādiya, I. 1.
21 Ibid., III. 33-34.
SANSKRIT LEXICOGRAPHY

ONE of the most important branches of technical literature in Sanskrit is lexicography. At the same time, however, lexicography is its most neglected branch. Yet, a knowledge of vocables is as necessary as a knowledge of grammar for a systematic study of Sanskrit words, their origin, and development. Information regarding words and their usage in the space-time context can be gathered only from the Sanskrit lexicographical works which have been composed over centuries. Such a study is, however, impossible unless the student knows the extent of this lexical literature. Sanskrit lexical literature is so vast, and the published works so few, that a student of philology, especially one who wishes to study the history of words in chronological order and solely from Sanskrit lexicons, can hardly gather sufficient knowledge of the history of words from the material now available. We know very little about the chronology and content of numerous lexicons which still exist only in manuscript form. All we have now are standard lexicons such as the Amarakośa by Amarasimha, the Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi and the Anekārthasaṅgraha by Hemacandra, the Medini-kośa by Medinikara, some commentaries on them, and a few other works. In the present article, therefore, an attempt is made to give a brief survey of the Sanskrit lexical works composed down the centuries.

The history of Sanskrit lexicographical literature can be divided into four periods: (i) up to A.D. 500; (ii) from 500 to 1000; (iii) 1000 to 1500; and (iv) 1500 to about 1820.

FIRST PERIOD

The first period covers those works, including commentaries, which were composed prior to Amarasimha’s Amarakośa. The starting point in the compilation of works on lexicography may be said to be the Nighaṇṭu, a vocabulary of Vedic words and thus the oldest lexicon so far known. According to the derivation of the word nighaṇṭu, as given by Aupamanyava and accepted by Yāska, it comprises a list of Vedic words. As it has come down to us, the Nighaṇṭu consists of five chapters, the first three of which form the main body of the book and are called naighaṇṭuka-kāṇḍa. The fourth is called naigama-kāṇḍa and the fifth daivata-kāṇḍa. The first kāṇḍa deals with synonyms, the second with homonyms, while the third gives the names of deities. The topics include: (i) physical things such as earth, air, and water; (ii) objects of nature such as clouds, dawn, day, and night; (iii) the human body and its limbs such as arms and fingers; (iv) objects and qualities associated with people such as wealth and prosperity or

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anger and fighting; and (v) physical abstract qualities such as heaviness or lightness.¹

Two commentaries on the Nighaṇṭu are known to us: the Nirukta by Yāska (800-700 B.C.) and the Nighaṇṭu-nirvacana by Devarāja Yajvan (twelfth century A.D.).

The Nirukta is a thorough commentary on the Nighaṇṭu. Instead of merely explaining the words or passages occurring in the text, the Nirukta gives, besides the meanings of the words, the references to the terms as they are used in the Vedic literature. Yāska, the celebrated author of this work, quotes Vedic passages and tries to give the derivation of every word found in the Nighaṇṭu. On the Nirukta two commentaries are known to us. One is by Durgācārya who, according to Rajwade,² lived before the tenth century; the other is by Skandāsvāmin and Maheśvara, who are believed to have lived between A.D. 1060 and 1350. The former is important from the textual point of view, for it repeats every word used by Yāska. Thus the whole text of the Nirukta could be reproduced from this work alone.

The second commentary on the Nighaṇṭu, Nighaṇṭu-nirvacana by Devarāja Yajvan, was composed with a view to supplying all that was wanting in Yāska’s commentary. The Nighaṇṭu-nirvacana is an important text as it gives a collation of a number of manuscripts of the Nighaṇṭu consulted by Devarāja Yajvan before writing his commentary.

Only a few lexical works seem to have been composed between the compilation of the Nighaṇṭu and the fifth century A.D. when Amara flourished. Among the predecessors of Amara to whom lexicons are attributed are Vyāḍi, Kātya, Utpala, and Dhanvantari, but at present nothing is known about these lexicons or their authors. The existence of the lexicons is known only through citations in later commentarial literature. Vyāḍi is very often quoted by well-known authors like Hemacandra, and was apparently a renowned lexicographer. Vyāḍi is also quoted in the commentaries on the Amarakośa written by Rāyamukuta and Maheśvara. From all these quotations it appears that Vyāḍi’s lexicon was arranged in groups of synonyms and also contained a chapter on homonyms. Kātya’s lexicon, too, seems to have contained both synonyms and homonyms. The Dhanvantari-nighaṇṭu attributed to Dhanvantari is a glossary of materia medica and is believed to have existed in three different recensions. It gives a vocabulary of medicinal herbs and plants including their properties.

SECOND PERIOD

The second stage in the history of Sanskrit lexicography begins with Amarasimha’s Amarakośa, the standard and the most popular work, which was com-

² Nirukta (Marathi translation), p. 1278.
posed in about A.D. 500. Other works of this period include the lexicon of Rabhasapāla, Anekārtha-samuccaya by Śāśvata, Anekārtha-dhwani-mañjari by Mahākṣapaṇaka, and the Vaijayantikāṣa by Yādavaparakāśa.

Among the lexicons, the Amarakoṣa is regarded as a work of paramount authority. The commentaries on numerous Sanskrit works frequently quote Amarasimha’s lexicon. It has the widest circulation, and in all the schools and in every sect it is regarded as a work of unquestionable authority. The popularity of the Amarakoṣa can also be determined from the fact that in his Catalogus Catalogorum, Aufricht records not less than forty commentaries on this work.

Amarasimha’s lexicon is popularly known by the name of Nāmaliṅgānusāsana which means ‘a work which deals with vocables and their genders’. It is also known as Trīkāṇḍi, since it is divided into three books or kāṇḍas: (i) svarga-kāṇḍa, dealing with heavenly matters; (ii) bhūmi-kāṇḍa, dealing with earthly matters; and (iii) sāmānya-kāṇḍa, dealing with general matters. The whole work is written in metrical form in anusṭubh metre. The major part of the work deals with synonyms and only a small section, which is called the nānārtha-varga (miscellaneous section), is devoted to homonyms; this section is arranged after the final consonants. The indeclinables are treated in one chapter, while the last section is devoted to the general rules for determining gender. However, the arrangement of the work is faulty, for one finds it extremely difficult, without the help of an index, to trace a particular word in the lexicon. The genders of the words are indicated in some cases by inflectional endings, while in other cases they are recorded with such words as stri, purūs, or klīwa, which are indicative of gender.

In addition to Amarasimha’s Amarakoṣa and the commentaries on it, a number of other lexicons were written in this period. Among them a lexicon written by Rabhasapāla between A.D. 500 and 900 is not now available and is known to us only through citations. These citations are found, however, in many works. He is one of the most oft-quoted authorities of Sarvānanda, and he is also quoted by Kṣirasvāmin, Medinīkara, Rāyamukuta, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, Bhānuji Dīkṣita, and many others. This wide range of quotations by later writers is sufficient indication of the great popularity attained by Rabhasapāla’s lexicon.

The Anekārtha-samuccaya by Śāśvata (about the sixth century), which is popularly known as the Śāśvatakoṣa, is a dictionary of homonyms, but is not a complete koṣa (dictionary). The words are not arranged alphabetically, nor are they arranged according to syllables, as found in many lexicons. The work consists of 807 verses and is divided into six sections, the last two of which deal with indeclinables. It is arranged in full verses, half verses, and even in quarter

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3 Wilson, Collected Works, III, p. 166.
verses. Although it is a small work, it seems to have attained celebrity in later years.

The *Anekārtha-dhvani-mañjarī* by Mahākṣapaṇaṅka was written before A.D. 925. It is a dictionary of homonyms and consists of three chapters which repeatedly devote a quarter, one-half, or the whole of a stanza to the meanings of words.

The *Paryāya-ratna-mālā*, written in about A.D. 700, is a synonymous glossary of botanical terms. It contains the names of plants and herbs which were generally used by physicians at that time for medical purposes. It is not, however, a purely medical dictionary like the *Rāja-nīghaṇṭu* of the thirteenth century, for in it we also find synonyms for other terms such as *pārvatī*, *jayanta*, *brahmā*, *viṣṇu*, and *bṛhṛtya*.

Another medical glossary, and one written on the model of *Paryāya-ratna-mālā*, is the *Paryāya-muktāvalī* by Harişeṇa. It is written in metrical form and is divided into twenty-three sections.4

The *Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā* was written by Halāyudha in about A.D. 950. It is a small vocabulary of about 900 verses and deals mainly with synonyms, while the last chapter is devoted to homonyms and indeclinables. Although in most respects it follows the *Amarakoṇa*, it does not treat of genders so strictly as the *Amarakoṇa* does, and it is composed in a variety of metres. Halāyudha is said to have flourished in the middle of the tenth century and is identified with the author of the *Kavi-rahasya*,5 a grammatical work written in honour of King Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-70) of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family.

The last lexicon to be composed during this period was probably the *Vaijyanātikaṇa* by Yādavaprakāśa, written before A.D. 1100. It is a voluminous lexicon in two broad divisions, one dealing with synonyms and the other with homonyms. The distinguishing feature of this work, and one that has considerably increased its bulk, is that it contains numerous words from Vedic literature. For this reason it is looked upon as a work of considerable merit and authority. Yādavaprakāśa, who lived in South India, is identified with the preceptor of Rāmānuja, the celebrated staunch adherent of the Vaiṣṇava school of Vedānta. Yādavaprakāśa is said to have been originally a devout follower of the Advaita philosophy of Śaṅkara, but then, as a result of his discussion with his pupil Rāmānuja, he is supposed to have given up Advaitism in favour of the philosophy of Rāmānuja.6

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6 *Vaijyanātikaṇa* (Ed. G. Oppert), Preface, p. vi.
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

COMMENTARIES ON THE AMARAKOŚA

Being so popular, the *Amarakośa* naturally attracted the attention of commentators; so far we know of nearly sixty commentaries. Of these, five or six were printed but the rest are known to have existed only in manuscript form and are now lost. The following are some among these known commentaries:

The *Kāmadhenu* by Subhūtīcandra, written between A.D. 1062 and 1172, is probably the earliest known commentary on the *Amarakośa*. The author was a Buddhist. Professor Das Gupta is inclined to identify Subhūtīcandra with Subhūtipāla who was perhaps a Bengali. As Subhūtīcandra was a Buddhist, the manuscripts of his commentary on the *Amarakośa* are found preserved in Tibetan monasteries. The *Kāmadhenu* is an exhaustive and learned work and contains citations from numerous authorities. There are two factors that fix Subhūtīcandra's possible dates. One is that the *Kāmadhenu* contains a reference to Bhoja and two of his works, the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharana* and the *Śyānā-prakāśa*, and the date of Bhoja's death is given as A.D. 1063. The other factor is a reference to Subhūtīcandra made by Śaraṇadeva (twelfth century A.D.) in his *Durghaṭa-vaṭti*.

Another early commentary on the *Amarakośa* is the *Amarakośodghāṭana* written by Kṣīrasvāmin in the latter half of the eleventh century. Kṣīrasvāmin is supposed to have lived in Kashmir; according to some, he was a native of South India, while others believe him to have belonged to Central India. His commentary is a work of considerable merit, being rich in citations from previous works. At times he gives his own interpretations which differ from those given by other commentators. His explanations are very brief and contain the etymology of every word occurring in the text.

A Bengali commentator named Sarvānanda wrote the *Ṭikā-sarvasva* in A.D. 1159. It is very valuable from the philological point of view as it contains many words which were probably current in Bengal during Sarvānanda's time. It is an exhaustive work and quotes not less than two hundred authorities. The *Ṭikā-sarvasva* seems to have been the basis of all later Bengali commentaries on the *Amarakośa* including the one by Rāyamukuta, the celebrated commentator who flourished in the fifteenth century.

The *Amarakośa-ṭikā* is attributed to Trilocanadāsa (about twelfth century), a Bengali who has been identified as the reputed author of the gloss on the *Kātantra-vaṭti* by Durgasimha.

The *Amarakośa-mālā*, dated between 1350 and 1500, is attributed to Paramānanda Sarman who is said to have been an inhabitant of the village of Sailakini.

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*Nalini Nath Das Gupta, loc. cit.,* p. 261.
in the Bhawal area of the Dacca district in the eastern part of Bengal. He is identified as Paramānanda who wrote a commentary on _Kāvyaprakāśa_ by Mammatā. Aufrecht records only one manuscript of this commentary, but it is not available to scholars for study.¹⁰

One of the most important commentaries on the _Amarakoṣa_ is the _Padacandrikā_ written in 1431 and attributed to a Bengali writer named Bṛhaspati who was known as Rāyamukuta. His commentary is exhaustive and is regarded by subsequent writers as a work of great authority. Bṛhaspati was a native of Rāḍha in Bengal. He was a celebrated author and wrote commentaries on other works also. From the Sultan of Gauḍa, that is, Bengal, he obtained the title _pañjīta-sārvabhauma_ (i.e. a polymath). This commentary has recently been published from the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

A hitherto unknown commentary on the _Amarakoṣa_ was discovered by Das Gupta, although only a fragment of the manuscript was found. This is the _Amarakoṣa-ṭīkā_, written after 1275 by Durlabhavallabh. An account of the author is given in _Indian Culture_.¹¹

The _Padārthakaumudi_, which is also known as the _Amarakoṣa-panjika_, is an exhaustive commentary on the _Amarakoṣa_. It was written in about 1618 by Nārāyaṇa Cakravartin, a Bengali commentator. It is replete with quotations from previous works including the commentaries on the _Amarakoṣa_ written by Subhūticandra, Sarvānanda, and Rāyamukuta.

Among the later commentaries of the Bengal school is _Mugdha-bodhini_ written by Bharatasena between 1650 and 1680. This commentary is the favourite authority of the Bengal school and, in fact, of all other schools in which the grammar of Vopadeva is accepted.¹² Its importance lies in the fact that it discusses different readings according to different authorities. The etymologies are given according to Vopadeva’s system of grammar.

The _Vyākhyā-sudhā_ was written by Bhanuji Dikṣita in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Bhanuji Dikṣita calls himself the son of the celebrated grammarian Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita, and his work was written at the request of Kirtisimha of the Bāghela dynasty and ruler of Mahīdhara. The _Vyākhyā-sudhā_ is among the important commentaries on the _Amarakoṣa_; the interpretations given are complete, and the etymologies are in conformity with the Pāṇinian system of grammar. At times the author improves upon the explanations given by his predecessors, especially Rāyamukuta; he also offers his own interpretations whenever he differs from them.

A very late commentary on the _Amarakoṣa_ is the _Amarakoṣa-viveka_ written by Maheśvara, who appears to have been a resident of Mahārāṣtra, in the latter

¹⁰ T. Aufrecht, _Catalogus Catalogorum_, i, 325b.
¹¹ Nalini Nath Das Gupta, _loc. cit._, pp. 263-64.
¹² Wilson, _op. cit._, V, p. 206.
half of the seventeenth century. Besides being exhaustive, this commentary is of philological interest as Maheśvara quotes numerous Marathi words as the equivalents of Sanskrit expressions used in the text. Every now and then he records Marathi words, introducing them with such expressions as iti prasiddham (thus it is widely current) or iti khyātam (thus it is well known) or iti laukika-bhāṣāyām (thus it is in popular language).

The Amarakoṣa-padaṇavyātti, written in the eighteenth century, is a very exhaustive and copious commentary and is attributed to Liṅgabhaṭṭa, about whose personal history nothing is known to us. Aufrecht, however, states that his father's name was Kāmyabhaṭṭopādhya.13 P. P. S. Sastry observes that Liṅgaya Sūri, i.e. Liṅgabhaṭṭa, was a Telugu Brāhmaṇa, and his commentary is the most popular one in South India. Although the author has been placed in the eighteenth century,14 Dr Raghavan is of the opinion that Liṅgabhaṭṭa must have flourished before Mallinātha, that is, before 1430.

The Sārasundarī, written in 1666, is by a Bengali commentator named Mathureśa Vidyālaṅkāra. According to Dr Colebrook, it is a perspicuous piece of work. It abounds in quotations from other commentaries and is, therefore, a rich source of information on interpolations and the various readings of the text.

The Śabdārtha-sandipikā is a commentary written in the eighteenth century by Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda, a famous grammarian belonging to the Jaumara school.

One of the latest commentaries on the Amarakoṣa is the Śīśu-bodhini written by Maheśvara Sukthaṅkara in the eighteenth century. The author hailed from Goa and belonged to a family of Gauḍa Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas; his family deity was the goddess Sāntādurgā. Like the seventeenth century Maheśvara, this Maheśvara too gives Marathi equivalents for Sanskrit expressions in several places. He also quotes often from previous authorities.

THIRD PERIOD

The third period in the history of Sanskrit lexicography may be looked upon as the Hemacandra era of lexicography. Hemacandra wrote two works, the Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi and the Anekārtha-saṅgraha, and these became the models for many other lexicons compiled during this period. Among the most important of these, all of which were homonymous lexicons, are: the Viśva-prakāśa by Maheśvara; the Nāmaṁlā by Dhanaṇḍaya; the Medinikāṣa by Medinīkara; the Nānārthārṇava-saṅkṣepa by Keśava; the Maṅkhakoṣa by Maṅkha; the Anekārthātilaka by Mahāpa; the Nānārtha-ratna-mālā by Irugappadandaḍhinātha; and the Anekārthakoṣa by Ajayapāla.

During this period special glossaries such as medicinal and botanical

13 Loc. cit., 1, 344b.
works were composed. The following are the important ones:

The Šābda-candrikā by Cakrapāṇidatta, written in about A.D. 1060, is a medicinal glossary dealing with vegetable and mineral substances. It also contains a chapter on compounds, both in medicine and in dietetics, and is divided into the following nine sections: (i) vrksādi-varga (section on trees and the like); (ii) svvarṇādi-varga (section on gold and the like); (iii) ghṛtādi-varga (section on clarified butter and the like); (iv) bhūmyādi-varga (section on land and the like); (v) manusya-varga (section on man); (vi) simhādi-varga (section on the lion and the like); (vii) madyādi-varga (section on wine and liquors); (viii) paṇa-kaṣāyādi-varga (section on five astringent juices and the like); and (ix) triphalādi-varga (section on three fruits viz. haritaki, bibhitaki, and āmalaki and the like). Cakrapāṇidatta is believed to have lived under the patronage of Sahajapāla and Nayapāla of the Pāla dynasty. He was a well-known author and wrote several medical treatises in Sanskrit.

The Šābda-pradīpa by Suresvara, written in 1075, is a dictionary of botanical terms. Naming the different plants, it mentions also their medical properties. The work is divided into two broad divisions: the suva-kāṇḍa (section on vowels); and the vyañjana-kāṇḍa (section on consonants). Suresvara was a court physician to King Bhūmapāla who probably belonged to the Pāla dynasty; the Šābda-pradīpa was written for him in 1075.16

The Dravya-gūḍha-śata-sloki, which is also known as the Pathyāpathya-nīghāṇṭu, was written by Trimallabhaṭṭa between 1383 and 1499. It is a medicinal treatise giving the medical properties of usual articles of diet. Although it thus deals with the medical aspects of food substances, it also gives a classification of these substances. The work consists of 100 stanzas divided into fourteen sections: (i) jala-varga (section on water); (ii) dudhā-varga (section on milk); (iii) dhanvarga (section on paddy); (iv) māhisa-varga (section on meat); (v) patraśāka-phalāśāka-kandasāka-varga (section on leaves and vegetables); (vi) ikṣukhaṇḍādi-varga (section on sugar-cane and the like); (vii) taila-varga (section on oil); (viii) madhu-varga (section on honey); (ix) drākṣādi-varga (section on grapes and the like); (x) śunṭhādi-varga (section on ginger and the like); (xi) siddhāṇna-varga (section on boiled rice or cooked food); (xii) madha-varga (section on wine); (xiii) abhyaṅgādi-varga (section on cosmetics); and (xiv) tāmbūlādi-varga (section on betel leaves and the like).

The Madana-vinoda-nīghāṇṭu, which is also known by its shorter title, Madana-vinoda, was written by Madanapāla in 1374. It is a famous dictionary of drugs and one of the biggest vocabularies of materia medica having about 2,250 verses. It is divided into fourteen sections which are more or less common to the medical glossaries. It gives synonyms for the various drugs and, as in the

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Rāja-nighaṭṭu written about the same time, it also describes the drugs and their properties. One chapter, anna-varga, describes different kinds of foodstuffs; while another, māhisa-varga, explains the uses of various kinds of animal flesh and the effect of these foods on the health. The work is ascribed to King Madanapāla of the Tāka family; he was a great patron of learning and the author of several treatises.

The Rāja-nighaṭṭu, written by Narahari after 1235, is, as we have mentioned, another medical glossary of the names of various herbs and their medicinal properties. It is almost wholly limited to the materia medica used by Hindu physicians and gives synonyms for the various vegetable and mineral products considered to possess medicinal value, and describes their properties. The work is divided into the same fourteen sections.

FOURTH PERIOD

The fourth period in the history of Sanskrit lexicography ends with the last days of the Peshwas or Maratha rulers, that is, in about 1820, and this date also marks the beginning of the modern dictionaries. The fourth period is marked by the tendency shown in some of the lexical works to adopt words of foreign origin, particularly Arabic and Persian. This was probably due to the introduction of Arabic and Persian words in everyday speech during the days of the Moguls. In the court language the old Sanskrit words were gradually disappearing, their place being usurped by what was known as yāvani, i.e. Persian and Arabic words. It is surprising to find that in the old documents written at the time of King Śivāji more than half the words are of Persian or Arabic source. The writers of this period were greatly influenced by such foreign words. Consequently they introduced in their lexicons as far as possible foreign equivalents of Sanskrit words. Examples are: vajira or diwan for amātya (minister); bakshi for senāpati (commander-in-chief); alaci or vakil for dāta (messenger); muni or lekhaka (writer); arajbegi or vijñāpaka (informers); mir atas or topkhane ka daroga for analādhyakṣa (superintendent of armoury); mir imarat for śilpa-śāstra-visārada (civil engineer); and bagait ka daroga for udyānapāla (gardener).

These lexicons may, in fact, be regarded as bilingual glossaries. Among such works are: Pārasi-prakāśa by Vīhāri Kṛṣṇadāsa; Pārasi-prakāśa by Vedāṅgarāya; Yavana-paripāti-anukrama by Dalapatirāya; and Rāja-vyāvahāra-koṣa by Raghunātha Paṇḍita which was composed for the use of King Śivāji.

However, in spite of the influence of foreign words on Indian languages, lexicons devoted purely to the treatment of Sanskrit vocables were not wanting. Indeed, voluminous lexicons comprising 2,000 to 4,000 verses were composed even during this period. Among these are: Kalpadrukoṣa by Kēśava; Sarvaratnasamanvaya attributed to King Shahji of Tanjore; and Koṣakalpataru by Viśvanātha composed towards the middle of the seventeenth century.
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT*

To the ancient Indian thinker polity and political economy, as sciences, were not independent disciplines. Society was viewed as an organic whole which was governed by the immutable law of dharma (or its Vedic antecedent rta). The term dharma was fairly wide in its connotation. It included codes of socio-economic relationships, and also the relation between the State and the individual, the king and his subjects. Even in describing the four ends of human life as caturvarga, it was said that the summum bonum of life, mokṣa (salvation), could be attained only by the rational pursuit of the other three, dharma, artha, and kāma, in other words, by a synthesis of the spiritual and material aspects of life. Thus it will be apparent that the ancient thinkers were not oblivious of artha and kāma as distinct factors in human life. But the sheet-anchor of life was dharma which embraced all aspects of life and society and included what we now refer to as politics and economics. This is why there is so little literature in the early period devoted exclusively to the discussion of political theories or economic ideas. These ideas were part and parcel of ideas concerning social well-being, whether this was to be achieved through the conduct of the individual or through the conduct of the king or of the rāṣṭra (State).

In the early Vedic texts and even in the later works, the Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, and the Āranyākas, we find isolated passages with cryptic references which reveal the conceptions of the Vedic Aryans relating to such topics as the origin of kingship (whether from military necessity\(^1\) or from divine dispensation\(^2\)), the status, duties, and responsibilities of the king vis-à-vis the various social classes, and other related matters. A significant development in political ideology is seen in the ritual prescriptions of resplendent sacrifices such as the rājasūya or the āsvamedha as well as in such expressions as ekarāt (the sole ruler), samrāt (the emperor), viśvasya bhuanasya rājā (king of the whole world), all of

*Sanskrit is generally taken as the literature of metaphysics and abstract speculations of the ancient Indian seers. Accordingly, it is held that Sanskrit, which can precisely express the Upaniṣadic ideas, is 'alien' to economic and political issues. A close study of the extant Sanskrit literature, however, bears out that the Sanskrit literature is replete with economic and political ideas vital for running the State and for determining the relations between the State and the individual. The Dharma-śāstras, Artha-śāstras, and Smṛti-śāstras have already been dealt with as elements of the cultural heritage of India in Volume II of this series. In this article it is proposed to present the political and economic ideas, concepts, and codes as may be found in the Sanskrit literature from the earliest times.

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\(^1\) Ait. Br., I. 1.14.

\(^2\) Śat. Br., V. 3. 3-12.
which clearly denote imperial status. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Vedic literature was mainly sacerdotal in character, breathing theology and metaphysics even while referring to mundane matters. If any secular literature of the period had been preserved it would have given much more access to whatever practical theories of State and society might have been formulated.

Coming to the age of the Śūtras we are on firmer ground. The early Dharma-Śūtras are usually taken to be pre-Buddhist and are datable to about 600 B.C., while others range approximately between that date and 300 B.C. In the early texts we find political and economic ideas in a more collected form, but there is still no systematic exposition of political doctrines, and the subject is not treated as an independent branch of learning. The Dharma-Śūtras lay down the norm of political organization, and this is chiefly a monarchy. The Śūtras emphasize the reciprocal duties of the king and the people and prescribe the principal function of the king as protection of the subjects and promotion of their all-round welfare; and this function entitles him to receive taxes, more or less in the nature of pay. Stray references to the hereditary nature of succession to kingship, and references to the special status of Brāhmaṇas in upholding the moral order of society and in exercising effective curbs on the king’s conduct are among the highlights of the Śūtra literature.

It may be presumed that towards the close of the Śūtra period political theories tended to crystallize and might have developed into the schools of political philosophy and economics alluded to in Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra and in the Mahābhārata. However, in the absence of any extant treatise we have to be content with only quotations and stray references found in the later literature.

KAUṬILYA’S ARTHAŚĀTRA

The earliest extant treatise on the science of polity in its widest sense, however, is the Arthaśāstra written by Kauṭilya who is known as Viṣṇugupta as well as Cāṇakya. Kauṭilya was an astute Brāhmaṇa politician and, according to tradition, he was responsible for the rise of Candragupta Maurya. It is further believed that Kauṭilya was the principal architect of the Maurya administration and also its chief minister. Thus Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra may be taken to be a product of the latter part of the fourth century B.C. This work was long lost and was known only from quotations and from reference to it by later authors. However, thanks to Dr R. Shamasasty, Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore, the full text of the manuscript was recovered and published in 1909. Since then there has been a serious and prolonged contro-

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* Ibid., pp. 488-90.
* Bibliotheca Sanscritica, Vol. XXXVII (Mysore).
versy over the date and authorship of the work. One section of distinguished scholars would like to assign it to a date ranging from the first to the third century A.D. The authorship they would ascribe not to Kautiliya himself but to his disciples or to successors belonging to the Kautilyan school of thought. But another section of equally distinguished scholars, the protagonists of the traditional theory, put forward arguments which emphasize, equally strongly, the antiquity of Kautilya's Arthasastra and push it back to the Mauryan age. So, without being dogmatic about the date of composition of this work, since with our present knowledge an accurate date is difficult to determine, we may take the Arthasastra to be the earliest independent book on the subject and regard it as a standard work, the most authoritative compendium in Sanskrit on politics, administration, and economics produced by Indian genius. However, a comparative study of internal evidence in the Arthasastra and the Manu Smriti (c. 200 B.C.-A.D. 200) reveals that the Arthasastra is older than the Manu Smriti and must, therefore, be dated before the second century B.C. even if it is not assigned to the Mauryan age, although this does not seem to be an absolutely improbable date.

Kautilya's masterly treatment of political and economic ideologies in his Arthasastra makes it abundantly clear that the science of statecraft must have developed over a long period; the subject must have been assiduously studied even before Kautilya's time. Also, Kautilya does not take the credit of being a pioneer in evolving the science of polity; rather he is frank enough to make an unequivocal admission of having collected and compiled the then prevalent theories of earlier masters, presenting at the same time his own views on them from the practical standpoint of political and social expediencies. It is interesting to observe that he opens his treatise with salutations addressed to two distinguished political thinkers, Šukra (Uśanas) and Bṛhaspati; he also refers to as many as four (or five ?) well-known schools and more than a dozen celebrated authors including his own revered ācārya whom he does not mention by name. These references to so many authorities who held distinct views, or who were authors of independent theories, may naturally be taken as showing the intense intellectual activity of the pre-Kautilyan epoch in the field of politics and economics. Unfortunately, however, none of this extensive literature survived after the appearance of Kautilya's authoritative compendium. The earlier works were evidently superseded by the pre-eminence of this work and in subsequent ages too it held its ground and continued as the standard text.

The Arthasastra is divided into fifteen adhikaraṇas (books) dealing with important topics and divided further into 180 prakaraṇas (sections). The

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R. G. Bhandarkar, Jolly and Schmidt, Winternitz, Keith, Hillebrandt, etc.

R. Shamasasstry, Fleet, Mm. G. Sastri, K. P. Jayaswal, N. N. Law, D. R. Bhandarkar, R. K. Mookerji, H. C. Ray, Mm. P. V. Kane, etc.
prakaraṇas again are fitted into a scheme of 150 adhyāyas (chapters), some of which extend over more than one prakaraṇa dealing with related matters. Probably as a precaution against interpolation, Kauṭilya prefaced Book I with an exclusive chapter enumerating the contents of the volume. The method followed by Kauṭilya reveals his discerning and constructive mind. Collecting relevant data from various sources including the Śāstras and the commentaries on them, he presented these data, after necessary reorientation, in such a way that his work became an instructive manual for an aggressively disposed monarchy. He was well aware of the twofold aspect of the ancient concept of the function of the State, namely, (i) the protection and welfare of the people and (ii) the security and consolidation of the realm. Technically these two aspects were known as tantra and āvāpa respectively, and it seems that he planned the arrangement of the topics on these lines.\(^6\)

Books I to V, comprising ninety-five prakaraṇas, deal with tantra. Book I deals with the discipline and training of the king; his daily round of duties, principles for the exercise of danḍa (the sceptre symbolizing coercive authority); and the qualifications of ministers of different cadres and also of spies (both itinerant and stationary). Book II deals with the bureaucratic set-up of the administrative organization of the State; the duties and responsibilities of the adhyakṣas (heads of departments) and of the hierarchy of officials; the lay-out of settlements (old and new) as well as the planning of forts and fortified towns; the assessment and collection of revenue and the maintenance of proper revenue accounts; industrial establishments including State monopoly concerns; and the regulation and promotion of trade and commerce (inland and foreign). Book III deals with civil laws and the administration of justice. Book IV deals with criminal laws and the suppression of anti-social elements. Book V deals with action against sedition and treason; measures to combat a financial crisis; and such matters as the scales of pay of State officials.

Books VI to XIV, comprising eighty-four prakaraṇas, deal with āvāpa. Books VI and VII deal with the essential characteristics of the State, described as consisting of saptaṅga or sapta-prakṛti (seven elements); the sixfold political expedients in the field of diplomacy in inter-State circles, described as sāḍgūnya (six expedients). Book VIII deals with the nature of the dangers and calamities which may befall the king and the body politic from within and without or due to natural disasters such as drought, flood, or pestilence. Books IX and X deal with military campaigns and ancillary problems. Book XI deals with economic guilds and political corporations, and measures for controlling them. Books XII and XIII deal with methods of intrigue and the employment of secret agencies against aggressive enemies and also during military expeditions; and with such topics as ameliorative measures to be taken in a conquered country. Book

XIV contains secret recipes designed for the destruction of enemies, and others designed to remedy afflictions caused by enemy action.

Book XV, consisting of a single prakarāṇa, is of special significance. It is in the form of a glossary of thirty-two technical political terms and verbal contractions used in the text. The author gives their intended import in order to avoid these words being wrongly construed and to avoid also their being given a twisted interpretation by later commentators.

The variety of topics treated in this unique composition makes it clear that Kauṭilya's conception of polity or political science was not simply to theorize on the political expedients confined within the bounds of rāja-nīti (politics), rāja-dharma (political philosophy), or dānḍa-nīti (laws of punishment). His concept was much wider in content and bearing. A distinguished economic historian very aptly observes that the object of Kauṭilya was to lay down the principles of 'the art and technique of government with its economic basis treated as an integral part of statecraft and social relations. The manner of its specialization in political economy gives it a stamp of individuality, of belonging to a distinct branch of thought and learning'. This attitude on the part of Kauṭilya eminently justifies the nomenclature of the treatise as Arthaśāstra. To him artha (wealth and its acquisition and distribution, or the financial viability of a State) is of the utmost importance in so far as it enables a king to discharge his duties to the people and achieve the political objectives of the consolidation and expansion of the territory of the State. Kauṭilya thus stands out as the foremost theorist of ancient India and the first to prepare a scientific treatise on statecraft with economics as the basic factor.

Though the language of the Arthaśāstra is Sanskrit, it is interspersed with archaic un-Pāṇinian terms. The principal theories are presented in short sūtras (aphorisms) and the style is generally simple but pregnant with deep significance. The terseness of expression is often carried to an extreme and this factor, together with the use of obsolete expressions and technical terms of dubious import, poses a difficult problem for the student who wishes to get to the core of the subject. The sūtras are followed by discourses known as bhāṣya and also short metrical compositions summing up the contents of each adhyāya. The purpose of this method is indicated in a colophon at the end of the book. Viṣṇugupta (Kauṭilya), it says, undertook the composition of the sūtras and the bhāṣyas on them as a safeguard against possible discrepancies in interpretation at the hands of commentators. In spite of the author's noble intention, easy understanding of the text is precluded by his economy in the use of words in the exposition of the sūtras, for this makes the work highly enigmatic. Even when declaring his own views against those of the earlier authors, Kauṭilya keeps back

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in many cases the arguments or reasoning that prompted him to take the final decision embodied in the text.

The *Arthaśāstra* may be seen as an omnibus volume of instruction for the guidance of a limited circle of students, namely, princes and would-be administrators. This is why Kārttilya preferred to keep his discourses on a practical plane and did not encumber them with moral maxims or didactic tales. By its comprehensive character and eminent inductiveness it surpassed, as we have said, all previous works and itself became unsurpassable as an authoritative pattern; later periods produced only commentaries or annotations on it.

THE DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS OR SMṚTIS

While the early Dharma-Sūtras attempted to set out the norm of political organization as an essential part of the social complex, although they did so only inadequately, it is in the Dharma-śāstras that we find the desired elaboration of these early ideas. A floating mass of rules and regulations was codified by the Dharma-śāstra writers as an all-round guide for the life and conduct of the people. Polity or rāja-dharma formed a legitimate part of their writings, since upon the king’s rule and administration depended the smooth functioning of the social organization.

It is widely believed that the Dharma-śāstras or Smṛtis are metrical versions of the Dharma-Sūtras.11 The oldest and most popular of the Dharma-śāstras is the *Mānava Dharma-śāstra* which is also known as the *Manu Smṛti*. It is a book of twelve chapters in *anuṣṭubh* (sixteen-syllabled) couplets. Chapters VII and VIII and part of chapter IX of this work deal with rāja-dharma. This portion outlines the qualities and duties of rulers and describes the principles of statecraft in peace and in war. Chapter VII deals with the entire range of State activity such as the appointment of ministers and their responsibilities; diplomacy and inter-State relations; the deployment of messengers and spies; the organization of the army; forts; wars and military expeditions; the treatment of a conquered people; internal administration; assessment and collection of revenue; and the eradication of anti-social elements (kaṇṭaka-śodhana). In chapter VIII, and to some extent in chapter IX, are discussed the administration of justice and also legal procedures including the laws of evidence in respect of civil and criminal matters.

These rāja-dharma chapters of the *Manu Smṛti* might easily have formed an independent treatise on polity. They are in any case a significant contribution to the subject, and regarded as the most authoritative source of laws, both public and private. The *Manu Smṛti*, naturally, lays special emphasis on dharma. Sovereignty, it asserts, is vested in dharma, and dharma thus stands

above the ruler and he is its upholder. The ideology of dharma thus breathes into the political conception of the school of Manu an element of spirituality. The views of the Arthaśāstra, on the other hand, are based on practical considerations according to the needs of circumstances. Even so, it is interesting to note that the Arthaśāstra admits the claim of the precedence of the Dharmaśāstra view in the event of a conflict between the two in any fundamental matter. This shows the popularity of the Dharmaśāstra and the extent of the confidence it enjoyed in society.

There are other later Smṛti works which closely followed the Manu Smṛti, not only chronologically but also in content. Among these are the Smṛtis of Yājñavalkya and Viṣṇu (c. A.D. 100-300), of Nārada (c. A.D. 100-400), of Bṛhaspati (c. A.D. 300-500), and of Kātyāyana (c. A.D. 400-600). Political theories concerning such matters as the divinity of kingship, the king’s authority over all classes of subjects except the Brāhmaṇas, and questions of internal administration including the system of taxation as expressed in these Smṛtis almost echo the Manu Smṛti with minor modifications here and there. In matters of law and legal procedure, however, and in the administration of justice, all of which are essential constituents of rāja-dharma, the authors of these Smṛtis demonstrate their ingenuity. The Yājñavalkya Smṛti, for example, describes the judicial procedure more systematically than the Manu Smṛti. It also defines the laws of evidence of all varieties and the laws of prescription and ownership, of partition, inheritance, and stri-dhana (the exclusive property of a woman). The Nārada Smṛti gives an elaborate description of the courts of justice, together with details of procedural laws. These are the positive contributions of the age to the development of an important aspect of the science of polity.

The two epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, are replete with sound political and economic theories for good government. The Rāmāyaṇa, which is the earlier of the two epics, contains reference to principles of good government, diplomacy, war and peace, etc. It contains prescriptions regarding the manner in which the king should consult his ministers, learned men, and the principal officers of the army in formulating State policy on different matters. The Mahābhārata contains a rāja-dharma section, which is spread over parans XII and XIII. An inherent part of this great epic, it is also an illuminating treatise on the science of polity. Into the mouth of the Kuru patriarch, Bhiṣma, the author puts the traditional theories about such matters as the origin of the State and its organic constituents; the divine source of monarchy; the duties

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12 A.Ś., III. 1.
13 Dates according to H.Dh., II, Pr. I.
14 Tāj, II.
15 Nār. Sm., Introduction and Chapters I-II.
16 For detailed study refer to CHI, Vol. II, pp. 301-413.
of the ruler, his equipment, and his responsibilities towards his subjects; and the constitutional features of non-monarchical governments.\textsuperscript{17}

**KĀMANDAKA’S NĪTISĀRA**

In the post-Kauṭiliyan age the over-riding influence of the *Arthaśāstra* was so striking that, except for the *rāja-dharma* sections of the *Maṇu Smṛti* and the *Mahaṭbharata*, we find no work on polity or economics worth the name. It seems that Kauṭiliya’s *Arthaśāstra* cast into the shade all forms of political speculation; so, the theories it propounded reigned supreme. The later Smṛtis and Niti texts devote their attention to the fineries of the legal and judicial procedures and treat theories of polity and economics in a more or less conventional manner; thus the sparkle of individuality or of an independent spirit is conspicuously lacking.

The most important political treatise of this age is Kāmandaka’s *Nītisāra* (or *Kāmandakīya*). The dates assigned to it by different scholars range from the third century A.D. to the end of the seventh century. It would perhaps be reasonable to hold that the available text is a composition of the sixth or the seventh century. In any case, the text is principally based on the *Arthaśāstra*, and the author acknowledges Viṣṇugupta (Kauṭiliya) as the innovator of the science of polity.\textsuperscript{18} Kāmandaka attempted to elucidate the teachings of Kauṭiliya, his master, to facilitate wider consumption and easier understanding; and with this end in view he used the *kāvya* style as his medium. In his endeavour to present a faithful commentary on the original work, Kāmandaka avoided demonstrating his own individuality; but he did not have that degree of penetrating insight born of practical experience which the master possessed in an abundant measure.

The *Nītisāra*, a metrical composition, is divided into twenty cantos and thirty-six *prakaraṇas*. The classification of topics under titles more convenient than Kauṭiliya’s is indeed commendable. Cantos I and II deal with the discipline and training of the king and the princes, the institutions of *vaṁśa-rāma* (the four castes and the four stages of life), the usefulness of *daṇḍa*, and the general rules of conduct. Cantos IV to VII deal with *saptāṅga* (the seven elements of the State and their functions including that of the king), removal of anti-social elements, and the personal safety and security of the king. Cantos VIII to XII deal with the inter-State *vaṇṭala* (circle), types of treaties, the nature of different kinds of hostilities, and diplomatic moves to be taken after due deliberation. Canto XIII deals with the employment of envoys, ambassadors, and spies. Canto XIV describes the glorious results of strenuous action and of initiative taken and the reactions on the constituent organs of the body politic. Canto

\textsuperscript{17} *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

\textsuperscript{18} *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, I. 5-7.
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XV deals with vices and their consequent afflictions. Canto XVI deals with enemy aggression and measures to combat it. Cantos XVII to XIX deal with the movement and encampment of the army; upāyas (political expedients); the assessment of one's own military strength and repair of weaknesses; the allocation of duties and responsibilities to army commanders, including protection of the forces placed under them, and, as and when necessary, the adoption of even unorthodox moves. Canto XX deals with the deployment of the different wings of the army in offensive and defensive warfare.

This summary of the contents of the Nittisāra shows the degree of Kāmadaka's indebtedness to Kauṭilya's work which, in fact, he almost paraphrased. Unlike Kauṭilya, however, Kāmadaka often took delight in using didactic tales and moral maxims to illustrate the theories, particularly with regard to the righteous conduct of the ruler. At the same time, Kāmadaka did not hesitate to recommend, on the same lines as Kauṭilya's, the adoption of questionable, unorthodox methods on the part of the king to suit the contingencies of statecraft. It is strange, however, that Kāmadaka omits altogether such an important matter as internal administrative organization including theories of taxation, the regulation of trade and commerce, and the administration of justice, in all of which Kauṭilya excels. So we find that the system outlined in the Arthaśāstra continued as the authoritative pattern of governmental organization, and no new light could be thrown upon it even by commentators like Kāmadaka.

LATER WORKS

By the ninth century the Dharma-śāstra scholars devoted themselves more to writing commentaries on the main Smṛti works and preparing nibandhas (digests) of them than to the production of original texts. Two notable works of this period are the Bāla-krīḍā, a commentary on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti written by Viśvarūpa (A.D. 800-850), and the bhāṣya on the Manu Smṛti written by Medhātithi (A.D. 825-900) and known as the Medhātithi-bhāṣya. Though they reiterate the Dharma-śāstra doctrines, these two commentators do not fail to show occasional originality in order to accommodate changing circumstances. For example, in elaborating Manu's theory of rāja-dharma both Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi enlarge the connotation of kingship to include rulers of non-Kṣatriya castes, provided the essential functions of the protection and security of the State and of the people are discharged by them. Medhātithi endorse Manu's principle of the king's unlimited executive authority, but at the same time he lays down its limitations in so far as castes, orders, and re-

18 Ibid., IX. 10; XXXVI. 54, 71.
ligious matters are concerned. Both the commentators lay stress on the reciprocal relation between the ruler and the ruled, and on the right to taxation being dependent upon protection. Viśvarūpa goes one step further. He upholds the political rights of the individual, declaring that a tyrant may not only be deposed but slain in the interests of the State. So we find, without multiplying such instances, that the stream of political thought did not altogether become moribund as time passed, even though the production of original works became rare.

In the tenth century appeared another Niti treatise, the Nitiśāra (the nectar of the science of polity). It was written by Somadeva Sūri, a Jain monk of the Deccan, a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-70). It is interesting to note that the text, though produced by a monk of the Jaina order, bears little trace of monasticism. On the other hand, like Kāmāndaka’s Nitiśāra, it is principally based on the Kauṭilyan tradition. The text consists of thirty-two discourses on political institutions and statecraft, the emphasis being on general morals. The work aims at instructing rulers on the conduct required in administering the State and in achieving a position of pre-eminence in the inter-State circle. The topics dealt with include ari-śaṅvarga (the six internal enemies); the education of the prince in the four vidyās (branches of learning), namely, ānviksiki (philosophy), trayī (three Vedas or religion), vārtā (economics), and daṇḍanīti (polity), the functions of councilors, priests, army commanders, ambassadors, spies, and ministers; the administration of the janapada (the countryside); durga (forts and urban areas); the treasury; the army and allies; the six types of foreign policy; and warfare and other measures for the security of the realm. The work also refers to legal disputes and the administration of justice. Thus it is apparent that Somadeva did not gloss over matters relating to administrative organization as Kāmāndaka did. Somadeva’s work, however, reiterates in a conventional way the Smṛti-Arthaśāstra tradition and reflects hardly any originality of ideas. The language of the text is simple Sanskrit characterized by occasional pun and humour. The sayings are composed in concise form, but marked by clarity of expression.

The next two centuries witnessed the appearance of a few more Niti works and Smṛti digests bearing on polity and law, namely, the Tukti-kalpataru by Bhoja, the Mānasollāsa or Abhilāṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi by Someśvara, the Kṛtya-kalpataru by Lakṣmīdhara, Vijñāneśvara’s and Aparārka’s commentaries on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, Govindarāja’s and Kullūka Bhaṭṭa’s commentaries on the Manu Smṛti, and the digests of Jimūtavāhana.

The Tukti-kalpataru, attributed traditionally to King Bhoja of the Pāramāra

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22 Ibid., IX. 254.
23 Bāla-krīḍā, p. 192.
dynasty, is a Niti text of little merit. The work summarizes the political views of the earlier authors, and it does so in the unusually short compass of twenty of the work's 230 pages. The author touches briefly upon the various aspects of administration, but in a perfunctory manner. The importance of the treasury is strongly emphasized as being considered more valuable to a king than his life-blood. The theory of taxation which, however, is the source of the treasury is glossed over.

The Mānasollāsa or Abhilāṣitārtha-cintāmanī by the Cālukya king Someśvara (c. 1126-38) is described as a work on polity, although only the first two praśānas or viniśatis (groups of twenty verses) deal with some aspects of statecraft.

The oldest Smṛti digest is the Kṛtya-kalpataru by Bhāṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara who was the sāndhi-vigrahika (minister of war and peace) at the court of King Govindacandra (c. 1114-54) of the Gāhādvāla dynasty. This is an encyclopaedic work, of which the section on rāja-dharma deals with polity. In three sections it describes (i) the saṃtāngas (seven elements) of the State—the qualities and the duties of the ruler and of his ministers and administrative officers; the importance of forts and the treasury; allies of various kinds; judicial administration; and methods of developing the resources of the State; (ii) śādguna (the six expedients) the sixfold policy in matters of diplomacy and warfare; and (iii) the efficacy of rites and rituals as a matter of State policy. This unusual emphasis on ritualistic performances may be interpreted as a sign of the age when an inclination developed to rely more on uncertain occult power than on practical sources of strength.

Vijñāneśvara and Aparāraka were contemporaries. Their commentaries on the Tājñāvalkya Smṛti were also digests of earlier Smṛti material, but the striking originality and inductiveness of these two works mark them out as distinct contributions to the Sanskrit literature on law and polity. They both put forward bold and well-reasoned arguments in support of the Smṛti doctrine of the relation of taxation to protection, the protection of the subjects being obligatory upon the ruler. It is in matters of juristic and legal exposition that the commentators display their wide knowledge and analytical acumen of a high order. Vijñāneśvara's commentary, the Mitākṣara, contains important accounts of the constitution and composition of different grades of courts of justice and also details the procedural laws for the administration of even-handed justice. Its prescriptions on the origin of ownership and the transfer of property by gift or by partition, on possession and adverse possession, on inheritance, and on stri-dhana reflect the originality of outlook of the author and his juristic finesse. Even in modern times this work is regarded as an authority on Hindu law.

26 Ibid., II.
Aparārka's work, although more extensive than the Mitāksarā and often at variance with it, does not reflect the same depth of knowledge or originality of ideas. Jimūtavāhana of Bengal, who flourished in the same period, wrote two works entitled Vyavahāra-mārthkā and Dāyabhāga. With eminent ingenuity he covers in them a wide range of topics bearing on legal procedure and positive law. In the Vyavahāra-mārthkā he sets out the formation of law courts of different grades, eighteen titles of law, and methods of trial on the basis of legal proofs and evidence, which are enumerated separately for civil and criminal matters. Dāyabhāga deals particularly with the laws of ownership, inheritance, partition, and strī-dhana. The laws of Jimūtavāhana still hold good as the principal authority all over Bengal. Some of his doctrines differ sharply from those found in the Mitāksarā, particularly with regard to partition and inheritance. These legal treatises enrich the science of polity in its wider aspects by their formulation of theories of social relationships and the administration of justice.

The Śukra-nītisāra, which is attributed to the sage Śukra-cārya, the preceptor of the daityas, is one of the latest Sanskrit works on political speculation. The available text was written not before A.D. 1200, since it refers to the use of firearms. This text, however, might have been developed upon an earlier nucleus. It is a treatise remarkable for its comprehensiveness as well as for its freshness and originality of outlook. It consists of four chapters, and of these one, chapter III, relates to general rules of morality or sādhāraṇa-niti. The first chapter deals with the duties and functions of the king, his divinity and parallelism with different deities, and with his obligation to afford protection to the people. In this connection, Śukrācārya draws a sharp contrast between the righteous ruler and the tyrant, which is highly significant. In chapter II are described the duties and responsibilities of high officials and dignitaries of the State and the different aspects of internal administration. This chapter also provides valuable and detailed information regarding the different items of State expenditure. It also lists the different kinds of State documents, namely, jaya-patra, relating to judgement; ājñā-patra, a royal order; prajñā-patra, a proclamation; sāsana-patra, a public notice; prasāda-patra, a royal favour; and bhoga-patra, a document or title of possession. The fourth chapter includes topics such as the king's friends or allies; the royal treasury and taxation measures; forts; the composition of the army; military administration; and non-political topics such as arts and sciences including architecture, sculpture, painting, and other branches of the fine arts; literature; and customs and institutions reflecting the economic life of the people. This encyclopaedic work incorporates the salient teachings of the Arthaśāstra and the Manu Smṛti and also to some extent the Kāmasūtra with the author's own modifications where deemed necessary to bring the work in line with changing circumstances.

Other late Niti works include Rājaniti-ratnākara by Caṇḍeśvara, Niti-prakāśikā by Vaiśampāyana, Niti-prakāśā by Mitra Miśra, Niti-mayūkha by Nilakanṭha, and the Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra. All these works deal with aspects of polity and statecraft. They follow the conventional pattern of the Smṛti tradition with little new to contribute.

The Purāṇas, which were fashioned out of traditional lore and used as the medium of instruction for the common people, also made their contribution to the propagation of political and socio-economic ideals. Most of the eighteen Purāṇas and as many or more of the Upapurāṇas are, no doubt, religious in character. Nevertheless, some of these major Purāṇas such as the Matsya, Agni, and Garuḍa and, among the Upapurāṇas, the Viṣṇudharmottara, are encyclopaedic in form and content. In addition to the usual Purāṇa topics they contain chapters on rāja-dharma dealing with such topics as the king’s coronation, his duties and responsibilities, the rules of politics and diplomacy, and the science of war and the use of arms and weapons. They also include topics relating to social organization based on varṇāśrama-dharma and economic institutions. The Viṣṇudharmottara recites an interesting account of anarchy engulfing the ‘state of nature’ without a king as the genesis for the rise of kingship. The importance of kingship as essential to safeguard the people against calamities of all kinds is asserted also in the Garuḍa and Agni Purāṇas. The Smṛti tradition of the ethics of rāja-dharma, that is, the ruler’s unlimited authority balanced by his obligations to the people, finds eloquent exposition in the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas popularized the doctrines of the Smṛtis and the Mahābhārata, presenting them in simpler style illustrated with legends and moral maxims, but did not indicate any new line of thought. They are, rather, a compilation of borrowed material. Polity and other such secular matters came to be incorporated at a later date, probably in the ninth or tenth century. This was in order to enhance the importance of the Purāṇas in popular estimation. The Kālikā Purāṇa (eleventh century) and the Bṛhadārṇava Purāṇa (fourteenth century) also have sections dealing with polity and statecraft.

From the brief survey in the foregoing pages it is evident that there was no dearth of political, economic, and legal literature in Sanskrit in ancient India. Classical Sanskrit literature as such also abounds in political and economic ideas in which references occur about the duties of a king, the concept of universal sovereignty, etc.

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28 Matsya Purāṇa, Chs. CCXV-CCXLIII; Agni Purāṇa, Chs. CCXVIII-CCXLIII; Garuḍa Purāṇa, Chs. CVI-CXV; Viṣṇudharmottara, Bk. II.
29 Kālikā Purāṇa, Ch. LXXXVII; Bṛhadārṇava Purāṇa, Bk. III.
SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

There is a general impression that although Indians in ancient times made tremendous progress in art, literature, philosophy, and allied branches of knowledge, in the field of science they made little progress or none at all. This neglect of the study of science is attributed to over-emphasis on religion which, it is said, resulted in a culture of other-worldliness. This impression lies at the root of the bias which prompted such an eminent scholar as Keith to opine: ‘In the great period of Sanskrit literature, at any rate, experimental science was at a low ebb, and little of importance was accomplished in those fields in which experiment is essential.’ Recent research, however, has brought to light convincing evidence to prove that in the field of scientific and technical knowledge the contribution of ancient India was by no means negligible.

If literary evidence is not to be discarded as absurd and improbable, which it certainly is not, even though it may be looked upon as such by the historians, then the Rg-Vedic reference to the artificial thigh made of iron given to Viśpala by the Aśvins must be regarded as an astonishing feat of medical science and metallurgy in such an early period of human history. Even the Iron Pillar of Delhi (c. fourth century A.D.), which is twenty-three feet high and nine tons in weight, and two other such pillars found in Dhar and Mount Abu are no less striking. In the Rg-Veda (IV. 36.1) the Rbhus are said to have had a three-wheeled chariot which could move in the air as well as on earth; the two great epics also refer to some sort of aerial car. Today, however, these are looked upon as nothing more than poetic fancy. Coming to the eleventh century, we find a royal author, King Bhoja, speaking of some aerial cars with which he appears to have experimented successfully. In a cryptic way he tells us how to build the machines, and discusses the problems connected with floating the ear in the air against the force of gravity and the problem of driving it in the desired direction against the force of the wind. For this purpose he advises the use of some kind of ‘gas’ and also some propellers. Thus it becomes evident that

1 A. B. Keith, HSL, p. 408.
2 See V. Raghavan’s article ‘Is Hindu Culture Other-worldly’ in Twentieth Century (Allahabad, 1937).
3 Sadāya jaṅghāṁ āyasthi viśpalaẏi—R.V., I. 116.15; I. 118.8.
4 Laghu-darś-mayāṁ mahādhanaṁ dṛṣṭha-sūlaṁ taṇum vidhōya tasya Udare rasa-yantram ādādhita jcaḥaṁādāhrām adhī'ya cāgrāpuṇam.
   Tatrādāhyā pūrvaṁ tasya pālaṇāndūvocālaprājñhītenūnānena.
   Suptasyantah pāradasyaṁ ākhyāṁ citrāṁ kurovanamvare yāti dūram.
   Ithānaṁ viva-mandirāt-tulayāṁ saṁcalayaṅyālāgūṁ dārṇāvvinūnam
   Ādādhita vidhīṁ caturṇāṁ tasya pāradabhītān dṛṣṭhak aunbhān.
in the eleventh century an Indian thinker attempted in his own way to tackle the most difficult problems of aeronautics that still baffled his European counterparts even in the eighteenth century. In the Rg-Veda (I. 34. 1; VI. 44. 24) and in the Vajasaneyi Samhita (VI. 18. 18, 37) there are references to mechanical devices (yantras) and the Mahabharata also speaks of a number of yantras. The Ramayana also knew about them. Kauitilya's Arthastra speaks of two varieties of yantra, static (sthitā) and dynamic (cala), and also of other kinds such as automatic door-leaves and a contraption called viśvāsa-ghātin that was designed to sink as soon as the enemy placed his full weight on it with a view to storming the fortress.

Almost all the branches of ancient Indian science and technology give references to ancient authorities on those subjects, and in many branches references are made to certain sages as the founders of particular schools. Modern scholars are inclined to discard these references as so many myths; but this is the result of approaching Indian tradition in a slipshod manner. The non-availability of ancient works does not justify the presumption of their non-existence. Then again, before arriving at any conclusion about the scientific literature of ancient India we should consider the following facts. In the case of science and technology, the experts were unwilling to divulge the secret of their knowledge lest it should be used against their own interests. So they tried to keep their knowledge confined to themselves and a very small circle of disciples; only very rarely were they induced to put down their secrets in writing. Even when they chose to record their findings they put them in such a cryptic manner that they were not easily intelligible to anyone who did not belong to that particular school of thought. Thus we find Bhoja, author of the work Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra, frankly stating that he has laid down the fundamental principles and processes of his machines in a very cryptic manner, but this is not because of his ignorance. He is adopting this method for the sake of maintaining secrecy; and this seems to have been the order of the day in his time. Needless to say, this secrecy often resulted in the extinction of the knowledge attained; it died with the dis-

A great bird, with its body having well-knit joints, should be made of light varieties of wood and within its belly the rasapntra (a machine of liquid metal) should be placed and below the machine a stove full with fire shall be placed.

Man riding on this (bird) can move far away in the sky making astonishing feats on account of the power of the liquid metal placed in its cavity as well as by dint of the dispersion of wind by the strength of its hovering wings.

In this way the aerial car made of timber, resembling a house of gods moves swiftly. The skilful (engineer) should place just conforming to the rules, sturdy vessel full of liquid metal at the right place in its cavity.

—Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra, XXXI. vv. 95-97

* Ādi. (Kumbhakonam Edn.), p. 64.
* II.100.53; V.3.18; VI.61.33.
* Adhyayaksāracāra, II. 18. 5-6.
* Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra, XXXI. v. 79: Tantrāpani grajanā mokśa guhyarthānām nājañātavaśāt.
continuation of the school under various unfavourable circumstances.

Nonetheless, the scientific literature in Sanskrit available to us is quite extensive and elaborate, and the variety of subjects covered is by no means unimpressive. The subjects on which books may be found include: alchemy; chemistry; distillation of liquor; medical science including anatomy and physiology, pathology, materia medica, therapeutics, paediatrics, hygiene, dietetics, the science of studying the pulse, and veterinary science for elephants, horses, and cattle; zoology; ornithology; medical terminology; cosmetics and aromatics; the science of gems; cookery; the science of robbery; astronomy; mathematics; astrology; prognostication including geomancy, cubomancy, omens and portents, dreams, palmistry, and physiognomy; geography, agriculture, horticulture; the science of warfare; archery; sports and games; psychology; eroticism; dance, music, and histrionics; art and architecture including sculpture, painting, and iconography; and mechanical devices. It is not possible to deal here exhaustively with all these subjects, so we confine our remarks only to a brief outline.

Alchemy: Man's craving for gold is universal, and it was the hunt for gold that goaded him on in ages past to the science of alchemy when he made various experiments in the attempt to convert base metals into gold. In India alchemy appears to have been associated mainly with the Tāntric religion, but the ancient works which dealt with alchemy are now lost; only a trail of this tract survived in the forms of Kākacāṇḍeśīvari-maṭā Tantra and Svarnā or Svarṇa Tantra mentioned by Alberuni. The earliest available work on this subject is perhaps Rasa-ratnākara (seventh or eighth century A.D.), attributed to Nāgārjuna, of which an incomplete manuscript has survived. Sarva-darśana-saṅgīraha by Mādhava (fourteenth century A.D.) refers to such ancient masters in alchemy as Govindabhaagavatpāda, Ācārya Sarvajña, and Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka, and gives some citations from Rasārṇava, Rasa-hṛdaya, and Rasārṇa-siddhānta.

The main ingredient in the process of producing gold from metals was quicksilver; but more emphasis seems to have been laid on mystic religious processes than on chemistry. Among the host of works written on this subject are: Rasa-hṛdaya by Govinda (eleventh century A.D.), a work in twenty-one chapters; a twelfth century work called Rasārṇava or Devī-sāstra; Rasa-ratnākara by Siddha Nityanātha (c. A.D. 1350); Rasa-ratna-samuccaya (c. thirteenth century A.D.), variously ascribed to Aśvinikumāras, Vāgbhaṭa, and Nityanātha; Rasendra-cintāmaṇi by Dhuṇḍhukanātha, but wrongly ascribed to Rāmacandra (A.D.

10 Ibid., Introduction, pp. xxxix-xl.
12 Ed. BL (1908-10).
13 Ed. J. Vidyasagar (Calcutta).
14 Ed. Jivananda; The Anandaarama Sanskrit Series (ASS), XIX (1910).
15 Ed. Jivananda.
1350); Ananda-kandam and a host of other works were written on this subject. Subsequently, however, the wide use of mercury in medical science diverted the ends of alchemy to medicine and chemistry.

Chemistry: Literary sources prove that the knowledge of chemistry existed at a very early period in India. Yet through lack of evidence it is very difficult to say when chemistry was first recognized in India as a separate discipline. Possibly, alchemy on the one hand and medicine on the other gave rise to the study of chemistry. In the works handed down to us the names of ancient masters are mentioned in connection with chemistry, among which are: Patañjali, Bhavyadattadeva, Vyādi, Svacchanda, Dāmodara, Vasudeva, Caraka, Suśruta, Hārīta, and Vāgbhaṭa. The earliest extant work, however, is ascribed to Nāgārjuna who belonged to the second century A.D. The work called Rasaratnakara which is ascribed to him is actually a much later work belonging to the seventh or eighth century. Ratnaghoṣa, possibly a Buddhist writer, also wrote on chemistry. A modern chemist, P. C. Ray, in his History of Hindu Chemistry, gives an account of some fifty works on chemistry. To mention a few of them: Rasendra-cūḍāmani by Somadeva (twelfth or thirteenth century A.D.); Rasa-prakāśa-sudhākara by Yaśodhara (thirteenth century); Rasa-sāra of Govindācārya, Rasa-rājalaṅkṣaṇi by Viṣṇudeva, the court physician of King Bukka (fourteenth century); Dhātu-ratna-mālā of Devadatta of Gujarāt (fourteenth century); Rasa-kaumudi by Mādhava (fifteenth century); and Rasa-rāja-mṛgānka attributed to Bhoja (eleventh century). On Sāṅgadharasya Saṁhitā by Sāṅgadhara, son of Dāmodara, two commentaries were written, one by Ādiyamalla and the other by Vopadeva. Rasendra-sāra-saṅgraha, wrongly attributed to Kavibhūṣana of Bengāl, is the work of Gopaḷakṛṣṇa (fourteenth century A.D.). Four commentaries were written on it, of which one was by Rāmasena Kaviyamati, the personal physician of Jaffār Ali Khan of Bengāl. The fifteenth century compilation entitled Rasa-pradīpa mentions the preparation of mineral acids by distillation, and prescribes China root and calomel for the treatment of phiraṅga-roga. Arka-prakāśa attributed to Rāvaṇa is a late work dealing with the preparation of tinctures. Arka is the Sanskritized form of the Persian word arrak meaning tincture. From a reference made by Govindācārya we

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18 Ed. Jivananda; Ambikadatta Sastri (Chowkhamba).
20 By the beginning of the 16th century A.D. the Portuguese had fairly established themselves at Goa and some other parts of India and as a result of intercourse with them, that dreadful scourge—the venereal disease—had made its appearance...syphilis had now to be reckoned with and a new name had to be coined for it. Accordingly we find Rasa-pradīpa...prescribing Calomel and Chubchini (China root) for what is now termed for the first time phiraṅga-roga or the disease of the Portuguese. P. C. Ray, op. cit., p. 162.
21 Ed. Suresh Chandra Gupta (1300 n.s.).
know that chemistry was studied seriously in Tibet and that there was close contact between Tibetan and Indian chemists. We also hear of some Buddhist chemists in India like Ratnaghoṣa, Gahanānandanātha, and Carpaṭīnātha (all of whom are of unknown dates). It is, however, curious to note here that though preparations of diverse mineral acids and various medicines by the use of metals are recorded in the works on chemistry and medical science, no work particularly dealing with metallurgy has yet come down to us. But the literary and archaeological evidences undeniably prove the fact that India had considerably advanced knowledge of metallurgy even in the early periods of history.

Distillation of liquor: Through a quotation by Mallinātha in his commentary on Meghadūta (II. 5) we learn of a work on distillation called Madirārṇava. Possibly there were other works also.

Medical science: On medical science there is a flourishing literature in Sanskrit. It is divided into eight main branches: śalya-tantra (major surgery), śālākya-tantra (minor surgery), kāya-cikitsā (therapeutics), bhūta-vidyā (demonology), kaumāra-bhritya (paediatrics), agada-tantra (toxicology), rasāyana (elixirs), and vāji-karaya (aphrodisiacs). Anatomy, embryology, and hygiene were known from Vedic times. Mythological gods such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, Śiva, Kārttikeya, and the Āsvinikumāras are traditionally mentioned as ancient masters of vaidyaka-sāstra (medical science), together with the names of historical persons such as Bharadvāja, Ātreya, Aṅgīravā, Jātūkarṇa, Bhela, Hārīta, Kṣārapāṇi, and Dhanvantari. In the Rg-Veda, Rudra (II.33.4) and Śūrya (I.55.11-13) are praised as healers. The Āsvins are also praised there for rejuvenating Cyavana (I. 116.10), for providing an iron thigh to Viṣpalā when she lost her limb (I.116.15), and for curing blindness (I.112.8) and leprosy (X.39.3). The Bower Manuscript (fourth century) names Viṣṇu, while Vaṅgasena and Cakrapāṇidatta (eleventh century) name Nārāyaṇa as healers. Cakrapāṇidatta also cites a Śaiva-siddhānta on medicine. There are also a Kailāsa-kāraka on the medicinal use of mercury and a Vāidyarāja Tantra of Śiva. In the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa is mentioned a work called Bhāskara Saṁhitā. Kārttikeya wrote Vāhaṭa-grantha on medicine, and the authorship of Āsvini Saṁhitā and Nādi-nidāna is ascribed to the Āsvins. Another work, Dhātu-ratna-māla by an unknown author, is claimed to have been compiled from Āsvinikumāra Saṁhitā. The Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa also refers to a Cikitsā-sāra Tantra by the Āsvins. This refers
also to *Cikitsā-tattva-vijñāna* by Dhanvantari, *Cikitsā-darśana* by Divodāsa, *Cikitsā-kaumudī* by Kāśirāja (Divodāsa?), *Vaidyaka-sarvasva* by Nakula, *Vidyā-sindhu-vimardana* by Sahadeva, and the works of a number of other authors. Bharadvāja, the preceptor of Ātreya, wrote *Bhāravadāyī* and also *Dhānulakṣaṇa*. Trimallabhāṭṭa cites a work on medicine called *Vasiṣṭha Saṁhitā*. The date and authorship of these works are, however, uncertain.

The earliest extant work on medicine is the *Caraka Saṁhitā* written by Caraka in the first century A.D. In the eighth or ninth century it was redacted by Dr̥ghabala and also by an author named Kāśmīraka, while in the eighth century it was translated into Persian and Arabic. Caraka’s work is said to be a revised version of the work of Agnivesa, a disciple of Ātreya and a fellow student of Bhela. According to some scholars, Bhela’s Saṁhitā is earlier than the *Caraka Saṁhitā*. The Bower Manuscript names Ātreya, Hārīta, and Suśruta, but it does not name Caraka. On the other hand, it refers to a medical work which is not found mentioned anywhere else, namely, *Nāyanaṅkara*, in connection with *vṛtya-yoga* (prescription for tonic). In elegant Sanskrit prose interspersed with verse, Caraka deals with anatomy, embryology, dietetics, pathology, and many other medical topics. There are a number of commentaries on Caraka’s work, among them being: a commentary by Naradatta, the preceptor of Cakrapāṇi; *Āyurveda-dīpikā* by Cakrapāṇidatta, the son of Nārāyana who was superintendent of the kitchen of King Nayapāla of Bengal (A.D. 1038-55); *Caraka-tattva-dīpikā* by Śivadāsa; a commentary by Jinadāsa; one by Iśvarasena; *Jalpa-kalpataru* by Gangadhara Kaviraja (A.D. 1798-1885) of Murshidabad in Bengal; and a recent commentary by Yogindranath Sen.

Another great name in the Ayurvedic system of medicine is Suśruta. The *Mahābhārata* (XIII, 4.55) speaks of him as a son of Viśvāmitra, and his work was known in Cambodia and the Arab countries in the ninth and tenth centuries. The Bower Manuscript quotes from *Suśruta Saṁhitā* which is possibly as old as Caraka’s work. The text is said to have been revised by Nāgārjuna, and also subsequently by Candrata in the light of Jaiyyaṭa’s commentary. The earliest commentaries on Suśruta’s work were written by Jaiyyaṭa and Gayadāsa. After them came *Bhānamati* by Cakrapāṇidatta, a commentary by Aruṇadatta (c. twelfth century A.D.), one by Dallāna (thirteenth century A.D.), and a modern one by Haranchandra Chakravarti. Then, too, there are the *Saṁhitās*
by Bhela, Hārīta, and Kāśyapa.

The third great writer on medical subjects is Vāgbhaṭa whose work covers all the eight sections of Āyurveda. He appears to have been referred to by I-tsing, and his work was translated into Tibetan. Actually there were two Vāgbhaṭas: a senior one who wrote in prose and poetry, and a junior one who wrote only in the metrical form. The younger one seems to be a descendant of the other; possibly they were both Buddhists. A commentary was written by Arunaṭatta on Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅga-hridaya which was known as Sarvaṅga-sundara. His Aṣṭāṅga-saṅgraha is also an outstanding work in this field.

The Bower Manuscript, a work from Kashgar, which has been referred to earlier, was discovered in 1890 and is known by the name of its discoverer. It is a medical work, and a similar work was also discovered in eastern Turkestan. Both these works are written in a highly Prakritized Sanskrit with a strong regional bias.

Anatomy and physiology: The dissection of animal bodies was almost essential in connection with Vedic rituals; it was this which evidently led to the knowledge of anatomy. Human anatomy, however, is referred to in the Atharva-Veda (X.2.1-19) and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (X.5.4.12) showing that there was a knowledge of anatomy even in the Vedic period. The medical works do deal with anatomy, but it appears that it was not as much developed as in the Western countries. Śarīra-paddmini by Bhāskarabhāṭṭa is a work on anatomy. Physiology did not develop as a separate discipline in the Āyurveda. In the present century, Gananath Sen wrote a book of practical anatomy in Sanskrit under the title Pratyakṣa-jātira. It is likely that physiology in the Western sense did not develop in India due to the continued reliance on the theory of the three dhātus (humours): vāyu, pitta, and kapha (wind, bilious humour, and slimy humour).

Pathology: The earliest and most authoritative work on this subject is Rūgvinisācay or Nidāna by Madhavakara (seventh century); it was rendered into Arabic in the eighth century. Among a host of commentaries on this work Vyākyāmaddhu-koṣa by Vijayarakṣita (thirteenth century A.D.) became well known. Cikitsā-saṅgrahā attributed to Dhanvantari and a modern work Siddhānta-nidāna by Gananath Sen also deserve mention.

42 Ed. Calcutta, 1921.
45 Hoernle, Bhundarker Commemoration Volume, pp. 416 ff.
46 Kena pārśni abhiṣṭe pārvatay aṣṭāṅga-hridaya aṣṭāṅga-saṅgraha etc.—A.V., X. 2.1-19.
48 In 3 parts (Calcutta, 1913), 1st seq.
49 Viraj Gupta, op. cit., p. 32.
50 Kairirnohan Sen, Cinmayya Vaṅga (Calcutta, 1961), p. 84.
51 Ed. (with Madhukāṣa-saṅgrahā) Jivananda.
52 GOML, 13137-45.
Materia medica: The most popular work on the subject is Dravyaguna-sangraha\(^{88}\) by Cakrapañnidatta. Sivadāsa wrote a commentary on it. Rājavallabhā's Dravyaguna has a commentary (viśṛti) written by Gangadhara Kaviraja.\(^{89}\)

Therapeutics: There are numerous works on this subject, among them being: Yoga-sāra or Yoga-satāka ascribed to Nāgārjuna;\(^{90}\) Cikitsā-sāra-sangraha by Cakrapañnidatta, on which Nīśalakara and Sivadāsa\(^{90}\) wrote commentaries; Cikitsā-sāra-sangraha by Vaṅgasena (c. twelfth century A.D.); Śāṅgadhara Sanhitā\(^{81}\) commented on by Āḍhamalla and Bhāva-prakāśa by Bhāva Miśra; Cikitsāmyta\(^{82}\) in 2,500 verses by Miḷhaṇa (c. thirteenth century A.D.); Cikitsā-kalikā by Tiṣṭa\(^{83}\) (fourteenth century A.D.); Cikitsā-jñāna ascribed to Vidyāpati,\(^{84}\) the celebrated Mithilā poet of the fourteenth century; Āyurveda-Sūtra,\(^{85}\) a late work; and Vaidya-jivana by Lolimbharāja\(^{86}\) (seventeenth century A.D.).

Paediatrics: On this subject the well-known work is Kumāra Tantra ascribed to Rāvaṇa;\(^{87}\) there is also a work called Bāla-cikitsā.\(^{88}\)

Hygiene: The ancient texts treat hygiene and dietetics incidentally and not as separate topics. In modern times, however, appeared Sarīra-niṣayādhiśakara\(^{89}\) by Gangaram Das, a work on the personal hygiene of pregnant women, and also Suśthya-tattva\(^{70}\) by Govinda Ray.

Dietetics: On this subject we have Anna-pāna-vidhi\(^{71}\) by Suṣeṇa, Pathyāpathya-nighañṭu and Bhojana-kutūhala by Raghunātha\(^{72}\) (A.D. 1675-1709). In the early part of this century Viswanath Sen wrote a work called Pathyāpathya-viniścaya.\(^{73}\)

The science of the pulse: The study of the pulse for the proper diagnosis of an ailment formed a very important part of Āyurveda. Only by feeling the pulse of a patient, the physicians of Āyurveda could determine correctly what the exact nature of the ailment was. This science has thus been treated as a separate discipline in Nādi-vijnāna\(^{74}\) by Kaṇāda and in a work called Nādi-parikṣā

\(^{87}\) Ed. Jivananda.
\(^{88}\) K. K. Dutta, op. cit., p. 73.
\(^{89}\) Nepal Catalogue, XXII.
\(^{90}\) Ed. Jivananda.
\(^{91}\) Ibid.
\(^{92}\) A. B. Keith, op. cit., p. 511.
\(^{93}\) G. N. Sastri, An Introduction to Classical Sanskrit (Calcutta, 1943), p. 86.
\(^{95}\) Ed. Bibliotheca Sanscritica (Mysore, 1961).
\(^{96}\) G. N. Sastri, loc. cit.
\(^{71}\) P. C. Bagchi’s article in Indian Culture, VII, Pt. III.
\(^{75}\) GOML, XIII, 75.
\(^{77}\) Ibid.
\(^{75}\) Ed. V. S. Sastri (Mylapore, Madras, 1950).
\(^{78}\) K. K. Dutta, loc. cit.
\(^{74}\) Ed. Jivananda.
ascribed to Rāvaṇa. There are also a number of later works such as Nādi-parikṣā by Gangadhara Kavirajā and two other works with the same title by Govindarama Kavirajā and by Sankar Sen. Unfortunately, this science, which was a priceless treasure of Āyurveda, is dying out.

Veterinary science: This is a very ancient science. The Purāṇas associate the names of Śālihotra, Nakula, and Pālakāpya with it as ancient masters of its various branches. A nineteenth century work, Sāra-saṅgraha by Indu Sen, deals with this science. It has various specialized branches dealing with the treatment of different types of animals such as:

(i) The treatment of elephants: The classical work on this subject is Gajāyurveda by Pālakāpya. To the commentators who cite the treatise it is known as Gaja-śāstra. Pālakāpya was an ancient sage contemporaneous with King Romapāda, ruler of Aṅga-deśa. The Gaja-śāstra that is now available, however, does not appear to be very old. A Mṛga-carmiṭa cited by Mallinātha (Raghuvaṁśa, IV. 39; Śīśupāla-vaṭha, V. 49) appears to be connected with this science, but it is now lost. Other works that similarly came to our knowledge are Mātaṅga-lilā by Nārāyaṇa and Gaja-grahana-prakāra by Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita; the latter deals with the different devices to catch or entrap an elephant, as its name implies.

(ii) The treatment of horses: The classical work on this subject is Aśva-śāstra. Śālihotra is cited as the first propagator of this science. Raghunātha Cakravartin quotes from Śālihotra in his commentary on the Amarakoṣa. Although Aśva-śāstra is called Aśväyurveda, it deals not only with the treatment of horses, but with several other topics connected with horses. Bhoja (eleventh century A.D.) wrote a Śālihotra in 138 verses; and a work called Aśva Tantra is cited by Rāyamukuta. Aśva-cikitsā is attributed to Nakula, but the date of this work is uncertain. Mallinātha (Śīśupāla-vaṭha, V. 60) cites Haya-lilāvati, Revatottara, and Aśva-śāstra, now lost to us. The works we have to include under this heading are Yoga-mañjarī by Vardha-

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17 Āyurveda Granthamālā, Ed. A. V. P. Joshi.
18 K. K. Dutta, op. cit., p. 54.
19 Ibid., pp. 40-51.
20 Girindranath Mukherjee, op. cit., p. 339.
21 Ed. Gopalan & Sastri (Tanjore, 1958); ASS., XXVI.
22 YSS., X (1910).
23 Ed. Srikrishna Sharma, Venkatapura Oriental Journal, VII.
25 Munich Catalogue, compiled by Jolly, p. 68.
26 Padamandrikā, II (Sanskrit College Research Series, LXXVI), p. 590.
27 Ed. Gopalan & Sastri (Tanjore, 1952).
māna, Aśva-vaidyaka\(^{87}\) by Dīpankara, and a work of the same name by Jayadatta Sūri\(^{88}\) (c. A.D. 1500), Aśvāyurveda by Gaṇa,\(^{89}\) Turāṅga-parikṣā and Vāji-cikitsā by Śāṅgadharā,\(^{90}\) Aśva-lakṣaṇa-śāstra,\(^{91}\) and a number of minor works, some of which give clue to determine the different types of horses by delineating their characteristic features.

(iii) The treatment of cattle: In the Agni Purāṇa\(^{92}\) there is a chapter on the treatment of cattle. Dealing with gavāyurveda, it presupposes the existence of some earlier works, but unfortunately none of them has reached us.

Zoology: In the Trivandrum Palace Library, there is a work called Mrga-pakṣi-śāstra by Harṣadeva, protégé of King Śauṃḍadeva (c. thirteenth century A.D.). It deals with zoology in 1,712 verses, describing the characteristics of birds and animals.

Ornithology: The indication that ornithology was studied rests upon a solitary quotation from a work called Karṇodaya by Mallinātha (Meghadūta, I. 10), but nothing more is known.

Medical dictionaries: There are more than a dozen medical dictionaries; some of these are: Nighaṇṭu\(^{93}\) by Indukara, father of Mādhavakara; Dhanvantarinihaṇṭu,\(^{94}\) ascribed to Dhanvantari; Śaṅkottara-nighaṇṭu\(^{95}\) by a Buddhist (earlier than A.D. 1080); Śabdā-pradīpa\(^{96}\) (A.D. 1075) by Suresvara, written for King Bhūmapāla of Bengal; Rāja-nighaṇṭu\(^{97}\) by Narahari (written between A.D. 1235 and A.D. 1250); and Madana-vinoda-nighaṇṭu\(^{98}\) (A.D. 1374) by Madanapāla. Earlier works on this subject are now lost.

Cosmetics and aromatics: An early work on collyrium, Aṇjana-nidaṇa,\(^{99}\) is attributed to Aṅgīra; earlier works have not reached us. Nāvanīṭaka (c. second century A.D.) gives a formula for hair-dye, while Śāṅgadharā Paddhati\(^{100}\) preserves instructions for the preparation of cosmetics including hair-dye and scented hair-oil. Byhaṭa Saṁhitā by Varāhamihira in its chapter (LXXVI) on gandhayukti deals with the preparation of aromatics including frankincenses.

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\(^{87}\) Ibid.
\(^{88}\) Ed. Jivananda.
\(^{89}\) A. B. Keith, *loc.cit.*
\(^{90}\) Girindranath Mukherjee, *loc. cit.*
\(^{91}\) GOML, 13318.
\(^{92}\) Ch. CCXII.
\(^{94}\) Ed. ASS, XXXIII.
\(^{95}\) Mm. Haraprasad Sastri, *op. cit.*, p.6.
\(^{96}\) *India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts (IOC)*, VI. 974-75.
\(^{97}\) Ed. Jivananda; ASS, CXXXIII.
\(^{98}\) Ed. Benaras, 1875.
\(^{99}\) Girindranath Mukherjee, *op. cit.*
\(^{100}\) Ed. Peterson (Bombay, 1888).
Similarly, the gandhayuki sections of the Agni Purāṇa and the Viṣṇudharmottara deal with the same topics. The gandhavāda section of Rasa-ratnakara by Nityanātha (c. A.D. 1350) deals with aromatics and has a Marathi commentary on it. There is also a work on aromatics called Gandha-sāra by Gaṅgādhara (c. A.D. 1300).

The science of gems: Different kinds of gems were known to the Indians as early as the Rg-Vedic period. In the Rg-Veda the Fire-god has been praised as ratnadhātama (I.1.1), and in the epics the jewels are looked upon as the most valuable part of wealth possessed by the kings. In the Buddhist literature also we have many references to precious stones. It should, however, be noted that in the early periods the precious stones had not been used for some of their occult powers. But subsequently, the wearing of gems was considered efficacious in averting evil planetary influences, helpful in curing diseases, bringing in wealth, prosperity, and health. There are different types of gems having different qualities which can only be known from the books dealing with them. This ancient science is associated with the name of Agastya, an ancient sage. Mallinātha cites a work called Ratna-śāstra by Agastya (Śiṣṇu-paṇḍita, IV, 44). In its ratna-prakāśa section, the Garuḍa Purāṇa cites Vyādi as an authority. Among the many books on this subject are: the work by Agastya already mentioned (date uncertain); Ratna-parikṣā by Buddhabhāṭṭa (sixth century A.D.); a work by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita; Śivastisārodhāra and Īśvara-dikṣitīya (a compilation); and works called Ratna-saṅgraha, Laghu-ratna-parikṣā, and Maṇi-māhātmya.

Cookery: The origin of the science of cookery in India is ascribed to the ancient sage Nala; yet the work ascribed to him, Nalapāka, does not appear to be very old. Two works by Manirama Sharma, Pāka-vijñāna and Pāka-vidyā, and a work called Brhat-pāka-saṅgraha by Krishna Prasad are all recent ones, following the trail of an anonymous work, Pākāṇava (c. A.D. 1650). From these books we have an idea of the rich delicacies and their numerous varieties that were dished out in India.

The science of robbery: Even theft and robbery were not left out from the list of sciences. In order to master these two arts one has to follow some scientific principles which have been laid down in some treatises connected with such topics. The science of robbery is apparently a very ancient subject of study.

104 *Ibid*.
107 Ed. Benares.
References to ancient masters are found in the *Mṛyachakaṭika*, the names mentioned being: Kanakāsakti, also known as Kārttikeya, Devavrata, Bhāskaranandin, and Yogācārya. According to the *Brhat-kathā*, the propounder of this science was Kārnīṣuta, also known as Kārataka; but his work is lost. Now only a single work remains on this subject, which is not very ancient; it is *Ṣaṃmukha-kalpa*.

This book has been recently published with a German translation by F. George. As the name implies, it is a system propounded by the six-mouthed one, i.e., Kārttikeya. A work that takes pains to justify robbery for a noble cause is *Dharma-caurya-rsyāyana*.

**Astronomy:** Observation of the heavenly bodies was closely associated with Vedic rituals; the *Brāhmaṇas*, too, show some acquaintance with the science of astronomy. *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* indicates that considerable progress was made in this science; the text of this treatise that is now available, however, is only a later redaction of older texts. The influence of Greek and Egyptian astronomy on Indian astronomy and geometry has not been convincingly proved. The present *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* is related to the *Ṛg-Veda* and to the *Tajur*-Veda, while there is a separate text, named *Āṭhavrana Jyotiṣa*, related to the *Atharva-Veda*. After these Vedic works there is a long gap, and presumably the works belonging to this intervening period are lost to us, for we hear only the names of these old masters. Some of the names are: Nārada, Parāśara, Garga, Vṛddha Garga, and Pauṣkarasādīn. However, some fragments of the works of the last-named four masters are available. In later ages authors very often included in their works sections on astronomy, mathematics, and astrology.

The famous astronomer, Āryabhaṭa (fifth century) of Kusumapura, was the first to assert that the earth is a sphere and that it rotates round the sun. His works include *Āryabhatiya*; *Daśaṅgitikā-Sūtra* with numerical notations; and *Āryaśastra*. A collection of 108 verses in ārya metre, *Āryaśastra* comprises three sections: mathematics (*gaṇita*), measurement of time (*kālakriyā*), astronomy (*gola*). In the tenth century A.D. came another Āryabhaṭa who was known to Alberuni. This Āryabhaṭa, in his *Ārya-siddhānta*, uses numerical notations of a different kind. Going back to the sixth century, Varāhamihira (A.D. 550) is also a great name in astronomy. In his *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, a series of five works, he describes the contents of five earlier works known as *Siddhāntas*, which were the five systems current in his time. One of the earlier works,
Sūrya-sīddhānta, states that it was revealed by Śūrya to Maya in Romaka. The work Romaka-sīddhānta must be of foreign origin, the name being connected with Rome. Pauluśa-siddhānta might have some link with Paulus Alexandrinus. Lāṭa, commentator on Sūrya-sīddhānta (mistakenly described by Alberuni as its author), and also Vijayanandin and Pradyumna were Varāhamihira's predecessors. Lāṭa also wrote a commentary on Romaka-sīddhānta;\textsuperscript{117} this commentary was drastically revised by Śrīśeṇa who was anterior to Brahmagupta.

Brahmagupta (b. A.D.598) is another luminary in this field. His Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta,\textsuperscript{118} which is based on Brahma-sīddhānta as well as Śākalya-siddhānta, deals also with mathematics. His Khaṇḍa-khādyaka,\textsuperscript{119} which is based on a lost work by Āryabhaṭa, is on the subject of karana (eleven divisions of the day according to Indian astrology). A commentary was written on it by Bhaṭṭotpala (tenth century A.D.). The next great name is Bhāskarācārya (twelfth century A.D.). His Siddhānta-siromani\textsuperscript{120} has four sections: līlāvati and bijagaṇita on mathematics; and graha-gaṇita and gola on astronomy. He also wrote a work called Karana-kutūkhala.\textsuperscript{121} Among the other works in this field are: Vṛddha-vāsiṣṭha-siddhānta;\textsuperscript{122} Laghu-vāsiṣṭha-siddhānta;\textsuperscript{123} Śiyadhī-vṛddhi Tantra by Lalla; and Rāja-mrgāṅka\textsuperscript{124} by Bhoja.

Mathematics: India's achievements in this field may briefly be summed up in the following words of Macdonell: 'The Indians invented the numerical figures used all over the world. The influence which the decimal system of reckoning dependent on those figures has had not only on mathematics, but on the progress of civilization in general, can hardly be overestimated. During the eighth and ninth centuries Indians became the teachers in arithmetic and algebra of Arabs and through them of the nations of the West'.\textsuperscript{125}

The Vedic śulva-sūtras\textsuperscript{126} are probably far earlier than the Alexandrian geometry of Hero\textsuperscript{127} (215 B.C.). The earliest work on mathematics that has reached us is probably the Bakshali Manuscript\textsuperscript{128} (c. third or fourth century A.D.). It is in sūtra form with examples in verse written in mixed Sanskrit. Between Brahmagupta and Bhāskarācārya, to whom we have already referred,

\textsuperscript{117} A. B. Keith, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 520.
\textsuperscript{118} Ed. Sudhakar Drivedi (1902).
\textsuperscript{119} Ed. Babua Misra (Calcutta, 1925); English translation by Bina Chatterjee (New Delhi, 1970).
\textsuperscript{120} Ed. with Vāsanābhāṣya, Vāsanāvārttika, and Mariciśaṁgā, Varanaseya Sanskrit University (1962-64).
\textsuperscript{121} Ed. Benares, 1881.
\textsuperscript{122} \textit{IOC. I}, compiled by Eggeling, 991.
\textsuperscript{123} Ed. Benares, 1881.
\textsuperscript{124} Ed. Nataraj Sastri (Trichinapally, 1951).
\textsuperscript{125} Macdonell, \textit{HSL}, pp. 360-61.
\textsuperscript{126} Macdonell, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 361.
\textsuperscript{127} Hoernle's article in \textit{Indian Antiquary}, XVII, pp. 33 ff.
flourished Mahāvīrācārya who wrote Ganita-sūra-saṅgraha\textsuperscript{139} of Śridhara (eleventh century) deals with quadratic equations of algebra. From references in Jaina works we learn that the Hindus made much progress in the fourth century B.C.\textsuperscript{131} in the process of permutation and combination. Among a host of later works are Bijagaṇitāvatāmśa\textsuperscript{132} and Gaṇita-kaumudi\textsuperscript{133} by Nārāyaṇa Pañḍita (fourteenth century).

Astrology: The popularity of this ancient subject is apparent from the long list of old masters whose names include: Satyācārya, Viṣṇugupta, Devasvāmin, Jivaśarman, Pinḍāyus, Prthu, Śaktipūrva, Siddhasena, Maṇittha (possibly identical with Manetho, author of Apotelesmata), and Yavanācārya. Foreign influence is apparent in their works, but we cannot ascertain when it began. Of the earlier works, Mallinātha cites one by Nārada (Raghuvaṁśa, III. 13); we also know of a work called Yavana-jātaka\textsuperscript{134} written in verse about the year A.D. 169. The best treatise is perhaps Brhat Samhitā\textsuperscript{135} by Varāhamihira; a commentary was written on it by Bhaṭṭotpala. The opening section of Brhat Samhitā is called tantra and deals with astronomy and mathematics; the second section, horā, is concerned with horoscopes, while the third, saṁhitā, deals with natural astrology. It is a masterly work, written in elegant Sanskrit in kārma style, and covers almost all the sciences which in ancient India were associated with man’s life on earth. Varāhamihira’s Brhajjātaka\textsuperscript{136} is a work on horā-śāstra; Bhaṭṭotpala wrote a commentary on it. Varāhamihira also wrote a work called Laghu-jātaka\textsuperscript{137} while his son Prthuyaśas wrote Horā-yaṭṣa-paṇḍīśṭikā.\textsuperscript{138} We also know of a work called Utpala-parimala\textsuperscript{139} written in A.D. 964 on Brhat Samhitā. Some among the other numerous treatises on astrology are: Bhṛgu Samhitā which is available to us only in fragments; Horā-śāstra by Bhaṭṭotpala; Vidyā-mādhaviya, which was written prior to A.D. 1350 and which claims to give correct language to the works of Vaśīthā, Garga, and others, contending that the available works ascribed to those authorities are not written in chaste and elegant Sanskrit; Śūrya-siddhānta;\textsuperscript{140} Jyotirvidābharaṇa,\textsuperscript{141} a very late work ascribed to Kālidāsa; Nilakanṭha’s work

\textsuperscript{139} Ed. Rangacharya (Madras, 1912).
\textsuperscript{130} N. Ramanujacharya, Bibliography of Mathematics (1913), pp. 203 ff.
\textsuperscript{131} Sukumarranjan Das’s article in Haraprasāda Saṁvardhanā Lekhamālā, II, pp. 85 ff.
\textsuperscript{132} Ed. Chandrabhanu Pandeyya (Varanaseya Sanskrit University).
\textsuperscript{133} Ed. Padmakan Dwivedi, Prince of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, LXVII (1942).
\textsuperscript{134} Nepal Catalogue, XXX.
\textsuperscript{135} Ed. Kern, BI (1864-65).
\textsuperscript{136} Translated by Iyer (Madras, 1905).
\textsuperscript{137} Partially translated by Jacob (1872).
\textsuperscript{138} Ed. Calcutta, 1975.
\textsuperscript{139} M. R. Kavi’s article in Venkateswar Oriental Journal, II (1941).
\textsuperscript{140} Ed., with Raṅganātha’s commentaries, Jivananda.
\textsuperscript{141} Weber’s article in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (ZDMG), XXIII-XXIV.
on Čājika;¹⁴² and the four works on the astrology of warfare, viz. Yoga-yātra (Śiśupāla-vadha, V. 87); Kūṭasthiya (Raghuvaṁśa, III. 13); Čuddhayāṃṣa (Agni Purāṇa, CXXIII-CXXIV); and Narapatī-jaya-carcā-svarodaya¹⁴³ of Narahari (twelfth century).

Prognostication (geomancy, cubomancy, and dreams): Varāhamihira’s Bhārat Saṁhitā (Chapters LXI to LXXII) deals with prognostication. So also does Adbhuta-sāgara by Vallālaśena (twelfth century A.D.); Vallālasena did not complete his work, and it was ultimately completed by Lakṣmanasena. The works, Nimitta-nidāna(Meghadūta, I. 11,17; II. 35) and Sakunārṇava (Raghuvaṁśa, XI. 26), cited by Mallinātha, also deal with this subject. Ramala-rahasya¹⁴⁴ by Bhayaabhājana Śrīman deals with geomancy. Cubomancy is dealt with in Pāśaka-kevali which is referred to in the Bower Manuscript.¹⁴⁵ The use of magic squares is dealt with in Gajita-kauumudi by Nārāyaṇa, written in A.D. 1350. Dreams are dealt with in Svapna-cintāmaṇi¹⁴⁶ by Jagaddeva.

Physiognomy and palmistry: In the Viṣṇudarmottara, the Agni, and a number of other Purāṇas, and also in Bhārat Saṁhitā, physiognomy has been dealt with incidentally. It aims at predicting the nature, the general traits of character, and the fate of men and women on the basis of certain peculiarities in their physique. In the course of time, this science came to be treated as an ancillary science of astrology, and it was known as sāmudrika-śāstra. The extant works on this science are, however, predominantly on palmistry and they take up physiognomy only incidentally. Palmistry was originally a part and parcel of sāmudrika-śāstra; but due to its growing popularity, it was elevated to the position of a major science and the parent discipline was relegated to an ancillary position.

The reading of the language of the palm is an ancient science; there are good reasons for believing that the gipsies inherited it in their original home in India far back in the hoary past. In India this science is ascribed to Nārada. In the Bhavīṣyottara Purāṇa there is a chapter on palmistry. A popular work is Durlabhāraja’s Sāmudra-tilaka¹⁴⁷ (twelfth century A.D.) which was left unfinished, but completed by the author’s son Jagaddeva. There is also a work called Sāmudrika-lakṣaṇa,¹⁴⁸ possibly, this is quoted by Mallinātha (Kirātārjuniya, VI. 1). The following are some of the many books on palmistry: Sāmudrika-cintāmaṇi by Mādhava Śrīgrāmakara, Sāmudrika-kaṇṭhābharaṇa, Sāmudrika-

¹⁴² Ed. Vinayak Sastri Vetel (Varanaseya Sanskrit University).
¹⁴³ IOG. I, compiled by Eggeling, pp. 1110 ff.
¹⁴⁴ IOG. II, compiled by Keith, pp. 1121 ff.
¹⁴⁵ Bower MS., pp. 84 ff.
¹⁴⁶ J. von Negelein’s article in Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (WZKM), XXVI.
¹⁴⁷ A. B. Keith, op.cit., p. 534.
¹⁴⁸ Oxford Catalogue, 126a.
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śāstra,\textsuperscript{149} and Sāmudrika-sāra\textsuperscript{150}—all available in manuscript form.

Geography: In some of the Purāṇas geography has been treated in terms of dvīpas and varṣas (continents and countries respectively according to Purāṇic conception). In Oriya script there is a geographical work by Balarāmadāsa called Brahmāṇḍa-bhūgolā.\textsuperscript{151} It is interesting to find that in the Purāṇas there are passages which evince knowledge of the regions called the troposphere and the stratosphere, which Kālidāsa, too, utilized in his description of Duṣyanta’s aerial journey in the Abhijñāna-Sakuntala (Act VII). The Purāṇas referred to are the Viṣṇu (II. 12), the Vāyu (LI), and the Kūrma (XLII. 42-43). There are also brief references in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa and Siddhānta-siromaṇi.

Agriculture and horticulture: A work that deals with agriculture is Kṣiparāśara,\textsuperscript{152} and in the Agni Purāṇa the vṛksāyurveda section (CCLXXXII) deals with the treatment of plants. A work also called Vṛksāyurveda\textsuperscript{153} was written by Surapāla in the eleventh century A.D.

The science of warfare: A twelfth century text, Narapatī-jaya-caryā, gives some idea about this science; there seems to be no earlier work extant. But in Bhoja’s Yuktī-kalpataru\textsuperscript{154} there is a passage on swords; in this connexion, Vātsyāya’s work on swords and Lauhārṇava and Lauha-pradīpa by Śrāṅgadhara are mentioned. The last two books seem to deal with weapons made of iron and steel.

Archery: On this subject works were written by old masters such as Vikramāditya, Sadāśiva, Śrāṅgadatta, Vṛddha Śrāṅgadhara, and others. In the Government Manuscript Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona there is a manuscript of Dhanurveda. In print we have Dhanurveda Sanhita\textsuperscript{155} by Vaśiṣṭha.

Sports and games: Among outdoor pursuits, hunting was very popular; and there is a treatise on the use of hawks in hunting called Śyatikā-śāstra\textsuperscript{156} by Rājā Rudradeva of Kumaon, written in the seventeenth century A.D.; there is also a commentary\textsuperscript{157} on this work. Among indoor games chess was popular; a modern work, Śatarāṇja-kutūhala,\textsuperscript{158} deals with this game.

Psychology: In almost all Sanskrit philosophical works there is some discussion on matters connected with psychology, yet there appears to have been no systematic work on this subject. Particularly in Yoga philosophy, different

\textsuperscript{149} Oppert’s Catalogue, 1348, 6687.
\textsuperscript{150} Bikaner Catalogue, 333.
\textsuperscript{151} MS. with Asiatic Society of Bengal (ASB.),III, H 453.
\textsuperscript{152} Ed. Bl., CCLXXXV (Calcutta, 1960).
\textsuperscript{153} K. K. Dutta, op.cit., p. 39.
\textsuperscript{154} Ed. Iswarchandra Sastrī (Calcutta, 1917).
\textsuperscript{155} Ed. Iswarchandra Sastrī & Arun Kumar Sinha (Mymensingh, 1921).
\textsuperscript{156} Ed. (with translation) H. P. Sastrī (ASB., 1910).
\textsuperscript{157} MS. with ASB., 8244.
\textsuperscript{158} Ed. Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti (Sanskriita Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta).
aspects of human psychology have been treated in great depth and detail, still leaving much scope for scientific investigation and thus attracting the attention of Western psychologists. In modern times, however, Prācīna-Bhāratīya-Manovidya by Dinesh Chandra Sastri gives a connected account of the Indian approach to this subject.

Erotics: Eros, as a subject, was not tabooed in ancient India; in fact, it was recognized as one of the four ends of human life. Even in the Vedas the erotic elements are not rare, and the Vedic seers appear to have had a realistic approach to matters related to the process of procreation. In the epics, too, we find ample erotic material. In the Bhadrāranyaka Upaniṣad, Uddālaka Āruṇī is named as a teacher of the erotic art, while Vātsyāyana names Audālaki Śvetaketu as one of the authorities on erotics. Other names cited are: Bābhṛavya, Dattaka, Cārāyaṇa, Suvarṇābhya, Ghoṭakamukha, Gonoḍīya, Gopikāputra, and Kucumāra. The list points clearly to the fact that the subject of erotics provided a long line of predecessors to Vātsyāyana before he wrote his work. Of all the works available, Vātsyāyana’s Kāmasūtra is by far the best. Vātsyāyana, who is also known as Mallanāga, wrote his work possibly in the third century A.D. It is not a mere tract on sexology or eugenics, but a serious and scientific treatment of kāma or eros in all its different aspects, social and humanistic. Jayamangalā is a commentary on the Kāmasūtra written by Yaśodhara (c. thirteenth century A.D.). Padmaśri, possibly a Buddhist of the tenth century A.D., wrote a work called Nāgara-sarvasva, and on this a commentary was written by Jagajyotirmalla of Nepal in the seventeenth century A.D. Of uncertain date is a work called Kucumāra Tantra. Prior to the thirteenth century Kokkoka or Kukkoka wrote a work entitled Rati-rahasya, a commentary on it was written by Kančinātha. In the fourteenth century Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara of Mithilā wrote a work called Pañcasāyaka. Among a host of other works on this subject are: Kāma-ratna by Nityanātha, Ananga-raṅga by Kalyāṇamalladeva (sixteenth century A.D.), Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi (A.D. 1577) by Virabhadra, Rati-mañjari by Jayadeva (of uncertain date), Rati-ratnapradipikā by Mahārāja Devarāja (seventeenth century A.D.), Rati-ramana

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161 Ed. Tansukharam Sastri (Bombay, 1921).
162 Ed. Chowkhamba.
163 Ed. Devidatta (Lahore, 1921).
164 Panchanananda Sastri Ghiladia (Lahore, 1921).
165 Ed. Chowkhamba.
166 Ed. Ram Chandra Sastri Kusal (Lahore, 1890).
167 Ibid. (1926).
168 Ed. Chowkhamba.
169 Ed. (with English translation) K. A. Ranga swami Iyengar (Mysore, 1923).
ascribed to Siddhanāgārjuna, and Rati-śāstra\textsuperscript{211} by Nāgārjuna with a commentary called Smaratattva-prakāśikā by Rāvanārādhyā. In these later works the science seems to develop some dogmas; also mystic processes and a variety of potions came to be introduced. Moreover, a close relation may be seen between these works and the vājikaraṇa section of the Āyurveda. Kuṭṭanimita of Dāmodaragupta (c. seventh-eighth centuries A.D.) also deserves mention in this connexion, though it does not directly deal with erotics. It is a science concerned with the go-betweens in versical form.

Histrionics, music and dance: Music and dance are mankind’s most primitive forms of recreation, while histrionics which is ingrained in human beings by their natural inclination to imitate came to be associated with dance as an essential part of it. In the course of time, the three arts were co-ordinated and gave rise to the dramatic art. The scientific study of all these subjects appears to have commenced long before the time of Pāṇini (c. fifth century B.C.), for he refers to two Nāta-Sūtras written by Śilālin and Kṛṣāsva (Aṣṭādyāyi, IV. 3. 110-11). We are not sure about the contents of these two works, however. The earliest work available is the Nātya-śāstra\textsuperscript{212} by Bharata. This is the most authentic work in Sanskrit on dramaturgy, and it is the best available compendium dealing in a masterly way with music, dance, histrionics, and drama. Almost all the later works on these subjects generally follow the track laid down by Bharata. Thus most of the works on music include dance and the works on dance also embrace music; it is obvious that in ancient India these two subjects were looked upon as complementary to each other. Since neither the musician nor the dancer could do without some form of drama for the sake of ‘effect’, drama or histrionics also infiltrated into books on music and dance.

The available works on music refer to a host of ancient masters. Some of these names are: Sadāśiva, Brahmā, Bharata, Kāśyapa, Mataṅga, Kohala, Yāṣṭika, Viśākhila, Dattila, Tumburu, Nārada, and Nandikesvara. In Śṛṇgāra-ḥāra by Hammīra we find a reference to a work called Gandharvamṛta-śāgara by Brahmā. The text called Gitālaṅkāra\textsuperscript{213} is ascribed to Bharata. Saṅgita-makarandana\textsuperscript{214} by Nārada probably belongs to the seventh century. Bhaddes\textsuperscript{215} by Mataṅga was written in c. A.D. 850. The jhakkini dance of this text is frequently referred to in the ancient Tamil text of Śilappadikāram. Twelfth-thirteenth century texts include Saṅgita-ratnākara\textsuperscript{216} by Śāṅgadeva, Saṅgita-

\textsuperscript{211} Ed. R. Schmidt (1904, 1909).
\textsuperscript{212} Ed. GOS (four volumes).
\textsuperscript{213} Ed. Alain Daniélou & N. R. Bhatt (Pondicherry, 1969).
\textsuperscript{214} Ed. GOS., XVI.
\textsuperscript{215} Ed. TSS., XCIV.
\textsuperscript{216} Ed. ASS. (1896-97); Adyar Library (Madras, 1953), et seq.
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ratnāvali by Somabhūpāla, Saṅgīta-cūḍāmaṇi by Jagadekamalla, and the musical section of Mānasollāsa by Someśvara. Saṅgīta-kalpātaru is cited by Bhoja, Rucipati, and Raṅganātha. This treatise is probably a tenth century text. There is also a work called Yāṣṭiṣkamata preserved in the Oriental Manuscripts Library in Madras. Jayana, who was also known as Jayasenaṇati, for he was the commander-in-chief of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati of Warangal (thirteenth century A.D.), wrote a work on music called Saṅgīta-ratnāvali. Also to this period belong: Saṅgīta-samaya-sāra by Pārśvadeva, Saṅgīta-kalpadruma with a commentary, Ṣrīgāra-hāra by Hammīra, Rasatattva-samuccaya by Allarāja (its first chapter is on music), Saṅgīta-sāra-kalikā by Mokṣadeva, and Saṅgīta-rāja by Rāṇā Kumbha, who was also known as Kālasena. Raghunātha (seventeenth century A.D.) wrote Saṅgīta-dīpikā by Mādhavabhaṭṭa (fourteenth century A.D.). Also of the fourteenth century are: Ānanda-saṅgīvana by Madana, which deals with tāla, rāga, and analogous topics; Saṅgīta-candra by Vipradāsa, of which only the nṛtṛapakāśa section and a commentary by Jagajyotirmalla are available; Saṅgīta-sūdākara by Haripāladeva; and Saṅgīta-sarvasva by Jagaddhara, which is cited by Rucipati and Rāghavabhaṭṭa. In the fifteenth century A.D. Devanācārya wrote Saṅgīta-muktāvali. Maṇḍana, his contemporary, wrote Saṅgītamaṇḍana. Āṇjaneya-bharata, of doubtful authorship, appears to be the same as Yāṣṭiṣkamata. The notable works of the next century are: Saṅrāga-candrodaya, Rāga-mālā, and Rāga-māṇjari by Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala; he included in his work the jakaḍi dance and the gajara songs which were much favoured by the Moguls; Svaramela-kalā-nidāṇ by Rāma Amātya, which in five chapters deals with Karnatic music; Rāga-mālā by Kṣemakarṇa; and Saṅgīta-sūrya-

178 Ed. GOS., CXXXVIII.
180 M. R. Kavi, op. cit.
181 Ed. TSS., XXXVII.
182 M. R. Kavi, op. cit.
183 Ibid.
184 Ibid.
185 Ibid.
186 Ed. Premlata Sarma (Hindu University, Benaras, 1963).
187 Tanjore Catalogue, IV, 4568.
188 M. R. Kavi, op. cit.
189 Ibid.
190 Triennial Catalogue (TC), I. 1025, IV. 4570.
191 Bikaner Catalogue, 521.
192 MS. with Jaina Bhandar Library of Patan.
194 Ed. Bhakthamale; Ramaswami Iyer (Annamalai University); Chowkhamba.
195 Bikaner Catalogue, 516.
daya by Lakṣmīnārāyana, court singer of King Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar. Among the many works of the seventeenth century are: Rāga-vibodha by Somanātha, Saṅgīta-sāra-saṅgraha by Jagajjotirmalla, Saṅgīta-darpaṇa by Catūra Dāmodara, Nagendra-saṅgīta by Ngāgamalla of Jyotipura (Jodhpur), and Saṅgīta-pārijāta by Ahobala. Works of the eighteenth century include Saṅgīta-sārāmṛta by King Tularāja of Tanjore and Rāga-mālīka by Puruṣottama. Works on musical instruments include: Uddiśa-mahāmantoṣṭada, Caturdāṇḍi-prakāśa by Veṅkaṭamakhin (seventeenth century); and a work called Viṇālakṣaṇa. Chapters XVII to XIX of the Viṣṇudharmottara also deal with music.

The ancient authorities on the subject of dance are: Kāmadeva, Vāsuki, Dakṣa, Dhenuka, Draupadī, Svāti, Kāśyapa, Śiva, Nārada, Śārdūla, and others. Mentioned by Maṭaṇga, Śārdūla was an expert on hastābhīnaya (histrionic posture of hands). Among the Purāṇi works that deal with dance are the Vāyu (XXIV-XXV), the Mārkaṇḍeya (XXI), the Agni (CCGXLII), and the Viṣṇudharmottara (XX-XXIX). The speaker of the nṛtta-lāstra in the Viṣṇudharmottara (XXXII-XXXIV) is Mārkaṇḍeya. There is also a work called Bharatārṇava which is ascribed to Nandikeśvara; and works of doubtful origin called Brahma-bharata, Nandi-bharata, and Sadāśiva-bharata. Abhinaya-darpaṇa by Nandikeśvara preserves a school of dance which differs in many respects from the Bharata school. Dattila wrote on music and dance. This work has a commentary called Prayoga-stavaka which was cited by Simharāja in his commentary on Saṅgīta-ratnakara. There is also a treatise called Tālādhyāya by Kohala. Aśokamalla wrote his
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Nṛtyādhyāya\(^\text{21}\) in A.D. 850. Nṛtya-ratnakosa\(^\text{22}\) by Rāṇā Kumbha belongs to the thirteenth century and to the same period belongs Nṛtya-ratnāvali\(^\text{23}\) by Jayasena. To the fourteenth century belong Saṅgītopaniṣat-sāroddhāra\(^\text{24}\) by Sudhākara (A.D. 1350) and Nātya-cūḍāmanī\(^\text{25}\) by Somana, an Andhra monarch. In the fifteenth century, Gopendra Tippabhūpāla wrote Tāla-dīpikā.\(^\text{26}\) Mallinātha (Kumāra-sambhava, VI. 40) cites a work on dance, Rāja-kandarpa, but this work is now lost. Acyutarāya (A.D. 1543) in his Tāla-kalābodhi\(^\text{27}\) cites three works on dance: Tāla-kalā-vilāsa, Nṛtya-cūḍāmanī, and Saṅgītārṇava. In the sixteenth century, Šubhaṅkara wrote his Hasta-muktāvali.\(^\text{28}\) There is a commentary on this work written by Ghanaśyāma, and an Assamese rendering of it called Śrīhasta-muktāvali.\(^\text{29}\) Šubhaṅkara also wrote Saṅgīta-dāmodara,\(^\text{30}\) which deals with dance, drama, and music. Nartana-nirṇaya\(^\text{31}\) by Puṇḍarīka Vīthṭhala also belongs to the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century, King Tularāja of Tanjore wrote Nātya-vedāgama\(^\text{32}\) which deals mainly with dance.

Art and architecture: In the Viṣṇudharmottara there are elaborate discussions on art and architecture. Other texts available on these subjects are nearly fifty in number, and most of them include sculpture, painting, and iconography within their scope. Among the ancient masters of silpa-śāstra, a term which includes architecture, are: Viṣvakarman, Viṣṇu, Sanat Kumāra, Kāśyapa, and Maya. There are many texts which are known only by name, such as Rekhārṇava (perhaps on pictorial art), Vāstuḥṛdaya, and Sukhānandavāstu. Two works cited by Mallinātha, Kalākosa (Naiṣadha-carita, XXII. 3) and Sayana-śāstra (Naiṣadha-carita, XXI. 106), have yet to be discovered.

The following are among the important available texts: Vāstuvidyā;\(^\text{33}\) Manusya-vālaya-candrikā;\(^\text{34}\) Śrījñāna-ratnakosa;\(^\text{35}\) Mayamata;\(^\text{36}\) Aparājita-prechā;\(^\text{37}\)

\(^{21}\) Ed. GOS (1963).
\(^{22}\) Ed. R. C. Parikh & P. Shah (1957).
\(^{23}\) Ed. V. Raghavan (Madras, 1965).
\(^{24}\) Ed. GOS., CXXXIII.
\(^{25}\) GOML, 12998.
\(^{26}\) Tanjore Catalogue, XVI. 7307.
\(^{27}\) M. R. Kavi, op. cit.
\(^{28}\) Ed. Mahesvar Neog.
\(^{29}\) Ibid.
\(^{31}\) M. Krishnamachariar, op.cit.
\(^{32}\) Ibid.
\(^{33}\) Ed. TSS., XXX (1913).
\(^{34}\) Ibid., LVI.
\(^{35}\) Ed. Balaram Srivastav (Calcutta).
\(^{37}\) Ed. Mankad (Oriental Institute, Baroda).
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Viśvakarma-vāstu-śāstra; 232 Kāśyapa Saṁhitā; 233 Kāśyapa-śilpa-śāstra; 234 Prāśada-
mañjarī235 and Vāstu-mañjarī by Śrīnātha (fifteenth century); Prāśada-
mañjāna236 by Maṇḍana; Yuktī-kalpataru and Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra237 by Bhoja;
Śīlparatna by Śrīkumāra; 238 Nārada-śilpa-śāstra; 239 Pratīmā-lakṣaṇa; 240 Devaiā-mūrti-
prakaraṇa; Rūpa-maṇḍana241 by Maṇḍana; and Buddha-pratīmā-lakṣaṇa242 with a commentary called Sambuddha-bhāṣita-pratīmā-lakṣaṇa-nīvaraṇī. In the
Matsya Purāṇa, a work called Nagnajit-citrakāṇa is referred to; Brhat Saṁhitā (Chapter LVIII) identifies Nagnajit’s view with that of Drāviḍa. A
Tibetan translation of this work is preserved in Tibet, while a German translation has been made by Berthold Laufer. It has also an English translation.243

Mechanical devices: Although coal, petrol, electricity, and the spring device were not available to mechanics in ancient India, they were not lacking in
ingenuity. By utilizing air, water, fire, hydraulics, hydrodynamics, the lever principle, and the process of mechanical rivetting, they were able to produce a number of instruments, appliances, and labour-saving machines. They even produced, in crude form of course, robots244 and, as already mentioned, aeronautic machines. References to ancient masters in aeronautics include the names of Nārāyaṇa, Śaunaka, Garga, Vācaspati, Cākṛāyāṇi, and Dhuṇḍhi-
ṇātha. Among available literature, besides Bhoja’s Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra already referred to, is Bhārothāpana-yantra-nimāṇa-vidhi245 (principle of making a machine to lift a heavy weight) by Devīśiṁhamahīpati (seventeenth century). There are also two works by Bharadvāja, viz. Yantra-sarasvat and Aṁśu-
bodhini. The commentator Bodhānanda Yati names Nārāyaṇa, Lalla, and Saṁkha as his authorities.246

232 Ed. with the commentary by Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭaratna, Vasudev Sastrī & N. B. Grade
(1958).
233 Ed. Chowkhamba.
235 Ed. P. O. Samapura & Dhaky.
236 Ed. Chowkhamba.
237 Ed. T. G. Ganapati Sastrī (GOS., XXV, XXXI).
238 TSS., LXXV, XCVIII; Devanathachariar (Tanjore, 1961).
239 MS. with ASB., III, H 226.
240 Ed. P. N. Bose (Greater India Series, V, Calcutta, 1927).
241 Ed. Upendramohan Sankhyatīrtha (Calcutta Oriental Series, LXXII, 1926).
243 An Early Document of Indian Art: ‘The Citralakṣaṇa of Nagnajit’, translated by B. N. Goswamy
244 K. K. Dutta’s article, ‘A Medieval Account of Mechanical Devices in India’, Proceedings of
Indian History Congress (New Delhi, 1961), pp. 74-78; V. Raghavan, Yantras or Mechanical
Contrivances in Ancient India (The Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore); L. Thorndike, History of Magic
and Experimental Science (New York, 1923), et seq.
245 Ed. Vrajavallabh Dwivedi (Varanasiya Sanskrit University).
246 Manudev Bhattacharyā’s article, ‘Vāṃśānkalpam Kīfeśit’, Ṛṣikālpayasa (Sahitya Section), pp.
76-87.
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This, in short, is scientific literature in Sanskrit. The Purāṇas also contain popular accounts of many other minor topics of scientific interest. The foregoing discussion is sufficient to indicate the ancient Indian genius which touched almost all the comprehensible topics of human necessity. Natural calamities, foreign invasion, and the like have destroyed many treasures of our forefathers and who knows how many works on scientific and other subjects are still waiting for light in temples and monasteries and personal possession!
PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

PHILOSOPHICAL literature in Sanskrit is as vast as it is diverse. Drawing inspiration from the Vedas and Upaniṣads, it branched off into the literature on the six orthodox systems, namely, Śaṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, and Uttara-Mīmāṁsā.¹ As a challenge to these orthodox systems, there arose a vast literature on the heterodox systems like the Buddhist, Jaina, and Lokāyata. After the Vedic age, works on the six systems of Indian philosophy came into existence first in the form of sūtras or aphorisms. They were followed by numerous bhāṣyas or commentaries on them. It is difficult to ascertain the chronological order of the sūtras as well as of the bhāṣyas. It seems that the bhāṣya on the Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra is the oldest of all the bhāṣyas. Śaṅkarācārya in his Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya mentions the name of Śabarasvāmin as a Mīmāṁsā commentator. The bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on the Brahma-Sūtra thus came later. Rāmānuja mentions that there had been a vṛtti on the Brahma-Sūtra by Bodhāyana before Śaṅkara. We know from the commentators of the Śaṅkara-bhāṣya that there was a vṛtti by Bhartṛprapañca on the Brahma-Sūtra before Śaṅkara. We have some proofs that before the bhāṣyas were written there were other vṛttis or short explanations of the sūtras. We can thus visualize a philosophic age between the age of sūtras and that of bhāṣyas. In this respect, we can also mention the Gaṇḍapāda-kārikā of the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad, which was written in the form of kārikās or short verses.

Systematic philosophical speculation leading to the growth of literature began when the need was felt for organizing the scattered thoughts of the various Upaniṣads (sometimes found to be paradoxical and even contradicting one another). This was also needed to meet the challenge of the heterodox doctrines, particularly the Lokāyata ones, references to which are found in a scattered way throughout the earlier works of philosophical nature. All these factors contributed to the growth of a diversified philosophical literature. The orthodox and the heterodox schools had also to fight among themselves in an organized manner. This led to the production of a huge philosophical literature which is polemic by nature with arguments and counter-arguments couched in strictly logical terminology.

¹ For a detailed study of the philosophy of these systems reference may be made to CHI, Vol. III, pp. 27-167 and 187-383. Besides the six orthodox schools, there are a few others which are equally orthodox, but may be better termed as theistic, for instance, the Śaiva, Vaishnava, and Śākta systems of philosophy, which have been treated separately in the present volume (pp. 59-151) so far as their literature is concerned. For their philosophy see CHI, Vol. III, pp. 287-99, 437-48 and Vol. IV, pp. 63-259, 309-13.
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We find systematic Indian philosophy mainly in the following orthodox systems: Śāṁkhyā, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, and Uttara-Mīmāṁsā or Vedānta. Of these systems, Śāṁkhyā and Yoga are generally coupled with each other and so are Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika as well as the two Mīmāṁsās, Pūrva and Uttara.—Editor.

I

ŚĀṁKHYA

Of the traditional Indian schools of philosophy, Śāṁkhyā is probably the oldest. The first reference to Śāṁkhyā is found in the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad (VI. 13). Śāṁkhyā views have also been referred to in the Mahābhārata (Śāntiparvan: Mokṣadharmam), Bhagavad-Gītā, and Manu Smṛti. Kauṭilya (fourth century B.C.) in his Arthaśāstra, while enumerating the philosophic studies in his days, mentions Śāṁkhyā, Yoga, and Lokāyata. Though Kapila is universally recognized as the founder of the Śāṁkhyā system, the Śāṁkhyā-Sūtra that we have (which is attributed to Kapila) does not appear to be very old. The way the sūtras are stated there is not archaic at all, and its fourth chapter contains only illustrative stories—a form in which no other philosophical Sūtra work was composed. According to some, this Kapila belonged to the fifteenth century. Till the other day the first systematic work on Śāṁkhyā was supposed to be Iśvarakṛṣṇa’s (c. third century A.D.) Śāṁkhyā-kārikā. Only recently a very old commentary on it, entitled Tukti-dīpikā, by an unknown writer (authorship wrongly attributed in the manuscript to Vācaspati Miśra of the ninth century A.D.) has been published. It contains, by way of refutation, extensive quotations from the works (titles unmentioned) of Pañcaśikha (c. second/third century A.D.), Paurika, Pañcādhikaraṇa, Vindhyavāsin, and Vīṣagaṇa and his followers. This shows that Iśvarakṛṣṇa’s was only one school of Śāṁkhyā beside which, even in the days of the author of Tukti-dīpikā (the style of the work suggests that the author belonged to the age of Uddyottakara, i.e. sixth/seventh century A.D.), these other philosophers were carrying on work on systematic Śāṁkhyā in different schools.

Much later, as late as the ninth century, we have the famous commentary on Śāṁkhyā-kārikā by Vācaspati Miśra, known as Tattra-kaumudi, which is the most popular of all the Śāṁkhyā works. Before him, however, Gauḍapāda (seventh/eighth century A.D.) wrote another commentary called Gaudapāda-bhāṣya. The Śāṁkhyā-Sūtra was elaborately commented upon by Vijnāna Bhikṣu (seventeenth century) and briefly by Aniruddha (fifteenth century). Vijnāna Bhikṣu’s commentary is known as Śāṁkhyā-pravacana-bhāṣya which ought to be read in conjunction with his commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra, known as Vijnānamārtasa-bhāṣya. Aniruddha’s commentary is called Aniruddha-ūrtti. Mention may, in this
PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

connexion, be made of a commentary on Sāṅkhya-kārikā named Māthara-vṛtti (seventh century) which may or may not be the Māthara-bhāṣya to which Guṇaratna (fourteenth/fifteenth century) has referred in his commentary on Śaṭdarśana-saṁuccaya. Another commentary directly on the Sāṅkhya-Sūtra is Mahādeva Sarasvati’s (seventeenth century) Vṛtti. On Sāṅkhya-kārikā there are two other commentaries. They are: Saṅkarācārya’s (according to some, Saṅkarārya of ninth century) Jayamāṅgalā and Nārāyaṇatīrtha’s (seventeenth century) Candrikā. Three known commentaries on Vācaspati Miśra’s Tattva-kaumudi are: Vaiṣṇīdhara Miśra’s (seventeenth century) Sāṅkhya-tattva-vibhākara, Bhāratī Yati’s (eighteenth/nineteenth century) commentary, and Krṣṇa Vallabhācārya’s Kīrṇa.

There are two important works of unknown authors, viz. Śaṭṭi Tantra (incomplete) attributed sometimes to Paṇcaśikha; and Tattva-samāsa which is to be read with Gaṇeśa Dīkṣita’s or Bhāva-gaṇeśa’s (sixteenth century) Yathārtha-dipana, Vaiṣṇīdhara’s Artha-dipikā, and an unknown author’s Krama-dipikā. Another very old work going by the name of Suvarṇa-saptati is attributed to Paramārtha. Other independent works on Sāṅkhya are: Vijñāna Bhikṣu’s Sāṅkhya-sāra, Kavirāja Yati’s (eighteenth/nineteenth century) Sāṅkhya-tattva-pradīpa, Keśava Bhaṭṭa’s (eighteenth/nineteenth century) Sāṅkhya-tattva-pradīpikā, Krṣṇa Mitra’s (eighteenth/nineteenth century) Tattva-māṁśā, Rāmakrṣṇa Bhaṭṭācārya’s (eighteenth century) Sāṅkhya-kaumudi, and Kṣemānanda’s Sāṅkhya-tattva-vivecana.

Āyurveda works of Caraka and Suśruta, known as Caraka Saṁhitā and Suśruta Saṁhitā, also deal with Sāṅkhya, though basically they are treatises on medicine. The Ātreya Tantra mentioned in Guṇaratna’s commentary on Śaṭdarśana-saṁuccaya as an authoritative Sāṅkhya work is very probably Caraka Saṁhitā itself.

II

YOGA

The history of Yoga is shrouded in mystery. As a system of practice, it is as old as the Atharva-VEDA and some earlier Upaniṣads. The Mahābhārata, including the Bhagavad-Gītā, and Lalitavistara also refer to Yogic practices. The literature on Yoga is thus found in an unsystematic form extensively in ancient Indian works. The first systematic work on Yoga, however, is Patańjali’s Yoga-Sūtra. Vyāsa’s (fifth century A.D.) Yoga-bhāṣya (sometimes called Vārttika) is an elaborate commentary on it. The theoretical philosophy that both the Yoga-Sūtra and Yoga-bhāṣya develop comes close to Īśvarakṛṣṇa’s Sāṅkhya, though it differs in some important details, for instance, in its recognition of God. The theoretical part of Sāṅkhya philosophy is itself divided into two schools ac-
cing as it recognizes God or not—Iśvarakṛṣṇa’s Sāṁkhya belonging to the latter and Vijnāna Bhikṣu’s to the former. The God that Patañjali admits is more like that of Nyāya—just one among the many selves, though perfect in all respects. Unlike the God of Nyāya, the God of Yoga (except according to Bhoja of eleventh century and Vijnāna Bhikṣu) is the Teacher of teachers and grants asamprajñāta-samādhi (contentless concentration) even to those who at the stage of samprajñāta-samādhi (conscious concentration) just concentrate devotedly on Him.

Vācaspati Miśra’s Tattva-vaiśāradī and Vijnāna Bhikṣu’s Yoga-vārttika are the two famous commentaries on Vyāsa’s Bhāṣya. Bhoja also has written a small commentary, not so much on Vyāsa’s Bhāṣya as on the Yoga-Sūtra itself, known as Bhoja-vṛtti, sometimes as Rāja-mārtanda. On it we have Kṛṣṇa Vallabhācārya’s Kīrana. Other commentaries on the Yoga-Sūtra are: Gaṅeśa Dīkṣita’s Vṛtti, Rāmānanda Sarasvatī’s (seventeenth century) Mani-prabhā, Nārāyanatirtha’s Yoga-siddhānta-candrikā and Sūtrārtha-bodhini, Nāgeśa (Nāgoji) Bhaṭṭa’s (eighteenth century) Cāyā-uyākhya, Sadāśiva’s (eighteenth century) Tāra-sudhākara, Ananta Paṇḍita’s Candrikā, and Baladeva Miśra’s Yoga-pradīpikā. Vijnāna Bhikṣu’s Yoga-sūtra is a useful handbook of Yoga philosophy. Mention may be made here of some other treatises like Gheraṇḍa Sāmkhitī and Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā, which chiefly concern themselves with Haṭha-yoga and Rāja-yoga, but are not philosophical by nature. Some of the later Upaniṣads which are called Yoga Upaniṣads, namely, Maṅgī, Śaṅḍilya, Tārā-vat, Dhyāna-bindu, Ĥainasa, Varāha, Amṛtananda, Maṅgala-Brahmana, Nāda-bindu, and Yoga-kuṇḍali present the Yoga practices in their diverse proliferations over the centuries.

III

VAIŚEṢIKA

The first systematic exposition of Vaiṣeṣika philosophy (also called Aulūkya Darśana) is found in the Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra of Kaṇḍa who belonged to a very ancient age. The earliest commentaries on the Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra are Bharadvāja-vṛtti and

* 'The Vaiṣeṣika system', says Richard Garbe, 'seems to be of much greater antiquity than the Nyāya' (The Philosophy of Ancient India, p. 20). Scholars are divided in their opinion about whether Kaṇḍa preceded Gautama, founder of Nyāya philosophy, or belonged to a later date. Nyāya mentions four means of authentic knowledge or pramāṇa and five divisions of logical fallacy or hetvābhāsa. Many other topics have been critically examined under this system. But Kaṇḍa’s Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra speaks of three divisions of logical fallacy and two means of knowledge. Besides, the topic of anumāṇa or inference has not been dealt with elaborately in the Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra. All this has led some scholars to believe that Kaṇḍa’s Sūtra had been composed before Gautama’s philosophy was established. Generally speaking, padārthas or objects of experience used to be dealt with but briefly in the works of earlier philosophers. Padārthas assumed greater importance in later expositions of philosophical thought. The detailed study of padārthas in Nyāya literature and a rather brief treatment of the same in the Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra...
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Rāvana-bhāṣya. They are, however, no longer extant. We have now to rely chiefly on such treatises as Upāskāra by Śaṅkara Miśra (fifteenth century), and Kaṇḍā-śūtra-viṣṇūṭi by Jayanarayana Tarkapanchanana (nineteenth century). There is also a detailed commentary on Upāskāra called Pariṣkāra composed recently by Panchanana Tarkaratna. No other direct commentary on the Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra is known to exist. A major and authoritative work on the Sūtra, however, is Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha by Praśastapāda (c. fifth century), also called Praśastapāda-bhāṣya. Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha is not so much a commentary on the Sūtra as an independent work on the subject. In fact, the quality or marks of a commentary are conspicuous by their absence here. Instead of analysing the text of the Sūtra, the author has given a description of the categories established in the Sūtra.

Vaiśeṣika thinkers were more interested in metaphysics (including science) than in logic and theory of knowledge, though undoubtedly they had their original contribution in this latter field too. Interestingly enough, the Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra begins with proposing the task of explaining dharma and ends with referring to the efficacy of Vedic injunctions. The relevance of these two terminal sūtras to the elaborate metaphysics developed in between is an intriguing problem.

Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha served as a source book for later commentators on Vaiśeṣika philosophy. The earliest commentary on Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha was Vyomavati by Vyomaśivācārya (tenth century). This was followed by Śrīdhara-vācārya’s (tenth century) Nyāya-kandali which was commented upon by Rājaśekhara (twelfth century) in his Nyāya-kandali-pāñcikā. Udayana (c. tenth/eleventh century) is believed to have written his Kīraṇāvali after this, though according to some scholars, he figured earlier than Śrīdhara-vācārya. Both Śrīdhara and Udayana admit the existence of God. Udayana’s Laksanāvali is a short manual on Vaiśeṣika. Some other major works of Udayana are as follows: Nyāya-kusumā-nilpi on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy of religion, Ātma-tattva-viveka (a work in which the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika concept of the Self has been elaborated and defended particularly against the Buddhist challenge), and Laksanamālā. Śaṅkara Miśra’s Kalpalatā is a commentary on Udayana’s Ātma-tattva-viveka. Among other expository works on Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha and Kīraṇāvali are: Śaṅkara Miśra’s Kaṇḍa-rahasya; Jagadīśa Tarka-lakṣaṇā’s (sixteenth/seventeenth century) Draiva-sūkti which deals with the category of draiva; a recent commentary by Mahamahopadhyaaya Kalipada Tarkacharya on Draiva-sūkti; Vardhamānopadhyaaya’s (thirteenth century) Kīraṇāvali-prakāśa; Prakāśikā

presupposes an earlier origin of Vaiśeṣika philosophy. Bāḍarāyaṇa in his Brahma-Sūtra has sought to refute the Vaiśeṣika line of thought and has nothing to say about Nyāya. This also goes to support the contention that the former preceded Nyāya. The theory of non-eternal nature of loka (verbal testimony) has been challenged in the Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra of Jaimini, which indicates that Vaiśeṣika philosophy was founded before Mīmāṃsā. There are also reasons to believe that Kaṇḍa preceded Buddha and the Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra was, therefore, of greater antiquity than even Buddhism.

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by Bhagiratha Thakkura (fifteenth century) and Dravya-prakāśa-viśṛti by Rucidatta (thirteenth century), both being commentaries on Kiranāvali-prakāśa; two didhitis by Raghunātha Siromani (fifteenth century), the works being commentaries on Kiranāvali-prakāśa.

Nyāya-lilāvati by Vallabhācārya (who belonged to a later date than Udayana) is not quite a commentary on Padārththa-dharma-saṅgraha; it is an independent work dealing with the topics contained in the latter. The author has discussed various points on novel lines (nāyāva śālā). Earlier contentions are sought to be refuted in his treatise. Śaṅkara Mīśra and Vardhamānopādhyāya wrote two commentaries on this work—Nyāya-lilāvati-kaṇṭhābhavaṇa and Nyāya-lilāvati-prakāśa respectively. A commentary on the latter is known as Nyāya-lilāvati-prakāśa-viśṛti. Bhaṭṭa Vādindra’s (thirteenth century) Rasa-sāra is a commentary on Guṇa-kiranāvali-prakāśa of Vardhamāna, while Dravya-pragāhī by Pragalbhācārya (fifteenth century) deals with Dravya-kiranāvali-prakāśa. Jayadeva Mīśra (fifteenth century), also known as Paṅsadhara Mīśra, of Mithilā wrote a commentary on Dravya-kiranāvali-prakāśa by Vardhamāna and another on Nyāya-lilāvati. An eminent logician of Bengal and author of many treatises, Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa (sixteenth century) wrote Dravya-kiranāvali-rahasya and Guṇa-kiranāvali-rahasya as well as Dravya-prakāśa-viśṛti-rahasya and Guṇa-prakāśa-viśṛti-rahasya. The list of his works includes a commentary on Nyāya-lilāvati.

Some more important works on Vaiśeṣika are: Saṭṭapadārthi by Śivāditya Mīśra (twelfth century), Mānmanohara by Vādīvāgīśvara (contemporary of Śivāditya), and Pramāṇa-maṇjari by Sarvadeva. Śivāditya’s Saṭṭapadārthi presents the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika principles as parts of one whole. Laugākṣi Bhāskara’s (c. seventeenth century) Tarka-kaumudi is another synthetical treatise based on Praśastapāda’s work. Balabhadrā (fifteenth century) wrote a commentary named Sandarbha on Saṭṭapadārthi and another on Pramāṇa-maṇjari. Besides these two, he has another work to his credit, viz. Dravya-prakāśa-vimala, a commentary on Dravya-prakāśa of Vardhamāna. The following commentaries of Padmanābhā Mīśra (sixteenth century) are notable: Setu-ṭikā (on Padārthha-dharma-saṅgraha), Nyāya-kandali-sāra (on Nyāya-kandali), Kiranāvali-bhāskara (on Kiranāvali), and Vardhamānendu-ṭikā (on Dravya-kiranāvali-prakāśa). Sarva-darsana-saṅgraha by Mādhavācārya contains a chapter on Aulūkya Darśana. Tarka-saṅgraha and Tarka-saṅgraha-dīpikā by Anantheśa Bhaṭṭa (seventeenth century) and Bhāṣā-pariccheda and Siddhānta-muktāvali by Viśvanātha (seventeenth century) can be regarded as composite works on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. The topics like sapta padārtha (seven categories of matter), nava dravya (nine kinds of substance), caturviṃśati guṇa (twenty-four kinds of quality), pañca karma (five types of action), etc. have been discussed in these works. Tarkāmyta ascribed to Jagadīśa Tarkalāṅkāra and Jayanarayana Tarkapanchananā's
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Kanāda-sūtra-viorti (already mentioned) are useful compendia of the Vaiśeṣika principles. Based on Upāskāra, Jayanarayana’s Viorti differs from the former on certain points. Other works on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika metaphysics include Śaṅkara Miśra’s Vādi-vinoda, Bhaṭṭa Vāḍindra’s Nibandha on the Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra, Maṇiṅkaṇṭha Miśra’s (c. thirteenth/fourteenth century) Nyāya-ratna, Śaṅsadharā’s (c. fourteenth century) Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa, Raghunāṭha Śiromāṇi’s Padārtha-tattva-nirūpaṇa, and Keśava Bhaṭṭa’s Nyāya-candrikā.

IV

NYĀYA

The philosophy of Nyāya from the ancient days to the beginning of the thirteenth century was as much on the theory of knowledge (logic) as on constructive metaphysics. The Nyāya of this long period came later to be called Prācīna-Nyāya as distinct from the Nyāya since the thirteenth century, called Navya-Nyāya.

Prācīna-Nyāya: The first systematic work on Nyāya is the Nyāya-Sūtra of Gautama (Ākṣapāda), supposed to have been composed about the third century B.C. The earliest commentary on it, written before the fifth century A.D., is by Vātsyāyana, and is known as Vātsyāyana-bhāṣya. Uddyotakara (c. sixth century) wrote a commentary on this Bhāṣya, known as Nyāya-vārttika, containing profound original observations on many topics. Vācaspati Miśra (ninth century) wrote on Uddyotakara’s Nyāya-vārttika an expository treatise known as Nyāya-vārttika-tāṭparya-tīkā. Vācaspati Miśra has contributions to different systems of philosophy including Nyāya, Advaita Vedānta, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, and Mīmāṃśā. Naturally, he could look at many of the Nyāya problems from diverse angles. Added to this was the fact that he came long after Uddyotakara. These two factors helped him to add new dimensions to the system. On the Nyāya-Sūtra also he wrote Nyāya-sūcī-nibandha. On his Tāṭparya-tīkā Udayana (c. tenth/eleventh century) wrote a further commentary known as Nyāya-vārttika-tāṭparya-tīkā-parisuddhi. He also wrote Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa on the Nyāya-Sūtra (Chapter V) and another important treatise, Nyāya-kusumāṇjali.

By Udayana’s time the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems had come close to each other, and philosophers of one school often wrote works on the other. Udayana is probably better known for his Vaiśeṣika works. Any way, he is a towering figure in either system. His Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa was commented on by Vardhamāna (thirteenth century) in his Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa-prakāśa. Vardhamāna wrote another commentary, Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa; this relates to Udayana’s Tāṭparya-pariśuddhi. Other works bearing more or less directly on the Nyāya-Sūtra include Siddhānta-candrikā by Gaṅgādhara Sūri (seventeenth century),

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Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti by Viśvanātha (seventeenth century), and Nyāya-siddhānta-
mālā by Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana (seventeenth century).

Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (ninth/tenth century) wrote an independent commentary, Nyāya-maṇḍari, on parts of the Nyāya-Sūtra. It may be taken as a landmark in the history of Indian philosophy as it contains references practically to all the philosophic thoughts current at the time. A second work of this author is Nyāya-kalikā.

Though Navya-Nyāya began with Gaṅgēśa Upādhyāya (thirteenth century), Nyāya philosophy continued to hold ground parallelly with it in the old spirit for some time. Notable works of this period are: Bhāsarvajña’s Nyāya-sāra which is to be read with Jayasimha Sūri’s (fourteenth century) Nyāya-sāra-ṭīkā; and Vallabha’s Nyāya-lilāvati to be read with Varthamāna’s Prakāśa on it. Mention may also be made of Śaṅkara Miśra’s (fifteenth century) Līlāvati-
kāṇṭhābharana and Bhagṛatha Thākkura’s (fifteenth century) commentary known as Prakāśikā on Varthamāna’s work.

Some other important works on Nyāya include Tārkiṇa-rakṣā by Varadarāja (c. eleventh century), Nyāya-tattvāloka and Nyāya-sūtraddhāra by Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra (fifteenth century), Nyāya-pariśuddhi by Veṅkaṭanātha, Māruranda by Rucidatta (thirteenth century), Nyāya-sāra by Mādhavadeva, and Tārka-bhāṣā by Keśava Miśra (twelfth century).

Navya-Nyāya: With the advent of Gaṅgēśa of Mithilā, the new school of Nyāya philosophy known as Navya-Nyāya came into being. His monumental work Tattva-cintāmani deals with the four sources of knowledge—pratyaṅga (perception), anumāṇa (inference), upamāṇa (analogy), and sabda (verbal testimony)—recognized by Nyāya. Particularly, his treatment of anumāṇa was highly scholastic and dialectical and this aroused considerable interest in the minds of later Naiyāyikas, specially in Bengal.

A large part of Navya-Nyāya literature is concerned with this work of Gaṅgēśa. Philosophers after philosophers have written commentaries and sub-commentaries and elaborated the methodological technique in different directions. The technique was perfected to such an extent, and it so much impressed the minds of scholars, that later treatises even on other branches of learning could not easily avoid it. It may not be far wrong to say that Navya-Nyāya treatises are all wonder-works on methodology, linguistic analysis, and logic.

The most outstanding philosopher after Gaṅgēśa was Raghunātha Śiromāni (c. fifteenth century). He wrote many treatises which include Pratyakṣa-maṇi-
didhiti, Anumāṇa-didhiti, and Śabda-maṇi-didhiti on Gaṅgēśa’s Tattva-cintāmani; three nibandhas (dissertations) included in the compilation known as Vāda-
vāridhi; Padārtha-khaṇḍana; Ākhyāta-vāda; and Naṅvāda. His Anumāṇa-didhiti, a classic work in Navya-Nyāya, is regarded as a contribution of great merit.
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There are other notable works on Navya-Nyāya, which include Śaṅkara Miśra’s (c. fifteenth century) Khaṇḍana-ṭikā; Rucidatta’s Prakāśa on Tattva-cintāmaṇi; Jānakinātha Bhaṭṭācārya’s (sixteenth century) Nyāya-siddhānta-mañjari; Kaṇāda Tarkavāgīśa’s (fifteenth/sixteenth century) Bhāṣā-ratna and a commentary on Tattva-cintāmaṇi; and Gaṅgēśa’s son Vardhamāṇa’s (thirteenth century) Anvikṣaṇa-nayatattva-bodha and some ten commentaries entitled Prakāśa on different topics. Jayadeva Miśra, author of Manyālōka, wrote commentaries on a number of Vardhamāṇa’s works. Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa (sixteenth century) wrote many treatises including tīkās on Raghunātha Śiromaṇi’s major works. Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra’s (c. sixteenth century) Sabda-śakti-prakāśikā is an outstanding work on semantics. His another important work is Nyāya-darśa. Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma (fifteenth/sixteenth century) wrote many commentaries including Ākhyāta-dīdhi-prasārini and Naṅvāda-jīppana on Raghunātha Śiromaṇi’s works. Among other works which deserve notice are: Gopinātha Thakkura’s (sixteenth century) Anumāna-mañi-saara; Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya’s (seventeenth century) Naṅvāda-vyākhya, Vyuṭpatti-vāda, and several expository treatises; Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa’s (sixteenth century) Baudhāṇḍikāra-viśruti and Tattva-cintāmaṇi-rahasya; Krishnakanta Vidyavagīsa’s (nineteenth century) Śakti-sandipani, Nyāya-ratnāvali (on Jagadīśa’s Sabda-śakti-prakāśikā), Tarkānta-taraṅgini, and Nyāya-ratna-prakāśikā; Madhusūdana Thakkura’s (sixteenth century) Āloka-kaṇṭakoddhāra; and Kalisankara’s (eighteenth-nineteenth centuries) Krodapatra.

V

PŪRVA-MĪMĀṂSĀ

Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā is a system of Hindu philosophy which deals with the nature of dharma as propounded in the karma-kāṇḍa of the Vedas. This system bifurcated itself into two main schools, viz. that of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (seventh century) and that of his disciple Prabhākara Miśra to which was added a third, viz. that of Murāri. Jaimini’s Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra (400 B.C. or according to another view 200 B.C.) forms the foundation of Mīmāṃsā philosophy. But these sūtras are only a comprehensive compilation of different views on the nature and efficacy of sacrificial rituals. The earliest available commentary on the Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra is Śabarasaṃvāmin’s6 bhāṣya (Śabara-bhāṣya). Commentaries were there before him also by Bhartṛmitra (referred to in Nyāya-ratnākara, verse 10 of Śloka-vārttika), Bhavadāsa (referred to in Śloka-vārttika, verse 63), Hari, Upavāra (referred to in Śāstra-dīpikā), Bodhāyana, and many others. Śabara-bhāṣya was commented upon by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa in his Śloka-vārttika, Tantra-vārttika, and

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6 It is difficult to assign Śabara to a definite date. According to Ganganath Jha, Śabara belongs to the first century B.C. Jacobs holds that he flourished sometime between A.D. 200 and 300. According to Keith, A.D. 400 is the earliest date to be assigned to him.
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Ṭup-ṭikā as also in his Bṛhat-ṭikā and Madhyama-ṭikā. The last two are lost to us. On Śabara-bhāṣya Prabhākara, who formed a different school, wrote two independent commentaries, Bṛhati (nibandhana) and Laṅkṛti (vivaraṇa). These are, again, commented upon by Śālikānātha in Rjuvinālaḥ and Dīpaśikhā respectively. He also wrote a treatise called Prakaraṇa-paṇcikā elucidating Prabhākara’s interpretation of Mīmāṃsā. Maṇḍana Miśra (eighth-ninth centuries A.D.), who eventually accepted Vedaṇtism under the influence of Śaṅkara, and Bhaṭṭomveka were also Kumārila’s disciples. The former wrote Vidhi-viveka, Bhāvanā-viveka, and Mīmāṃsānukramaṇī, while the latter composed commentaries on Śloka-vārttika and Bhāvanā-viveka. Pārthasārathī Miśra (about ninth century A.D.) wrote Śastra-dīpikā, Tantra-ratna, and Nyāya-ratna-mālā in support of Kumārila’s interpretation of Mīmāṃsā. Among the followers of Kumārila, the most eminent are Sucarita Miśra, author of Kāśikā, and Bhaṭṭa Somesvara, author of Nyāya-sudhā. Rāmakṛṣṇa’s commentary on the tarkāpāda of Śastra-dīpikā called Tukti-sneha-prapāraṇi-siddhānta-candrikā and Somanātha’s commentary on the remaining chapters of Śastra-dīpikā, known as Mayūkha-mālikā, are held to be important contributions to Mīmāṃsā. Paritoṣa Miśra’s Ajñā is a competent commentary on Tantra-vārttika. Other important works on Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā are: Nyāya-mālā-vistara of Mādhava, Nyāya-kaṇikā of Vācaspati Miśra, Mīmāṃsā-paribhāṣā by Kṛṣṇa Yajvan, Mīmāṃsā-nyāya-prakāśa by Āpadeva, Gāḍa Bhaṭṭa’s Bhaṭṭa-cintāmaṇi, and Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa’s Subodhini and Mīmāṃsā-bāla-prakāśa. There are also a few short manuals on the Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra like Nandīśvara’s Prabhākara-vijaya, Cidānanda’s Nīti-tattvāvibhāva (Bhaṭṭa school), and Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu’s Nīyatattva-saṅgāraha (Prabhākara school). Other notable works of the post-Kumārila period are: Murāri Miśra’s Tripadi-nītīnayana, a commentary on the second, third, and fourth pādas of the first adhyāya of the Jaimini-Sūtra; Appaya Dikṣīta’s (1552) Vidhi-rasāyana and Mayūkha-valti (a commentary on Śastra-dīpikā); Venkaṭeśvara Dikṣīta’s Vārttikābhāṣa (a commentary on Ṭup-ṭikā); Khaṇḍadeva’s Bhaṭṭa-kaustubha, Bhaṭṭa-dīpikā, and Bhaṭṭa-rahaṣya; Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita’s Mānameyodaya; Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa’s Vidhi-rasāyana-duṣaṇa; Venkaṭanātha’s Mīmāṃsā-pādukā; Laugāksi Bhāskara’s Artha-saṅgāra; Śambhudatta’s Prabhāvati (a commentary on Bhaṭṭa-dīpikā); Gopāla Bhaṭṭa’s Mīmāṃsā-vidhi-bhūṣana; Raghunātha’s Mīmāṃsā-ratna; Vallabhaścārya’s Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-kārikā; Bhavanātha’s Nyāya-viveka; and Rāma-nujācārya’s (of Prabhākara school) Tantra-rahaṣya.

VI

UTTARA-MĪMĀṂŚĀ OR VEDĀNTA

Uttara-Mīmāṃsā examines the nature of Brahman or Reality as propounded in the jñāna-kāṇḍa of the Vedas. The Upaniṣads are said to be the Vedānta.
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or the concluding portions of the Vedas. The seeds of the Vedāntic philosophy therefore lie in the Upaniṣads which were later systematized in the Brahma-Sūtra and synthesized in the Bhagavad-Gītā. The huge edifice of the Vedāntic literature has grown up on the solid foundation of these three ways or streams of thought (Prasthāna-traya) of which the basic pillar is Śruti which is supported by Smṛti and reasoned out by yuktī and tarka (arguments and counter-arguments). A vast literature is available in the form of commentaries on the Upaniṣads, the Bhagavad-Gītā, and the Brahma-Sūtra, which have been written from the standpoints of Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita, Dvaita, Dvaitādvaita, Śuddhādvaita, Acintya-bhedābheda, and other schools of philosophic thought in order to establish their respective views.

There are apparently contradictory statements in the Upaniṣads. A coherent interpretation of the teachings of the Upaniṣads is, however, found in the Brahma-Sūtra or Vedānta-Sūtra of Bādarāyaṇa, which is the basic text of the Vedānta. The Brahma-Sūtra is divided into four chapters, each subdivided into four quarters or sections. Since the sūtras are cryptic in nature, it is not easy to ascertain their exact purport. Although monism is regarded as the key-note of the Upaniṣads, it is not clear as to which type of monism was intended by the mystic seers of the Upaniṣads. It was primarily for this reason that several interpretations of the Brahma-Sūtra emerged in the course of time. The chief schools of interpretation are the Advaita expounded first by Gauḍapāda and followed up by Śaṅkara, the Viśiṣṭādvaita by Rāmānuja, the Dvaita by Madhva, the Dvaitādvaita by Nimbārka, the Śuddhādvaita by Vallabha, and the Acintya-bhedābheda by Śrī Caitanya. It will be seen that although the basic texts which consist of the Upaniṣads and the Brahma-Sūtra were the same for all the schools, yet by applying different criteria of truth and relying upon different sources of valid knowledge the commentators arrived at different conclusions.

Advaita: The earliest available treatise expounding monism on the lines of the Upaniṣads is Māṇḍūkya-kārikā by Gauḍapāda who does not refer to any other writer of the monistic school, not even Bādarāyaṇa. Gauḍapāda was the teacher of Govinda, the teacher of Śaṅkara whose dates are settled by historians as A.D. 788-820. So it is most likely that Gauḍapāda lived in the beginning of the eighth century. He flourished after the great Buddhist teachers like Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu. Some scholars are of the opinion that Gauḍapāda was a crypto-Buddhist and affirmed that the teachings of the Upaniṣads are in conformity with those of Buddha. His Māṇḍūkya-kārikā consists of 215 ślokas and is divided into four chapters, viz. āgama, vaitathya, advaita, and alātaśānti. In the first chapter, the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad is explained in detail; the second deals with the falsity of the world; the third establishes the identity of Brahman and Self; and the fourth refutes all opinions opposed to the Advaita doctrines.

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Of Śaṅkara’s works the most important is the bhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtra, which is acclaimed as a masterpiece not only for its acute logical analysis, but also for its graceful style. His other important works are the commentaries on the principal Upaniṣads such as Īṣa, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Munḍaka, Maṇḍū-kyā, Aitareya, Taṅtirīya, Chāndogya, and Brhadāraṇyaka. Śaṅkara’s bhāṣya on the Bhagavad-Gītā is also a classic. Besides, Viṣṇu-sahasranāma-bhāṣya, Sanat-sujātiya-bhāṣya, Hastāmalaka-bhāṣya, Lalitā-trisāti-bhāṣya, Viveka-cūḍāmaṇi, Upadeśa-sāhasri, Aparokṣānubhūti, Sarva-vedānta-siddhānta-sāra-saṅgraha, Vākyasudhā, Drk-drśya-viveka, Pañcikaraṇa-prakriyā, Praṇācasāra Tantra, Ātmabodha, etc. are also attributed to him.

Śaṅkara’s Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya has served as a basic document for further commentaries and sub-commentaries of great philosophic insight and logical thoroughness. His disciple Ānanda Giri wrote a commentary called Nyāya-nirṇaya, while Govindānanda (sixteenth century) wrote another commentary known as Ratna-prabhā. Vācaspati Miśra wrote another commentary on Śaṅkara’s Bhāṣya, known as Bhāmati. On it Amalānanda (thirteenth/fourteenth century) wrote his Kalpataru which is commented upon by Appaya Dīkṣita in his Kalpataru-parimala. Padmapāda, another disciple of Śaṅkara, wrote a commentary known as Pañcapādikā dealing with the first four sūtras. Suresvarācārya wrote Naiṣkarmya-siddhi which is partly in prose and partly in verse and consists of four chapters dealing with such topics as the nature of avidyā (ignorance), analysis of the dictum ‘Tattvamasi’ (That thou art), nature of Self and non-Self, and distinction between Self and non-Self. Jñānotmata Miśra’s ūtikā called Candrikā and Gitsukhācārya’s ūtikā called Bhava-tattva-prakāśikā are well-known expositions of Naiṣkarmya-siddhi. Its other sub-commentaries are Jñānāmṛta’s Vidyā-surabhī, Akhilātman’s Naiṣkarmya-siddhi-vivaraṇa, and Rāmadatta’s Sārārtha. Prakāśātman (c. A. D. 1200) wrote a commentary on Pañcapādikā, known as Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa, which has two sub-commentaries, Tattva-dīpana of Akhaṇḍānanda and Vivaraṇa-bhāva-prakāśikā by Nṛśimhāsrama Muni (A.D. 1500). Amalānanda and Vidyāsāgara also wrote commentaries on Pañcapādikā named Pañcapādikā-darpaya and Pañcapādikā-ūtikā respectively. Vidyārāṇya (A. D. 1350) elucidated and expanded the teachings of Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa in his Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṅgraha. On the Vedānta doctrine of liberation, his Jīvamukti-viveka is regarded by scholars as an excellent treatise. His another work of note is Pañcadaśi, a popular treatise in verse on Vedānta.

Sarva-jñātammuni (A.D. 900) wrote Saṅkṣepa-sārīraka based on the teachings of Śaṅkara’s Bhāṣya. Śrīharṣa’s (A.D. 1190) Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khaṭḍya is a well-known work on Vedānta dialectics in which the author establishes the unassailability of Śaṅkara’s doctrine. Śaṅkara Miśra, Raghunātha, and Gitsukha wrote commentaries on it. Gitsukha had also written an independent work on Vedānta dialectics known as Tattva-dīpana which was commented upon
by Pratyagṛupa in his *Nayana-prasādini*. Dharmarājādhvarindra’s (A.D. 1550) *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* is a celebrated work on Vedānta logic and epistemology, which was commented upon by his son Rāmakṛṣṇādhvarindra in his *Śikhāmāni* and by Amaradāsa in his *Māniprabhā*. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (sixteenth century A.D.) wrote his *Advaita-siddhi* which is regarded as a comprehensive treatise on Advaita Vedānta. He used the dialectics of Navya-Nyāya in arriving at his conclusions. His other works of importance are *Gītā-gūḍhārtha-dīpikā* (a commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*), *Prasthāna-bhedā, Advaita-ratna-rakṣaṇa*, *Nirvāṇa-daśaka-ṭikā, Vedastuti-ṭikā, Atmabodha-ṭikā*, etc. Other notable works on Advaita philosophy include Anandabodha Bhāṭṭarakācārya’s (twelfth century) *Nyāya-makaranda*, Sadānanda Yogīndra’s (sixteenth century) *Vedāntasāra* (which has two commentaries, *Subodhini* and *Vidvammanorāṇjita*), Prakāśānanda’s (sixteenth century) *Vedānta-siddhānta-muktāvali*, and Kāśmiraka Sadānanda Yatī’s (eighteenth century) *Advaita-brahma-siddhi*.

**Viśiṣṭādvaita**: Rāmānuja (A.D. 1017-1137), who is propounder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school, wrote a commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtra*, known as *Śrībhāṣya*. His other works are *Vedārtha-saṅgraha, Vedānta-sāra, Vedānta-dīpa, Gītābhāṣya* (a commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*), *Gadṛya-traya*, and *Bhagavadāraṇdhana-krama*. Two main teachers of Viśiṣṭādvaita who preceded Rāmānuja are Nāṭhamuni (A.D. 824-924) and Yāmunācārya (c. A.D. 918-1038). The former’s important works are *Nyāya-tattva* and *Yoga-rahasya*. The chief works of Yāmunācārya are *Āgama-prāmāṇya*, * Siddhi-traya*, and *Gītārtha-saṅgraha*. *Śruta-prakāśikā* of Sudarśana Sūri is regarded as the most important commentary on *Śrībhāṣya*. Vīrāghavadāsa made a critical study of *Śruta-prakāśikā* in his *Bhāva-prakāśikā*. *Bhāṣya-prakāśikā-dūṣapoddhāra* by Śaṅkākopācārya (sixteenth century) contains a reply to the criticism of *Bhāva-prakāśikā*. There is yet another commentary on *Śruta-prakāśikā*, called *Ṭūlikā* by Vādhūla Śrīnivāsa (fifteenth century). Vātśyavarada, a nephew of Rāmānuja, had commented on *Śrībhāṣya* in his *Tattva-sāra* which was critically commented upon in *Ratna-sūrini* by Vīrāghavadāsa whose commentary on *Śrībhāṣya* is known as *Ṭātparya-dīpikā*. *Nāya-mukha-mālikā* by Appaya Dīkṣita is a compendium in which the principal views of Rāmānuja are set forth. Veṅkaṭānātha (Vedānta Deśika) and his contemporary Meghanādri made critical studies of *Śrībhāṣya* in their works *Tattva-ṭikā* and *Nāya-prakāśikā* respectively. Campakeśa, a disciple of Veṅkaṭānātha, wrote his *Guru-tattva-prakāśikā* which was commented upon in *Guru-bhāva-prakāśikā* of Śuddhasattva Lākṣmānācārya. Prakāśātman Yatī (fifteenth century) and his disciple Raṅga Rāmānuja wrote respectively *Mītā-prakāśikā* and *Mūla-bhāva-prakāśikā*, being critical studies of *Śrībhāṣya*. A digest on *Śrībhāṣya* called *Tattva-mārtanda* is a work of Śrīnivāsa (also known as Śrīśaila Śrīnivāsa). His other works are: *Jijñāsā-darpaṇa*, *Nayamaṇi-dīpikā*, and *Nāya-dyumanī-saṅgraha*. His *Siddhānta-cintāmaṇi* was as widely
known as Śaṅkara’s *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya* and averred the theory that Brahman is the only cause of all creation, animate and inanimate. Deśikācārya’s commentary on Śrībhāṣya is called *Prayoga-ratna-mālā* and that of Nārāyaṇa Muni is known as *Bhāva-pradīpika*. Puruṣottama’s commentary on Śrībhāṣya is known as *Subodhinī*. There are many authors known as Śrīnivāsa belonging to the Rāmānuja school. One Śrīnivāsa, son of Govindaśārya and pupil of Mahācārya, wrote *Yatindra-mata-dīpiķā* as also a commentary on *Śruta-prakāśikā*. Śrīkanṭha’s (A.D. 1270) *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra* is a major expository work of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school. This has been commented upon by Appaya Diksita in his *Śvārka-maṇi-dīpiķā*.

**Dvaita:** Madhva (A.D. 1197-1276), propounder of the Dvaita school of Vedānta, is the author of about thirty-seven works which include *Rg-bhāṣya*, a commentary on the *Rg-Veda* (I. 1-40), *Krama-nirṇaya*, a discussion on the proper reading and order of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (IV. 1-4), *Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya*, *Bhagavad-Gītā-bhāṣya*, *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya*, *Brahma-Sūtrāṇubhāṣya*, *Upaniṣad-khaṇḍana*, *Māyāvāda-khaṇḍana*, *Tattva-viveka*, and *Brahma-Sūtrāṇuśāsaka*. His expositions of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* have been commented upon by various scholars, e.g. Rāghavendra in his *Gītārtha-saṅgraha*, Vidyādhiraja Bhāṭṭopādhyāya in his *Gītā-vīrti*, and Jayatīrtha in his *Prameya-dīpiķā*. Madhva’s *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya* has been commented upon by Jayatīrtha in his *Tattva-prakāśikā*. The sub-commentaries on his work are: *Tātparya-prakāśikā-bhāva-bodha* and *Tātparya-prakāśikā-gata-nyāya-vivaraṇa* by Raghūttama Yati, and *Bhāva-dīpiķā* and *Tātparya-candrikā* by Vyāsatīrtha. Madhva’s *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra* has also been commented upon by Jagannātha Yati in his *Bhāṣya-dīpiķā* and by Viśṭhalaśuta Śrīnivāsa in his *Bhāṣya-ṭīpāṇi-prameya-muktāvalī*. Madhva’s *Brahma-Sūtrāṇuśāsaka* is a small work in verse which analyses the logical position of the *Brahma-Sūtra* chapter by chapter, has been commented upon by Raghūttama Yati in his *Nyāya-sūtra-nibandha-pradīpa* and Jayatīrtha in his *Pañjikā*. *Nyāya-sudhā* has been commented upon by Keśava Bhaṭṭa in his *Seṣa-vākyārtha-candrikā* and Śrīpadarāja in his *Nyāya-sudhopanyāsa*.

**Dvaitādvaita:** Nimbārka (eleventh/twelfth century), who propounded the Dvaitādvaita school of Vedānta, followed mainly the approach of Rāmānuja in his *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra*. He is known to be the author of the following works: *Vedānta-pārijāta-saurabha* (*bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra*), *Dāsa-slokā*, *Guru-parampara*, *Vedānta-tattva-bodha*, *Vedānta-siddhānta-pradīpa*, etc. *Vedānta-पारीजात-सौरभ* has been commented upon by Śrīnivāsa, a direct disciple of Nimbārka, in his *Vedānta-kaustubha*. A sub-commentary on this is called *Vedānta-kaustubha-prabhā* by Keśava Kāśmiri Bhāṭṭa who also wrote a commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* called *Tattva-prakāśikā*. Nimbārka’s *Dāsa-slokā*, also called *Siddhānta-ratna*, has been commented upon by Puruṣottama-prāśāda in his *Vedānta-ratna-māṇjuśā*. A summary of the views of Rāmānuja,
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Nimbārka, and Madhva is found in Śrinivāsa’s Sakalācārya-mata-saṅgraha. Mention may also be made in this connexion of Bhāskarācārya (c. A.D. 900), almost a contemporary of Śaṅkara, who wrote a commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra known as Bhāskara-bhāṣya. His view is known as Bhedābheda-vāda or the doctrine that unity and plurality are equally real.

Śuddhādvaita: Vallabha (a.d. 1473-1531), propounder of the Śuddhādvaita school of Vedānta, is the author of as many as eighty-four books of which the most important are: the commentaries Subodhini on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Aṇubhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtra, and Prakāśa on his own work Tattvārtha-dīpikā. His Aṇubhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtra was commented upon by Puruṣottama (b. 1670) in his Bhāṣya-prakāśa, Giridhara in his Vivaraṇa, and Śrīdhara Sarman in his Bāla-prabodhini. Aṇubhāṣya-nigāḍhārtha-dīpikā by Lālu Bhaṭṭa is another commentary on Aṇubhāṣya. Viṭṭhala Dikṣita (1518-88), son of Vallabha, wrote a number of books of which the most important is Vidvanmaṇḍana. Sadananda, an Advaitist scholar, refuted in his Sahasrākṣa (1868) the arguments in Vidvanmaṇḍana of Viṭṭhala Dikṣita and Śuddhādvaita-mārtanda of Giridhara. Sahasrākṣa was critically examined and its arguments were refuted by Viṭṭhalaṇatha (nineteenth century) in his Prabhāṇjana. Pitāmbara, the great-grandson of Viṭṭhala Dikṣita, wrote Avatāra-vādavali, Dvaya-śuddhi and its commentary. His son Puruṣottama (b. 1670) wrote Subodhini-prakāśa, a commentary on Subodhini of Vallabha. His other works are Upaniṣad-dīpikā, Avarana-bhaṅga, a sub-commentary on Prakāśa of Vallabha, Bhedābheda-svarūpa-nirṇaya, Khyāti-vāda, etc.

Acintya-bhedābheda: The Vedānta philosophy propounded from the Vaiṣṇava standpoint by Śrī Caitanya (1485-1533) is known as Acintya-bhedābheda-vāda. Jiva Gosvāmin wrote six sandarbhas (compendia) to put this view of Śrī Caitanya in a philosophic form, which is known as Śaṅsandarbha. This is accepted as the basic philosophical text of the school. Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa of this school wrote a commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra, known as Govinda-bhāṣya. His Siddhānta-ratna is an epitome of Govinda-bhāṣya.

VII

LOKĀYATA OR GĀRVĀKA

In sharp contrast to the six orthodox systems of philosophy owing their allegiance to the Vedic tradition, there was one heterodox system known as Lokāyata which discarded the authority of the Śruti and adhered only to the testimony of what is perceived by the senses alone. With its insistence on pratyakṣa or perception as the only means of knowledge and sense-pleasure as the central object of life, this system was widely prevalent in ancient India and attracted the common folk. It was, therefore, appropriately called ‘Lokāyata’,
literally meaning (a doctrine) ‘spread out among the people’. It was also known as ‘Nāstika’ as it was sceptical or antagonistic to the Vedic doctrines. It earned yet another name ‘Cārvāka’ which is sometimes interpreted as ‘one of sweet and attractive (cāru) words (vāk)’, as its founder was supposed to have been. This materialist philosophy put forth very strong and commonsense arguments against the idealist systems of philosophy and tried to establish that there was no other means of valid knowledge except sense-perception.

The original works of the school are lost to us. Nevertheless, references to Indian materialism in general or the philosophy of the system in particular are scattered in a large number of early works, some of which date back to the pre-Christian era. To mention only a few of them: the Bhadāranyaka Upaniṣad (II. 4.12; IV. 5.13), Katha Upaniṣad (I. 1.20, 2.6), Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VIII. 7-8), Rāmāyaṇa (II. 108-9), Mahābhārata (XII. 38-39, 186), Brahma-Sūtra (III. 3.53-54) to be read with Bṛāyya of Śaṅkarācārya and Bṛāmī of Vācaspati Miśra, Jaimini’s Mimāṁsā-Sūtra (Chapter I), Vātsyāyana’s Kāmasūtra (II. 7), Kautilya’s Arthaśāstra (I. 1), Viṣṇu Purāṇa (I. 6. 29-31), Padma Purāṇa (I. 19. 318-40), Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya (VII. 3.45), Manu Smṛti (II. 11, IV. 163, etc.), Dīgha Nikāya (II. 22-24), Sūtra-Krātānga-Sūtra (II. 1.9-10), Śantaraksita’s (A.D. 705-62) Tatvā-Saṅgraha (vv. 7, 110), Jayanta Bhaṭṭa’s Nyāya-maṇji (I. 2), Udayana’s Nyāya-kusumāṇjali (III. 5-6), Śrīharṣa’s Naiṣadha-carita (XVII. 38 ff.), Kṛṣṇa Miśra’s Prabhodha-candrodaya (Act II), Haribhadra Sūri’s Śaḍdarśa-saṃuccaya (vv. 84 ff.), Mādhavācārya’s Sarva-darśa-saṅgraha (Ch. I), Vidyārāṇya’s Viveṇa-prameya-saṅgraha (I. 4), Sadananda Yogīndra’s Vedānta-sūtra (98-108), and Kāśmīraka Sadānanda Yati’s Advaita-brahma-siddhi (II. 5. 1-7). Besides, there are the commentaries of Kamalaśīla, Prabhācandra, Guṇaratma, and others which quote sūtras attributed to this system of philosophy. A few sūtras scattered here and there have been attributed to Bṛhaspati, the supposed founder of the Cārvāka school. Śukra-nītisāra, a treatise on polity attributed to Sage

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4 The term loka-yāta has various other interpretations as well. For example, Buddhaghoṣa, the Buddhist commentator of the fifth century A.D., describes (Sārattho-paṭhidini, II. 96) it as a philosophy the ajñata (basis) of which is loka (material world), while Haribhadra Sūri in his Śaḍdarśa-saṃuccaya defines loka as that which is an object of sense-perception. Guṇaratma in his commentary on Śaḍdarśa-saṃuccaya says that as the adherents of the school behaved like ‘common people’, their philosophy came to be termed as loka-yāta.

5 *Manu,* II. 11. Medhātiṁī in his commentary accepts this definition (*Manu,* IV. 163) as well as identifies Nāstikas with Lokāyatas who do not believe in the existence of the other world (*Manu,* VIII. 22).

6 Bṛhaspati Lautya or Brahmaraśpati is traditionally regarded as the founder of the system of Indian materialist philosophy. The school is, therefore, also known as ‘Bṛhaspatya’.

7 There are also several other meanings of the term cārvāka. According to some, it is derived from the root cāre meaning ‘to chew or eat’. They contend that the Cārvāka outlook is essentially hedonistic in character. According to Mādhavācārya and Kṛṣṇa Miśra, ‘Cārvāka’ is the name of a follower of Bṛhaspati, founder of this nihilistic school.

8 For details of the philosophy of the Lokāyata see CHI, Vol. III, pp. 168-83.
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Śukrācārya, mentions the nāstika-āṣṭra and its strong arguments against the validity of the Vedas and the existence of God.9 Medhātithi in his commentary on Manu Smṛti (VII. 43) has also referred to the tarka-vidyā (science of logic) of the Čārvākas. It is known that there was one Lokāyata-āṣṭra with its commentary by Bhāgūrī which existed about 300 B.C. The authorship of the original work is attributed to both Brhaspati and Čārvāka.10 The only extant Lokāyata work is Tatvopaplava-sīna of Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa (c. eighth century A.D.). Sañjaya, Ajita Keśakambalin, Puraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, and Kakuḍa Kātyāyana are referred to in the Buddhist texts as advocates of heretical philosophies similar to the philosophy of the Čārvāka school. Purandara (c. seventh century) is known to be an important exponent of the Čārvāka school.

Besides the Čārvāka system, Baudhā (Buddhist) and Jaina systems of philosophy are also included in the heterodox schools as they equally deny the validity of the Śruti.11 Instead, they take the words of Buddha and Mahāvīra as the highest truth and source of knowledge. They, however, differ from the Čārvāka system in recognizing the validity of inference as a source of knowledge over and above perception.12 They also do not look upon hedonism as the goal of life; on the contrary, they insist on austerity and asceticism.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing survey of philosophical literature in Sanskrit it is abundantly clear that the Indian masterminds from time immemorial developed a vocabulary and idiom capable of communicating the subtlest spiritual experiences and emotions as effectively as matters of the world of senses. The sūtras laid down the basic thoughts and principles, and the vast expository literature on them in the form of bhājas, vṛttis, ṭīkās, etc. built up with cogent argument the philosophical basis of what was recorded therein. In brevity, precision, terseness of argument, and clarity of expression in general, such literature attained a state of perfection which India can legitimately be proud of.

9 Śukra-nitiśāra, IV. 3.55.
11 For an account of the philosophy and other details of the Baudhā and the Jaina systems of the heterodox schools, see CHI, Vol. I, pp. 289-398. The literature of these two systems has already been exhaustively dealt with in Part I of this volume (pp. 152-208).
12 The sāvikīta Čārvākas, however, accept inference in a modified form (cf. CHI, Vol. III, pp. 181-82). It may be noted that the Čārvākas are generally classified into two groups, the dhārta Čārvākas and sāvikīta Čārvākas. The dhārta Čārvākas are the extremists who deny the causal nexus of phenomena and hold that things come into existence by themselves. According to the sāvikīta or progressive Čārvākas, svabhāva or nature of a phenomenon is its cause, although svabhāva itself is uncaused. Again, the former deny the existence of the soul other than the body, while the latter admit the existence of the soul so long as the body lasts.
The preceding account is by no means exhaustive; it is only illustrative. In fact, the number of Sanskrit works on philosophy is legion; but unfortunately, some works are lost to us, while some are still in manuscript not accessible to the lay reader. Of the extant philosophical works, some are in prose, some in verse, and some partly in prose and partly in verse. Since this literature covers a very wide range of time from the Sāṁkhya to the Nyāya-Nyāya period, the style of the works is bound to be different. It may, however, be said that of all the expository works belonging to different philosophical systems, those of Śaṅkara far excel others and his prose style is acclaimed as prasanna (graceful) and gambhirā (solemn). Of the two well-known compendia on philosophy, one is Mādhavācārya's Sarva-darśana-saṅgṛaha which is a critical study of sixteen philosophical systems. Mādhavācārya gives a faithful account of these systems, analyses the arguments put forward in favour of, or in opposition to, a particular doctrine and draws his conclusions accordingly. The other compendium is the Jaina philosopher Haribhadra Sūri's celebrated work, Saḍdarśana-saṁuccaya, which deals with the Baudhāya, Nyāya, Sāṁkhya, Jaina, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, and Lokāyata systems. There are two other short compendia, Sarva-darśana-kaumudi and Sarva-siddhānta-sāra-saṅgṛaha, both attributed to Śaṅkara. The method employed by the Hindu philosophers is critical in the sense that the propounder of a system at first presents in detail the viewpoints of the opponent, maybe an imaginary opponent, then examines them by applying his own methods of proof and finally draws his own conclusions. In the process, he shows remarkable ability in refuting his opponent’s viewpoints; the arguments used are often incisive and penetrating. At the same time, some exponents have chosen scathing words to refute the opponents’ views. Kāśmīrāka Sadānanda Yati, for instance, in his Advaita-brahma-siddhi has used such expressions as mudgara-prahāra (assault with a club) in reference to his opponents. The number of dispassionate and sympathetic commentators is not, however, few. Mention may be made of Vācaspati Miśra, held in high esteem for his intellectual integrity, who is as faithful in the treatment of Sāṁkhya in Sāṁkhya-tattva-kaumudi as of Advaita in his commentary on Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya of Śaṅkara, known as Bhāmati.

Remarkable precision and exactitude were achieved in philosophical literature with the appearance of the Navya-Nyāya school which insisted on a rigorous method of defining a concept before entering into philosophical debate. As A.B. Keith puts it, ‘...from a rough system of argument from examples Indian logic rose to a developed and able scheme of inference based on universals.

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13 The following sixteen systems of Indian philosophy have been discussed in this work in the order as noted hereunder: Cārvāka, Baudhāya, Jaina, Rāmānuja, Pūrṇa-prajñā, Nakulśa-Pāśupata, Śaiva, Pratyabhijñā, Raseśvara, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Jaiminīya, Pāṇinīya, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and Vedānta or Śaṅkara-darśana.
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and the formation of universals it explained by a well-thought-out metaphysical
typeory. The later philosophical literature of Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, etc.
follows the Navya-Nyāya line. The tradition of maintaining precision in philoso-
phical literature and sticking to parsimony of hypothesis has been preserved
in the works of some scholars of the twentieth century also. —Editor.

34 HSL, p. 485.
ANCIENT inscriptions in Sanskrit and Prakrit, available from different regions of India as well as abroad, constitute a particular branch of Indian literature which is of no mean value. Taken as a whole, they have, therefore, been rightly described as ‘one of the great store-houses of Indian literary art’. For an assessment of their literary merit, we propose to make in the following two sections* a brief survey of some representative inscriptions available in India and outside. In the first section we shall consider the inscriptions inside the country, which belong to different periods of history ranging between the third century B.C. and the twelfth century A.D. These inscriptions include edicts (Royal Commands), prāṣastis (eulogies of important personages), and documents recording grants made by kings of lands and other objects to Brāhmaṇas or in honour of gods. They are in Sanskrit or Prakrit prose, or in Sanskrit verse; some of them are also in campū (a mixed composition of Sanskrit prose and verse). The second section is devoted to the inscriptions outside India, particularly in Indo-China, Indonesia, and Central Asia, which constitute the most important parts of what is called ‘Greater India’.—Editor.

Ancient Indian inscriptions have great historical value in that they are among the most reliable sources of early Indian history, even if they often tend to exaggerate and present facts with embellishments. In this respect, they are in line with the historical romances like Bāṇa’s Harṣacarita. Nevertheless, they throw much light on our past, revealing in particular the political and administrative situation and the social and religious conditions of the people. As some of these inscriptions are also fine specimens of literary art, they help us understand the evolution, and determine the chronology, of our kāvyā literature in the successive periods of history. The majority of the early inscriptions may also be treated as miniature historical kāvyas.

AŚOKAN EDCITS IN PRAKRIT

The unique series of inscriptions issued by the Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 273-232 B.C.) are perhaps the earliest. These inscriptions, generally called dhammaśīlas (edicts on dharma, law of duty or piety) and numbering more than thirty, are engraved on rocks, boulders, pillars, and cave-walls. They are

* Both the sections have been edited by Dr D. C. Sircar (DCS).—Editor.
distributed almost over the whole of India from the Himalayas in the north to Mysore in the south, and from the sea in the east to the sea in the west. They are mostly in Brāhmī characters with only two recensions of the Major Rock Edicts in Kharoṣṭhī, a form of the ancient Aramaic alphabet written from right to left. The language of the edicts belongs to various Prakrit dialects prevailing in the localities where those edicts appeared1 between the years 257 and 232 B.C. The main drafting, however, must have been done in the capital city. The language has a close alliance with literary Sanskrit and the Pali of the early Hinayāna books. Aśokan epigraphs as a whole constitute a kind of peculiar literature in serving as a manual of moral teachings and directives to the people. Sanctity of life, provision of healing arrangements for men and animals, toleration of all kinds of sectarian views, and earnest effort through special administrative appointments for propagation of moral instructions were the subjects specially discussed in these inscriptions.

Aśoka conquered the Kaliṅga country in 261 B.C., but when he calculated the hardships to the people taken as prisoner and the enormous loss of life this great victory caused on the battlefield as well as in the form of famine, pestilence, and other post-war calamities, he was filled with remorse. He resolved not to launch any more war in future and proclaimed that ‘the greatest conquest is that which is won by dharma’ (ayi ca mukha-muta vijaye devanaṁpriyasa yo dhrama-vijayo—R.E. XIII). The conception of treating the subjects as the monarch’s own children finds its early expression in two separate rock edicts. Describing all men as his children (save munise pajā mamā), he directs his administrators in the newly-conquered Kaliṅga country and the wild tribal areas on its border to be kind towards the people, for therein lie both ‘bliss in heaven’ (svagasa āladdhi) and ‘king’s favour’ here (lājāladdhi). Coming under the influence of the Buddhist teachers after his victory, the king became very tolerant of all contemporary religious sects such as the Ājīvikas and Nirgranthas (Jains).

King Aśoka says, dhaṁme sādhu (excellent is the law of piety), and then he asks, kiyaṁ cu dhaṁme ti (wherein does dharma consist?). His answer is: apāsinave (little impiety), bahu-kāyāne (many good deeds), dayā (compassion), dāne (liberality), saçe (truthfulness), socaye (purity). That is to say, dharma consists in the said ethical virtues. The king’s view is clearly expressed in the following sentence: Hevaṁ ca kho esa dekhiye—imāni āśīnava-gāmini nāma, atha caṇḍiyē nithūliye kodhe māna isyā kālanena va hakam mā palibhasayisaih (A man should see that the following things, namely, brutality, cruelty, anger, pride, and jealousy lead to impiety, and should say to himself, ‘May I not fall by reason

1 This, however, is not correct. There is a marked difference in language between the Major and Minor Rock Edicts at Erragudi. Some Greek and Aramaic inscriptions of Aśoka have been discovered, mostly in Afghanistan.—DCS.
of these [vices]). In another passage the king claims that he made all people pious by preaching the dharmma, and thereby caused their association with the gods which was hitherto non-existent. Thus says Asoka:

Iminī cu kālena amisā samāna muniṣā jānībudīpasi misā devehi. Pakamasa hi īyam phale. No īyam sakye mahāvīneva pāpotave. Kamaṁ tu kho khudakena pi pakamamiṇena vipule svage sakye ārādhetave (So long men in India, who had remained unassociated with the gods [i.e. with spirituality], are [now] turning to them; for this is the fruit of exertion. It is not that this [spirituality] is to be attained only by greatness [i.e. great men]; even an humble man can achieve heavenly bliss provided he tries hard).

The dharmmādasa or mirror of religion (i.e. one’s solemn confession of faith in Buddha, Dhamma or Doctrine, and Saṅgha or Community or Congregation) was expressed clearly in Asoka’s Bhabru Edict, in the words of the emperor himself, thus: Vidite ve bhānte āvatake hamā budhasi dharmasi saṅghasti ti gālave caṁ prasāde ca (It is certainly known to you, O revered Sirs, how much are my respect for, and faith in, Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha).

We may compare profitably the Asokan sentence hevaṁ sadhamme caḷaṭhitike hosati ti (thus the good Law, i.e. Buddhism, will stay on permanently) with one in the Aṅguttara Nikāya of the Pali canon which reads: Yena... sadhammo caḷaṭhitiko hoti ti. The significance, again, of the seven titles of texts, namely, Vinaya-samūkase and others, which were recommended by Asoka in this edict not only to the monks and nuns, but also to the lay disciples, male and female, for special study, has itself become very valuable to the scholars of Buddhist literature. According to Winternitz, there was very probably a canonical collection of Sutta and Vinaya texts in Māgadhi language and, as the Asokan titles appear in various forms in the Pali canon, it may be said that ‘the Pali canon, so far as the Sutta and the Vinaya Piṭakas are concerned, was closely related to the Māgadhi canon’. Asoka expressed in the same edict his faith in Buddha’s words thus: E keci bhānte bhagavatā budhena bhāsīte save se suhāsīte vā (Whatever has been uttered by Lord Buddha, all that has been well said). The Aṅguttara Nikāya also has a similar dictum. So, for the history of Buddhist literature, a study of the Asokan edicts is vitally necessary.

* The inscription was found on a hill, about one mile south-west of the town of Bairat in Rajasthan. It came to be wrongly called the Bhābru Edict, and ‘the mistake has been allowed to continue’.—Cf. A. Chandra Sen, Asoka’s Edicts (The Indian Publicity Society, Calcutta, 1956), p. 132.
* The edicts of Asoka being primarily meant for his officers and subjects, the language of their Prakrit texts is simple and the style lucid, forceful, and more or less matter-of-fact. In the early days of Asokan studies, many passages of the texts were unintelligible, scholars failed to note the lucidity of their style.—DCS.
INSCRIPTIONS: THEIR LITERARY VALUE

KURRAM PRAKRT INSCRIPTION

There is a Prakrit inscription in Kharoṣṭhī script on a copper casket containing a relic of Lord Śākyamuni found at Kurram, near Peshawar, dated the year 21 (probably of the Śaka era, equivalent to A.D. 99). It contains a quotation, attributed to Buddha, purporting to be the famous pratītya-samutpāda (pratīcā-

samuppate = paṭicca-samuppāda) formula, popularly called ‘the formula of causality’, which explains the twelve-linked chain of causation of existence beginning with avijjā (ignorance), showing that all elements of being originate only in mutual interdependence. Although it seems certain that this formula must have at this time found a mention in the contemporary Pali canonical literature, its occurrence in a local Prakrit dialect of the North-Western Frontier Province is interesting from the point of view of literary history. It, moreover, reminds us of the fragments of the manuscript of a Prakrit version of the Pali Dhammapada discovered at Khotan in the Kharoṣṭhī script and composed in a Prakrit dialect (Gāndhārī Prakrit) originating in the north-west of India, which has been ascribed to the first/second century A.D.

KHĀRAVELA’S HĀTHIGUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION IN PRAKRT

The Hāthigumphā cave (Udayagiri Hills, near Bhubaneswar, Puri District, Orissa) inscription of Khāravela is a unique prose document in Prakrit belonging to the end of the first century B.C. It is meant to be a full, and perhaps exaggerated, annual record of the chief events in the career of the Jaina king of Kaliṅga. The charge that the Indians lacked the power of writing history may be proved unsubstantial by this historical record of the reign of such an early monarch. Its language is a Prakrit dialect of the type then prevalent in eastern India. Having very strong affinities with Classical Pali, it is mellifluous but without poetic exaggerations typical of the later court poets. Apart from the developed kāśya diction present in it, this Prakrit epigraph, though unfortunately mutilated, bears clear evidence of the high culture prevalent at the contemporary royal courts.

The first fifteen years of Khāravela were spent in ‘princely plays’ (kumāra-

kiḍikā), and then he passed the next nine years in ‘the office of the heir-apparent’ (yovarāja, Sanskrit yauvarājya). Having ‘acquired expert knowledge in the arts of composing royal writs, supervising currency, examining accounts, administering legal affairs, and getting fully accomplished in other lores’ (lekha-rūpa-

ganana-vevahāra-vidhi-visāradena sava-vijāvadātena), he was anointed as mahārāja in his twenty-fourth year.

8 Cf. B. M. Barua and S. N. Mitra (Eds.), The Prakrit Dhammapada (Calcutta University, 1921) and John Brough, The Gāndhārī Dhammapada (Oxford University Press, London, 1962).
The inscription then spells out the special achievements of the monarch during the thirteen years of his reign, specifying each year's memorable military and beneficent deeds in separate paragraphs. It is interesting to observe how the war years of the king alternated with his peace years. He launched two campaigns against Magadha, one against Śātakarnī (I or II) of the West, another against Bhāratavarṣa (northern India), and yet another against Uttarāpatha (Himalayan regions and north-western India). In between, he accomplished works of public utility such as the beautification of his capital by building a great palace called the mahāvijaya-prāśāda (palace of great victory), 'the reparation of the Kaliṅga capital, the gates, walls, and buildings which had been damaged by a storm' (vātavīhata-gopura-pākara-nivesanaṁ paṭisāṅkhārayati kaliṅga-nagaram), and the rebuilding of water-reservoirs and re-laying of gardens (sitāla-tadāga-pādiyo bandhāpayati savūya-paṭisāṁthāpanaṁ ca kārayati).

King Khāravela was himself 'versed in the musical sciences' (gaṁdhava-veda-budho), and in the third year of his reign he entertained 'the capital city by holding various theatrical, musical, and dance performances and other shows and festivities' (daṁpha-nata-gita-vādita-saṅdasanāhi usava-samāja-kārāpanāhi ca kidāpayati nagarīn). His daṇḍa or military force consisted, as in the Maurya period, 'of cavalry, elephants, infantry, and chariots' (haya-gaja-nara-radha-vahulanī). In the fifth year of his reign, he extended 'the old irrigating canal from Tanasuliya (Tosali) Road to the capital existing from King Nanda's time three centuries before' (Nandarāja-tivasat-satamoghāṭitan tanasuliya-vātā paṇḍāthin pavesayati). There is reference to the king's costly gifts to Brāhmaṇas, although he himself was a Jain by faith. Having established his empire after 'conducting military campaigns' (supavata-vījaya-caka), Khāravela devoted himself to performing some religious acts such as the construction of seats in the temple premises of the Arhats on the Kumārī hill (Udayagiri) where the Jaina śramaṇas could comfortably assemble together. The two epithets of the Jainā king, sava-pasaṁdo-pājako (a worshipper of all sects or denominational congregations) and sava-devāyatana-saṁkāra-kārako (a repairer of all religious temples), and four others assumed by the king himself, namely, khemarāja (king of prosperity), vadharāja (king of augmentation, or of old people [?]), bhikhurāja (king of mendicants), and dhamarāja (king of dharma or justice) vividly remind us of the benign reign of Asoka who was so famous for religious toleration.

This Prakrit epigraph of the first century B.C. bears distinct proof of the influence of the Sanskrit prose style used by Patañjali (c. 150 B.C.), the great grammarian-philosopher. It also gives valuable hints of the political life and thought of the period. This inscription of the East together with others from Nasik, Nanaghat, Karle, and other West Indian centres was composed at a time when 'poetic qualities' (guṇas) were deemed vital, while 'figures of speech' (alaṅkāras) were thought not so important.
INSCRIPTIONS: THEIR LITERARY VALUE

NANAGHAT PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION

The Nanaghat (Poona District) cave inscription in Prakrit, referring to the reign of the early Sātavāhana ruler Śatakarni I, and belonging, according to modern scholars, to the latter half of the first century B.C., also exhibits the influence of Patañjali’s style. This Prakrit prose may have in its turn influenced Sanskrit writers who followed immediately after, such as the poet of Rudradāman’s Junagarh inscription of A.D. 150. The cultural value of the Nanaghat inscription is great as well. It conveys a clear idea of the religious faith of the Indian people, especially of the western parts of the Deccan, including the suzerains and their queens, through its enumeration of various kinds of Vedic sacrifices, yajñas (such as aṅgūdhaya, anālambhanīya, rājasūya, aśvamedha, sāptadasātirātra, bhagālaḍaśārātra, gargātirātra, gavāmāyana, aṅgirasāmāyana, satātirātra, aṅgirasātirātra, chandōmapavamāṇātirātra, and trayodāśārātra) stated to have been performed by the queen-mother (probably Nāyanikā-Nāganikā, wife of King Śatakarni I). The people were still guided by the kārma-kāṇḍa of the Vedas. They used to pay substantial fees (dakṣiṇā) to the priests engaged in the sacrifices. The fees comprised milch cows, horses, elephants, and villages, besides ‘cash coins’ (kāhāpanas). The poet of the inscription exhibits his literary skill by successively describing the queen’s descent, her married life, her progeny, and her personal virtues: She was ‘the daughter of the Lord of the Deccan whose rule was unopposed’ (apatihatacakasa dakhinā-patha-patino... bālaya), ‘the wife of Śri Śatakarni, the foremost warrior of the earth girded by oceans and mountains, the scion of the Aṅgiya family, the great hero’ (Mahārathino aṅgiyakaṇḍa-vadhanasa sāgara-girivara-valayā va pathaviṣya pāthama-virasa... mahato... sātakarni [?]-sirisa bhāriya ya[?]), the mother of Vediśri (or Skandaśri, according to some scholars) who was a giver of pūrṇa works (excavation of reservoirs of water etc.), boons, objects of enjoyment and wealth (devasa putadasa varadasa kāmadasa dhanadasa vedi-[bhada, according to some decipherers] siri-mātāya). The queen-mother herself was a ‘giver of excellent elephants’ and ‘fasted for a whole month, observed the rules of chastity, and was well acquainted with initiatory ceremonies, vows, and sacrifices’ (nāgavara-dāyiniya māsopavāsiniya gahatāpasāya carita-bramha-carītāya dikhā-urata-yahna-suhīdayā). These epithets applied to describe the queen-mother cannot but remind the reader of the later prose style in Sanskrit romances and dramas replete with high-sounding adjectives. The opening salutation in the epigraph to the various gods, namely, Dharma, Indra, Śaṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, the Moon-god, the Sun-god, and the four Loka-pālas (Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, and Vāsava) adored at the period (i.e. before the conception of other mythological gods of the later Purāṇas came into vogue) follows probably the principle of the poetical theory that a kāvya must

* Ibid., pp. 186 ff.

* It is possibly better to regard putada as Sanskrit putrada, ‘giver of sons’.—DCS.

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open with a salutation or a benediction or a reference to the subject-matter. The inscription has an exceedingly simple and clear diction. It avoids long compounds and offers an example of the initial stage of the vaidarbi riti (style of the South) so much extolled by Daṇḍin (c. seventh century A.D.) in his Kāvyādarśa.\(^{10}\)

PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF PUŁUMĀYI FROM NASIK

The few Nasik (Mahārāṣṭra) cave inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.D., written mostly in a local Prakrit dialect, indicate the authors’ acquaintance with the rules of early poetics. The inscription\(^{11}\) of the nineteenth regnal year of the Śātavāhana king Siri Pułumāyi (c. A.D. 130-59) was composed in Prakrit, or might have been translated into this language from an original drawn up in Sanskrit by a learned poet. A praśasti of only three sentences, it provides a splendid specimen of prose kāvyā composition in Prakrit the style of which may be likened to that adopted later by Subandhu, Daṇḍin, and Bāṇa in their Sanskrit prose romances. The first sentence, a gigantic one, mentions the construction of the cave by the command of Balasiri, mother of Gautamiputra Śatakarni and grandmother of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pułumāyi. It has about forty epithets describing, in the kāvyā fashion of later days, the three royal personages; the second, a short one, records the gift of the cave by the Mahādevi, Mahārājamātā, Mahārājapitāmahī to the Buddhist congregation of the Bhadrāyaṇīyas; and the third, also a short one, closes the charter with a reference to the free gift of the village of Piśācipadraka to the Bhikṣu Saṅgha by the Lord of the Deccan (dakhinēpathesaro). The epithets used to praise Gautamiputra Śatakarni remind us of those generally applied by later Sanskrit poets to their patrons or heroes.

As regards stock comparisons of the kāvyā type, the king is described as ‘strong and mighty as mounts Himavat, Meru, and Mandāra’ (himavata-meru-mahādara-pavata-sama-sārasa), having ‘a face which is like the spotless lotus opened by the rays of the sun’ (divasakara-kara-vibodhita-kamala-vimala-sadisa-vadanasa); his ‘features were as charming and beautiful as the full moon’ (paṭipūna-cadamaḍala-sasirika-piṣa-dasanasa); his ‘attractive footsteps resembled those of a choice elephant’ (vara-vāraṇa-vikama-cāru-vikama); his ‘beautiful long arms were thick, round, and massive like the body of the king of serpents’ (bhujagapati-bhoga-pīna-vāṣa-vipula-dīgha-sudara-bhujasa); his ‘heroism equalled that of Keśava, Arjuna, and Bhīmasena’\(^{12}\) (Kesavājuna-bhimasena-tula-parakamas); his ‘heroic

\(^{10}\) It is doubtful whether Daṇḍin’s Kāvyādarśa could have been written earlier than the seventh century because it prominently mentions the guṇḍi style which must have developed at the court of the Gauda kingdom founded after the fall of the Imperial Guptas in the latter half of the sixth century. —DCS.

\(^{11}\) Epigraphia Indica (Ep. Ind.), Vol. VIII, pp. 60 ff.

\(^{12}\) The inscription has Rāma-kesavājuna-bhimasena-tula-parakamas.—DCS.
lustre vied with that of kings Nābhāga, Nahuṣa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma, and Ambariṣa' (Nābhāga-nahuśa-janamejaya-sakara-yayāti-rāmābarīsa-sama-tejasa); and he 'achieved victory over a multitude of his enemies on the forefront of the battlefield watched over by the gods and demi-gods, such as Pavena (the Wind-god), Garuḍa, the Siddhas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Vidyādharas, Bhūtas, Gandharvas, Cāraṇas, Candra (the Moon-god), Divākara (the Sun-god), the Nakṣatras, and the Grahas' (pavana-garula-sidha-yakha-rakhasa-vijādhara-bhūta-gandhava-cāraṇa-cada-divākara-nak kata-gaha-viçaṇa-samara-sirasi-jita-ripusaghasa). There is an abundance of amapraśa (alliteration) and the poetical quality (guna) called prasāda (lucidity). Long compound words are sometimes interspersed with short words as if to give a breathing space to the reciters. They may be said to have served as the forerunner of the style adopted in later pralastis as well as in literary prose romances. A characteristic style of the latter was the copious use of the quality of ojas (force and vigour by use of compound words), hailed as a mark of the gaudī riti (style of the East) of Daṇḍin. Epithets describing Gautamiputtra Sātakaṇi as 'the house of all lores' (āgamāna nilayasa), 'the shelter of good people' (saapurusānam asayasa), 'the asylum of fortune' (sirīye adhiṭhānasa), etc. remind us of the style of later prose-writers like Bāṇa. For instance, in his picture of King Śūdraka in Kādambari he exhibits a still more artificial and advanced stage.

The style of this inscription composed in Prakrit having some clear affinity with Pali applies equally to Sanskrit poetry. As both Sanskrit and Prakrit kāvya were composed in accordance with the same principles of Sanskrit poetics, this is understandable. The composer of the inscription was well acquainted with the epics and Purāṇas which have been drawn upon frequently for seeking out similes in describing the heroes in the epigraph. The comparisons with epic and mythological kings have, however, been done by Subandhu and Bāṇa in a much finer way.

JUNAGARH INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADĀMAN IN SANSKRIT

Probably the largest and earliest Sanskrit inscription wholly written in prose in the kāvya style is the Junagarh (in Gujarat) rock inscription12 of Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. This is a graphic but somewhat poetic description of the devastating storm that breached the rocky dam of the Sudarśana lake in the Śaka year 72 (A.D. 150) and of its restoration under the supervision of royal officers. The poet's epithets qualifying Rudradāman, his patron king, consist of very long compound words. He refers to various virtues of the king. Among these he mentions his skill in the art of composing literary works both in prose and verse, 'elegantly ornamented in accordance with the convention of words which must be lucid, easy, sweet (full of rasas), variegated, and graceful'

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(sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-citra-kānta-śabda-samayodāraṅkṛta-gadya-padya-[kāvyā-vidhāna-praviṇe]-na). The words madhura (sweet), kānta (elegant), and udāra (dignified) along with seven others constitute, according to Daṇḍin,\(^{14}\) one of the earliest Sanskrit theorists on kāvyā, the ten requisite poetic excellences, guṇas which form the life-breath of the vaidarbhi diction. These guṇas are the soul of kāvyā in Vāmana’s opinion. At that early period, rasa or sentiment and dhvani or suggestiveness were not recognized as essential characteristics of a good kāvyā. The sphuṭatva (lucidity) and laghutva (ease) of the inscription may correspond to the arthavakyti (perspicuity) and prasāda in Daṇḍin’s list. His other guṇas which produce sound effects, namely, śleśa (pun or double entendre), sukumāratā (tenderness), and samatā (consistency of sounds) as also samādhi (metaphorical expression) and ojas were not much in vogue in early Sanskrit prose inscriptions.

The author of Rudradāman’s inscription was a master of the vaidarbhi style. This inscription of the second century A.D. is, in fact, a landmark in the development of Sanskrit poetics and rhetorics. This Śaka ruler, i.e. Rudradāman, like Samudragupta and Harśavardhana of later periods, devoted himself much to the cultivation of court poetry. The praśasti leads us to believe that there were other works in the vaidarbhi style and that there was also an alankāra-śāstra (poetics) during the period earlier than the time of Bharata and Daṇḍin. The praśasti, which tries to fulfil almost all the requirements of a prose composition prescribed by the rules of poetics, may be compared with the prose portion of Hariśeṇa’s praśasti of the fourth century A.D. The latter, however, bears the stamp of much finer skill and imagination. This inscription of Rudradāman has some words grammatically wrong. There are also some words which show Prakrit influence. Expressions like āgarbhāṭ prabhṛti and anyatra saṅgrāmeṣu are un-Pāṇinian. But the guṇa called ojas, which is the principal feature of Sanskrit prose composition, is amply demonstrated by the writer of this inscription. For example, there is one compound sentence comprising seventeen words with forty letters in line 11 and the whole praśasti is complete in five sentences only. The sense-figures of upamā (simile) and utprekṣā (poetic fancy) have been used here and there; but the sound-figure of anuprāśa (alliteration) is extensively used with repetition of parts of words, full words, or single letters as in abhyasta-nāṁno rudradāṁno, praharaṇa-vitarana, kāma-viśayāṇāṁ viśayāṇāṁ, vidheyāṇāṁ yaudhe-yāṇāṁ, and āryaṇāhāryaṇa.

HARIŚEṇA’S PRAŚASTI OF SAMUDRAGUPTA AT ALLAHABAD

After the third century A.D. almost all inscriptions were written in Sanskrit,\(^{15}\) the praśastis being either in campū form, or in verse only, and sometimes, as in Central and South India, in prose only.

\(^{14}\) Cf. Kāvyādarśa, I. 41-42.
\(^{15}\) This is not correct so far as South India is concerned.—DCS.
INSCRIPTIONS: THEIR LITERARY VALUE

Among the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Gupta period, the Allahabad stone pillar inscription\(^{14}\) of Samudragupta (c. A.D. 335-80), composed by his court poet Hariśeṇa, is a perfect specimen of kāṣya. In it there is clear evidence of the influence of the theorists. This inscription is essentially a praśasti composed to celebrate Samudragupta's military conquests, and served as a model for Kālidāsa\(^{17}\) while he described Raghu's conquests (digvijaya) in Canto IV of his Raghuvanaśa.\(^{18}\) It incidentally records his political relations with other kings. Hariśeṇa has displayed his magnificent poetic art in composing this praśasti in campū form. It begins with eight verses in which śārdulavikrīdita, mandākrānta, and sragdharā metres have been used to describe the king. Then it breaks into prose. In the prose portion many long compound words are found forming epithets of the monarch. Then, again, there is a verse written in the prthovī metre. It concludes with another small prose passage. The whole praśasti consists of a single gigantic sentence. Hariśeṇa appears to have followed the vaidarbhī style. The composition shows the author's weakness for long compound words, especially when he writes prose. This, it may be mentioned, was the peculiarity of the gaudī style.\(^{19}\) The figures of speech used are alliterations, metaphors, and similes. There is also a sprinkling of śāṣṭra. The description it gives of the coronation or of how Samudragupta was chosen by his father as heir-apparent to the throne is graphic and inimitable. One particular stanza (verse 4) stands out as an example of the power of words to portray a spectacle. The inscription personifies kīrtti (fame) as a female, which flows through the three worlds like the water of the Gāṅgā. Its ascent towards heaven and its proclamation by means of the lofty pillar acting as the arm of the earth provide beautiful poetic imageries.

Hariśeṇa speaks of King Samudragupta as having 'established the title of "king of poets" by the composition of many a kāṣya which was fully drawn upon by other learned men' (vidvajjanopajayānaka-kāṣya-kriyābhīḥ pratiśṭhita-kaviṛāja-sabdasya). The king's kāṣya was of such a high order as would have 'kept at a distance the greatness of the intellect of other poets' (kavi-mati-vibhavoṣāraṇam). The king is further described as enjoying 'lordship over fame [produced] by many blooming poetical works' (sphuṭa-bahu-kaviṛā-kīrtti-rājyam bhunakti). And what the poet of the inscription has said of his patron-monarch's literary talents applies to himself as well.

\(^{14}\) J. F. Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III, pp. 6 ff.
\(^{17}\) Kālidāsa, according to most of the scholars, flourished during the reign of Samudragupta's son, Candragupta II (c. 380-413), and also perhaps that of the latter's son, Kumāragupta I (c. 413-56).
\(^{19}\) The Kāvyādāra (I. 80-84) says that the use of long compounds was the common characteristic of prose composition among the followers of different schools, but that the Gauḍās preferred them also in poetry.—DCS.
Kālidāsa greatly influenced many of the writers of epigraphs. Vatsabhaṭṭi, the poet of the Mandasaur (Madhya Pradesh) inscription\(^{20}\) of Kumāragupta I (c. A.D. 413-56) and Bandhuvarman, dated\(^{21}\) A.D. 436 and 473, was in point of time an immediate successor of Kālidāsa, and his description of Nature seems to be an imitation of the author of the Meghadūta and the Rūtusamhāra. This can be testified by reference to the descriptions, specially of the winter and the spring.

Vatsabhaṭṭi followed the rules of early rhetorics in describing the Lāṭa country, the city of Daśapura, the guild (śrenī) of silk-weavers (paṭṭavāya), and the seasons, as and when opportunity arose. The whole praśasti was made up of forty-four verses in altogether twelve metrical varieties. Like Kālidāsa, he also explained the particular season’s meaning for lovers. The influence of the Rūtusamhāra is clear in verse 31. Here he says that ‘during the cool season, even the feeble warmth of fire and the sun’s rays are so pleasant to the united lovers that they give up enjoying the coolness of the moon, of floors, of sandal-wood paste, of palm-leaf breeze, and of the touch of necklaces’ (dara-bhāskarāṇśu-vahni-pratāpa-subhage ... candrāṃśu-harmyatāla-candana-tālāvṛnta-hāropabhoga-ravite ... kāle). Verse 33 exhibits the use of long compound words. Though a vital characteristic of ojas, the life-breath of prose (gadya) composition according to Daṇḍin’s Kāvyādāśa (I. 80-84), this was also employed by non-Deccan poets (like Vatsabhaṭṭi) even when they composed a padya-kāvyā. The inscription does not forget lodhra, priyangū, kunda, and lavalti flowers while describing the winter; similarly, it does not miss, while describing the spring, referring to flowers such as asoka, ketaka, sindhwāra, atimukta, and madayantikā, which the undying Love-god (Madana), whom Hara once burnt to ashes, probably used as his flower-shafts. Vatsabhaṭṭi also describes the season, i.e. the spring, as one during which ‘thick branches of naganā bushes are resounded with the hum of happy bees sucking intoxicating nectar’ (madhupāna-mudita-madhukara-kulopagita-naganatika-prthu-sākhe).

Vatsabhaṭṭi was gifted with a poetic skill of no mean order. His graphic description of the country of Lāṭa from where the silk-weavers emigrated, and of the city of Daśapura (verses 4-14) is reminiscent of Kālidāsa’s description of cities in the Meghadūta. He was careful in using words and syllables of soft, smooth, pleasant, or harsh sound in accordance with the requirements of the sentiments he wanted to convey. In verse 26, for example, the first three pādas

\(^{20}\) J. F. Fleet, op. cit., XVIII, pp. 79 ff.

\(^{21}\) The two dates of the inscription refer to the Mālava or Kṛta era 493 and 529 when the famous Sun-god’s temple was erected and repaired respectively by the guild of silk-weavers, formerly of Lāṭa country, who migrated to the city of Daśapura in Mālava during the régime of Bandhuvarman, ruler of that city, under the Imperial Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I.
give smooth and pleasant sounds while describing the goodness and wisdom of Bandhuvarman. But the poet introduces harsh syllables just in the fourth pāda to describe Bandhuvarman’s heroism (dvīd-dvēpta-pakṣa-kṣapanaika-dakṣaḥ), which remind us of the principle of avoiding sukumāratā (tenderness) in the description of the raudra (fierce) sentiment according to Daṇḍin. Following the rules of composition of a mahākāya, Vatsabhaṭṭi has also introduced verse varieties like yugmakas, viśēpakas, kalāpakas, and kulakas, whenever occasion demanded. The poet, however, is sometimes guilty of weak pauses in his metrology and violation of rules of grammar and rhetorics. Vatsabhaṭṭi says that he composed the verses ‘with great effort’ (prayatnena) indicating perhaps that he utilized with care the best samples before him.

Mention may be made, in this connexion, of two important epigraphs of the time of Skandagupta (A.D. 455-67), the Bhūtari (Ghazipur District, U.P.) stone pillar inscription and the Junagarh rock inscription (A.D. 455, 456, and 457-58). The first epigraph records the installation of the image of Viṣṇu (Śaṅgīn) and the allotment of a village to the idol by Skandagupta evidently in memory of his late father Kumāragupta I. This inscription of the cāmpū style describes how Skandagupta ran to his mother, then in mourning (her husband having died shortly before), to announce the news of his victory in war and his success in restoring the shaken fortunes of the royal family. His running to his mother has been compared with that of Krṣṇa to his mother Devākī. The latter inscription is a eulogistic description of the work of repairs to the old and famous lake or dam, Sudārśana, in the peninsula of Surāṣṭra. Part I of the epigraph, complete in thirty-nine verses, is, according to the poet, a grantha by itself (iti sudarśana-taṭāka-saṁskāra-grantha-racanā samāptā). The rich variety of metres, the skilful use of figures of speech, the remarkable lucidity of language, and the vaidarbhī style exhibited in these epigraphs clearly indicate the indebtedness of their writers to Kālidāsa.

MANDASUR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF YAŚODHARMAN

The Mandasur inscription of Yaśodharman (c. A.D. 525-35) composed by the poet Vāsula narrates the erection of the column to dwell on the king’s glory and power. The poet seems to have adopted the method of Harīṣeṇa in describing the pillar, with his first eight verses all composed in the sragdhārā metre, as being erected as if ‘to measure out the earth’, ‘to enumerate the multitude of the heavenly bodies’, and ‘to point out the path of his fame to the skies above’. Verse 8 describes the lofty pillar as if it is an arm of the earth, raised up in joy to inscribe upon the surface of the moon the excellence of the

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29 J. F. Fleet, op. cit., XIII and XIV respectively.
30 Ibid., XXXIII.
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virtues of Yaśodharman. It reminds one of Hariśeṇa’s description of Fame’s way in the Allahabad pillar inscription. In verse 6, the poet describes the Hūṇa king Mihirakula ‘as one who never bowed his head to any other except the god Sthāṇu (Śiva)’. Such a claim became almost a common feature with some important characters of later classical poets. We may refer, for instance, to a statement in the Bhāṭṭikāvyā (I. 3) and another in the Harṣacarita (Chapter VII).

THE STYLE OF LATER EPIGRAPHS

A definite turn in the style and diction, language and thought took place after the fall of the Guptas. For two centuries from now on, extensive use of mythological allusions, overwrought rhetoric, and metrical profusion marked the epigraphic compositions of court poets. This was due to the influence of reputed poets like Bhāṭṭi, Bhāravi, and Māgha and prose writers like Daṇḍin, Subandhu, and Bāṇa. Now Sanskrit works, both poetry and prose, grew to be gradually more artificial both in form and content and partook of some new poetic characteristics such as elaborate and involved rhetorical figures and complicated varieties of metre. The rhetorical figures of paronomasia and antithesis were extensively used. This is indicated by records like the charters of the Maitrakas of Valabhi (Kathiawad), the Banskhera (Shahjahanpur) copper plate of Harṣa (A.D. 666-47), the Nidhanpur (Sylhet) copper plate of Bhāskaravarma of Kāmarūpa, the Aihole (Bijapur) inscription of Pulakesin II (A.D. 608-42), the Apsad (Gayā) prāṣasti of Ādityasena (A.D. 672), the Tipperah (Bangladesh) copper plate of Lokanātha, and the Kailan (Tipperah) copper plate of King Śrīdhāraṇārāta of Samatāta.

In the Maitraka inscriptions, Bhāṭārka, the founder of the dynasty, is described as pratīpaposanata-dāna-māṇāryavārijitānapānapratā-maula-bhṛta-śreṇi-bālā-vāpta-rājya-śriḥ, i.e. ‘whole royal fortune was attained through his armies of maula (hereditary), bhṛta (salaried), and śreṇi (guild) varieties. They were devoted [to him] because of the gifts, favours, and goodwill they received from his majesty’. His successors are also similarly described. King Guhasena is called rūpa-kānta-sīhairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhiryya-buddhi-saṃpadbhīḥ smara-śaśāṅkādhīrająodadhikrishna-guru-dhanesān atīṣayānāh, while King Dharasena is described as prabhama-narapati-samatisrṣṭānām, anupalayitā, dharmadīyānām, apākārtā prajāpaghāta-kāriṇām upaplavānām, darśayitā śrī-sarasvatyorekādhikvasya, srahstāṛitā-pakraśa-lakṣmī- pariḥkṣa-dakṣa-vikramāḥ. The royal epithets show the poets’ familiarity with

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28 Ibid., pp. 164, 171.
30 P. N. Bhattacharyya, Kāmarūpapalāṣadāvalī (Rangpur Sahitya Parishad, 1933 n.s.), pp. 1 ff.
31 Ep. Ind., VI, pp. 1 ff.
32 J. F. Fleet, op. cit., XLII.
33 Ep. Ind., XV, No. 19.
34 Indian Historical Quarterly, XXIII, pp. 221 ff.
anuprāsa and śleṣa, with rāja-tantra (politics) and śālāturiya-tantra (the science of grammar as systematized by Pāṇini who was born in Śālātura\textsuperscript{22} in the Punjab). The descriptions of Supratiṣṭhitavarmān and Bhāskaravarman in the Nidhanpur copper plates in a few āryā verses and in prose at once remind us of the pāncālī riti (style of the North) adopted by Bāṇa, wherein words and sense are equally balanced. Epithets like śruta-sauryya-dhairyya-sautīryyaḥ, i.e. ‘whose heroism, perseverance, and pride were well heard of’, in Bhāskaravarman’s description bespeak the poet’s proper use of syllables suited to the sentiment.

RAVIKIRTITI’S PRASASTI OF PULAKEŚIN II AT AIHOLE

The exploits of Cālukya Pulakeśin II are lucidly and graphically described by Raviṅktiti in Śaka year 556 (A.D. 634) in a prāṣasti of thirty-seven verses composed in a variety of metres such as āryā, śārdūlavikṛṣṭa, āryaṅgiti, mattebhavikṛṣṭa, vaṁśastha, mālinī, svagdharā, mandakrāntā, śloka, and hārṇī. The poet admits (verse 37) that he imitated Kālidāsa and Bhāravi whose time cannot thus be placed after A.D. 634. The prāṣasti offers clear evidence that its author was thoroughly conversant with the canons of the alakṣyā-śāstra and, like a true Deccan poet\textsuperscript{20} (dāpyanāya), was unsurpassed in his employment of utprekṣās. The prāṣasti uses the sound-figure yamaka in various forms (verses 23, 26, 27, 37). King Kīrttivarman is described as ‘one who never felt inclined to commit adultery with others’ wives, but was attracted to worship the goddess of the Royalty of his enemies’ (verse 9). The phrase prthu-kadamba-kadamba-kadambakam in his description must have been suggested by prthu-kadamba-kadambaka of the Kirāṭarjunīya (V. 9) of Bhāravi.

APRSAD PRAṢASTI OF ĀDITYASENA

The Aprṣad (Gāyā) inscription of Ādityasena, who built a temple of Viṣṇu, is a prāṣasti consisting of thirty verses composed in different metres. Artificality in poetic embellishments and extensive use of hyperbolic, mythological, and exaggerated description distinguish it from ‘the artistic, concise, dignified, and frequently really poetical style of the more ancient records’\textsuperscript{24}.

\textsuperscript{22} According to Hiuen Tsang, Sha-lo-tu-lo (Śālātura) lay a few miles to the north-west of Wu-to-ka-han-ch’ā (Udabhāṅga) which is modern Ohind in the Peshawar District, N.W.F.P., Pakistan. Cf. Thomas Watters, On Yuan Chang’s Travels in India, Vol. I, p. 221.—DCS.

\textsuperscript{20} Cf. Harṣaśrīrī, Introductory verse 7.

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. Such conventional epithets of the king as svetātapatra-sthagita-varṇamati-māṇḍala-lokapālaḥ (a guardian of the world, by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth is covered) and svatśa-nṛṇa-motra-śrīkara-śrīkara-pratāpānāḥ (the spreading fire of the prowess of whose feet has the heads of all kings placed under it). Phrases like dosa mṛgyendrīṣṭaḥ (whose arms played the part of a lion) and saṁya-durgā-sindhuḥ...vimathito mandarikhīrṇya yena (by whom, playing the part of the Mandarā Hill, was churned the milk-ocean in the shape of the army) also indicate the turn, the style, and the diction the inscription has adopted.
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COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF ŚRĪDHĀRĀṆAṆĀTA AND LOKANĀTHA

The Kailan copper plate of the eighth year of the reign of King Śrīdhāraṇātā of Samatāta, whose father Jivadhāraṇārāta was undoubtedly a contemporary of King Lokanātha of the Tipperah grant of the latter half of the seventh century A.D., exhibits the characteristics of the gauḍī style. It was composed mainly in prose with only six verses mixed up with it, and we may refer to the brilliant passage which contains the prayer for land by the grantee.

Both Jivadhāraṇārāta and his grandson Baladhāraṇārāta were adept in śabdavidyā (grammar and lexicon), the grandfather being a poet (kavi) 'versed in all arts, and the producer of excellent sweet songs' (atimadhura-citragiter upādayitā).

The same characteristics of Sanskrit prose style are observable in the prose portions of Lokanātha’s copper plate grant. The poet found an opportunity here to describe the forest region in the Suvvuṅga-viśaya in the gauḍī style as mṛga-mahiṣa-varāha-vyāghra-sariśpādibhir yathee chham anubhāyamāna-grha-sambhoga-gahana-gulma-latā-vitāne (which had a thick network of bushes and creepers, where deer, buffaloes, boars, tigers, reptiles, etc. enjoy, according to their will, all pleasures of home-life). The poet refers to the eightfold offering of flowers called aṣṭa-puspikā known from Bāṇa’s Harṣacarita. The poet copiously uses long compound words with a play of the sound-figure of alliteration in tatra bhagavato’ma-ra-varāsura-dinakara-saśadhara-kubera-kinnara-vidyādhara-mahoraga-gandharva-varuṇa-yakṣa... [a]bhīṣṭuta-vapuṣo’nanta-nārāyaṇasya satatam aṣṭa-puspikā-bali-caru-sattra-pravṛttaye.

BADAL FRAŚASTI OF THE NINTH CENTURY

The Badal (Dinajpur) pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla (ninth century A.D.) is the eulogy of a Brāhmaṇa family of ministers under the first four Pāla rulers, their erudition and able counsellorship being highly extolled. Bhaṭṭa Gaurava Miśra, who was Nārāyaṇapāla’s chief minister, was not only a valiant warrior but also a reputed scholar whose achievements are beautifully described in a verse (22) composed in the vasantatilaka metre. In the picturesque description of the four boundaries of the empire of Devapāla, the poet introduces too much of mythology and conventional thoughts when he says (verse 5) that ‘King Devapāla made the whole land pay him revenue as a result of the policy of his minister (Darbhapāni). The land was bounded [on one side] by the mountain (i.e. the Vindhya range) which was the source (lit. father) of the river Revā and of which the blocks of rocks were wet with the rut of elephants, and [on the other] by the mountain which was the father of Gaurī (i.e. the Himālayan range) and the whiteness of which was enhanced by the rays of the moon [on the] forehead of Iśvara (Śiva), and [on the other two sides] by the

Gauḍajekhamālā (Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi), p. 70.
two oceans the waters of which turned red at the rise and setting of the sun. Anuprāsa and śleṣa played an important role in the compositions of this period. Minister Gaurava Miśra is compared in verse 17 with Vāsudeva (Puruṣottama) inasmuch as he himself was an eminent person (puruṣottama) and like Kṛṣṇa who was a benefactor of the cowherds of Vṛṇḍāvana (gopāla-priyakāraka), the minister was a benefactor of the lord of the earth i.e. King Devapāla (gopāla-priyakāraka). With śleṣa in sampannakṣatra-cintaka (verse 18) which means both ‘one who calculates the motions of nakṣatras of good augury’ and ‘one who is on the lookout of affluent Kṣatriyas [for extermination]’, one may compare the figure virodha or virodhābhāsa (oxymoron) in verse 15 of the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, in which we have expressions like nalasama and analasadṛśa referring to the king who is equal to Nala on account of his achievements, but who is again not like Nala. But the words can be interpreted in a manner which eliminates the antithesis.

VIRADEVA PRAŚASTI OF THE NINTH CENTURY

A praśasti (ninth century A.D.) incised on the stone discovered at the village site of Ghoshrawa in Patna District, Bihar, says how the Brāhmaṇa Viradeva hailing from Nagarahāra in Jalalabad became a Buddhist ascetic. He first became a disciple of Sarvajñaśānti, head of the Kaṇiṣka vihāra (monastery), and then started for Mahābodhi (Gayā) to worship the vajrāśana of Buddha, and finally went to live in the vihāra known as Yaśovarmapura in Magadh. It may be that Yaśovarman who conquered Magadha had established this vihāra after his own name and the two great classical poets, Hāla and Bhavabhūti, enjoying his patronage, influenced writers like the composer of the Viradeva praśasti. A skilful use of alliteration can be marked in such expressions in the epigraph as sāṁsāra-sāgara-samuttaraṇaika-setuḥ, kalayā malayā, and tapati tapanaḥ. Not many involved figures of speech are found in the praśasti. The poet has made an extensive use of the metre vasantarālaka interspersed with sprinklings of śardulavikriḍita and mandākrāntā.

BHUVANESVARA PRAŚASTI OF BHAṬṬA BHAVADEVA

The Bhuvanēśvara inscription is a praśasti of the Brāhmaṇa Bhavadeva, who was a minister of King Harivarman (c. A.D. 1075-1125) of the Varman dynasty of Vaṅga (South-east Bengal). Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, surnamed ‘Bālavallabhi-bhujaṅga’, was a great scholar and author. The eulogy consists of thirty-three verses written in eleven metres by Bhavadeva’s friend, Vācaspati Miśra. The versatility of Bhavadeva is indicated by the description that he was a

36 The claim, however, is conventional and not historical.—DCS.
37 Gomālekhāmālā, p. 55.
38 Ibid., p. 45.
39 Inscriptions of Bengal (Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi), pp. 25 ff.
brahmavādin (one who teaches or expounds the Vedas), a mīmāṃsaka (a follower of the Mīmāṃsā system of philosophy), a jyotiṣika (an astronomer or astrologer), a smārta (one who possesses knowledge of Smṛti), an ālankārika (a rhetorician), an arthaśāstravid (an expert in political science), an astronomer or astrologer, an astraśāstravid (an expert in ballistics), and a vaidyaśāstravid (an expert in the science of medicine). Vācaspati Miśra was undoubtedly a highly gifted poet. He has displayed pedantic mastery over all kinds of figures of speech, specially yamaka and śleṣa, and seems in his elaborate kāvya style to have followed the Naśadha-carita of Śrīharṣa who flourished in the latter part of the twelfth century. The poet’s invocation to the goddess of learning (Vāgdevatā) for occupying the tip of his tongue appears to be a precursor of similar invocations to Sarasvatī by later Bengali poets.

UMĀPATIDHARA’S PRAŚASTI OF VIJAYASENA FROM DEOPARA

Umāpatidhara is well known among the poets who adorned the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena (c. A.D. 1185-1205) of Bengal and is mentioned by Jayadeva in his Gitagovinda. Umāpati is the author of the famous Deopara (Rajshahi District, Bangladesh) prāsasti⁴⁰ of Vijayasena (c. A.D. 1097-1159), which consists of thirty-six verses in a variety of metres. It records the construction of a temple of Harihara under the name of Pradyumnesvara by King Vijayasena. It is full of rhetorical excesses, the style being gaudī riti and the language artificial to a degree. The author has displayed command over vocabulary and knowledge of mythology. He was treading in the footsteps of Prācetasā (Vāṁśikī) and Parāśaranandana (Vyāsa) and says (verse 33) that his effort to eulogize the Sena king, Vijayasena, was only meant to purify his composition by taking a plunge into the river of the gods (the Gaṅgā) in the shape of his boundless fame (tat-kīrtti-pura-surasindhu-vigāhanena vācaḥ pavitrāyitum atra tu naḥ prayatnan). He refers to his own intellect ‘being accurate in determining words and their import’ (esā kaveḥ pada-padārtha-vicāra-suddha-buddher umāpatidharasya krtih prāsastih). Lofty are the imageries in verses 30-31 mentioning the valuable offerings the Sena king made to Lord Śiva who is commonly looked upon as an indigent god, never caring for the enjoyment of worldly objects. The poet states in a brilliant manner how Vijayasena made provisions of garments of variegated colours for Śiva [the naked god], a hundred beautiful damsels bedecked with jewels [for serving the god who is Ardhanaśīvara, i.e. half female and half male], many townships [for the god who lives in crematories]. Umāpatidhara demonstrates his unique power of description when he says that beautiful silken garments, broad necklaces, sandal-paste, blue gems, emeralds, and pearls dedicated by Vijayasena replaced respectively the usual dress of the wearer of wreaths of skulls (i.e. Śiva), consisting of elephant-hide, the lord of serpents, ashes, rosary, other snakes, and human skulls.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 42 ff.
In conclusion, the verse from the Sylimpur (Bogra, North Bengal) stone inscription\(^{41}\) of the eleventh century A.D. may be cited wherein are represented the poet-author’s views on poetic power:

\[
\text{Kaviḥ kāvyā-guṇaireva sobhate\'neṣitaśeiro\th Tāmukhānviṣṭa-kāvyasya naśyantyekāpade guṇāḥ.}
\]

‘It is only when the poet is himself sought out by the embellishments of his art (poetry) that he shines abidingly; but the excellences of a kāvyā sought by the poet himself fly away all at once.’

As has been shown above, some inscription writers of high poetic powers should also be included in this category. G. Bühler,\(^{42}\) therefore, rightly remarks that ‘in order to arrive at certain conclusions, we must thoroughly investigate the language, the style and the poetical technics of single works and compare them with those of works whose dates have been known with certainty or with approximate definiteness, and of epigraphical documents, as well as with the canons laid down in the older manuals of poetics’.

II

Sanskrit and Sanskritic inscriptions have been found in all the countries that came into cultural contact with India, viz. Indo-China, Indonesia,\(^{43}\) and Central Asia (‘Serindia’). Sanskrit inscriptions consisting of Buddhist dhāraṇīs and the well-known formula ye dharmā...have also been found in Yunnan (China);\(^{44}\) they have, however, no relevance for our present purpose as we shall be concerned here with ‘Greater India’. This is a region which chiefly stretches from Burma to Borneo, passing through Siam (Thailand), former French Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, and Bali. It is, however, from Cambodia—the ancient Kambuja-ḍesa, comprising modern Cambodia, Cochin-China, eastern Siam, and southern Laos—that the most numerous and valuable epigraphs have come down to us. They will be dealt with in some detail here.

Although there are good reasons to believe that Indian culture was already implanted in Indo-China and Indonesia in the first and second centuries A.D., the earliest epigraphical record testifying to Indian presence in that area dates

\(^{41}\) Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 283.
\(^{43}\) The name ‘Indonesia’ is used here in its cultural sense, and includes the Malay Peninsula.
only from the second half of the third century. It is remarkable, however, that
the Vo-canăh inscription (South Vietnam) composed in Sanskrit already
adopts the kāśyapa style. Except for the last two lines, the whole inscription seems
to be in verse, and we find there the use of at least two elaborate metres, vasanta-
tilaka and śādāvāvārikīdīta. Unfortunately, the text is mutilated to a considerable
extent. It has not yet been decided whether it is of Brāhmanical or of Buddhist
inspiration. But, palaeographically, this inscription has distinct affinities with
the inscriptions of Nagarjunikonda, and it seems to be contemporaneous with
the Brāhmanical inscriptions in Sanskrit discovered at the same site. It cannot
be definitely concluded on the basis of this meagre evidence that the Vo-
canăh inscription is of Brāhmanical inspiration, and that Sanskrit was adopted
so early as the epigraphical language in South-East Asia because Brāhmaṇism
there preceded Buddhism; but the fact remains that, apart from some Prakrit
elements in the vocabulary of the late inscriptions, no trace of a Prakrit
tradition has yet been found in that area.

SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF KAMBUJA OR CAMBODIA : KĀVYA TRADITION

Chronologically, the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja-deśa range from the
fifth to the fourteenth century. Most of these are prāśastis. A few, however, con-
tain only invocations to divinities. These inscriptions prove that Sanskrit was
the only literary language in ancient Cambodia. It is true that the local lan-
guage, Khmer, is used in epigraphy from the seventh century onwards. But,

43 See Précisions sur la paléographie de l'inscription dite de Vo-canăh, in Artibus Asiae, XXIV, 3/4 (Felicitation Volume presented to Professor George Coedt, on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday), 1961, pp. 219 ff.
44 The Nagarjunikonda inscriptions range in date from the time of the Śātavāhana king Vijaya Śatakarnī (Ep. Ind., XXXVI, p. 274), who ruled in the early years of the third century, till that of the Iśvakū ruler Rudrapuruṣadatta (ibid., XXXIV, p. 22) whose reign covering at least nearly eleven years has to be assigned to near about the second quarter of the fourth century. Most of the large number of inscriptions are in Prakrit, only a few belonging to the reign of Ehuvula Sāntamula, who was the father of Rudrapuruṣadatta and ruled for at least about twenty-four years near about the close of the third and the early years of the fourth century, are in Sanskrit (ibid., XXXIII, p. 149; XXXIV, pp. 19-20). One of these few, dated in the king's eleventh regnal year, contains a stanza in the śragdhāra metre. However, most of the records of Ehuvula and his son are in Prakrit with a few in Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit (cf. the record dated the twenty-fourth year of Ehuvula, ibid., XXXV, pp. 12-13) as would befit a transitional stage when Sanskrit was just trying to assert itself in the Nagarjunikonda region not much earlier than the beginning of the fourth century. Even if therefore it is supposed that the style and language of the Vo-canăh inscription were borrowed from Nagarjunikonda, then also it would be somewhat later; but the total absence of Prakrit in South-east Asian epigraphy seems strongly
to suggest that the epigraphic tradition there was indebted to that of an age when Sanskrit was the predominant language of inscriptions, and in South India, this was apparently later than the days of Ehuvula and his son. Prakrit was originally the language of both Buddhistic and Brāhmaṇical inscriptions. An inscription of Ehuvula appears to be dated a.d. 333 (ibid., XXXV, p. 6).—DCS.
at the beginning, this language is quite amorphous, still in quest of vocabulary and syntax. The records of the eleventh century show that the Khmer language—enriched through its contact with Sanskrit—was at that time perfectly utilizable in historical narrations; but no document has yet come down to us which permits us to believe that it was suitable also for poetical and philosophical compositions. Frequently, the literary portion of an inscription is in Sanskrit, while the material and technical portion is in Khmer. Most of the inscriptions written in Khmer are but lists of donations to temples.

One of the finest epigraphs ever composed in Cambodia—and all over ‘Greater India’—is the Phnom Bayang inscription dated a.d. 624. We find there a remarkable hymn addressed to Śiva:

\[\text{Yam āntarañ jyotir upāsate budhā}\\\text{Niruttarañ brahma parañ jīgīsavañ}\\\text{Tapasārtejyāvidhayo yadarpañā}\\\text{Bhavantyanirdyaphalānumbandhināḥ}\\\text{Na kevalam tatphalayogasāṅgīnām}\\\text{Asaṅgīnāṁ karmaphalatyajān api.}\\\text{Nisargasiddhair api mādibhir guṇair}\\\text{Upetam anīkṛṣṭaaktivistarañ}\\\text{Dhīyāṁ atītan vacasāṁ agocaram}\\\text{Anāspadaṁ yaśa pādaṁ vidur budhāḥ.}\]

‘Whom (Śiva) the sages, desirous of conquering the supreme [condition], the absolute Brahman, worship as the internal light; the practices of austerity, study and sacrifice, provided they are offered to Him, bring about undefinable results, not only for those who are [still] attached to the acquisition of the fruits of those works, but also for those who are completely detached and have renounced all fruits of actions; whose status, endowed with tenuity and other qualities which are inherent in Him, and which develop through the action of the energies He assumes—a status that surpasses the power of all thoughts and words—is known only to the sages.’

The description of the mountain that follows reminds us of Kālidāsa. Here is one of the verses, unfortunately mutilated:

51 The inscription relates the installation or restoration of a Śivāpada (footprint of Śiva, on which see JA, 1964, pp. 379-81).
52 The translation of some passages quoted here and elsewhere is more or less free.—DCS.
‘And this mountain, receiving upon its head; crowned with sparkling jewels, the foot of Giriśa (Śiva), acquires great [glory] in the world... For it [elevates] rather than humiliates to bow down before the most illustrated.’

The influence of Kālidāsa is manifest in the Han Chei inscription. For delineating the digvijaya of King Bhavavarman the author of this inscription took as his model the Rāghu-digvijaya in the Rāghuvaṁśa (Canto IV). Two of his verses recall unmistakably the Rāghuvaṁśa (IV. 49 and 54).

Inscription (verse A. 6):
Saratkalabhiyu tasya parānāyātajasaḥ
Dviśaḥ asahyo yasyaiva pratāpo na raver api.

‘In autumn, when he set out for expeditions, his lustre his enemies could never obscure, and his valour, more ardent than that of the sun, became unbearable to his enemies.’

Rāghuvaṁśa (IV. 49):
Dhiśi mandāyate tejo dakṣināsyaḥ raver api
Tasyām eva ragoḥḥ pāṇḍyaḥ pratāpaṁ na viśhīre.

‘In the southern direction, the lustre of even the sun becomes dimmed; in that very direction the Pāṇḍyas could not stand the valour of Rāghu.’

Inscription (verse A.7):
Tasya saṁyaratodhātam ujjhitālaikṛityavapi
Ripastrigandadeśu cūnabhāvam upāgatam.

‘The dust raised by his army covered the cheeks of the womenfolk of his enemies. Although these were bereft of all cosmetics, the dust gathered there as powder.’

Rāghuvaṁśa (IV. 54):
Bhayotṛṣṭavibhūṣyāṁ tena keralayositām
Alakesu camūreyuś cūnapratinidhiktāḥ.

‘He made the dust raised by the army a substitute for the powder in the hair of the Kerala ladies who gave up ornaments through fear.’

53 ISCC, I, A.
54 This was first noticed by F. Kielhorn in Ep. Ind., VI (1900), p. 4, n. 1.
INSCRIPTIONS: THEIR LITERARY VALUE

One perceives at once the marked difference between the imitation and the original. However, the style of these inscriptions is, in general, limpid. The embellishments (alaṅkāras)—of both sound (śabda) & sense (artha)—are used with restraint and moderation. The śīla, which will be a burden of the later compositions, is effortless.

With the epigraphs of Indravarman I (A.D. 877-89), kāvyā in Cambodia becomes more artificial. Evidently, Cambodia could not escape for a long time from the literary tendencies that manifested themselves in India. It was again in the 'Angkorian' period that the longest epigraphs were composed in Cambodia. It may be pertinent to note that this grandeur and luxuriance in literary art coincide with similar tendencies in architecture and sculpture. Kālidāsa, however, still inspires the poets. This is evident, for instance, in the Pre-Rup inscription of Rājendravarman (A.D. 961), which, along with the East Mebon inscription of A.D. 952, constitutes the apogee of epigraphical kāvyā in Cambodia. The two inscriptions contain 298 and 218 verses respectively. An idea of Kālidāsa's influence working on the poets of these inscriptions can be had from a comparative study of some of the verses of the Raghuvansa (e.g. IV. 14; IV. 25; VI. 20; VI. 22; and II. 53) and of the Pre-Rup inscription (e.g. verses 59; 65; 164; 48; 210; and 290). Usually, as in this case, only some ideas or expressions are borrowed; but, sometimes, the authors simply imitate Kālidāsa as in the following verse of the East Mebon inscription (verse 38):

Dvirepamalā iva pārijatām
dhiyo muninām iva cātmayogam,
Vyāpāram anyaḥ jagatāṃ vihāya
ārdo 'dvitiyāṃ pratīpedire yam.

'As swarms of bees fly to the Pārijāta tree, as the minds of the Yogis have no other function than the meditation on the Self (Ātman), so the eyes of people, leaving aside all other occupations, were placed upon him who had no equal.'

Kumāra-sambhava (I. 30):
Tāṁ hamsamālāḥ saradiva gaṅgāṁ
mahauṣadhiṁ naktam ivātmabhāsāḥ,

85 Cf. G. Coedès, Inscriptions du Cambodge (IC), II, pp. 149-50.
86 IC, I, pp. 73 ff.
87 L. Finot in BEFEO, XXV (1925), pp. 309 ff.
88 Most of these verses are quoted in BEFEO, LII, 1 (1964), p. 4, n. 1. Raghuvansa (VI. 22) and Pre-Rup (v. 47) illustrate the rule of Pāṇini (Asṭādhyāyī, VIII. 2. 14) : nājanvān savājye. The fanciful etymology of the word kṣattra, as given in Raghuvansa (II. 53) and Pre-Rup (vv. 210 and 290),—kṣatīt trāyate—goes back to the Bhādarāyana Upaniṣad (V. 13.4); it is also found in the Mahābhārata (VII. 2395; XII. 1031 and 2247).
'As rows of swans come to the Ganges in the autumn, as their own light comes at night to the great medicinal plants, so on her, came all the intellectual acquisitions of the former lives imparting a stable grasp in the process of her education.'

Stylistic differences exist. Thus, while in general the authors of inscriptions prefer the graceful vaidarbhi riti, there are some texts which illustrate the other mode of diction, the gaudī riti, which is characterized by the use of wild alliterations and of long and involved (ākula) compounds.⁶⁰ The style of these inscriptions varies also according to the matter treated. The same authors adopt sometimes two different styles in the course of a single composition: the one, simple, for the narrative portion; the other, complex and florid, for the panegyric portion. All these inscriptions, however, are versified.

It is, however, not known who composed these inscriptions. Some of the authors may have been pundits coming from India, but others were Cambodians. In the reign of Jayavarman VII (A.D. 1181-c.1220), Queen Indradevi composed the inscription of Phimeanakas,⁶⁰ while the princes, Sūryakumāra and Vīrakumāra, composed those of Ta Prohm⁶¹ and Preah Khan.⁶² There is no doubt, however, that these authors were very learned. Not only do they refer, almost at every step, to epic and Purānic myths, but often they also utilize technical ideas following a well-established Indian tradition. Philosophy, grammar, politics, erotics, etc. are made to serve poetry; or rather poetry is made the medium of all these disciplines. Different systems of philosophy are often mentioned. Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyi (called Śaiva Vyākaraṇa, in the inscriptions in accordance with the tradition which ascribes its revelation to Śiva),⁶³ Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya, and the Kālikā-vṛtti are also alluded to. The invocatory stanzas of the inscriptions testify, moreover, to a deep knowledge of Indian philosophical and theological ideas. One of the inscriptions is almost entirely devoted to a criticism of the dualism of Nyāya and the Śaiva Āgamas in favour of Vedāntic monism.⁶⁴

It has been supposed that a Cambodian scholar came to learn the Śastras (scriptures) at the feet of the great Šaṅkara (A.D. 788-820). This may not be true. But, from the tenth century onwards, the Vedānta greatly influenced the

⁶¹ IC, II, pp.161 ff.
⁶² G. Cœdès in BEFEO, VI (1906), pp. 44 ff.
⁶³ Ibid., XLII (1941), pp. 255 ff.
⁶⁴ Les Religions brahmaniques, p. 48.
⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 61-62.
religious thought of the Cambodians. We may consider again two verses of the Pre-Rup inscription where King Rājendravarman exhorts his successors to protect the religious foundation, dharma, made by him. This foundation, it is said, should be regarded by them as their own, since it is the same Ātmā which in different bodies is diversely imagined (kalpita) to be the doer (kartr) and the enjoyer (upabhokty). This individuation of the One, due to the contingent appositions (upādhi), is secondary (bhākta); it should be destroyed by the knowledge of the supreme Truth (paramārtha) 'as darkness is destroyed by sunlight':

\[
Ātmā'yaṃ eko bahudhā vibhinne \\
kartopabhoktā ca yataś śarire, \\
Tatas svadharmagrahaṇām budhānām \\
dharmesu sarvesu vivardhatām vah.
\]

\[
Upādhibhedād api kartṛbhedo \\
yah kalpitah karmaphalāni bhettum, \\
Bhāktas sa bhedyah paramārthabuddhyā \\
bhāseva bhānor anayāndhakāraḥ.
\]

'In different bodies there is only one Ātmā which works and enjoys. May you, therefore, sages, more and more consider all religious foundations as yours (svadharmā).

'It is on the distinction between agents that reposes the conception according to which each person reaps the fruits of his own acts. This distinction, however, is only imagined due to the distinction of the contingent appositions. It is, therefore, secondary, and it should be dispelled through the knowledge of the supreme Truth just as darkness is dispelled by sunlight.'

A great variety of metres is handled with skill. It must be mentioned, however, that the simpler metres—śloka and the group indravajrā-upendravajrā-upajāti—hold a predominant place, indicating a comparative ease of the style. It is rather rarely that grammatically irregular forms and unnecessary words are resorted to for the sake of metre.

The vocabulary is quite extensive. We meet with a number of words which are not recorded, either at all, or in the specific meanings, in the existing dictionaries. This does not mean, however, that all these words or meanings were invented by the Cambodians. In fact, some of them have already been

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46 On this word see Recherches sur le vocabulaire des inscriptions sanskrites du Cambodge in BEFO, LII, 1 (1964), pp. 47ff.
traced in the unexplored parts of Sanskrit literature. With kāmya in general, these inscriptions share the predilection for words in -i (e.g. abhidhi=abhidhā-[na]), and the words in -ti (e.g. datti, raciti, vyasti, etc.) and for periphrastic epithets. With one or two exceptions, the latter are impeccable.

Last but not least, the authors of these inscriptions were versed in the alankāra-sāstra. It is not possible to enumerate here all the rhetorical figures employed, nor would it serve any useful purpose. Poetry is not a mechanical application, however skilful, of the principles laid down in the alankāra-sāstra. The so-called ‘embellishments’ have no value of their own independently of the creative genius of each poet. A great modern authority has said: ‘A beautiful idea must appropriately incarnate itself in a beautiful expression. This defines alankāra and its place and function’. Unfortunately, judged by this criterion, these ‘poems’ hardly deserve any admiration. They proceed more from learning than from innate poetic genius which blossoms forth in newer and newer forms (prajñā navanavanmeṣasālīni pratibhā matā) and transfigures the whole world of ours. Hardly any freshness of imagination illumines these compositions. At best, some of the fancies in which their authors revel may have an intellectual appeal; but others are too far-fetched even for that. We have already spoken of śleṣa. This figure, through which some of the principal figures like upamā, utprekṣā, and vyatireka are worked out, is not in itself bad; on the contrary, it is ‘one of the techniques by which Sanskrit poets seek to achieve suggestion to force a larger content into their miniature mould’. But, in these inscriptions, this figure is not always as ‘unlaboured’ (akliṣṭa) as it should be.

Nevertheless, in the absence of any other literature, the value of these compositions is great indeed. They permit us at least to have a glimpse of the intellectual activities pursued in ancient Cambodia, and to see how deep the penetration of Indian culture in that country was.

Before we close, we have to mention the inscriptions in Pali exclusively associated with Buddhism. Even at the earliest period, Pali Buddhism must have existed in Cambodia. But the only evidence that has come to light so far is the well-known formula ye dhammā etc. in an inscription of the eleventh century. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, however, Sinhalese Buddhism penetrated into Cambodia through Siam, and one of the earliest expressions of the new faith is a Pali inscription, dated A.D. 1308. Though written in a new language, this short inscription prolongs the tradition of the old pra-śastis. Strangely enough, by its style it recalls the ‘pre-Angkorian’ inscriptions.

68 V. Raghavan, Studies on Some Concepts of the Alankāra Sāstra (Adyar, Madras, 1942), p. 89.
69 Vyatireka is the representation of the upamāya (the object compared) as superior to the upamāna (the object compared with) in some particular respects.—DCS.
INSCRIPTIONS: THEIR LITERARY VALUE

The last Sanskrit inscription in Cambodia was composed in the reign of Jayavarmanparameśvara (A.D. 1327-?). It does not show any of those signs of decadence that we encounter earlier in the twelfth century in Campā, and later in the fourteenth in Indonesia.

CAMPĀ AND INDONESIA

Next in importance to the inscriptions of Kambuja-deśa are those of Campā (South Annam) and Indonesia. In the former country, Sanskrit occupied the same position as in Cambodia. In Indonesia, however, already at a comparatively early period, we find literary compositions in Old Javanese. Literary compositions in Sanskrit, apart from the inscriptions, are also known. All these are inspired by India and are based on Indian models. Sanskrit also exerted a great influence on the evolution of the Indonesian language.

In Campā, the inscriptions of Bhadravarman are supposed to date from c. A.D. 350. Somewhat later are the inscriptions of Mūlavarman in East Borneo (c. A.D. 400). Then come those of Pūrṇavarman in Java (c. A.D. 450). Some fragmentary inscriptions belonging to about the sixth century A.D. have also been found in West Borneo; these contain mostly some Buddhist formulae.

More important from the literary point of view are the inscriptions belonging to the following centuries. The Sanskrit inscriptions of Campā and Indonesia are, however, not so rich as those of Cambodia, which remain unsurpassed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Moreover, their language has something which suggests that it reposes more on the study of lexicons and grammars than on a living literary practice. This has been said also of the Cambodian inscriptions themselves; but this seems to be truer still of those of Campā and Indonesia. And the rules of lexicon and grammar seem sometimes to have been studied only imperfectly, since barbarism and solecism are not wanting, particularly in Campā. No wonder that in the course of time Sanskrit dwindled into gibberish. A distinctive trait of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Campā is that they often adopt the campū form.

BURMA

In Burma, inscriptions in Pali associated with Theravāda Buddhism have been found. But those antedating the eleventh century are only Buddhist formulae or fragments of the Pali canon. Later on, Pali is employed, along with

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12 ISCC, LXV; IC, IV, pp. 254-56.
13 Cf. J. Gonda, Sanskrit in Indonesia (Nagpur, 1952), pp. 100 ff.; C. Hooykaas, The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, an exemplary Kakawin as to form and content (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel LXV, No. 1, Amsterdam, 1958).
14 J. Gonda, op. cit., p. 115.
the local languages, in narrative accounts. The most important Sanskrit inscription is the Mrohaung (Arakan) pillar inscription of Anandacandra, assigned to the eighth century A.D., which constitutes 'a rare instance of a Sanskrit epigraph of the prastāti type found in that country'. Though composed in a simple style, this inscription is not free from blemishes of grammar and prosody.

SIAM (THAILAND)

As already indicated, part of modern Siam was included in the ancient Kambuja-deśa. In southern Siam was situated the kingdom of Dvāravatī from which inscriptions in Pali and Sanskrit (sixth-eighth centuries) have come down to us. But these short texts either relate some religious foundations or contain some Buddhist formulae or fragments of the Pali canon. The only texts that have some literary value are two Pali inscriptions belonging to the kingdom of Sukhodaya (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). Both are composed in the campū form. One of them (VI), whose prose portion is unfortunately mutilated, relates poetically in its metrical portion the ordination (upasampadā) of a king who threw off the royal burden (rājabhāra) in order to put on the yellow robe (kāśyavatthā) in the midst of tears of ministers, subjects, friends and relations, and 'women as beautiful as celestial damsels' (devaṁganābhhāhi sundarīhi). The other inscription (XII), relating the installation of two footprints of Buddha, is practically a string of grandiloquent epithets in prose followed by four simple verses.

CENTRAL ASIA

A huge number of epigraphical documents, written in the Kharoṣṭhī script, have been unearthed in Central Asia ('Serindia'). The bulk of these texts comes from Niya, and dates from the third century A.D. The language used generally is a variety of Prakrit whose original home is supposed to be the north-western regions of the Indian Sub-continent. Some of these documents are composed in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. Most of them are administrative documents and have no literary value. A notable exception is No. 523 of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, which contains an exhortation, couched in four different metres, against the hoarding of riches. The author drew his inspiration from such texts as the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadesa, and the Mahābhārata. The language is Sanskrit with a number of Prakritisms and grammatical errors here and there.

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76 See the Myazedl Inscriptions, published in Epigraphia Birmanica, I, Part I (1919); Taw Sein Ko, The Kalyāni Inscriptions (Rangoon, 1892).
79 G. Coedès, Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam, I, Nos. VI and XII.
80 See JA (1906), pp. 319-27.
PART III

MAJOR LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES OF MODERN INDIA
ASSAMESE

THE LANGUAGE

THE State of Assam within the Union of India was known in ancient times as Prāgjyotisha and Kāmarūpa.1 The present name ‘Assam’ derives from the name of a Sino-Tibetan tribe, the Ahoms, who came from North Burma and conquered eastern Assam in A.D. 1228.

The Ahoms were referred to in the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings as Āsam, Asām, Ačam, or Ācām; and their kingdom was generally known as Āsam-, Asām-, Ačam-, or Ācām-rājya, even though in the royal epigraphs the country is called Saumāra or Saumāra-Kāmarūpa. In the nineteenth century, English writers called the land Assam or Assam and its people Asamese or Assamese. The term asamīyā universally used today to mean the people and their language seems to have come into vogue in the nineteenth century. Some scholars take the view that the word assam is derived from a-sama, that is, ‘unequalled’ or ‘without parallel’, to signify that the people of this region are unique or peerless in their many qualities.

Bengali, Oriya, and Assamese form the easternmost group of the New Indo-Aryan languages, and they have a common source in Māgadhī Apabhraṣṭa, the principal dialect which developed for the Old Eastern Prakrit. This dialect spread in three directions: to the north-east, developing into Assamese; to the south, into Oriya; and in the area between the two, into Bengali.

Bengali and Assamese have much in common, being written in the same script (except for two letters ष and ष, corresponding to the English ‘w’ and ‘r’). The grammar of the two languages is also very similar. It is the pronunciation that makes them seem different. For instance, Assamese turns the sibilant (ś, ș, s) into the guttural unvoiced spirant like the German ‘ch’ or the Persian or Arabic ‘kh’.

The Assamese vocabulary is mainly derived from Sanskrit. In spoken dialect, however, the original Sanskrit words are mostly replaced by tadbhava (words derived from Sanskrit) or ardha-tatsama (half-Sanskrit) words. There are a number of Assamese words which have their parallel formations or equivalents in Hindustani, Marathi, and Gujarati. There are others borrowed from Arabic and Persian and also from Portuguese, English, and other European languages. The principal non-Aryan sources are: (i) Austro-Asiatic (Khasi, of the Mon-Khmer family); (ii) Tibeto-Burman (Bodo); and (iii) Thai (Ahom). Assamese

1 The Kālika Purāṇa (tenth century A.D.) and the Yogeśi Tantra (sixteenth century A.D.) give a graphic account of the geographical limits of Prāgjyotisha or Kāmarūpa. The earliest reference to Prāgjyotisha is to be found in the Mahābhārata (c. second to fourth century A.D.), and to Kāmarūpa in the works of Kālidāsa (c. fourth-fifth centuries A.D.) and the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (c. A.D. 335-80).
is a language of the plains, being confined more or less to the valley of the Brahmaputra.

The earliest reference to the Assamese language is found in the account of the Chinese pilgrim Huien Tsang who visited the region on invitation from Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, during the first half of the seventh century A.D. Speaking of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, Huien Tsang referred to its language as slightly differing from that of Mid-India. This indicates that by the middle of the seventh century the Indo-Aryan language had filtered into Assam and that it differed to some extent from the Māgadhāi dialects then current in Central India.

The history of the Assamese literature may be divided into three periods as follows:

(i) Early Assamese, from the fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. This again can be divided into two sub-periods, the pre-Vaiṣṇava literature and the Vaiṣṇava renascence.

(ii) Middle Assamese, from the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century.

(iii) Modern Assamese, from the beginning of the nineteenth century to present times.

EARLY ASSAMESE LITERATURE

The beginnings of Assamese literature may be traced to the mystic lyrics known as the caryās centring round the esoteric doctrines and erotic practices of the later Sahajayāna form of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Written by twenty-three siddha-puruṣas (eighth to twelfth century A.D.), they belong to eastern India as a whole, and have been claimed as their own by Assam, Bengal, Orissa, and Mithilā. It is likely that some of these caryā or caryā writers had something to do with Kāmarūpa, a great centre of crypto-Buddhism.

PRE-VAIṢṆAVA LITERATURE

The emergence of Assamese as a distinct language is marked by the outburst of a rich poetical literature based on the two great Indian epics and the Purāṇas. The first two great poets in Assamese, Hema Sarasvatī and Harivara Vipra, belong to the reign of King Durlabhanārāyaṇa (c. A.D. 1300). Prahlāda-caritra of Hema Sarasvatī is considered to be the first literary production in Assamese. Here the poet has rendered in a century of verses the story of Prahlāda and Hiranyakasipu from the Vāmana Purāṇa. He is also the author of a more voluminous work, Hara-Gaurī-saṅvāda, based on several Purāṇas. Harivara Vipra’s chief works are Lava-Kuśār Yuddha and Vabruvāhanar Yuddha. Though derived from the Jaiminiya Mahābhārata, each of them testifies also to the imagi-

native genius of its poet. Kaviratna Sarasvati, another poet of the period, turned a small section of the Dronaparvan of the Mahabharata into Assamese verse with adaptation. The work is entitled Jayadratha-vadha. Madhava Kandali (c. fourteenth century A.D.) is the most distinguished poet of this period. His works include a translation of the Ramayana into lively and idiomatic Assamese verse. This period is marked by a wonderful zeal for story-telling and a developed form of tripadī and payāra versification.

VAISHNAV界的RENAISSANCE

By the end of the fifteenth century there had started a great and vigorous renaissance in Assam in the form of the neo-Vaiśānava movement of Śaṅkara Deva (? 1449-1568). Three poets, Mankara, Durgāvara Kāyastha, and Pitāmbara Kavi, who do not seem to have belonged to this movement, wrote mostly in the early part of the sixteenth century. Mankara attempted in his Behula-Lakindara to create a novel Purāṇa for the new-born cult of the serpent-goddess, Manasā, in a sequence of lyrics in the Assamese language. Durgāvara in his Giti-Ramāyana adapted the Ramāyana, particularly its pathetic sections, into a small series of very lively lyrics in rāgas interspersed with ordinary verses. Pitāmbara wrote in the similar technique his Uṣā-pariṇāya, Bhāgavata (Books I and X), and Cāndī-ākhyāna. The works of these three poets differ from the contemporary Vaiśānava writers in their form which is called Pācali or Pāncalī, a type very common in Bengal, as well as in their content which appeals more to the senses than to the intellect.

Śaṅkara Deva’s school of Vaiśānavism has a monotheistic doctrine as its central religious tenet. It believes in the repetition mentally or through speech and song of the various names of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa and the accounts of His divine sports (līlā) as the principal way of getting to the Lord. It is, therefore, called ekākṣara nāmadharma (the religion of complete surrender to the One). It enjoins the worship of this one deity, and interdicts its followers from the worship of any other god or goddess. The Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult is not included in this system of Vaiśānavism. This neo-Vaiśānava movement brought in its train a great literary upheaval in Assam. The royal patronage that came from the Koch king Naranarāyaṇa (1533-84) was a most significant factor so far as this literary upsurge was concerned. Śaṅkara Deva and his favourite disciple and chief apostle Madhava Deva (1489-1596) composed a good number of songs, dramas, verse-narratives, and other types of literature. This period of Assamese literature might be called the age of one scripture, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and one god, Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. Śaṅkara Deva himself is said to have rendered eight out of the twelve books of this Purāṇa into Assamese, besides guiding and inspiring other scholars to take up the rest of the work. His masterpiece, Kirtana-ghoṣā, gives the very quintessence of this great scripture. His Bhakti-pradīpa is a theological
work giving an analysis of the nature of bhakti (devotion). His Rukmini-haraṇa, Hariścandra-upākhyāna, and Bali-chalana are narrative poems full of poetic flavour and charm. Saṅkara Deva’s language is endowed with the boldness of a creative genius. He coined the novel idiom of Brajabuli, based on Maithili, Western Hindi, and Assamese, for a number of his bar-gitas (noble songs) and his aṅkīyā-nāṭs (one-act plays): Patni-prasāda, Kāliya-damana, Keli-gopāla, Rukmini-haraṇa, Pārijāta-haraṇa, and Rāma-vijaya. These dramas, having some characteristics of the Sanskrit play (like the sūtradhāra, prarocanā, nāndī, etc.), differ from the classical art in other aspects and in general construction.

Madhava Deva’s bar-gitas and aṅkīyā-nāṭs (Arjuna-bhaṭijana, Cordharā, Pimpārā-gucwā, Bhojana-vihāra, etc.) evince an artistic skill even finer than that of his master. Vatsalya (affection towards offspring) predominates over other sentiments in these writings as dāṣya (devotion of a servant to his master) does in the case of Saṅkara Deva’s. He ever revels in the depiction of the childhood frolics of Kṛṣṇa, and is struck with a mystic awe that this Child God played all sorts of pranks with his foster mother Yaśodā and the gopīs of Vṛndāvana and even obeyed their commands. He translated Viṣṇu Puri’s Bhakti-ratnāvali into Assamese verse at the behest of his master. His other popular works are: Rāja-sūya Yajña, Ādikāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa, etc. But Nāma-ghoṣā or Hājāri-ghoṣā, a book of a thousand couplets, is his most outstanding work showing him at his best as an ardent devotee and yet a Vedāntic thinker.

Ananta Kandalī and Rāma Sarasvatī are two other great poets of Saṅkara Deva’s time. Ananta Kandalī’s most popular work is Kumāra-haraṇa narrating the romantic story of Uṣā and Aniruddha. He translated several books of the Bhāgavata and made an abridged version of the Rāmāyaṇa, where, however,

2 Brajabuli is an archaic speech said to have been used by Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs of Vraja (Vṛndāvana). This literary medium was popular among the medieval Vaiṣṇavite poets of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. ‘It is difficult to guess why Saṅkara Deva made a departure from the popular language of his poems and chose Brajabuli for his devotional lyrics and plays. The reason may be that Brajabuli as a language had less use of compound consonants, a preponderance of vowels, an alliterative fineness of texture, and a subtlety of implication, and these phonetic and other traits may be said to have made it a more flexible medium for lyric compositions. In addition to this flexibility, some element of sacredness was associated with this artificial language, as it was traditionally considered to be the hallowed language of Vraja. This archaic language with a deep tone and feeling was employed to “meet requirements which do not arise in ordinary speech”, and it immensely succeeded in interpreting the Vaiṣṇavite renaissance. Saṅkara Deva was our first great poet to use this artificial language, and superb was the use he made of it in his bar-gitas and aṅkīyā-nāṭs. The Buddhist caryāpadas may be said to have served for structural models of these bar-gitas.’ Vide Birinchi Kumar Barua, History of Assamese Literature, p. 30.

4 These bar-gita lyrics were something new in the field of poetry which Saṅkara Deva introduced into Assamese. They are essentially devotional poems, sometimes ecstatic in an abudon of faith, sometimes contemplative and reflective, at times exhortatory and seeking to create a distance for the world with a love of God. These are still very popular, being frequently sung. The deha-vidār gita or ‘songs of the transitoriness of the body’ form another series of poems composed by Saṅkara Deva, corresponding to the deha-tattva gita poems of Bengali, which, although not lofty in sentiment or poetry, seek to create among the masses the feeling of other-worldliness and devotion to God.—Editor.
he plagiarized the work of Mādhava Kandali to a great extent. He has several other poetical works to his credit, namely, Mahīrāvaṇa-vadha, Hari-Hara-yuddha, Vṛtrasura-vadha, Bharata-Sāvitri, and Jīva-stuti. Rāma Sarasvatī is a prolific writer on the Mahābhārata topics taken mainly from the Vanaśasi. He writes with vigour but goes to exaggerated lengths in his few vadha-kāvyas with fabricated stories of the killing of demons by the Pāṇḍavas. He had good followers like Sāgarakhari, author of Khaṭāśura-vadha. Rāma Sarasvatī made an Assamese version of the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva. He is responsible for one book of genial humour, Bhima-carita, with the story of Lord Śiva as a farmer and Bhīmā as the farmer’s servant. A similarly amusing poem is Kāś-khoōd which invokes the figure of a nursery bogey in order to enlarge on the subject of the former incarnations of Kṛṣṇa. Written by Śridhara Kandali, author of Ghumuca-yātra, it retains its popularity in Assam even today. Other talents, besides Šaṅkara Deva and Ananta Kandali, who concentrated upon the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, are: Aniruddha Kāyastha (sections of Books IV and V), Gopālacarana Dwija (Book III), Keśavacarana (Books VII and IX), Ratnakara Miśra (sections of Book V), and others. The Bhagavad-Gītā was first rendered into Assamese verse by Govinda Miśra. The rendering is lucid, chiselled, and forceful. The Harivānśa found very good adapters in Gopālacarana Dwija (sixteenth century) and Bhavānanda Miśra (sixteenth century), the latter deviating considerably from the original. Karṇārī Kāyastha’s well-known translation of the Mahābhārata is faithful to a large extent to the original. Kalāpandra, Rāma Sarasvatī’s son, wrote a verse-romance called Rādhā-carita, besides translating a portion of the fourth book of the Bhāgavata. Rādhā-carita is a unique work in the Assamese Vaiṣṇava literature so far as its depiction of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is concerned. The period witnessed also the production of a few valuable non-religious works in verse like Vakula Kāyastha’s Kitāvat-mañjari (c. 1434), a work on arithmetic, book-keeping, and land survey.

MIDDLE ASSAMESE LITERATURE

The bulk of the literary productions of the Middle Assamese period is mostly in the nature of translations, adaptations, or compilations and in the main it is religious. Writers like Gopinātha Pāṭhaka (early seventeenth century), Dāmodara Dāsa, Lakṣminātha Dwija, and Pṛthurāma Dwija translated portions of the Mahābhārata into Assamese verse, while Hṛdayānanda Kāyastha and other minor poets dealt with portions of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Purāṇas attracted numerous versifiers. Among works of translation and adaptation from the Purāṇas may be mentioned: Viṣṇu Purāṇa by Bhāgavata Miśra* (seventeenth century), Bṛhannārādiya Purāṇa by Bhuvanesvara Vācaspati Miśra (early eighteenth century), Dharma Purāṇa by Kavicandra Dwija (eighteenth century),

* Bhāgavata Miśra has also rendered the Śīlāvatī Tantra into Assamese verse.
Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa by Balarāma Dvija (eighteenth century) and Durgeśvara Dvija (eighteenth century), Mārkandeya Purāṇa (Caṇḍi-ākhyāna) by Raṅganātha Cakravartī (seventeenth century) and Rucinātha Kandali (eighteenth century), and Harivamśa by Vidyācandra Bhaṭṭācārya (eighteenth century). Nityānanda Kāyastha (seventeenth century) and others worked on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

There are several verse-romances in the Middle Assamese literature, for instance, Rāma Dvija’s Mrgavati-carita, Dīna Dvijavara’s Mādhava-Sulocanā-upākhyāna, and the anonymous Madhumālati. The influence of North Indian poets like Kutuban and Manjhans is to be marked in the growth of this class of literature. The wandering minstrel Kavirāja Sūryavipra’s (c. 1616) Siyāl-gosāīī is a unique piece of metrical work. Rāmānanda Dvija’s Mahāmohā-kāvya is a poem based on Kṛṣṇa Miśra’s famous play, Prabodha-candrodaya. The Hitopadeśa and the Dvārtinīśat-puttalikā were retold in Assamese by Rāma Miśra who, curiously enough, gives interesting topical accounts of different temples and holy spots of Vṛndāvana in his Vṛndāvana-carita.

Bar-gīta lyrics of Śaṅkara Deva and Mādhava Deva were imitated by the numerous mahantas (pontiffs) of sattras (Vaiṣṇavite monasteries). Some of these writers like Gopāla Deva, Aniruddha, Śrīrāma, Yadumāni, and Rāmānanda attained some distinction in the line. These ekaśaraṇya Kṛṣṇaites were supplemented in the early eighteenth century by Śākta and Rādhā-Kṛṣṇaites songs, written by the Ahom kings, Rudra Siṃha (1696-1714) and Śiva Siṃha (1714-44), and other poets of their reign. Notable among them is Rāmanārāyaṇa Kavirāja Cakravartī who translated the Gītāgovinda, the Kṛṣṇa-janmākhaṇḍa of the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, and the episode of Śaṅkhacūḍa and Tulasī from the Prakṛti-khaṇḍa of the same Purāṇa, and wrote Śakuntalā-kāvya which includes the small verse-romance of Candraketu and Kāmakalā. The Yoginī Tantra was partially translated by a royal officer, Rāmacandra Barpātra. Ananta Ācārya, taking inspiration from Śaṅkara’s famous Śākta hymn to the Mother Goddess, wrote in Assamese verse Ananda-lahari. It may be mentioned in this connexion that Ananta Ācārya was assigned by King Śiva Siṃha to render the Ananda-lahari into Assamese.8 Besides Rucinātha Kandali’s translation, there is another Assamese version of the Caṇḍi-ākhyāna by Madhusūdana Miśra. The cult of Manasā was celebrated in Nārāyana Deva’s Padmā Purāṇa. Many pontiffs of the Vaiṣṇava sattras composed dramas in the style of Śaṅkara Deva and Mādhava Deva. Some of these have real merit and are staged in the countryside even today.

8 The Ahom court encouraged the production of literature on sexology and erotica and consequently several Sanskrit texts dealing with kāma-līstra (the science of erotica) were translated into Assamese. Kaviśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya compiled a treatise on erotica in verse for the enlightenment and entertainment of Prince Cāru Siṃha, son of King Rājeśvara Siṃha (1751-69).
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The vogue of writing carita-puthis (biographies) in verse was started by Daityāri Ṭhākur, Bhūṣaṇa Dvīja, Vaikuṇṭhanātha Dvīja, and Rāmānanda Dvīja (seventeenth century). All of them gave accounts of the lives of Vaiśṇava masters like Śaṅkara Deva and Mādhava Deva, and the vogue was kept up by later writers. Rāma Rāya (seventeenth century) and Nilakanṭha Dāsa (eighteenth century) wrote biographies of Dāmodara Deva (1488-1598), a follower of Śaṅkara Deva, who later broke away from his camp. These carita-puthis are important also as documents of the contemporary religious and social life of Assam. Vaiśnava-vārtakās constitute another type of historical writing. They usually record the history of noble families and are significant reflections of the social and political conditions of the land. Sūryakhari Daivajña's metrical chronicle, Daraṅg Raṅga-vaiśāvālī, composed during the latter part of the eighteenth century, gives accounts of the kings of Cooch Behar and Darang. Two later writers, Vishweshwar Vaidyadhāpī (Belimār Buraṅji, probably composed between 1838 and 1846) and Dūtiram Hazarika (Kali Bhārata, 1862), rendered into verse the annals of the fall of the Ahom kingdom.9

EARLY PROSE

The first specimens of Assamese prose, which has built a firm tradition for itself, are to be found in the Brajabuli idiom of the dramas of Śaṅkara Deva and Mādhava Deva. Vaikuṇṭhanātha Bhāgavata Bhāṭacārya (c. 1558-1638), popularly known as Bhaṭṭa Deva, utilized the artificial diction and syntax of the old poets in his mature prose translations of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Bhāgavata-kathā) and the Bhagavad-Gītā (Gītā-kathā).19 About the same time Gopālacaraṇa Dvīja, a poet of some note, rendered Śaṅkara Deva's Sanskrit treatise on bhakti, Bhakti-ratnākara, into very elegant Assamese prose. Another noteworthy prose of this period is the Padma Purāṇa: Kriyā-yoga-sāra (1618, author unknown). Other old religious books in prose of following centuries include Sāttvata Tantra of Kṛṣṇānanda, Kāthā-ghoṣā (1715) of Paraśurāma, and Kṛthā Ramāyaṇa (c. 1758) of Raghunātha Mahanta.11

But we come nearer the prose of everyday life in the biographies of the

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9 Daityāri Ṭhākur has another work to his credit called Nyūnha-jātrā.
8 Hemchandra Goswami edited and published this work.
9 Another milestone in the development of the Middle Assamese literature of antiquarian interest was reached by several historical ballads. A most important of the kind is Barphukanar Gīta. It narrows the events centring round Badancaandra Barphukan, an Ahom viceroy at Guwahati. It closely follows actual events and is 'remarkable for its dramatic interest, descriptive quality, vivid characterization and racy humour' (Vide E. A. Gait, A History of Assam, p. 284). Bakharukbar Gīta and Padam Kāsrir Gīta are two other very popular historical ballads composed during the period under review.
10 He has to his credit two manuals on bhakti cult. They are, Śaraṇa-sāgraha and Prarthana-mālā dealing with the procedure of Vaiṣṇavite dikṣā and various forms of devotional services.
11 He has to his credit two more long metrical compositions, Śantraṣāya and Adbhuta Ramāyaṇa.
Vaiṣpava saints, known as kathā-guru-caritas, and the chronicles of the Ahom kings called buraṇjīs. Both these types of prose literature seem to have an unbroken history at least from about the last two decades of the seventeenth century. Puranī Asam-buraṇjī,13 Asam-buraṇjī,14 and Kathā-guru-carita15 provide very early and notable examples of the carita and buraṇjī prose, both in literary excellence and able treatment of the subject-matter. This type of writings continued till the beginning of the nineteenth century when Maniram Dewan Barua (the 1857 martyr), Kasinath Phukan, and Harakanta Barua compiled their histories of Assam. Buraṇjīs represent a remarkable chapter in Assamese literature. They also supply interesting information about the political, social, and cultural history of Assam from the thirteenth to the early nineteenth century. The language in which they have been composed is direct and lucid.

The services of the new prose were utilized for works on some useful arts also. Mention might be made in this connexion of Sukumāra Barkāth's Hasti-vidyārṇava16 (1734), a beautifully illustrated treatise on elephantology based on a Sanskrit text (Gajendra-cintāmaṇi by Śambhunātha); the anonymous Ghodānidāna17 on medicine for horses; Kavirāja Cakravarti's Bhāsvatī on astronomy (based on the Sanskrit text Sūrya-siddhānta); and Kāśi Mahādeva's Ankar Āryā on arithmetic. Another notable prose work of this period is a gloss on Subhankara Kavi's Hasta-muktāvalī, a work on dance technique. It is an elegant rendering of the original Sanskrit text into suitable Assamese prose.18

13 The buraṇjīs were at first written in original Ahom, the language of the rulers. Later the Ahoms gradually became Assamese-speakers, and the buraṇjīs came to be composed into Assamese from the middle of the seventeenth century.
14 Ed. Hemchandra Goswami (1922).
15 Ed. Suryakumar Bhuyan (1945). The buraṇjīs are numerous but only a few others have come to light so far: Dodehant Asam-buraṇjī (1932), Tuhgakhungfū-suraṇjī (1932), Kākērī-buraṇjī (1936), Pāḍīwā-buraṇjī, etc.
17 The Publication Board, Assam, has recently (1976) brought out Sukumāra Barkāth's now fragmentary Hasti-vidyārṇava with photographic reproduction of the text and paintings of the extant folios in a costly volume.
18 The Government of Assam has published a printed edition of this valuable treatise in 1932 under the editorship of Tarinicharan Bhattacharya.
19 Quite a mass of literature (in both prose and verse) known as the mantra-pathis, of unknown authorship, is found in Middle Assamese. The earliest of the mantras or magic incantations show evidences of Buddhistic impact and therefore must go back to the period before A.D. 1500. The mantra-pathis contain magical formulae to cure snakebite, to scare away devils and evil spirits, to cure various kinds of diseases, to succeed in love-making and other erotic affairs, to protect the fields from the evil eye, to ensure good harvest, and so on. An idea of the range and variety of the mantra literature can be had from the following few titles: Sāpar-dharaṇa-mana, Karatī-mana, Sarvadhā-k-mana, Mohini-mana, Kånaratna-mana, Bhūtar-mana, Khetra-mana, etc. Strictly speaking, these mantra-pathis have no literary merit but they are significant in another respect. 'These mantras,' as E.A. Gait writes in his A History of Assam (p. 282), 'are interesting and important as documents of social history, folk-beliefs and superstitions.'—Editor.
ASSAMESE
MODERN ASSAMESE LITERATURE

For a quarter of a century after the annexation of Assam to British territory by the Treaty of Yandabo (1826) between the British and the Burmese, the land was a veritable valley of the shadow of death. Assamese was replaced by Bengali in schools and courts in 1836. But the feeling of pride in one’s own language could not be extinguished and it began to assert itself by the middle of the century. The American Baptist missionaries who came to Assam gave fresh vigour to this awakening by publishing books in, and on, Assamese, like Kasinath Phukan’s (?1810-80) History of Assam (1844), Rev. Nathan Brown’s Grammatical Notices of the Assamese Language (1848), and Rev. Miles Bronson’s Assamese-English Dictionary (1867). Already in 1813, the English missionaries at Seringapatam in Bengal had brought out the Bible in Assamese, which was the first Assamese book in print. W. Robinson, an English missionary, brought out in 1839 A Grammar of the Assamese Language. It was a book of Assamese grammar in English and the first of its kind. The Baptists from the United States of America established the first printing press in Assam in 1836 and started the monthly, Arunodaya, in 1846. This journal was the first of its kind in Assamese and was mainly responsible for introducing a modern tone and outlook into the language. It was principally through the efforts of Anandaram Dhekiyal Phukan (1829-96) and the American missionaries that Assamese was restored to its former official prestige in 1872. A literary revival now started.

The first great figure in modern Assamese literature is Hemchandra Barua (1835-96) who set the standards for modern Assamese language through his grammar, Asamiyā Vyākaraṇa (1895), and his Anglo-Assamese dictionary, Hemakośa (1900). He tried to remove social evils through the satirical essay, Bāhire Raṅgeāṅ Bhitare Kovābhāturi (1861), which could also be called a novelette, and the playlet, Kanīyā-kīrtana (1861). Gunabhiram Barua (1837-95) is the first historian and biographer in modern Assamese literature. His historical piece, Asam-buraṅji (1884) and his biography of Dhekiyal Phukan published in 1880 are both remarkable books. His Rāma-navami (1857) might be called the first modern tragic drama in the Assamese language.

POETRY

In the field of poetry Ramakanta Chaudhuri (1846-89) and Bholanath Das (1858-1929) were the first to adopt blank verse for their kāvyas, Abhimanyu-vadha (1875) and Sītā-harana (1888) respectively. But the most significant phenomenon in the history of modern Assamese literature is the appearance of Lakshminath Bezbaruah (1868-1938) on the literary scene. He is by far the most outstanding figure in modern Assamese literature. He together with his friends, Chandrakumar Agarwala (1867-1938) and Hemchandra Goswami (1872-1928), started a new monthly, the Jonāki, in 1889, which played a vital role in providing
some novel features to Assamese poetry. The delicate flavour of early nineteenth
century English romanticism was infused into Assamese poetry by these three
stalwarts. Poetry became more subjective and secular, and achieved a very
wide range. The collection of Bezbarua’s poems is entitled Kadamkali (1913).
The most endearing quality in his other writings—drama, farce, essay, short
story, and novel—is the depiction of essentially Assamese character. Bezbarua
brought Hemchandra Barua’s style to perfection and made it a suitable vehicle
for the various forms of modern Assamese literature. Hemchandra also greatly
influenced him in his social, political, and literary satire. Chandrakumar
Agarwala struck a highly idealistic note in his poems, now included in Pratimā
(1914) and Vīṇā-varāgī (1923). Hemchandra Goswami is the first Assamese
writer of sonnets, although in later years he devoted himself to a fruitful scholar-
ly study of the country’s antiquity. His collected poems were brought out in
the form of a book entitled Phular Cāki (1907). Kamalakanta Bhattacharya
(1853-1936) brought into his rough-hewn verses and virile prose a keenly patri-
tic and intellectual quality. Cintānāla (1890) and Cintātaraṅgini (1933) are two
important collections of his poems. Padmanath Gohain Barua (1871-1946),
who successfully explored the possibilities of writing history in the forms of drama
and fiction, was an effective poet too. His Phular Cāneki is a collection of nature
lyrics. Juranī (1900) is another collection of his lyrics. He attempted an epic
narrative in blank verse in Līlā (1901). This was written on the death of his wife,
but not in the style of an elegy. He had his own distinctive prose style also.
Hiteswar Barbarua (1876-1939) is a narrative poet of great note. Kāmatāpura
Dhanānja (1912) is one of his beautiful kāvyas. He has to his credit two collections
of sonnets, Mālak (1918) and Cakuilo (1922). The lyricist Durgeswar Sarma (1885-
1961) excels in his homely poetic diction. His poems have been published in
two collections, Añjali (1910) and Nivedana (1920).

The new writers of the twentieth century mainly tried to be faithful to the
ideals of the Jōnāki. Bezbarua’s monthly, the Bāhti (1909-45), was also one of the
main instruments in introducing and shaping new literary talents. Raghunath
Chaudhari (1879-1968) sang of the religion of nature in his bird poems (Sūdari,
1910; Ketek, 1918; Dahikatarā, 1931) which are of rare artistic perfection.
Ambikagiri Ray Chaudhari’s (1885-1967) poems are characterized in their
various phases by a mystic note of love, a strong sense of the vigour of life, and
an intense patriotism. His Tumi (1915) is a symbolic kāvyā full of music and
melody. A brooding melancholy and a romantic morbidity pervade the fine
lyrics and prose-poems (kathā-kavita) of Jatindranath Dowerah (1892-1964)
whose sensitive mind has imbibed the poetic beauties of different ages and
climes only to recreate them in a new light. His Omar-tirtha (1926) is an inter-
pretation of Omar Khayyam and his Milanar Sura (1960) that of Hafiz. The
lyrics of Suryakumar Bhuyan (Nirmāli, 1918), Ratnakanta Barkakati (Śevāli,
1932), Lakshminath Phukan (Sonālī Sapan, 1961), Sailadhar Rajkhowa (Nijārā), Nalinibala Devi (Sandhiyār Sura, 1928), and Dharmeswari Devi (Phular Sarāi, 1929) have distinctive characteristics of form and content. The twenties and thirties witnessed a group of poets in Dimbeswar Neog (Indrādhānu, 1930), Binandachandra Barua (Śāṅkhadhvani, 1925), Atulchandra Hazarika (Pānca-
janya, 1931), and Daibachandra Talukdar (Prema-paṭa). Devakanta Barua (b. 1914), possibly the best poet of the thirties and mid-forties, infused a new questioning vigour and thought-content into love poetry (Śāgara Dekhīcha, 1945), while Ganeshchandra Gogoi (1907-38) evinces a keen sensitivity and melancholy in his love-lyrics (Svaṅga-bhaṅga, 1934). Mention may be made of a few other poets of distinction belonging to the first half of this century: Chandradhar Barua (Raṅjana), Padmadhar Chaliha (Gīta-laḥari, 1921), Nilamani Phukan (Mānasī, 1943), Dandinath Kalita (Bahrūpt, 1926), Umeschandra Chaudhari (Mandākini), Kamaleswar Chaliha (Chandītā, 1941), Prasannalal Chaudhuri (Agni-mantra, 1952), and Anandachandra Barua (Pāpādi).

The Second World War radically disturbed life in Assam and virtually atrophied all literary effort. Publications became rare and the periodicals, which maintained some semblance of life, dwindled. There was furthermore a startling break from past ideals and existing literary conventions when books and periodicals began to reappear. Influences from far and near came to bear conflictingly upon the thin lingering current of literature. Psycho-analysis had already appeared in the novel and short story. But the change has particularly been felt in poetry where experiments have been carried out boldly and often successfully. A host of poets like Hem Barua, Amulya Barua, Navakanta Barua, Hari Barkakati, Mahendra Bora, Nilamani Phukan (Junior), Dinesh Goswami, Keshab Mahanta, Nirmalprabha Bardalai, Amalendu Guha, Homen Bargon, Biren Bhattacharya, Ram Gogoi, and Abdul Malik have sought inspiration from many widely different sources—from Rabindranath Tagore and Jivananda Das at the one end to Sigmund Freud, Carl Gustave Jung, Alfred Adler, T. S. Eliot, the Japanese and Arabic poets, and the French symbolist poetry at the other.

DRAMA

The earliest dramas of modern Assamese are Rāma-navami (1857) of Gunabhiram Barua (1837-95) and Kāṇiḍā-kirtana (1861) of Hemchandra Barua (1835-96). These dramas introduced the tradition of socio-realistic type of plays in the Assamese language. Padmanath Gohain Barua (1871-1946) was a powerful dramatist writing on historical themes. His dramas, Jayamati (1900), Gadādhara (1907), Sādhanī (1911), and Lācit Barphukan (1915) are based on Ahom history. Of his three farces, Gāobudā (1899), Teṭon Tāmuli (1909), and Bhūta Ne
Bhrama (1924), the first is the best; it gives a realistic view of an aspect of British administration in the last decade of the nineteenth century. It is a play with a definite purpose and resembles Dinabandhu Mitra’s (1829-74) Bengali drama Nila Darpāṇa (1860) to some extent. Lakshminath Bezbarua’s plays on historical themes, namely, Cakradhvaja Sīnha, Jayamati Kuvalī, and Belimār (all written between 1914 and 1916), and his farces, Litikā (1890), Nomāl (1913), Pācānt (1923), and Cikarpati Nikarpati (1913) are some of the gems in the domain of modern Assamese drama. Benudhar Rajkhowa (1872-1955), writer of Candra-sambhava-kāyā, was also a leading dramatist. Some of his plays—social, romantic, and mythological—are: Tini Ghain, Seti Kiran (1894), Duryodhanar Urubhānta (1903), and Dakṣa-yajña (1908). His most important work is, however, Asamīyā Khana C Vākya-kośa, a dictionary of Assamese phrases and idioms. Among the early mythological plays, Durgaprasad Majumdar’s Guru-dakṣiṇā (1903) and Vṛṣaketa deserve mention. His Mahārā (1893), a socio-realistic drama, has exposed the vices of the administration of the tea-gardens leased by the European managers.

Atulchandra Hazarika (b. 1906) is a very prolific and celebrated writer in the field. Chief among his historical and mythological plays are: Chatrapati Śivāji (1927), Narakāsura (1930), Beulā (1933), Kanauj Kuvalī (1933), Kurukṣetra (1936), Rāmacandra (1937), Rukmīni-haraṇa (1949), and Vīrāngana (1952). Jyotiprasad Agarwala (1903-51) in his mythological Śopita Kuvalī (1924) and historico-social Kāreṅgar Ligiri (1934) attained to a high degree of technical and artistic perfection. Chandradhar Barua’s (1874-1961) Meghanāda-vadha (1905), Tilottama-sambhava (1924), and Bhāgya-parikṣā; Durgeswar Sarma’s Pārtha-parājaya (1909), and Bāli-vadha (1912); Kamalananda Bhattacharya’s Avasāna and Nāga Kuvalī (1935); Daibachandra Talukdar’s Asam-pratibhā (1924), Vāmuni Kuvalī (1929), and Bhāskarakarmā (1952); Sailadhar Rajkhowa’s Vidyāpati (1918) and Pratāpasiṅha (1926); and Dandinath Kalita’s Agni-parikṣā (1937) also deserve special mention. Mitradev Mahanta’s Vīṣṇu-viṣayaya (1924) and Kukurikanār Āṭhmanāgalā (1927), Indreswar Barthakur’s Śrivatsa-Cintā (1927), Nakulchandra Bhuyan’s Badan Barphukan (1927) and Candrakānta Sīnha (1931), Prasannalal Chaudhuri’s Nilāmbara, and a number of other dramas provided good food to the amateur theatres of Assam.

Assam does not yet have a professional theatre. Though there is an unprecedent zeal for writing plays among younger writers, the drama is still lagging behind. The mythological dramas of the past are steadily being forgotten. Historical plays also seem to be going out of fashion, as the old chauvinism that ran high during the Indian nationalist movement is now on the decline. Nevertheless, such personalities as Lachit Barphukan (who fought successfully against the Moguls at Gauhati), Maniram Dewan (1857 martyr), Tikendrajit (fighter against the British in Manipur), and Kushal Kowar (1942 martyr)
still attract playwrights. Social themes and the one-act form seem to be the order of the day. Some of the social plays of the post-Independence period are: Sarbeswar Chakrabarti's Kānika (1956), Prabin Phukan's Viṣvarūpā (1961), Satyaprasad Barua's Jyoti-rekhā (1958), Nagen Sarma's Ulkār Jui (1961), Sarada Bardalai's Pahilā Tārikh (1956), Anil Chaudhuri's Pratīvāda (1953), and Girish Chaudhuri's Minābājār (1958). 'Vinā' Barua's Ebelār Nāt and Pravin Phukan's Tritaranā (a collection of three plays) are successful experiments in the field of one-act play in Assamese. Bhaben Saikia, Kiran Sarma, Mahendra Bora, and others have distinguished themselves in the genre. Assam, anyway, has yet to have an outstanding dramatist. In recent years attempts at drama of the Absurd have been made, and Arun Sarma has made several experiments in that line.

NOVEL AND SHORT STORY

The Assamese novel shows a slow but steady growth. It was Padmanath Gohain Barua to whom goes the credit of successfully exploring the fields of historical fiction. His novels, Lāhari (1890) and Bhānumati (1893), have been written in the background of the Ahom history. Rajanikanta Bardalai (1867-1939) emulated Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-94) in his historical and romantic novels: Miri-jyari (1895), Manomati (1900), Rahdai Ligiri (1900), Danduvā Droha (1909), Rāṅgīlī (1925), Nirmala Bhakat (1926), and Tāmrītvarī Mandira (1936). Lakshminath Bezbarua's historical novel Padum Kuwāri (1905) also deserves mention. Dandinath Kalita (1890-1950) and Daibachandra Talukdar (1900-1970) are two celebrated novelists after Padmanath Gohain Barua, Rajanikanta Bardalai, and Lakshminath Bezbarua with whom, it may be said, the novel in the modern sense began. Kalita has a number of novels to his credit: Sadhanā (1938), Āvishkāra (1950), Parigaya (1950), and Gaṇa-tiplava (1951). Of Talukdar's novels, the following are important: Agneyagiri (1924), Vidrohi (1939), and Ādārṣāpitā. Among other notable novels, the following may be mentioned: Jivanar Bājat (1945) of Vinā' Barua (Birinchikumar Barua), Cāknaiyā (1954) of Radhikamohan Goswami, Kaḍilipariyā Sādhū (1954) of Navakanta Barua, Kecā Pātar Kapani of Prafulladatta Goswami, Herovā Svarga (1952) of Mohammed Piar, Jivanar Tini Adhyāya of Adyanath Sarma, Sōnr Nāṅgal of Chandrakanta Gogoī, Sāṅgrāma of Dinanath Sarma, Dāwar Āru Nāi (1955) of Jogesh Das, Sū المتعلمتā Svapna (1960) and Rūpaṭrīthar Tātti (1963) of Abdul Malik, Eyeto Ījavana (1962) of Hitesh Deka, Kono Khed Nāi (1963) of Padma Barkakati, Seoji Pātar Kāhini (1958) of Rāsnā Barua (Birinchikumar Barua), Ījāruṇga (1960) of Birendrakumar Bhatta-

19 Pravin Phukan (Lācit Barphukan, 1948; Magāvāna Dēṅā, 1948), Atul Hazarika (Titkendrajit, 1959), and Surendranath Saikia (Kudala Kuvā, 1949). Some other dramas depicting historical situations and personalities are: Jyotiprasad Agarwala's Labhitā (1948), Chandrakanta Phukan's Pijati Phukan (1948), Phani Sarma's Bhogjār (1957), Abdul Malik's Rājaṭrohi (1958), etc.

The present century has been most fruitful in the field of the short story. It should be mentioned in this connexion that Lakshminath Bezbarua was the first conscious artist to raise the short story to the status of a distinct literary art in Assamese. Bezbarua's short stories have been collected in three independent volumes: Surabhī (1909), Sādhū-kathār Kuki (1912), and Jona bīri (1913). He invented a new literary form 'half-way' between the short story and essay. One of the most delightful specimens of this particular type is Kripa var Barbaru Rākat Darjol (1904). The character of Kripabar Barbarua is a prototype of Sir Roger de Coverley and Dean Swift. Saratchandra Goswami (1886-1945) was another leading figure in this field. His collections of short stories are Galpāṅgali (1914), Māya (1920), Vai jikara (1930), and Paridarsanana (1956). The thirties produced a host of very good story-writers. Mahichandra Bora and Haliram Deka wrote stories in a vein of satire and humour. Abhaya, Keraṅī Kapāḷa, Ukilār Āpad, Yuga Āru Vijoga, Ashāī Khala Samsāre, Jaya-parājaya, Lābha-lokeān, etc. are some of the stories of Mahichandra Bora, well known for their oblique approach. Some of the stories of Haliram Deka are Photographer, Sahaṣa Samādhanā, Parājaya, and Re Bare Bhāī. 'Vaṇa' Barua (Paṭa- parivartana, 1948), Rama Dasa (Śrēṣṭha Gaḷpā), Trailokyanath Goswami (Marīcīkā), Dinanath Sarma (Dulāl, 1952) are a few other notables in the field. Lakshmidhar Sarma's stories, collected in Vyarhatār Dāna (1938), show depth of insight combined with a rare facile expression. After the Second World War, the short story has taken a new direction. Abdul Malik (Paraśmaṇi, 1946) is a very popular post-War story-writer because of his sympathy for the have-nots and an easy flow of language. A number of writers also have come to the forefront bringing with them a new outlook on life, new modes of expression, and a subtle and sometimes complex style. Some of these story-writers are: Lakshminath Phukan (Tāpiṭṭar Jivana), Jogesh Das (Madārar Vedanā, 1963), Homen Bargoahain (Prema Āru Mṛtyur Karane, 1958), Saurabh Chaliha (Aśāanta Electron, 1962), Mahin Bora (Kathanivari Ghāṭ, 1961), and Nirod Chaudhuri (Aṅge Aṅge Šobhā). Writers like Bhaben Saikia (Prahari, 1963) and Lakshminandan Bora (Dṛṣṭīrūpa, 1958) have made a definite mark with their depiction of the intensity of life and their characteristic style. Among other writers, mention may be made of Birendrakumar Bhattacharya, Rohinikumar Kakati, Chandraprasad Saikia, Mamani Goswami, Anima Bharali, and Priti Barua.

OTHER DOMAINS OF ASSAMESE LITERATURE

In the field of critical literature Lakshminath Bezbarua's Śaṅkara Deva Deva
(1912) is a pioneering work. Though it was primarily a biographical treatise, it gave also a literary assessment of the works of the great Vaiṣṇava saint. Padmanath Gohain Barua, reputed stylist in prose, devoted himself to religious subjects in later life. His Śrī Kṛṣṇa (1930), evidently influenced by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee’s Bengali classic Kṛṣṇa-caritra (1882), is a monumental work in three volumes. It is in the main a biographical treatise, but here ‘for the first time in Assamese we find historical analysis and critical enquiry applied to the study of the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa, who is admired and exalted by the author not so much as an avatāra or incarnation of God but as man’.

Lambodar Bora’s (1860-92) Kālidāsa Āru Śakuntalā (essay), Satyanath Bora’s (1860-1925) Sāhiya-vicāra, Deben Bezbarua’s Asamiyā Bhāṣā Āru Sāhiyā Buraṇjī (1912), and Nilamani Phukan’s (b. 1885) Sāhiya-kalā (1940) are important works in the domain of literary criticism. But it was Banikanta Kakati (1894-1952) who really focussed the light of modern literary evaluation on old as well as modern Assamese literature in such works as his Puranī Asamiyā Sāhiya (1940). A number of other writers have worked in the same field. Mention may be made of Birinchikumar Barua (Kāya Āru Abhiyana, 1941; Asamiyā Kathā-sāhiya, 1950), Upendrachandra Lekhur (Asamiyā Rāmāyaṇa Sāhiya, 1948), Trailokyanath Goswami (Sāhiya-ālocanā, 1950), Prafulladatta Goswami (Asamiyā Jana-sāhiya, 1943), Maheswar Neog (Asamiyā Premagathā, 1958; Asamiyā Giti-sāhiya, 1958; Asamiyā Sāhiyār Rūparekhā, 1962), Satyendranath Sarma (Asamiyā Sāhiyār Itiṣṭita, 1959; Asamiyā Nātya-sāhiya, 1962), Upendranath Goswami (Bhāṣā Āru Sāhiya, 1956), Atulchandra Barua (Sāhiyā Rūparekhā, 1958), and Mahendra Bora (Asamiyā Kavitār Chanda, 1962). As a literary historian, Dimbeswar Neog (b. 1900) occupies an important position. His works include Asamiyā Sāhiyār Buraṇjī (1957). He has also some purely historical writings to his credit such as Vaiṣṇava Dharmar Kramavikāśa (1943), Prāgaitihāsika Asam (1949), etc. Suryakumar Bhuyan (1894-1964) is well known in the field of historical essays. His books are: Āhomer Dīna (1918), Buraṇjīr Vāṇi (1951), Mirjumlār Asam Ākrāmanā (1956), etc. Among scholars who showed their craftsmanship in the field of historical literature, the following may be mentioned: Benudhar Sarma (Dūrvin, 1951), Nakulchandra Bhuyan (Bāra Bhūṭyā, 1961), Lila Gogoi (Ḥāravā Dīnār Kathā, 1958), and Maheswar Neog (Puranī Asamiyā Samājā Āru Sanśkriti, 1957). Of the philosophical writings, Radha Phukan’s Vedānta Darśana (1951) and Janmāntara-rahasya (1957), and Sarat Goswami’s (Junior) Socrates, Plato Āru Aristotēle (1952) are well known. Bhuban Das’s Vivartanar Pathat Mānava (1960) is an illuminating study of the phases of human civilization. Tilak Hazarika’s Ādīṭā (1958) and Kata Kathā (1960),

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20 Vide Birinchi Kumar Barua, op. cit., p. 186.
21 His other prose works include Jānūndaṇya, Ānandarūṇa Baruār Jīvana-carita, etc.
22 His other works are: Sārathi (1915), Kendra-rakhā (1929), Ākāśa-rahasya, and Cintākāli (1935).
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Hemchandra Sarma's *Swagata* (1963), and Bhadra Bora's *Madhureṇa* (1961) are some of the notable examples of *belles lettres* of the recent period. The vogue of biographical writings was actually started by Gunabhiram Barua (1837-95) with his work *Ānandarāma Dhekiyal Phukanar Jīvana-carita* (1880). Padmanath Gohain Barua, Lakshminath Bezbarua, and several others wrote their autobiographies. Gradually the vogue became very popular and consequently a large number of biographies came to be written in the language. Mention may be made of Padmanath Gohain Barua's *Jīvani-saṅgāraha* (1915), Suryakumar Bhuyan's *Gopālakṛṣṇa Gokhale* (1916) and *Ānandarāma Baruā* (1920), Dandinath Kalita's *Candrāṅīka Śarmā* (1924), Mahadev Sarma's *Buddhadeva* (1914) and *Mohammed-carita* (1928), Kamakhyacharan Bhattacharya's *Dhīreśvarācārya* (1928), and Haren Sarma's *Kamal Pasha* (1931). But biographical writings do not seem to have attracted recent writers. The documented biography, however, has won its niche through Maheswar Neog's *Śrī Śrī Śaṅkara Deva* (1948), and a nationalist zeal has brought the past to life before us in Benudhar Sarma's *Maṅirāma Devān* (1950). Suryakumar Bhuyan's *Harihar Āṭā* is the record of the life of an erratic saint; it is precise in matter and style. Some of the recent autobiographical works are Maulana Tayebulla's *Kārāgārar Čitṛi* (1962) and Padmadhar Chaliha's *Jīvana-viniḥ Sura* (1963). Birinchikumar Barua (*Switzerland Bhramanā, 1948*), Prafulladatta Goswami (*Vilātat Sātmāh, 1958*), Amalendu Guha (*Sovietdeśat Abhumuki, 1958*) and others have given us experiences of their travels in Europe. Hem Barua brings the aroma of poetry and romance into his well-written descriptions of visits to the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and Israel.

The literary atmosphere of Assam today is remarkably full of life and vigour and confidence. In achievement, Assamese may not yet be on a par with some of the other leading languages of India, but its output is great and can well be compared with the literary production of the other major regional languages of India.
BENGALI

THE LANGUAGE: ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

BENGALI is one of the major Indo-Aryan languages of India. It sprang from a late Middle Indo-Aryan language once spoken in eastern India from Banaras in the west to Gauhati in the east, and from Nepal in the north to Orissa in the south. It is recognized under the Indian Constitution and is the official language of West Bengal with a population of nearly forty-five million. It is also the official language of the adjoining Republic of Bangladesh with a population of nearly eighty million.

The beginnings of Bengali as a New Indo-Aryan language are traceable to between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1200. Caryāṇadas or caryāgītis are the earliest known specimens of this language. Although saturated with Sanskrit words and Avahāṭṭha (from Sanskrit apabhraṣṭa, meaning a language fallen away from the Sanskrit language) forms and idioms, the bulk of the caryā songs show full and unmistakable characteristics of the Bengali language. During this period (A.D. 1000-1200), Bengali had not yet cast off the traits shared in common with the sister languages which also sprang from Avahāṭṭha, such as Maithili, Oriya, and Bhojpuri. That is why some scholars from these language areas also claim the caryā songs as the earliest form of their respective languages.

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

Since its origin from the spoken Laukika or Apabhraṃśa (Avahāṭṭha), the Bengali language has passed through successive stages of development. The Old Bengali stage roughly covered the period from A.D. 950 to A.D. 1350. Old Bengali presented a simple structure. The Middle Bengali stage stretched from A.D. 1350 to A.D. 1800. It presented two distinct strata, the early and the late. The early Middle Bengali period covered the period from A.D. 1350 to A.D. 1500, and the late Middle Bengali period extended from A.D. 1500 to A.D. 1800. There is no authentic specimen of early Middle Bengali to analyse. It can, however, be safely presumed that the Bengali language during this period cast off the lingering Avahāṭṭha forms, developed the payār metre and absorbed a large number of Turkish, Persian, and Arabic words. During the Middle Bengali period, there grew a distinct poetic language or jargon that was cultivated almost exclusively by the Vaiṣṇava lyric poets. This poetic language or kunstsprache is called ‘Brajabuli’. The currency of Brajabuli did not die out with Middle Bengali. With the strong tradition of Vaiṣṇava poetry, it lingered throughout the nineteenth century. The last notable specimens of poetry in Brajabuli came from the pen of Rabindranath Tagore, under the pseudonym ‘Bhānusimha’. The Modern Bengali period (from c.A.D. 1800) saw the emergence
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and establishment of the prose style and it is interesting to note that it was European missionaries who were responsible for this. The Portuguese missionaries in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries wrote some tracts in Bengali prose for the propagation of Christianity in Bengal. Of these tracts, only Brāhmaṇa-Romān Kyāthalik Saṅvāda is available today. It was Manoel da Assampcam, a Portuguese missionary, who wrote a Bengali grammar in Portuguese and a book of catechism in Bengali. The two books were printed in Roman script in Lisbon (1743). Subsequently, the work started by the Portuguese was taken up by the British. It was necessary for the foreign administrators to learn the local language, but there was no grammar and no prose text suitable for them. Charles Wilkins first designed and prepared Bengali types (and also types for Hindi and Persian) for the press. N. B. Halhed prepared a Bengali grammar in English which was printed at Hooghly in 1778. This was the first book printed in Bengali type. The translation of legal compendiums in Bengali soon followed. Thus started the earlier phase of Bengali prose. The influence of Persian on the documentary style, however, continued to dominate up to the middle of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century when it ceased to be the official language of revenue and internal administration.

SĀDHU-BHĀṢĀ AND CALITA-BHĀṢĀ

The literary style, always in prose and regularly in poetry, known as sādhu-bhāṣā (the elegant language) retained its supremacy up to the first decade of the present century. This style was archaic in grammar and followed the rules of Sanskrit compound formation and borrowed freely from Sanskrit. The First World War, however, synchronized with the emergence of a new literary style known as calita-bhāṣā (the current language). This style was based on the spoken language of the educated and the cultured people of Calcutta originally hailing from areas of Gangetic West Bengal. It preferred to avoid Sanskritic compounds and used common words although there was no bar to borrowing from Sanskrit. Calita-bhāṣā gradually became more than a serious rival of sādhu-bhāṣā, and after the Second World War most writers had practically discarded the traditional literary style cultivated through sādhu-bhāṣā. Rabindranath's role in popularizing calita-bhāṣā was phenomenal.

OLD BENGALI LITERATURE: THE CARYĀS

Old Bengali is properly, if not adequately, represented by the caryās, the mystic and religious songs (about four dozen in number) discovered by Haraprasad Sastri in 1916 from an old manuscript preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library. These songs, however, could not be considered as literary compositions in the accepted sense, for it was the content and not the form in which the composers as well as their limited audience were primarily interested. The
songs always carried a double meaning, the literal meaning disguising the inner sense, i.e. the mystic experiences etc. of the masters. This double entendre was known as sandhā vacana, the code language. The authors mostly belonged to the Tāntric cult of esoteric Mahāyāna and some probably belonged to other esoteric cults.

SONGS IN THE GĪTAGOVINDA

The existence of lyrical songs on legendary or traditional themes is presumed from the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva, a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇasena, last Hindu king of Bengal. It is this poem, or rather the twenty-four songs that form its essence, that can claim to be the main fountain-head not only of Bengali but also of other New Indo-Aryan lyric poetry. The songs of the Gītagovinda were written in Sanskrit, but their diction as well as rhythm and rhyme belonged to Laukika (Avahāṭha) poetry. In everything except content, they were closely similar to the caryā songs. They served to establish the theme of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as one of the most popular subjects of Indo-Aryan vernacular lyric poetry for several centuries. It is not, therefore, an exaggeration to say that Jayadeva’s songs exercised the greatest influence upon the development of Vaiṣṇava poetry in Bengal and Mithilā.

LATER LYRIC POETRY

Both the caryā and Gītagovinda types of songs remained productive till the end of the Middle Bengali period. The cultivation of the caryā songs, however, went underground as their composers belonged to religious groups that were not generally accepted at the time. But Caitanya’s movement brought them out as esoteric (or Tāntric) Vaiṣṇavas, and then their songs became acceptable to a section of enlightened Vaiṣṇavas. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they split into a large number of religious groups that deviated from the orthodox Vaiṣṇava faith. These are the Bāuls, the Kartābhajās, etc. Some of the followers of these groups produced fine lyric songs in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which deeply impressed Rabindranath Tagore and were accepted as a genuine and profound form of Bengali literature.

VIDYĀPATI AND ‘BADU’ CANDIDĀSA

The Gītagovinda type of songs became immensely popular with the upper classes of society, especially with the royal courts, almost throughout Aryan-speaking India—Mithilā, Bengal, Gujarāt, Orissa, Assam, and elsewhere. Some Dravidian literature, such as Telugu and Kannada, was also influenced by it. In the meantime, a new and finished poetic language, known as Brajabuli, had developed from a serious cultivation of Avahāṭha and proto-New Indo-Aryan lyric songs. These songs, dealing exclusively with the activities of
the young Kṛṣṇa, played the most important part in the development of the kirtana style of music. The greatest and best known poet of such songs was Vidyāpati (c. A.D. 1380-1460)\(^1\) of Mithilā. The songs of Vidyāpati seem to have helped considerably the flowering of Brajabuli lyrics in Bengal. In fact, Bengali Vaiśṇava lyric poets of the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries avidly cultivated the diction and style of this great Maithili poet.

Among the Bengali lyric poets who did not write in Brajabuli, one of the oldest and best known is 'Baḍu' Canḍidāsa. Nothing definite is known about him except that some of his songs delighted Caitanya in his later days at Puri (1514-33). Even his real name is a subject of dispute. His Śrī Kṛṣṇa-kirtana\(^2\) is a most remarkable poem on the Kṛṣṇa legend in the language. The language of the poem, which consists of a chain of lyric songs depicting the principal amorous episodes of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, is, on the whole, older than any other known Middle Bengali text. The tone of the poem is entirely secular, often verging on crudeness and vulgarity. The style and diction are agreeable and the lyric effect is heightened by dramatic movement. It is not difficult to detect the similarity of this poem with the Gitagovinda in structure as well as in treatment. The language of the poem, as originally written, may be roughly assigned to the sixteenth century. The kernel may, however, be still older.

**RECOMMENDED LITERATURE POETRY: PĀṅGĀLĪ OR MAṆGALĀ**

A new kind of religious literature, which drew its material usually from non-Aryan sources and popular tales, came to be known as Pāṅgālī or Maṅgala literature in Bengal. This popular genre which originally emerged in the twelfth or thirteenth century found its efflorescence in the eighteenth. The earliest such extant poem is Kṛttivāsa’s Śrī Rāma-pāṅgālī (c. fifteenth century). Three other old narrative poems of this type are Śrī Kṛṣṇa-vijaya (1480) of Mālādhara Vasu, Manasa-vijaya (1495) of Vipradāsa, and Manasa-maṅgala (c. 1494) of Vijaya Gupta. One outstanding poem on the Manasa legend written sometime in the middle of the seventeenth century is Ketakādāsa’s Manasa-maṅgala. The Canḍi-maṅgala poems were written more carefully than the average Manasa-maṅgala ones and, therefore, the former was not as prolific as the latter. By far the best writer of Canḍi-maṅgala poetry and undoubtedly the best and most representative poet in Middle Bengali is Mukundarāma Cakravarti ‘Kavikaṅkaṇa’, whose Canḍi-maṅgala (mid-sixteenth century) presents a gallery of good pictures of the domestic, social, economic, and cultural life of the day. The

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\(^1\) There is a great controversy about the date of Vidyāpati. It is supposed that he was born round about A.D. 1380; but nothing is definitely known about when he died. There are evidences that he was alive and quite active in A.D. 1460.

\(^2\) The manuscript of Canḍidāsa’s work, however, does not show any title. The present title of the book (published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, in 1916) has been supplied by its discoverer and editor Basantaraman Ray.
oldest extant *Dharma-maṅgala* poem is by Rūparāma Cakravartī. It can be assigned to 1649. In the eighteenth century some half a dozen distinguished writers wrote *Dharma-maṅgala* poems. Of them the best known are by Ghanarāma Cakravartī and Māṇikarāma Gaṅgopādhyāya, who wrote in 1711 and 1781 respectively. Another most famous literary work of the Pāṇcālī type is the *Mahābhārata* poem, *Pāṇḍava-viśvāsa* (seventeenth century), ascribed to Kāśirāma Dāsa. The whole poem, although attributed to Kāśirāma, is virtually a compilation.

Mention may be made of some mushroom Maṅgala poems of insignificant literary merit portraying lesser local deities of folklore origin. A typical writer of this category is Krṣṇarāma Dāsa whose first work *Kālikā-maṅgala*, really a version of the story of Vidyā and Sundara, was written in 1676. This was followed by other Maṅgala poems such as Śaśṭī-maṅgala (1679), Rāya-maṅgala (1686), Śītalā-maṅgala, and Laksī-maṅgala.

Two competent Muslim poets of the seventeenth century, Daulat Kazi and Saiyad Alaol, wrote Pāṇcālī poems in Bengali under the aegis of the Arrakan court. Kazi’s rendering of the story of Lor, Candrānī, and Mayanā current in upper India and Alaol’s translation of Jayasi’s *Padmāvat* won enthusiastic appreciation. Alaol appears to be the first Bengali writer to translate from Persian poetry. A number of other Muslim writers, some of whom wrote good Vaiṣṇava lyrics, flourished during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Maṅgala poetry continued to be written also during the eighteenth century and reached its climax at the hand of Bhāratacandra Rāya ‘Guṇākara’ (1712-60), the most significant poet of the century. He completed his *magnum opus*, *Annapārṇā-maṅgala*, in 1753. It is a trilogy comprising three practically independent poems: *Annadā-maṅgala* eulogizing Goddess Durgā as the giver of food, *Mānasimha* narrating the downfall of Pratāpāditya, and *Vidyā-Sundara* depicting the erotic romance of Vidyā and Sundara. His earliest attempts at Maṅgala or Pāṇcālī poetry, however, were two very short poems on the new deity Satya-Nārāyaṇa, written in 1737. As a master craftsman of verse, Bhāratacandra won immediate attention and his poetry set the standard for later writers till the emergence of the new poetry in the fifties of the nineteenth century. Another outstanding poem written in the Maṅgala style is Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭācārya’s *Śīva-sāṅkitana* or *Śīvāyana* (1710) delineating the domestic life of Śiva and Gaurī.

The eighteenth century’s real contribution to Bengali literature was short and simple songs mostly on devotional and amatory topics. Even in the long poems of Bhāratacandra, the most enduring parts are the songs. A slightly younger contemporary of Bhāratacandra was Rāmaprasāda Sena ‘Kaviraṅjana’ who also wrote a *Vidyā-Sundara* poem (sixth or seventh decade of the eighteenth
century). But his devotional songs, addressed to Goddess Kālī and couched in the most simple and charming language, are really the best that were produced in the latter half of the century. These songs are sung to a haunting melody known as Rāmaprasādi and they are very popular even today. Ramnidhi Gupta, better known as Nidhu Babu (1742-1839), was by far the best writer of love songs of his time and he bridged the gulf between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nidhu Babu's quatrains show a definite note of genuine feeling, a rare thing in Bengali poetry in that age. Dasarathi Ray's (1806-57) new Pāñcālī compositions (as they included both traditional and topical themes) struck a compromise between the kavi song and the purāṇa recitation, on the one hand, and the traditional yātra (musical play) and kirtana on the other. These compositions furnished the best popular entertainment throughout West Bengal in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

CAITANYA MOVEMENT: A NEW URGE IN LITERATURE

Caitanya's (1485-1533) emergence as a unique religious teacher in Bengal in the sixteenth century was instrumental in giving a considerable fillip to intellectual activity and creating a new interest in life and a new urge in literature. Caitanya was a lover of Jayadeva, Vidyāpati, and Caṇḍīdāsa, and he imparted this love and impulse to those who came in personal contact with his magnetic and overwhelming personality. The emotional upsurge thus awakened, invariably flowed into poetry and music. Lyric songs on the story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa were already known. But now they were charged with a new spiritual meaning, as the new poets saw in Caitanya's divine passion the manifestation of the anguish of love-lorn Rādhā. Mention may be made here of some notable Vaiṣṇava lyric poets of the sixteenth century like Murāri Gupta, Vāsudeva Ghoṣa, Narahari Dāsa, Jñāna Dāsa, Balarāma Dāsa, Locana Dāsa, Govindādāsa Cakravartī, Govindādāsa Kavirāja, and Narottama Dāsa. To the last mentioned goes the credit for the formulation and standardization of the kirtana style of music. The lyric sensitivity attained by the best of these writers could be surpassed only by Tagore. In the next two centuries Vaiṣṇava padāvalis (lyric songs) continued to be written with great gusto not only as a matter of spiritual discipline, but also as scripts for kirtana music which was practised in different Vaiṣṇava centres in Bengal. For the use of Vaiṣṇava kirtana singers several anthologies of padāvali songs were compiled, of which the earliest is Rasakalpāvalī (mid-seventeenth century) and the latest and greatest is Padakalpataru (late eighteenth century). The latter contains more than three thousand lyrics by about three hundred poets.

Caitanya was looked upon by his followers as an incarnation of God. This faith found enthusiastic expression in the long narrative poems glorifying his life. These poems centred round Caitanya introduced a new note and vitality
in Indo-Aryan literature, the conventional stories being replaced by contemporary events, a human being taking the place of traditional divinities. The first attempts in this direction were, however, in Sanskrit, viz. Murāri Gupta's Kaḍā, Raghunātha Dāsa's poem, Paramānanda Sena's Caitanya-candrodāya (1538) and Caitanya-caritāmṛta (1542). The first biographical poem on Caitanya written in Bengali is Caitanya-bhāgavata by Vṛṇḍāvana Dāsa. It can be safely assumed that the work was begun when Caitanya was living and was completed sometime about 1540, a few years after his death (1533). Vṛṇḍāvana Dāsa's picture of Caitanya is entirely human and provides a refreshing contrast with the stereotyped characters delineated in contemporary Māṅgala poems. The most authentic, scholarly, and best written biography of Caitanya is Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's masterpiece Caitanya-caritāmṛta, a work written sometime between 1575 and 1595. The book is more important than any other work on Caitanya, his faith, and philosophy. As a biography, as a work of art, and also as a thought-provoking piece, Kṛṣṇadāsa's book is indeed a landmark in Bengali literature. Among the other narrative poems on Caitanya written in the sixteenth century the following deserve special mention: Caitanya-maṅgala by Locana Dāsa, Gaurāṅga-vijaya by Cūḍāmaṇi Dāsa, and Caitanya-maṅgala by Jayānanda. Some of the long narrative poems on the Kṛṣṇa legend written in this century are Kṛṣṇa-prema-taraṅginī by Raghu Paṇḍita, Śrī Kṛṣṇa-maṅgala, the longest of such poems, by Mādhava Ācārya, Gopāla-vijaya by Devakīnandana Sinha 'Kavi-śekhara', and Govinda-maṅgala by Śyāmadāsa. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was no break in the mass production of Vaiṣṇava narrative and biographical poems. Mention may be made of a few of them, viz. Harivamśa (early seventeenth century) by Bhavānanda, Jagannātha-maṅgala (1643) by Gadādhara Dāsa, Bhakti-ratnākara (eighteenth century) by Narahari Cakravartī, and Bhaktamāla (eighteenth century) by Lāl Dāsa.

**BENGALI PROSE: THE FIRST PHASE**

Bengali literary prose began with the translation of the Bible by the Baptist missionaries of Serampore headed by William Carey (1761-1834). The first book to appear was the *Gospel of St. Matthew* in May 1800. In Calcutta in the same month and year the East India Company started Fort William College where the newly arrived servants of the Company could learn certain Indian languages, one of the most important of which was Bengali. Carey was put in charge of the Bengali (and later also of the Sanskrit) department. Prose works which would be useful as text books for the young British clerks were carefully prepared by Carey and his assistants, the two most notable among them being Ramram Basu (d. 1813) and Mrityunjay Vidyalankar (d. 1819). Basu's *Rājā Pratāpāditya-caritra* (Serampore, 1801) was the first original book in prose in Bengali, and was written in a simple style. As a prose writer, Vidyalankar was
ponderous and pedantic. His best book Prabodha-candrikā (Serampore, 1833) contained both translation and original writing and displayed both the scholastic and the colloquial prose styles. The claim that he was the father of literary prose in Bengali is extravagant, but it cannot be denied that he wrote rather well and on a variety of topics. Vidyalankar is also to be remembered as a strong opponent of Rammohun Roy (1774-1833). His Vedānta-candrikā (1817) was pitted against Rammohun’s Vedānta-grantha (1815) and Vedānta-sāra (1815). Between 1817 and 1823, Rammohun wrote several pamphlets in Bengali prose defending his stand on various issues including the doctrine of Vedānta which he considered as the real base of Hinduism. His Bengali, though somewhat archaic, was simple, direct, and expressive and it heralded the footsteps of developing Bengali prose. He translated some of the Upaniṣads, rendered the Bhagavad-Gītā into Bengali verse, and also wrote some devotional songs in Bengali. Rammohun should also be remembered for his Bengali grammar in English (1826), which he later translated into Bengali (published posthumously in 1833). This was the best Bengali grammar that had yet been written, and in some respects it has still not been surpassed.

The publication (May, 1818) and success of Samācāra-darpaṇa (a weekly journal of the Serampore missionaries) led to the growth of many periodicals in Calcutta and some mofussil towns. Bengali prose received further stimulus from Tatvābhidhini Patrikā (1843), noted monthly paper of the Brāhma Samaj. Among its distinguished contributors were Devendra Nath Tagore (1817-1905), Akshay Kumar Dutta (1820-86) and Rajnarayan Basu (1826-1900). Rajendralal Mitra’s (1822-91) ‘penny’ magazine, Vividhārtha-saṅgrahā (1851), also contributed much to the new literary movement that was gradually gaining ground. Samvāda-prabhākara (1831) of Iswar Chandra Gupta (1812-59) was the best known Bengali journal-cum-magazine till the middle of the nineteenth century. It provided literary apprenticeship to a large number of promising youngsters including Bānkim Chandra Chatterjee and Madhusudan Dutt. In 1872 Bankim Chandra Chatterjee brought out the famous monthly Vaṅgadāsana in order to stimulate the intellect of the Bengali-speaking people through a literary campaign and to bring about a cultural revival thereby.  

* The first journal published and printed in Bengali was, however, Dīgadasa (April, 1818). It was a monthly, published by the Serampore Baptist Mission.  

* In the history of the development of modern Bengali language and literature, various journals and periodicals played a most significant role. Apart from those already referred to, there are many others published during the nineteenth century, which have made commendable contribution towards the rapid progress of the language and literature. We mention here only a few important ones published in the second half of the nineteenth century. They are Samaopakāśa (1838) of Dwarakanath Vidyabhusan (1819-86), Bhāratī (1877) of the Tagores, Vaṅgadās (1881) of Jogendranath Basu (1854-1907), Sāhitya (1890) of Sureshchandra Samajpati (1870-1921), Sādhakā (1891-95) of Rabindranath Tagore, and Udādhan (1899) of the Ramakrishna Mission. Pravāsī was started in 1901 from Allahabad by
Akshay Kumar Dutta, who edited *Tattva-bodhini* for many years, wrote *Bhāratavarṣīya Upāsaka Saṁpradāya* in two volumes (1870 and 1883). It was a monumental research work of permanent value. His style was marked by coherence in diction and precision in expression. The father of modern Bengali literary prose was, however, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91). His *Sakuntalā* (1854), *Śtār Vanavāsa* (1860), and *Bhrānti-vilāsa* (1869), based on dramas by Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, and Shakespeare respectively, show his style at its best. They set the standard for Bengali prose writers during the last decades of the nineteenth century. His *Vetāla-paṅcaviṃśati* (1847) is, indeed, a landmark in the history of Bengali prose. The sonorousness of Vidyasagar’s solid style has a subtle charm which few of his followers could achieve and none but Rabindranath could surpass.

RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF BENGALI DRAMA

While Bengali prose was thus making rapid progress, Bengali drama was not lagging far behind. European stage-craft was first shown to the Bengali public in Calcutta in November, 1795, when Gerasim Lebedeff, a Russian adventurer, presented on the stage the Bengali version of an English comedy, *The Disguise*. Lebedeff thus gave, though unwittingly, a new life to the contemporary yātrā type of plays. The first two dramatic compositions in Bengali, *Bhadrāṣṭra* by Taracharan Sikdar and *Kīrtti-vilāsa* by Govinda Chandra Gupta, published in 1852, were never staged.

The proper foundation of Bengali drama was laid by Ramnarayan Tarakaratna (1822-86), Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1824-73), Dinabandhu Mitra (1829-74), and Manomohan Basu (1831-1912). Tarkaratna’s translation of *Rāmāvatī* (1858), first performed at the garden house of the rajas of Paikpara, may be said to have set the Bengali drama on its popular career. His first dramatic sketch *Kulina Kulasarsasa* (1854) was, however, a satirical piece written in response to a prize offered for the best dramatic work on the evils of the system of polygamy prevalent among the *kulina* Brahmins of those days. Michael Madhusudan wrote two comedies, *Śarmisṭhā* (1858) and *Padmāvatī* (1860), one tragedy, *Kṛṣṇakumārī* (1861), and two farces, *Ekei Ki Bale Sabhyatā* and *Budo Śāliker Ghāde Ron* (both 1839). Though the influence of Kālidāsa’s *Abhijñāna-Sakuntala* on the first play is obvious, the author is not a slave to the dicta of Sanskrit dramaturgy. The second is the one in which Madhusudan introduced a few passages in unrhymed verse which was its first occurrence in

Ramananda Chatterjee. From 1905 up to Tagore’s death (1941) *Pravāri* was almost the exclusive periodical that had the privilege of the first publication of Tagore’s writings. For a long time *Pravāri* was the most important journal published in an Indian language. It stood for progressiveness in literature, art, and social reform as well as in constructive political thought. For a detailed information on the subject *Bangli Sānyatkapatra* (2 vols., 1942 and 1952) by Brajendranath Banerjee (Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta) may be consulted.
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Bengali. The third, the best play of the author, is the first successful tragedy in Bengali. It is significant in yet another respect; it is the first historical play in the language. The last two set the standard of the genre for the next fifty years or more. Dinabandhu Mitra's Nila Darpana (1860), translated into English, created a furore in England against the British indigo-planters. It was this play with which the first public stage of Bengal, the National Theatre, opened in December, 1872. Mitra's other plays are: Navina Tapasvini (1863), Sadhavār Ekādaśī (1866), Viye-pāgla Buḍo (1866), Lilāvati (1867), Jāmāi Bārik (1872), and Kamale Kāmini (1873). Sadhavār Ekādaśī is the best work of Mitra and one of the best plays in the language, in spite of its grossness and vulgarity. Manomohan Basu's plays on Purānic topics brought the newly-sprung Bengali drama again to the yātra. Among his plays are Rāmābhiseka (1867), Satt Nāṭaka (1873), Hariścandra (1875), etc. Jyotirindranath Tagore (1848-1925) also wrote some plays. His first play, Kiścit Jalayoga (1872), was a burlesque. This was followed by Puru-vikrama (1874), Sarojini (1875), Asrumati (1879), Aikta Bābu (1900), and others.

The note of religious devotion in Bengali drama initiated by Manomohan Basu in the late sixties was steadily becoming stronger and sharper, and reached its climax in the plays of Girish Chandra Ghosh (1844-1911) who had become a devotee of the prophet of the age, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa (1836-86). Girish Chandra was undoubtedly the most renowned actor and playwright of the nineteenth century, and his plays—devotional, social, mythological, and historical—did much to popularize the stage. He wrote more than eighty plays. Mention may be made of Buddhadeva-carita (1885), Vilvamangala Ṭhākur (1886), Prāfullā (1891), Balidāna (1900), Janā (1894), Pāṇḍava-gaurava (1899), Sirajuddaula (1905), and Mirkasim (1906). The contemporary Swadeshi movement stimulated the last group of his plays (1905-11) which gush patriotism. But the dominant note is not of fiery activity and vindictiveness but of sober adherence to the ancient ideal of forbearance, which indicates the strong influence of Swami Vivekananda's (1863-1902) teachings. Girish Chandra dominated the Bengali stage up to the end of his life and made an abiding mark on the development of Bengali drama. Amritalal Basu (1853-1929) excelled in comedies and delightful farces. Among his plays mention may be made of Kṛpāyog Dhana (1900), Corer Upar Bātpāri (1876), and Vīvāha Vībhṛāṭa (1884). The names of Rajkrishna Ray (1852-94), a prolific writer, and Upendranath Das (1848-95) may also be mentioned. The latter's Surendra-Vinodini (1875) was very successful on the stage. An exalted heroic note as well as a melodramatic sentimentality characterize the dramas of Dwijendralal Ray (1863-1913). His first play Kalki Avatāra (1895) was, however, a burlesque. This was followed by: Pāṣānti (1900), Sītā (1902), Tārābāī (1903), Pratāpāsinī (1905), Durgādāsa (1906), Nurjahan (1908), Mevār-Patana (1908), Sorab-Rostam (1908), Sajahan (1910), Candragupta
MODERN BENGALI POETRY

The credit for preparing the ground for the appearance of the new poetry belongs to Iswar Chandra Gupta, founder-editor of Saṅvāda-prabhākara, who was a skilful metrician and a vigorous poet. By writing satirical verses on topical matters, he broke away from the poetry of the previous age. Rangalal Banerjee’s (1826-86) Padmānti Upākhyāna (1858) was the first Bengali narrative romance in the new pattern. But it was Michael Madhusudan who really ushered the new poetry into Bengali. He discarded the payār metre, introduced blank verse, and created a new language for poetry, though he did not neglect tradition altogether. The introduction of blank verse was a revolutionary phenomenon in the history of Bengali literature. His first kāvya, Tilottama-sambhava (1860), was followed by Meghanāda-vadha (1861), Vrajāṅganā (1861), Virāṅganā (1862), and a book of sonnets, Caturdasapadit Kavītāvalī (1866). The odes of Vrajāṅganā on Rādhā’s forlorn love shows Madhusudan’s undoubted skill as a versifier, but breathes the spirit of the old poetry. Meghanāda-vadha is the first epic poem in Bengali in the Western sense of the term. The next such poem was Vṛtrasamhāra (published in two parts in 1875 and 1877) by Hemchandra Banerjee (1838-1903). Among his other works mention may be made of Cintātaraṅgiṇī (1861), Virabāhu (1864), and Chāyānayi (1880). The next notable work was Nabin Chandra Sen’s (1846-1909) trilogy on the Kṛṣṇa story as found in the Mahābhārata, entitled Raivataka (1886), Kuruṅṣetra (1893), and Prabhāsa (1896). It was his earlier work, Palāśir Yuddha (1875), which first brought him in the limelight.

Biharilal Chakravarti (1834-94) introduced introspection and warmth into his poems, and his romantic lyricism was the most original turn taken by Bengali poetry after Madhusudan. The group of romanticists led by Biharilal was distinguished not only by their intense subjectivity, but also by their stress on love, especially woman’s love. Biharilal’s best known poem is Sāradā-maṅgala (1879). Some of his other poems are Bandhu-viyoga (1863), Prema-pravāhini (1863), Nisarga-sandarśana (1869), Vaṅga-sundari (1869), and Sādher Āsana (1888-89). Surendranath Majumdar’s (1838-78) best piece, Mahilā (published posthumously in two parts in 1880 and 1883), is a beautiful poem of love, no doubt,

The poet did not complete the poem nor did he give any name to it. The title was supplied by his younger brother Devendranath Majumdar who published the book.
inspired by Bihari Lal’s *Vaṅga-sundari*. Mention may be made of Dwijendranath Tagore’s (1840-1926) two original poems, *Swapna-prayāga* (1875) and *Yautaka nā Kautuka* (1883). The former is an allegorical poem like *The Faerie Queene* and *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, and the latter a narrative poem in a light vein. Devendranath Sen (1855-1920) was a lover of flowers and a poet of domestic love. *Āstakaguccha* (1901) was the first anthology of his poems. This was followed by *Golāpuguṣa* (1912), *Seṭhāliguccha* (1912), *Pārijātaguccha* (1912), etc. Others are *Apūra Naivedya*, *Apūra Śīvā-māṅgala*, *Apūra Vrajaṅgana* (1913), etc. Govinda Chandra Das (1855-1918) was a poet with unmistakable talent. He was a poet of love. But it is passion and sensuousness which moved him most. His best poems were collected in several small books like *Prerna O Phul* (1887), *Kuṅkuma* (1891), *Kastūrī* (1895), *Candana* (1896), *Vaijayaṇī* (1905), etc. *Kuṭṭāhāra* (1873), *Bhārata-kusuma* (1882), *Āṭukana* (1887), and *Ābhāsa* (1890) are some of the books of Girindramohini Dutta (1854-1924). Swarnakumari Devi (1835-1932) was the first to introduce the romantic ballad in Bengali, four of which were compiled in *Gāthā* (1890). Akshay Kumar Baral (1861-1919) was a close follower of Bihari Lal. He was essentially an emotional poet. His first work *Pradīpa* (1885) was followed by *Kanakānjlì* (1885), *Bhul* (1887), *Śaṅkha* (1910), and *Esā* (1912).

**MODERN BENGALI FICTION**

Bengali fiction began in the middle of the nineteenth century with didactic tales of the classroom type. *Āṭāler Ghurer Dulāl* (1858) by Peary Chand Mitra, ‘Teckānd Ṭhākur’ (1814-83), is, however, an exception. It is the first specimen of original fiction in Bengali. Though an enjoyable work, *Hutom Pyāncār Nakśā* (1862) by Kaliprasanna Simha (1840-76) is no more than a humorous sketch and its chief value now is only historical.

The Bengali novel in its true sense came into being in 1865 when Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-94) published his first prose work, a semi-historical romance, *Durgesanandini* (1865), which won immediate success. The novels that followed, more than a dozen in number, captured the hearts of the reading public, and the author was acclaimed as the best writer in Bengali. Some of his best known novels are *Kapālakunḍalā* (1866), *Viṣavṛṣa* (1873), *Kṛṣṇānte Will* (1878), *Rājasinīha* (1881), *Ānandilāmaṇa* (1882), and *Devi Caudhurāṇi* (1884). The theme of *Kapālakunḍalā* is lyrical and gripping and, in spite of the melodrama of the dual story, the execution is skilful. The author’s narrative skill had its full play in *Viṣavṛṣa*. It is a domestic tragedy brought about by widow-remarriage. *Kṛṣṇānte Will* comes nearest to the Western novel. The author here handles the episode of a domestic intrigue—the infatuation of a married man for a young widow and the ruin it brought upon the family. *Rājasinīha* is the best historical novel written by Bankim Chandra. Though not an outstanding work
of fiction, *Anandamatha* is a most significant work in so far as the later religious, patriotic, and national activities in dependent India, particularly Bengal, are concerned. It gave India her first national anthem, *Vande Mataram*, and offered an interpretation as well as an illustration of the Hindu concept of Karma as indicated in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. Despite some artistic shortcomings, *Devi Caṇḍhurāṇi* is a very delightful and interesting novel. Bankim Chandra was also a good essayist, and his best essays were collected in *Kamalākānta* (1885). His *Kṛṣṇa-caritra* (1882) and *Dharmatattwa* (1888) are masterpieces on religious subjects. For a fairly considerable period Bankim Chandra was the ideal and the source of inspiration not only to his contemporaries, but also to a host of writers who belonged to the generation that followed.

Romesh Chandra Dutt (1848-1909) played an important role in the literary history of Bengal. He wrote four historical romances, *Vaṅga-vijetā* (1874), *Mādhavi-kāṇkāya* (1877), *Mahārāṣṭra-jivana-prabhāta* (1878), and *Rājput-jivana-sandhyā* (1879), and two domestic novels, *Sahsāra* (1886) and *Samāja* (1894). Romesh Chandra translated the whole of the *Ṛg-Veda* into Bengali prose (1885-87) and also published translations of important Sanskrit religious texts under the title *Hindu-sāstra* (1885-96). Damodar Mukherjee (1853-1907) wrote *Mrnmayi* (1874) and *Navobnandini* as sequels to Bankim Chandra’s *Kaṭālakunḍalā* and *Durgeśanandini* respectively. He also adapted Scott’s *The Bride of Lammermoor* in his *Kamalakumāri* and Willkie Collins’s *The Woman in White* in his *Śuklavasanā Sundari*. Besides these, he had more than a dozen original novels to his credit. Bhudev Mukherjee (1825-94) was among the first to write historical fiction in Bengali. His *Aitihāsika Upanyāsa* (1862) contains a story and a novelette. The second tale *Aṅguriya-vinimaya* supplied an essential feature to the story of Bankim Chandra’s *Durgeśanandini*. Sanjib Chandra Chatterjee (1834-89) wrote a few novels such as *Kanṭhamālā* (1877), *Mādhavičīta* (1878-80), and *Jāl Pratāpcānd* (1881). The most characteristic and the best known work of Sanjib Chandra Chatterjee is his travelogue *Pālāmau* (1880-82). Tarakhāth Ganguli (1845-91) portrayed the day-to-day life of the lower middle class in *Svarṇalātā* (1873), first domestic novel in Bengali with some genuine realism. Sivanath Sastri’s (1847-1919) *Mejabau* (1879) and *Ṭugāntara* (1895) present good pictures of contemporary domestic and social life. Srischandra Majumdar (1860-1908) in his *Śakti-kāṇana* (1887), *Phuljāni* (1894), and *Viśvanātha* (1896) shows rare gifts in describing the charms of village life and the idyllic beauty of nature. The literary activities of Swarnakumari Devi included novels, short stories, poetry, and drama. Of her novels, mention may be made of *Dīpanirvāṇa* (1876), *Chinna-mukula* (1879), *Mālati* (1879), *Mivār-rāja* (1887), *Vidroha* (1890), *Snehalata* (1892), and *Milanarātrī* (1925). Mir Mosarraf Hossain (1848-1912) was a gifted writer. His literary fame mainly rests on his prose epic, *Viśādāsindhu* in three volumes (1885, 1887, and 1891).
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RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The most outstanding figure in Bengali literature is undoubtedly Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) who not only attempted and excelled in every literary form, but also introduced some that had not as yet been attempted. In fact, in stature, stride, and sweep Rabindranath is a gigantic creative genius the like of whom has seldom been seen in any language in any country.

Rabindranath’s first truly mature work Kaći O Komala (1886) reveals almost all the potentialities of his future greatness. Since then, up to 1941, more than forty books containing his poems and songs have been published. Unpublished works are still being discovered. Among his published books of poems we mention only a few: Mānasī (1890), Sonār Tari (1893), Cītrā (1896), Kathā O Kāhinī (1900), Naivedya (1901), Kheya (1906), Gitānjali (1910), Balākā (1916), Pūrvā (1925), Mahyā (1929), Prāntika (1938), Navajātaka (1940), and Janmadine (1941). Tagore wrote exquisite poems on, as well as for, children. His Śīśu (1903) and Śīśu Bholānāthā (1922) belong to this class. He wrote some two thousand songs which still capture the heart of every Bengali and are much appreciated abroad. The melodies of the songs of Tagore are mostly of his own creation and the genius that produced these melodies is indeed of a very high order. Gitānjali (1910) earned for the poet the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913. The award of the Nobel Prize was of tremendous significance for India, being the first recognition of contemporary India as an equal partner in the literary assembly of the progressive world. Rabindranath introduced ‘prose-poems’ in Bengali. Punaśca (1932), Śeṣa Saptaka (1935), Patrapuṣṭa (1936), and Śyāmali (1936) are the results of this new experiment.

Tagore enriched Bengali drama by introducing the form of nṛtya-nāṭya, the dance-drama. Mention may be made of Cītrāṅgadā (1936), Śyāmā (1938), and Caudālikā (1938). He wrote, besides, a number of plays, both serious and light. Among the serious plays are Rājā O Rāṇī (1889) and its later version Tapatī (1920), Visarjana (1890), Mālini (1895), and Bāṃśari (1933). Among the light plays we have Goḍāy Galad (1892), Vaikunṭher Khāṭā (1897), and Cīrakumāra-sabhā (1901). Among his symbolic plays are Rājā (1910), Acalāyatana (1911), Dākghar (1912), Muktaḍhārā (1922), Rackakarav (1924), and Tāser Deśa (1933). His short stories, collected together as Galpaguccha, show rare skill in a form that was new to Bengali literature. His first mature novel was a domestic tragedy, Bauṭhākuraṇīr Hāṭ (1885). The next, Cokher Bāli (1902), turned the Bengali novel away from the tradition of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Among his later novels, Gorā (1910), Caturaṅga (1916), Ghare Bāīre (1916), Śeṣer Kavītā (1929), Yogyoga (1930), and Cār Adhyāya (1934) are of special importance. Gorā, however, is the most outstanding of them all. Tagore’s non-fictional prose writings include all kinds of essays: literary, religious, philosophical, historical, political, autobiographical, biographical, and humorous. Some of these essays reveal him as
a most profound thinker. Mention may be made of Paṅcabhūta (1897), Svadeśī Samāja (1904), Sabdatattva (1909), Bhāratvarsher Itihāser Dhārā (1911), Mānuśeṣ Dharma (1933), Bāṅglā-bhāṣā-paricaya (1939), and Sabhyatār Sāṅkaṭa (1941), to show the wide range of his subjects. The pen of Rabindranath raised letter-writing to the status of a literary genre in Bengali. This is evident from his Europe-pravāśir Patra (1881) and Chinnapatra (1912). The style of Jivanasmṛti (1912), an autobiography of his early life, is entirely captivating.

BENGALI LITERATURE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Rabindranath dominated the literary field of Bengal till his death in 1941, and he is still a living force. There were many others, his senior and junior contemporaries, whose creative talent substantially enriched Bengali literature in its various fields during the present century. In this flow of talents there were many who consciously or unconsciously came under the influence of Rabindranath and yet a host of others who contributed, or scrupulously tried to contribute, in their own way.

PROSE

Haraprasad Sastri (1853-1931), a celebrated Indologist, was also a good writer of Bengali prose. In fact, he wrote better Bengali than many of his contemporaries. Although a Sanskritist of the first grade, he never loaded his literary style with learned words and Sanskritisms. His historical novels, Kāñcanamalā (1916) and Beuer Meye (1920), clearly show his power as a literary artist. Śrī Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Kathāmṛta in five volumes (1902, 1904, 1908, 1910, 1932) by Mahendranath Gupta (1854-1932), a devotee of Sri Ramakrishna,⁶ is a remarkable addition not only to the prose literature of Bengal, but also to the religious literature of the whole of India. Swami Vivekananda, chief disciple of Sri Ramakrishna, was also a vigorous writer in Bengali.⁷ Akshay Kumar Maitreyā

⁶ Sri Ramakrishna, besides being the great pioneer in the field of religious harmony, happened also to be instrumental in facilitating the development of Bengali prose. Mahendranath Gupta’s (‘M’) Śrī Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Kathāmṛta is one of the successful experiments in the use of kalita-bhāṣā. It records Śrī Ramakrishna’s dialogues with his devotees and others, in the course of which he expounded in a most lucid and simple style the sublime thoughts and profound philosophies contained in the Hindu scriptures. The similes, metaphors, and analogies which Śrī Ramakrishna used, and the pictures he projected in his very simple and unsophisticated language, created for kalita-bhāṣā a new prestige and confidence. Hence the language of Śrī Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Kathāmṛta stands out as a fresh literary form and style which is a class by itself.—Editor.

⁷ The nineties of the nineteenth century brought into the Bengali literary scene the dynamic Hindu monk, Swami Vivekananda, whose literary genius found expression in a style at once dignified and marked out by its individuality. His speeches and writings are, however, mostly in English. But there are a few books which contain his original writings in Bengali. These are: Prācyā O Pākṣātya, Bāṅvodr Kathā, Vartamāna Bhārata, and Parīrājaka. Each of them is really a masterpiece in Bengali literature. They set a new pattern for Bengali prose. Even Rabindranath is reported to have spoken eloquently in favour of Vivekananda’s prose, particularly his use of kalita-bhāṣā in Prācyā O Pākṣātya. Vivekananda’s
(1861-1930) was another able writer of Bengali prose and an expert in historical subjects. His works Sirajuddaula (1897), Mirkasim (1904), and Phiringi Vanik (1922) show the first attempts on the part of Indian scholars to read history independently and from a nationalistic viewpoint.

Ramendrasundar Trivedi (1864-1919) was one of the best known essayists in the language, and his writings are remarkable for deep and varied scholarship and for compact and adequate expression. Prakrti (1896), Jijnasa (1903), and Karmakatha (1913) are collections of his reflective and philosophical essays. His essays on linguistics were collected in Sabdakatha (1917). Three more volumes of collected essays were published posthumously. He translated into Bengali the Aitareya Brhadaranyaka, the oldest of the Vedic prose texts. Dinesh Chandra Sen (1866-1939), a pioneer in the study of the history of Bengali literature, published his book Vanagabhsha O Sathita in 1896. His Ramayani Katha (1911) is a marvellous study of the characters in the Ramayana. He wrote several novels including Tin Bandhu (1911), Aloke Andhare (1925), and Cakurir Vidambana (1926). Ghorer Katha O Jugasathita (1922) is an autobiographical work. Pramathanath Chaudhuri (1868-1948), well known by his pen-name 'Virabala', was one of the principal stalwarts in establishing calita-bhasha as a vigorous rival of sadhu-bhasha. He made his style popular through his reputed journal, Sabuja Patra, published in 1914. His works include Tel Nun Lakhi (1906), Caryary-katha (1916), Virabaler Halkhat (1917), Nan-katha (1919), etc. Sudhindranath Tagore (1869-1929) produced some good short stories collected later in several volumes: Manjusha (1903), Karanka (1912), Citarali (1916), etc. Balendranath Tagore (1870-99) wrote essays on ancient literature and art, some of which were published in Citra O Karya (1894). His collection of stories appeared as Saji (1900). Abanindranath Tagore (1871-1951), founder of the modern school of Indian art, exhibited his literary talent in Rajakahi (1909), Pathe-vipate (1919), Khataucir Khat (1916), Banglar Vrata (1919), Gharoya (1941), Jojassankor Dhare (1944), Bhurataesker Sadanga (1947), etc. These also show the varied nature of his interests. Prabhatkumar Mukherjee (1873-1932) was one of the best short story writers in Bengali literature. His books of short stories number more than a dozen. Of these the best known are: Navakatha (1900), Debi O Bilati (1910), Gulpnjali (1913), Patrapuspa (1917), and Jamata Bhabhit (1931). He also wrote letters in Bengali were later published as Patrawali. They are also full of literary grace. Vivekanandha was a brilliant talker too. Swami-shya-sahvoda records his witty and thoughtful conversations. But his genius was not limited to the creation of prose literature only. His poems and songs are equally remarkable for their intensity of emotion, solemnity of thought, and charm of diction and imagery. Mention may be made of Sakhur Prati, Nacuk Tahate Shyam, Gati Gita Shudha Tomty and Nahi sitya, nahi jyeth. To put it in Vivekananda's own words, 'Simplicity is the secret. My ideal of language is my Master's language, most colloquial and yet most expressive. It must express the thought which is intended to be conveyed' (cf. Complete Works, V, p. 259). Regarding dialect, he observed: 'We must accept that (dialect) which is gaining strength and spreading through natural laws, that is to say, the language of Calcutta' (cf. ibid., VI, p. 188).—Editor.
some novels such as Navina Sannyasi (1912), Ratnadipa (1915), Jivaner Mulya (1916), and Sindura-kauta (1919).

Sarat Chandra Chatterjee (1876-1938) was the most popular novelist and story-writer of his time. Notwithstanding his defects, he is still among the most widely read. From 1913 onwards, some of his best known stories came out in different periodicals and he became famous overnight. His stories and novels were very striking for their obvious sincerity, humanism, and basic realism. The important novels of Sarat Chandra are: Srikantha in four parts (1917, 1918, 1927, 1933), Biraj Bau (1914), Palli Samaja (1916), Caritrahina (1917), Grha-daha (1919), Dena-Poona (1923), Pather Dabi (1926), Sechapraasa (1931), and Vipradasa (1935). Among his stories, mention may be made of Bindur Chele (1913), Ramor Sumati (1914), Parijata (1914), Araksanjii (1916), and Devadasi (1917). His Mahesha is a profound short story and one of the best specimens of the genre written in any literature. Charu Chandra Banerjee (1876-1938) produced about a dozen books of short stories including Varanadala (1910), Pusapata (1910), Saogati (1911), and Vanajyotsna (1938). Among his novels are: Srotor Phul (1915), Dui Tar (1918), Pargacha (1917), and Herpher (1919). Indira Devi (1880-1922) has to her credit four volumes of original short stories and a novel, Sparshamangi (1918). Among her books of short stories mention may be made of Nirmalya (1912) and Ketaki (1915). Anurupa Devi’s (1882-1958) novels include Jyotikava (1915), Mantrasakti (1915), Mahanisita (1919), and Mada (1920). Nirupama Devi (1883-1951) wrote some short stories collected in Aleya (1917), and more than a dozen novels including Annaapurna Mandira (1913), Didi (1915), Syamali (1919), Ucchrankala (1920), and Devatra (1927). Saurindramohan Mukherjee (1884-1966) wrote both short stories and novels. Collections of his short stories are: Sephali (1909), Nirghara (1911), Puspaka (1913), etc. His novels include Bandi (1911), Janaika, and Matr-rua. He also wrote an original play, Swayamvara (1931), on the story of Savitri from the Mahabharata. Rakhaldas Banerjee (1885-1930), an indologist, wrote three domestic and seven historical novels; amongst them are: Pashaner Katha (1914), Sasanka (1914), Dharma-pala (1915), Karuna (1917), and Asima (1924). From a purely literary point of view, his historical novels do not show much advance on Bankim Chandra, but what is most striking in them is his power of creating a convincing historical atmosphere. Udyanaalata (1919) was the joint venture of Santa Devi (b. 1894) and Sita Devi (1896-1974). Of Santa Devi’s works, mention may be made of Usasi (1918), Smritir Saurabha (1918), and Cirantani (1922). Sita Devi’s works include Vajramani (1918), Chayavithi (1919), and Rajanigandha (1921). Nares Chandra Sengupta (1882-1964) wrote both short stories and novels, the best known being Dvitiya Paksa (1919), Subha (1920), and Pasper Chap (1922).

The best novel of Gokul Chandra Nag (1895-1925), joint founder of Kallola, is Pathika (1925). Its easy and mindful style introduced a new mode of fiction
The cultural heritage of India

in the language. The stories and novels of Sailajananda Mukherjee (1900-1976) are based on personal experience or immediate knowledge which has been transcribed faithfully and poignantly without any emotive imposition. His early stories were collected in a book called Āmer Mañjari (1923). Among his short and long stories (compiled in several volumes), the best known are: Atasi (1925), Nāśimeda (1928), Kayālakutihi (1930), Vadhū-varaṇa (1931), Pauṣa-pārvava (1931), Dinmajur (1932), and Nārijama (1934). Among his novels we may mention Mājit Ghar (1923), Joyār-bhāṅga (1924), Anāhāta (1931), and Anivāra (1931). Sailajananda’s works form a landmark in Bengali literature not only for their vivid realism and grim tragedy, but also for introducing for the first time the vogue of regional fiction. Bibhutibhusan Banerjee (1899-1950) was a romantic and a lover of nature. He had also a definite bias towards the occult and the spiritual. His masterpiece Pather Pañcāli was published in 1929 and its sequel Aparājita in 1932. They are based on the author’s own life-story and bear the stamp of a rare sincerity and fullness of heart. His other novels include Dṛṣṭi-pradīpa (1935), Āranyaka (1938), Ādārś Hindu Hotel (1940), Devayāna (1944), and Ichāmatī (1949). His short stories are collected in more than a dozen volumes. Some of them are: Meghamallāra (1931), Maunīphul (1932), Kinnardal (1938), and Yātrā Badal (1943). The short stories of Bibhutibhusan Mukherjee (b. 1896) have been collected in several volumes, namely, Rāṣṭra Prathama Bāga (1937), Rāṣṭra Devitīya Bāga (1938), Rāṣṭra Tītiya Bāga (1940), Atāh Kim (1943), Haimantī (1944), etc. Among his novels the most popular are: Nilānguri (1942), Viśeṣa Rajani (1944), and Svarādpī Gariyāsi (1944). Rabindranath Maitra (1896-1933) wrote short stories showing snapshots of the surface of real life. They were published in several volumes: Third Class (1928), Vāstavikā (1931), Udāsīr Māth (1931), etc. His comic play Mānamayi Girls’ School (1932) was very popular at one time. Kedarnath Banerjee (1863-1949) wrote light stories and novels of which the best known are: Kośṭhir Phalāphala (1929), Bhādudi Māsī (1931), Duṅkher Deoyāli (1932), I Has (1935), Namaskāri (1944), etc. Rajeshkhar Basu (1880-1960) was one of the best writers of the humorous story in Bengali. His stories have been published in collections such as Gaḍḍalikā (1925), Kajjali (1927), Hanumāner Svapna (1937), Kṛṣṇakali (1953), etc. He also wrote some thoughtful essays which were collected in Laghu Guru (1939) and Vicintā (1956). He translated (abridged) some of the great Sanskrit classics into Bengali prose, for example, the Rāmāyaṇa (1947), and the Mahābhārata (1950). His handy dictionary of the Bengali language, Calantikā (1952), has proved very useful. Prabodh Kumar Sanyal (b. 1907) is a prolific writer. His short stories have been collected in volumes like Nishipadma (1931), Avikal (1931), and Aṃgarāga (1937). Among his novels are Tāyāvar (1928), Kājīllatā (1931), Priyābhāvav (1933), etc. His travel narrative Mahāprasthāner Pathe (1933) is a remarkable book. The earliest work of Premendra Mitra (b. 1904) is Pānk (1927), a novelette. His short stories
have been published in several books: Pañcaśara (1929), Benāmī Bandar (1930), Mr̥ttikā (1932), Mahānagara (1943), etc. Vṛṣṭi Elo (1954) is a book of essays. He has published several volumes of poetry: Prathamā (1932), Samrāṭ (1940), Pherāī Phauj (1948), Sāgara Theke Pherā (1956), etc.

Achintyakumar Sengupta (1903-76) produced more than thirty volumes of novels and long stories and more than twenty books of short stories. Among his novels the following may be mentioned: Vibhāer Ceye Bādō (1931), Prāctra O Prāntara (1932), and Īrṇānābha (1933). Among his books of short stories are: Akāla Vasanta (1932), Double Decker (1938), Jatan Bibi (1944), Hādī Mucī Dom (1948), etc. In the later phase of his literary career Achintyakumar turned his attention to the life-histories of great religious leaders, and such biographical works as Parama Puruṣa Śrī Rāmāksṛṇa (1952-53) and Paramā Prakṛti Sāradīmāṇi (1954) have been well received by the reading public. He also produced several books of verse: Amrā (1935), Priyā O Prthivi (1936), and Nīla Ākāśa (1950). Buddhadev Basu (1908-74) was equally facile in writing prose and verse, although from the beginning his verse was more mature than his prose. Marmavānti (1925), Bandir Vandānā (1930), Prthivīr Pathe (1933), Kaṅkāvatī (1937), Damayantī (1943), Draupadir Śādi (1948), etc. number among his books of poetry. Among his novels mention may be made of Akarmaya (1931), Yedin Phutlo Kamala (1933), Bāsarghar (1935), Tiṇṭhīdor (1949), and Nīrjana Svākṣara (1951). His short stories are collected in several books, for example, Abhinaya Abhinaya Nay (1930), Rekhāctica (1931), and Pheriā (1940). His critical essays have been published in the books Uttaratirī (1945), Kāler Putul (1946), and Sāhityacarac (1954). His other prose works include Haṭhāt Alor Halkārī (1935), Āmī Cāncala He (1936), Samudratirā (1937), and Sab Peyechūr Deśe (1941). Annadashankar Ray (b. 1904) writes both prose and poetry, but prose is his forte. His short stories are collected in Prakṛtir Parihāsa (1934), Mana Pavana (1946), Yuvaovālā (1950), and Kāmikākācāna (1954). Some of his novels are: Āgūn Niye Khālā (1930), Asamāpi (1931), Putul Niye Khelā (1933), Satyāsa (in six parts, 1932-42), Nā (1951), and Kanyā (1953). Pathe Prāvāse (1931) deserves mention as a fine travelogue. Annadashankar has written several books of essays: Tāruṇya (1928), Jivanaśilpi (1941), Jivanaśilpi (1949), Pratyaya (1951), etc. His books of verse include Rākhi (1929), Ekti Vasanta (1932), Kāmanā Pānchaviṃśati (1934). Tarashankar Banerjee (1898-1971) was a prolific writer of stories and novels, and he was one of the most widely read novelists for the last two or three decades. His stories are collected in several books: Chalanāmāyi (1936), Jalsāghar (1937), Rasakali (1938), Prasadāmālā (1945), etc. Of his novels mention may be made of Catālāt Ghurī (1931), Rākamala (1935), Dhātri Devatā (1939), Kālindī (1940), Kari (1941), Gaṇadevatā (1942), Hānsuli Bānker Upakathā (1947), Arogyaniketana (1952), Nāginī Kanyār Kāhīni (1952), and Vicāraka (1957). Balaichand Mukherjee (b. 1899) writes (under

One of the most significant writers of the thirties and the forties, Manik Banerjee (1908-56) wrote stories as well as novels. The erosion of social values observed among the middle classes of his time is reflected in his works. His style is terse and his approach objective. Manik Banerjee's influence on contemporary and later writers is unmistakable. His works include *Divārāthār Kāya* (1935), *Janani* (1935), *Atasi Māmī* (1935), *Putulnācer Itikāthā* (1936), *Pamānadir Mājhi* (1936), *Catsuṅkōṇa* (1948), *Sonār Ceyē Dāmī* (in two volumes, 1951-52), *Haraph* (1954), and *Halud Nādi Sabuj Vana* (1956). Pramathanath Bisi (b. 1901) is a prolific writer. He generally writes in a light vein. The more important of his books of short stories are *Śrīkānter Paṅcama Parva* (1939), *Brahmār Hāṣi* (1948), and *Asārirī* (1951). Among his novels mention may be made of *Pamā* (1935), *Joyaladhīghīr Caudhuri Parivāra* (1938), *Kopavatī* (1941), and *Kēri Sāheber Mūnsi* (1958). Among his comic plays *Rūmī Kṛtvā* (1935), *Ghṛtān Piṃt* (1936), *Parihāsavijalpitam* (1940), and *Maucākē Dhīl* (1948) are popular on the amateur stage. Some of his books of verse are: *Vasanṭasena* (1927), *Vidyā-Sundara* (1935), *Haihismithuna* (1951), and *Uttaramegha* (1953). *Ravindra-kāvyapravāha* (1939) and *Ravindra-nāṭya-pravāha* (1948), etc. are his books of literary criticism.

**POETRY**

Though profoundly impressed by the style of Rabindranath, Kamini Ray (1864-1933) temperamentally belonged to the classicists. Her poetical works include *Ālo O Chāyā* (1889), *Nirmālya* (1891), *Paurāṇiki* (1897), *Mālya O Nirmālya* (1913), and *Dīpa O Dhātā* (1929). Besides being a playwright, Dwijendralal Ray wrote many comic songs as well as serious poems. Mention may be made of *Āryagāthā* in two parts (1882, 1893), *Āṣādhe* (1898), *Mandra* (1902), *Ālekhyā* (1907), and *Triveṣṭ* (1912). Rajani Kanta Sen (1865-1910) wrote poems as well as songs. His patriotic songs created a stir during the Swadeshi movement of 1905 and thereafter. Among his books the following
may be mentioned: Vânti (1902), Kalyâni (1905), Amrita (1910), Abhayâ (1910), Anandamayî (1910), and Sevadâna (1927). Priyamvada Devi (1871-1935) published a book of sonnets, Rechu, in 1900. Some of her later poems were collected in three small books: Patralekhâ (1911), Aṣṭu (1927), and Campâ O Pâjala (1939), the last being a posthumous publication. Atulprasad Sen (1871-1934) began by writing poems and later concentrated on songs of which a few patriotic and devotional ones are still very popular. A collection of his songs was published as Kayekti Gâna, the revised edition of which was Gitiguñja (1931).

Satyendranath Datta (1882-1922), well known for his verbal music, exerted his influence on almost all the contemporary writers of Bengali verse. His works include Venu O Vînâ (1906), Homâtikhâ (1907), Phuler Phasal (1911), Kukhâ O Kekâ (1912), Abhra-âvira (1916), Belâseker Gâna (1923), Vidâya Arati (1924), etc. A small collection of his humorous and satirical poems was published in 1917 under the title Hasantikâ. He excelled in translation. The poems in translation were published in three volumes: Tirthasalîla (1908), Tirtharechu (1910), and Manimañjusâ (1915). The poems translated include Vedic hymns and classical Sanskrit verses as well as poems in almost all the important classical and modern languages of the world. Jatindramohan Bagchi (1878-1948) wrote verses which were published in several collections such as Lekhâ (1906), Rekhâ (1910), Aparâjitâ (1913), Nâgakeśara (1917), Nîharikâ (1927), Mahâbhâratî (1936), etc. Jatindramohan was a lover of rural landscape and his verse is smooth and picturesque. Karunanidhan Banerjee (1877-1955) published several books of verse like Prasâdi (1904), Jharâphul (1911), Sântijala (1913), Dhàn-dûrâ (1921), etc. His poems are simple and rich in imagery. In devotional fervour they can be compared with the poems of Devendranath Sen. Kumudranjan Mullick (1882-1971) was essentially a devotional poet. His poems deal with rural life in Bengal and have been published in several volumes including Ujântî, Vana-tulasi, Satadala (all published in 1911), Nâpura (1920), and Svarna-sandhyâ (1948). His style is unpretentious and full of Purânic allusions. Kalidas Ray (1889-1975) produced a number of books: Kunda (1908), Kiśalaya (1911), Parṇapûta (1914), Haimantî (1934), and Vaikâlti (1940). His verse is smooth and easy and is enlivened by a romantic love of nature. An immediate product of post-War dissatisfaction and non-co-operation was the poetry of Kazi Nazrul Islam (1899-1976). His first book of poems Agnivînâ (1922) was followed by several others like Dolanâmpâ (1923), Biser Bânîti (1924), Bhângâr Gâna (1924), Pûver Hâyyâ (1925), Sarvahârâ (1926), Bulbul (1928), Sindhu-kindola, etc. When published, his vigorous songs and poems inspired tremendous patriotic zeal. His songs, devotional, patriotic, and otherwise, form a class by themselves and are still very popular for their verbal charm, intensity of feeling, and captivating melody. Mohitlal Majumdar (1888-1952) started his literary career as an admirer of Devendranath Sen and published his first book of verse in his praise, Devendra-
mahāgala (1912). His Svapan-paśāri, which marked him as a poet of power and promise, was published in 1922. His other volumes of poetry are: Vismaraṇi (1927), Smara-garala (1936), Hemanta-godhūli (1941), and Chanda-caturdaśi (1944). Mohitāla also wrote a number of critical essays later collected and published as Ādhunika Bāṅglā Sāhitya (1936), Sāhityakathā (1938), Sāhityavāritāṇa (1942), etc. Jatindranath Sengupta (1887-1954) published several collections of verse: Maricikā (1923), Marusikkhā (1927), Marumāyā (1930), Śayam (1940), and Triyāmā (1948). Niśāntikā (1957) is a posthumous collection.

The poetical works of Achintyakumar Sengupta, Premendra Mitra, Buddhadev Basu, Annadashankar Ray, and Pramathanath Bisi have already been referred to in connexion with their prose works. Ajit Datta’s (b. 1907) books of verse are Kusumer Māsa (1930), Pāṭalakanyā (1938), Naṣṭacānd (1945), Pulnāvā (1947), and Chāyār Ṭāpanā (1951). Janinīkite (1949) and Manapavaner Nāo are books of personal essays. Jivananda Das (1899-1954) is one of the most heterodox and original poets after Rabindranath. His first significant book Dhūsara Pāṇḍulīpi was published in 1936. His other books of poetry are Vanaľatā Sena (1942, enlarged 1952), Mahāpṛthivī (1944), Sāti Tārār Timira (1948), Śreṣṭha Kavitā (1954), and Ṭāpā Bāṅglā (1957). Bishnu Dey’s (b. 1909) books of poetry number more than half a dozen, including Urvāṣi O Artemis (1932), Corāhāli (1938), Sandiper Car (1947), Nāma Rekhechi Komala-gāndhāra (1953), and Smyti Sattā Bhavisya (1963). He has also written several critical essays. Sudhindranath Datta (1901-61) published his first book of poems Tanoś in 1930. This was followed by Orchestra (1935), Krandasi (1937), Uttarakālīgūna (1940), Sañvarta (1953), and Daśami (1956). His literary essays are included in the volume Svagata (1948). Humayun Kabir (1906-69) is the author of two popular books of poems, Svapna-sādhana (1927) and Sāthi (1932). Sajanikanta Das (1900-1962) wrote a few good parodies in verse such as Path Calte Ghāser Phul (1929), Anīṣṭha (1931), etc. His serious volumes of verse are: Rājahamśa (1935), Ālo Āndhāri (1936), and Pancīte Vaisākha (1942), etc. He also wrote a novel, Ajaya (1931). Amiya Chakravarti (b. 1901) has a number of books of poems to his credit including Khāṣṭā (1938), Ekmuṭhq (1939), Pārāpāra (1953), and Pālābadal (1955). Chakravarti’s poetry is his own, and it occasionally reveals a strange affinity with Tagore’s poetry. Samar Sen (b. 1916) is another writer of the new school of poetry of the thirties and forties. His poems are collected in several small volumes: Kayekṭi Kavitā (1937), Grahaṇa (1940), Nānākathā (1942), and Tin Puruśa (1944).

It is not possible to cover the whole range of Bengali poets, novelists, writers of short stories, dramatists, and essayists of the twentieth century within the short compass of an article. Besides those referred to in the foregoing pages, we mention here only a few more names of authors who enriched Bengali literature during the twentieth century: Jaladhar Sen (1860-1939),
Ramananda Chatterjee (1865-1944), Upendranath Ganguli (1883-1960), Apareshchandra Mukherjee (1875-1934), Jogeshchandra Chaudhuri (1887-1948), Hemendrakumar Ray (1888-1963), S. Wazed Ali (1890-1951), Sachindranath Sengupta (1892-1961), Premankur Atarthi (1892-1964), Abdul Odud (1894-1970), Jagadishchandra Gupta (1886-1957), Dhurjatiprasad Mukherjee (1894-1962), Narendra Nath Mitra (1916-1975), Sukanta Bhattacharyya (1926-47), Bijayalal Chatterjee (1898-1974), Dilipkumar Roy (b. 1897), Sarojkumar Raychaudhuri (1902-1972), Manoj Basu (b. 1901), Shibram Chakravorty (b. 1905), Narayan Ganguli (1918-70), Santoshkumar Ghosh (b. 1920), Romapada Chaudhuri (b. 1922), Benoy Kumar Mukherjee (‘Yāyāvar’, b. 1918), Kamakshiprasad Chatterjee (1917-76), Phalguni Mukherjee (1905-75), Ashapurna Devi (b. 1908), Saiyad Mujtaba Ali (1904-74), Bimal Mitra (b. 1912), Gajendrakumar Mitra (b. 1909), Subodh Ghosh (b. 1910), Sumathnath Ghosh (b. 1910), Subhash Mukherjee (b. 1919), Gopal Haldar (b. 1902), Manish Ghatak (b. 1901), Jyotirmoyi Devi (b. 1894), Narendra Dev (1889-1971), and Radharani Devi (b. 1904).
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IT is a question of nomenclature: How shall we describe the Indian contribution to English literature? 'Indo-Anglian', 'Anglo-Indian', 'Indo-English', even 'Indo-Anglican' have all had some vogue. Now 'Indo-Anglican', which has vague theological implications, just will not do. 'Indo-English' should be used to cover the mass of writing in English arising out of the British impact on India. This is really Janusfaced, 'Anglo-Indian' on one side and 'Indo-Anglian' on the other. Where the writing is by Englishmen in India or on Indian themes, it is 'Anglo-Indian' literature; but where we have in mind Indian writing in English, it is appropriate to call it 'Indo-Anglian' literature. As early as 1883, a book was published in Calcutta entitled *Indo-Anglian Literature*, containing 'specimen compositions from native students'. During the last three or four decades the descriptive term *Indo-Anglian* has acquired considerable currency. Indo-Anglian literature is of course a matter of recent history. But so is Australian, Canadian, or even American literature itself, in its latest or 'modern' phase, not much more than a century old. Indo-Anglian literature or Indian writing in English is essentially Indian, although it has an apparently alien garb. As the late C. R. Reddy declared over thirty years ago:

'Indo-Anglian literature is not essentially different in kind from Indian literature. It is a part of it, a modern facet of that glory which, commencing from the Vedas, has continued to spread its mellow light, now with greater and now with lesser brilliance under the inexorable vicissitudes of time and history, ever increasingly up to the present time of Tagore, Iqbal, and Aurobindo Ghose, and bids fair to expand with our humanity's expanding future.'

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

When the British first came to India after the incorporation of the East India Company in 1600, they brought with them, not only the tools of trade and the implements of war, but also their language and their literature. At first they were compelled to learn the indigenous language to be able to carry on the business of commerce and the tasks of administration. And yet the average administrator or trader had little or no permanent interest in the country; he came, if possible, to shake 'the pagoda tree' and to line his pockets at the expense of both the country and the Company. With the Mogul rule in total disintegration and with the new British administration careering without a thought to the cultural wants of the Indian millions, it was inevitable that culture should be in jeopardy and civilization at its lowest ebb; no wonder, eighteenth century India was culturally little better than a 'waste land'. The old civilization was
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dead, or seemed to be; and there were no signs as yet of a new civilization springing up from the wreckage, and redeeming the time.

But the fact of the British having brought their language and literature with them inevitably, if also slowly, altered the aspect of affairs. From the very beginning there were a few who took an interest in the culture and literature of the people in whose midst destiny had thrown them. Likewise, there were also many Indians who, either out of inclination or out of necessity, sought to master the language of the foreigner and even, however haphazardly, to read and enjoy his rich and varied literature. Besides, some at least of the British administrators thought in terms of the welfare, material and cultural, of the Indian people. Warren Hastings helped to found the Calcutta Madrasa, a school for Muslim students, in 1781; eleven years later, the Sanskrit College at Banaras came into existence; and the arrival of the Christian missionaries in India in growing numbers also gave a fillip to the new movement.

While all were agreed that a forward educational policy should be laid down and carried out, there was for a time little agreement with regard to its precise nature. The 'Orientalists' advocated a revival of Sanskrit and Persian learning; noted Hindu leaders like Raja Rammohun Roy, and Christian missionaries like William Carey advocated 'Western' education through the medium of English; and the Government was unable to make up its mind. Macaulay's celebrated Minute, however, settled the matter. He argued that since the indigenous languages were inadequate and chaotic, the indigenous systems of medicine were a disgrace, indigenous astronomy, science, history, and geography were but things to laugh at, and indigenous arts and literature were just petty futile things, only 'Western' education with English as the sole medium would deliver the goods. Nay, more; for Macaulay hopefully thought that 'if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes of Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any effort to proselytize; without the smallest interference in religious liberty; merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection'.

In 1835 Government adopted Macaulay's scheme of modern education through English medium, and English became the official language of India. Slowly but steadily, English medium schools and colleges increased in number and commanded more and more prestige, and within a generation or two, a very considerable number of Indians had been introduced to the multitudinous riches of European, especially English, literature and culture. No doubt the new education did not, as Macaulay had anticipated, revolutionize the structure of religious belief in Bengal or India; conversions were few and far between, and Hindus and Muslims, while readily accepting the 'blessings' of 'Western' education, remained Hindus and Muslims. Be that as it may, the English-educated Indians now often sought self-expression through the medium of
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English and learned with growing success to speak in English, to write in English, and even to think in English. This they did in order to compel more easily the attention of their English 'masters'. They also sought their models in English literature, which was the only modern European literature that they knew. In due course with the Indian writings in English a modern Indian literature was born. Like modern Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, or Urdu literature, Indo-Anglian literature is also Indian literature, with a bright tradition of its own and still exhibiting signs of abundant life and energy.

THE PIONEERS

Rammohun Roy (1774-1833) was truly, and in every sense, a pioneering spirit. The first great master of effective Bengali prose, he was also the first great Indian writer of lucid English prose. His *Precepts of Jesus* (1820) and his *English Works* now collected in several volumes testify to the astonishing range and power and originality of his thinking and writing. It was indeed his destiny to clear the ground of much rubbish and lay the foundations of 'New India'.

If Rammohun was the first of the Indo-Anglians to write lucid and effective prose, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809-31) was the first of the Indo-Anglian poets. A teacher of English at the Calcutta Hindu College in his eighteenth year, Derozio had a chequered career. He has left behind him a creditable body of English verse. His sonnets and lyrics are competent, revealing sensibility as well as craftsmanship, and the influence of Romantics like Byron, Keats, and Thomas Moore is obvious. Derozio's most ambitious poem, *The Fakir of Jungheera*, tells movingly the tragic story of Nuleeni, a Brahmin widow, who is rescued from the funeral pyre by a robber chief only to be widowed a second time so that the finality of death alone could end her misery. Creditable as are his achievements in poetry, he is to be admired especially for the singular promise underlying his actual output. Kashipurasad Ghose, Derozio's contemporary, published in 1830 *The Shair and Other Poems*, revealing a certain fluency and industry though not intrinsic poetic quality. On the other hand, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, an Indian Christian, was a truly gifted poet, even more in Bengali than in English. His metrical romance, *The Captive Ladie* (1849), tells the story of Prthvirāja and Saṁyuktā. He was deeply influenced by Milton (he was the Bengali Milton, the author of the *Meghanāda-vadhā-kāvyā*) as may be inferred from a passage like the following that attempts the well nigh impossible task of projecting an image of the fallen archangel, Satan:

A form of awe he was—and yet it seemed
A sepulchre of beauty—faded, gone,
Moulder where memory fond mourner keeps
Her lonesome vigils sad—to chronicle

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The Past—and tell its tale of coming years.  
Or like a giant tree in mighty war  
With storm on whirlwind car and fierce array  
Blasted and crushed—all of its pride bereft.

Another pioneering Indo-Anglian poet was Sashichundra Dutt. A convert to Christianity, he was the author of *Miscellaneous Poems* (1848). Other members of the Dutt family of Rambagan, Calcutta—three brothers and their nephew, Oomeshchundra—contributed to *The Dutt Family Album* (1876) which contains competent effusions in English verse.

With Aru Dutt and Toru Dutt, daughters of Govindachundra Dutt, one of the contributors to the *Album*, we reach the first truly significant chapter of fulfilment in the history of Indo-Anglican poetry. Their stay in Italy, France, and England for a period of four years quickened their native poetic impulse, and they acquired an astonishing mastery of French and English. Returning to Bengal in 1873, the sisters surrendered to feverish poetic composition and the fury of sustained intellectual effort. Aru died in 1874 aged twenty, and Toru in 1877 in her twenty-first year. Thus they, like Derozio, were the inheritors of unfulfilled renown.

Some of Aru’s exquisite verse renderings in English of the French Romantic lyrics were included in *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* (1876), mainly the work of Toru. Aru’s rendering of Victor Hugo’s *Morning Serenade*, included in the volume, filled Edmund Gosse with ‘surprise and almost rapture’. Toru’s contribution to the volume consisted of about 200 verse translation from poets like Hugo, Soulay, and de Gramont. ‘If modern French Literature were entirely lost,’ wrote Edmund Gosse, ‘it might not be found impossible to reconstruct a great number of poems from this Indian version.’ Toru’s posthumously published *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan* (1882) is a maturer work, and the oft-told tales of Savitri, Prahlada, Dhruva, Ekalavya, Lakshmana, and the rest are here told with a new urgency and charm, and also with a ‘Vedic solemnity and simplicity of temper’. Apart from the ‘ballads’ and ‘legends’, there are original pieces like *Sita* and *Our Casuarina Tree* that achieve a true elegiac note.

*The Ancient Ballads* proved Toru’s facility and power of poetic utterance in a foreign medium. Had her life not been cut short, Toru could certainly have achieved great things as a poet in English. H. A. L. Fisher has observed that she will ever remain ‘in the great fellowship of English poets’. Already at her death she left behind her a complete French novel, an unfinished English novel, and these many poems and several sensitive letters addressed to an English friend.

THE AGE OF RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY AWAKENING

The last three decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the splendid flowering of a new spiritual renaissance, and the advent of Ramakrishna
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Paramahamsa (1836-86) was unquestionably the most significant of the forces that ensured the religious and cultural awakening of the country. He opened the eyes of Indians, who had for a time been almost blinded by the glare of Western civilization, to the splendours in the firmament of the spirit. Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), his chief disciple, was soon to carry his Master’s message to the very ends of the civilized world. He turned the English language for the purposes of his exposition of the Vedānta and missionary exhortation. His Complete Works have since been published in eight independent volumes. He was a very effective speaker, bold, fluent, and essentially educative. He essayed English verse too, and a poem like Kali the Mother becomes almost an apocalyptic vision of breaking of the worlds and the dance of Doom. Song of the Free is strictly Vedāntic, and images the glory of the enfranchised Self:

From dreams awake, from bonds be free!
Be not afraid. This mystery,
My shadow, cannot frighten me!
Know once for all that I am He!

Several of the evangelists of the Brāhmo Samāj, Ārya Samāj, Prārthanā Samāj, and Theosophical Society movements too wielded the English language with consummate mastery and ease. Mention may be made of Keshub Chandra Sen (1838-84), Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1834-83), Madhav Govind Rana-de (1842-1901), Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850-93), Madame Blavatsky and her associates.

The new spiritual dawn and sunrise that was the age of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda was also the age of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-94)—‘Rishi’ Bankim, as Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950) has called him. The Indian renaissance was now a full-blooded affair, and there was a stir of new activity everywhere—in religion, in literature, in social reform, and in politics.

Although Bankim is one of the Titans of Bengali literature and one of the makers of the modern Indian novel, it is worth mentioning that he first wrote a novel in English, Rajmohan’s Wife published serially in Indian Field in 1864. The novel came out in book form in 1935. His other works in English include Letters on Hinduism and Essays and Letters.¹ Romesh Chandra Dutt (1848-1909), another pioneer in the field of the Bengali novel, made some valuable contributions to Indo-Anglian literature. Mention may be made of A History of Civilization in Ancient India (1890), Lays of Ancient India (1894), Economic History of British India (1902), and India in the Victorian Age (1904). But his fame as an Indo-Anglian writer rests mainly on his classic verse renderings of the Mahābhārata (1898) and the Rāmāyana (1900). These remain still the

¹ Some of his Bengali novels found their Indo-Anglian translations during Bankim’s lifetime. For example, Durgesanandini or The Chieftain’s Daughter came out in 1880 in an English translation by C. C. Mookerjee.
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best English verse introductions to the two great Indian epics. Romesh Chandra’s success as a translator is primarily due to his mastery over language as well as metre—the metre popularized by Tennyson in his Locksley Hall. In portraiture or dialogue, in description or exhortation, Romesh Chandra always rings true; alike in depicting the horrors of war or in delineating the verities of home life, he proves not unworthy of his originals; and his renderings have appropriately found a place in Dent’s Everyman’s Library of the World’s Best Books. Two of his Bengali novels also appeared in English with the titles The Lake of Palms (1902) and The Slave-Girl of Agra (1909). Nabakrishna Ghose tried to cultivate a private garden of poetic sensibility. He assumed the nom de plume of ‘Ram Sharma’, and wrote ceaselessly, but his work is of uneven quality. His collected verses run to 300 pages, and there are a few sustained pieces like The Last Day and the Bhagabati Gita. In Bombay, Behramji Malabari tried his hand with some success in verse as well as prose, and The Indian Muse in English Garb (1876) and The Indian Eye on English Life (1893) have more than a historical interest. A far more accomplished poet was Nagesh Wishwanath Pai. His Stray Sketches in Chakmakpore (1894) presents facets of Indian life with sympathy and profound understanding, and also with a sense of humour out of the common. His narrative poem, The Angel of Misfortune (1904), is half-legendary, and presents Vikramāditya in heroic terms. It is among the best longer poems written in English by Indians. From Madras, Ramakrishna Pillai published Tales of Ind (1895) in imitation of Tennyson’s Idylls of the King. Pillai also published two novels, Padmini (1903) and The Dive for Death (1912). The action of Padmini is played against the background of the Talikota battle, which brought the never-to-be-forgotten Vijayanagar Empire to a tragic close.

THE FLOW OF TALENTS: RABINDRANATH, AUROBINDO, AND OTHERS

Essentially a Bengali classic, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) made significant contribution to Indo-Anglian literature also. Gitanjali (1912), The Crescent Moon (1913), and The Gardener (1919) were turned into English from the original Bengali by Tagore himself; and in plays like Chitra (1914), he altered the original in many places. His prose works like Sadhana (1913), Personality (1917), The Religion of Man (1931), and Nationalism, being meant for an international public, were originally written in English. Gitanjali, for which Tagore won the Nobel Prize, is a jewel of philosophical poetry, and sounds utterly genuine even though it is a translation. The only poem written by him originally in English was The Child (1931), almost certainly inspired by Gandhiji’s march to Dandi in 1930, and also by the Passion Play at Oberammergau, which Tagore happened to see soon afterwards. It is an impressionistic description of the pilgrimage of men and women of all types to the inaccessible Shrine of Fulfilment. Re-
reading the poem today we cannot but wonder whether Tagore had not had a vision of Gandhiji’s coming martyrdom:

‘We refused him in doubt, we killed him in anger, now we shall accept him in love,
For in his death he lives in the life of us all, the great Victim.’

Many of Tagore’s plays too are a part of Indo-Anglian literature; suggestive, symbolistic, full of spiritual undertones, plays like Chitra and The King of the Dark Chamber (1914) form almost a distinctive genre in English drama. Tagore’s novels, notably Gora (1924), have given a lead to modern Indian fiction, and it is seldom in doubt that they are the work of a poet. Judged by any standards whatsoever, Tagore’s achievements as a man of letters compel respectful recognition; and he is not of India alone, but of the whole world. ‘He has knocked at our gate and all the bars have given way. Our doors have burst open.’

A professor of English at the Presidency College, Calcutta, Manmohan Ghose (1867-1924) had an entirely English education, finishing at Christ Church, Oxford. He was a genuine poet and of him Oscar Wilde wrote in the Pall Mall Gazette: ‘Mr Ghose ought someday to make a name in our literature’. Reviewing his Love Songs and Elegies (1898), Oscar Wilde said that the poems ‘show how quick and subtle are the intellectual sympathies of the Oriental mind’. The posthumously published Songs of Love and Death (1926) contains some of his best works as a poet. There is a deep and profound note in these poems. Poems like Immortal Eve and Orphic Mysteries are indubitable poetic achievements. The technical finish of Manmohan’s poems makes them always maintain a reasonably uniform level of excellence. His Nature poems also are charged with a beauty and strength all their own. Recollecting in tranquillity the faded visions and experiences of his life in England, Manmohan creates them anew in the images of poetry; and March with its sunny crocuses, June with its moonlight and roses, and November with its heaps of dead leaves, and London’s ‘murmur of men more sweet than all the world’s caresses’, all are evoked with a sure and sensitive artistry. But it must be added that, even when Manmohan seems to be describing English scenes, his poems are not divorced from their ultimate Indian origins, and they do breathe also her spirit of restrained rapture and tranquillity. Although many of his poems remain unpublished, he is even as it is, in Laurence Binyon’s words, ‘a voice among the great company of English singers; somewhat apart and solitary, with a difference in his note, but not an echo’.

Unlike Tagore, who belongs both to Bengali and Indo-Anglian literature, Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950) did almost all his writing in English. Like his brother Manmohan, Aurobindo had an entirely English education, but finished at King’s College, Cambridge. While in England, he mastered many languages—English and French, Greek and Latin—and acquired some acquaintance with
other European languages as well. A master of many languages and disciplines, Sri Aurobindo is without doubt the most outstanding of the Indo-Anglians, and also one of the major literary figures of the century. *Collected Poems and Plays* (1942) in two volumes, the colossal symbolistic epic *Savitri* (1950-51), the unfinished epic *Ilion*, a series of blank verse plays (*Vasavadutta*, *Rodogune*, *The Viziers of Bassora*, and *Eric*), and various other collections of lyrics and translations constitute Sri Aurobindo’s achievement in poetry and poetic drama. In *Savitri*, the story is taken from the *Mahābhārata* but is rendered anew in terms of Vedic symbolism and Aurobindonian Yoga and metaphysics. It is an extraordinary story of spiritual action involving the defeat of Death, the expulsion of Darkness, and the liquidation of the primordial force of the evil of Ignorance. It is written in blank verse of singular purity and strength, and the rhythm springs with the puissance of a *mantric* chant. The Aurobindo poetic canon also includes his early narrative poems *Urvasie* (1896), *Love and Death*, and *Baji Prabhoo*, philosophical poems like *The Rishi* and *Ahana*, poems trembling with a mystical ecstasy like *The Rose of God* and *Thought the Paraclete*, and the five-act play, *Perseus the Deliverer*. In many of his later poems, Sri Aurobindo tried, not unsuccessfully, classical quantitative metres like the Homeric hexameter (in *Ahana* and *Ilion*) and Catullan hendecasyllabics (in *Thought the Paraclete*). More importantly, Sri Aurobindo also tried to evolve a form of poetic utterance in English akin to the Sanskrit *mantra*; the poet becoming a seer and attempting to reveal to man ‘his eternal self and the godheads of its manifestation’. The ecstasy that is to be communicated being beyond the bounds of everyday language, a new rhythm and a symbolic language are resorted to so that the listener may have the sense ‘of a rhythm which does not begin or end with the line, but has for ever been sounding in the eternal planes and began even in Time ages ago’. Sri Aurobindo’s illuminating treatise *The Future Poetry* constitutes a massive body of creative and prophetic literary criticism in English, and it also gives an unacademical but illuminating assessment of the work of the glories yet to come. As for Sri Aurobindo’s other prose works, *The Life Divine* (1940) is a philosophical treatise and a prose symphony; it is a plea and a programme to divinize man, to plan and to establish here ‘a new Heaven and a new Earth’. *Essays on the Gita* is a luminous exposition of the Lord’s Song, and is admirable in presentation and style. Among his yet other prose writings are *The

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* Begun late in the eighteen-nineties, almost contemporaneously with *Urvasie* and *Love and Death*, *Savitri* was fifty years a-growing, undergoing numerous revisions, now taken up, now set aside, anon forged in the fire of a new inspiration into a marvellous splendour of revelation. In the final form this blank verse epic consists of three parts, divided into twelve books or forty-eight cantos, making up a total of about 24,000 lines. Aurobindo has given to the familiar *Mahābhārata* story of Sāvitrī and Satyavān a mystical colouring and transcendence, and perhaps future literary historians will hail it as the greatest English epic after *Paradise Lost*. For a critical study of the poem, see Prema Nandakumar’s *A Study of Savitri* (1962).
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Secret of the Veda, The Synthesis of Yoga, The Human Cycle, The Ideal of Human Unity, and Foundations of Indian Culture. Notable among his shorter prose works are The Mother (1928), Heraclitus (1941), and The Renaissance in India.

Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949) and her brother Harindranath Chattopadhyay gained quick recognition as poets when they were still quite young, but neither, though for different reasons, could maintain this early promise in their later years. Proceeding to England as a girl, Sarojini made valuable contacts with some of the leading literary lights of the time—for example, Edmund Gosse, Arthur Symons, and the members of the Rhymers’ Club—and published her first collection of poems, The Golden Threshold (1905), in her twenty-sixth year. It was followed by The Bird of Time (1912) and The Broken Wing (1917). Her easy mastery over English verse forms is obvious. As a poet, she particularly excels in describing familiar things: a June sunset, the full moon, nightfall in the city, temple bells, etc. She can suggest, too, immensities and imponderables, and in her exquisite lyrics such as To a Buddha Seated on a Lotus and The Flute-player of Brindavan, she can achieve the fusion of the real and the ideal, and bring earth and heaven together. The lyric-sequence, The Temple, is, however, her most mature work. In this recollection of the vicissitudes of Love’s pilgrimage—the glow, the surrender, the ecstasy, the recoil, the resentment, the despair, the reaction, the abasement, the acceptances—all are fused into fierce and beautiful poetry.

Harindranath Chattopadhyay’s The Feast of Youth (1918) offered, indeed, as befits the title, youth’s fervour and excitement, youth’s self-laceration, youth’s self-assertions and high-vaulting idealisms. Sri Aurobindo found in the book ‘a rich and finely lavish command of language, a firm possession of the metrical instrument, an almost blinding gleam and glitter of the wealth of imagination and fancy ... the beginnings of a supreme poetical utterance of the Indian soul in the rhythms of the English tongue’. Several more volumes have followed: The Magic Tree (1922), Grey Clouds and White Showers (1924), The Dark Well (1939), and Blood of Stones (1944). But while the talent and fluency are still there, the prophesied mastery and supremacy of poetic utterance have failed to materialize.

ERA OF THE GANDHIAN REVOLUTION

By the end of the First World War, English education had sent out tens of thousands of graduates and several millions of matriculants into the sub-continent, and in these the Indo-Anglians found a congenial audience in their own country. With the coming of Gandhiji on the political scene, not only Hindi and regional languages, but even English itself, saw increasing literary activity. The political pulse of the nation had quickened considerably, and sometimes rose to feverish pitch; and this too gave an impetus to literature. The award
of the Nobel Prize to Tagore in 1913 and the blaze of publicity that attended upon his post-War European and world tours also acted as a spur to literary aspirants in India. More and more young men and women resorted to English as a medium of self-expression, and poems, stories, novels, essays, playlets, critical appreciations, philosophical and historical monographs, all came tumbling after in increasing number and velocity. Also, the revolutions in taste which the European or American literary scene witnessed during the nineteen-twenties, thirties, and forties had their reflections and repercussions in India; and the issue between tradition and experiment, convention and revolt, was fought here as much as in Britain or America, and with equally uncertain results.

FICTION

During the period between the two World Wars, a number of Indians essayed fiction in English, some of it of international standard. The English versions of Tagore’s novels and short stories had led the way, and writers like K. S. Venkataramani, R. K. Narayan, Mulk Raj Anand, Bhabani Bhattacharya, and Raja Rao were enterprising enough and talented enough to follow his lead and to accomplish triumphs of their own. Venkataramani’s *Paper Boats* (1921) and *On the Sand-dunes* (1923) first won for him a discriminating audience that responded with pleasure to his observant humour and to the singular quality of his poetic prose. It was, however, in his novels—*Murugan the Tiller* (1927) and *Kandan the Patriot* (1932)—and the stories in the *Jatadharan* (1937) volume that Venkataramani rose to his full stature as a writer of fiction who integrates in his work the Gandhian ideals of truth—*ahiñsā*, satyagraha, and *sārvodaya*.

R. K. Narayan’s (b. 1907) first novel *Swami and Friends* (1937) gave a physiognomy and a name to ‘Malgudi’, which has since become one of the familiar localities in the world of fiction. Several other novels have followed: *The Bachelor of Arts*, *The Dark Room* (1938), *The English Teacher* (1945), *Mr. Sampath* (1949), *The Financial Expert* (1952), *Waiting for the Mahatma* (1955), *The Guide* (1959), *The Man-Eater of Malgudi* (1961), and *The Sweet-Vendor* (1967). Narayan is an artist, a sensitive delineator of the quiddities of South Indian middle class life, and he has no axes to grind. *Swami and Friends*, *The Bachelor of Arts*, and *The English Teacher* form almost a trilogy; the names of the central characters differ, but emotionally and spiritually it is the story of the development of a boy into a young man who grasps happiness only to lose it. *Waiting for the Mahatma* introduces Gandhiji as a character, and concludes with his death. His post-Independence novels have rather more of the touch of

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satire than the earlier novels, but even so Narayan's art is governed as much by restraint as it is leavened by humour. The Guide (for which Narayan won the Sahitya Akademi Award) tells the story of a scamp whom circumstances transform into a 'Swami' who dies in the course of a fast undertaken to end a drought. The Man-Eater of Malgudi is a modern rendering of the Bhashmāsura myth. Taken all in all, Narayan is the most distinguished, and the most artistically satisfying, of the Indo-Anglian novelists.

Mulk Raj Anand's (b. 1905) early novels—Coolie (1933), Untouchable (1935), Two Leaves and a Bud (1937)—quickly established his fame as a novelist of power and purpose. Coolie follows the fortunes of a peasant-boy from his village to town, town to city, city to 'Gateway of India', and then to Simla—where he dies of consumption. Wherever he goes, he has the brand of 'coolie' and is a creature to be exploited; only in death he can find his peace. Untouchable tells the story of a single day in the life of an untouchable boy. Two Leaves and a Bud is the story of exploitation and cruelty in a tea estate. Many more novels have followed—The Village (1939), The Big Heart (1945), Seven Summers (1951), Private Life of an Indian Prince (1953), The Old Woman and the Cow (1960), The Road (1961), and Morning Face (1968)—and there is always much vitality and urgency in his writing. Anand is a 'committed' writer, and he is almost the prose laureate of the waifs, the have-nots, and the exploited. His 'axes' notwithstanding, Anand's portrayal of the Indian scene has a basic veracity.

Raja Rao's Kanthapura (1938), like Venkataramani's Kandan the Patriot, has for its background the Salt Satyagraha movement of 1930-31. But Raja Rao's rather oblique method of narration gives it a power and a suggestiveness out of the ordinary. The events that happen to the satyagrahis in Kanthapura are prototypical of what happened almost everywhere in India. Raja Rao's post-Independence novel The Serpent and the Rope (1960) is a longer and stronger work, and is full of philosophical undertones; acclaimed as a major achievement, it won the Sahitya Akademi Award. The Cat and Shakespeare (1965) is much shorter, but is no less a success as a philosophical novel. He is also, like Narayan and Anand, a fine short story writer, and the collection The Cow of the Barricades is full of poetic touches and epiphanic portraits.

Bhabani Bhattacharya's So Many Hungers (1947) covers the years of the Second World War—the uncertainties, agonies, and frustrations in India following the 'Quit India' movement. The pictures of famine-ridden Bengal are lacerating, but they are also touched by compassion. Men are fools rather than criminals and they commit sin because they are blind. So Many Hungers had been preceded by Indian Cavalcade (1942), and followed by four novels: Music for Mohini (1952), He Who Rides a Tiger (1954), A Goddess Named Gold (1960), and Shadow from Ladakh (1966). A Goddess Named Gold is a vivid portrait of post-Independence India, while Shadow from Ladakh, which won the Sahitya Akademi
Award, is set against the background of the Chinese invasion of India in 1962. Of other novelists these few may be mentioned: Shanker Ram (The Love of Dust, 1938); D. F. Karaka (Just Flesh, 1940; There Lay the City, 1941); Humayun Kabir (Men and Rivers, 1945); Ahmed Ali (Twilight in Delhi, 1940); A. S. P. Ayyar (Baladitya, 1930; Three Men of Destiny, 1939); V. V. Chintamani (Vedantam, the Clash of Traditions, 1928); and Purushottam Tricumdas (The Living Mask, 1945).

POETRY

To return to the Indo-Anglian poets who were commendably active during the period between the two wars, the most successful were Govind Krishna Chettur, K. S. Seshadri, V. N. Bhushan, P. R. Kaikini, K. D. Sethna, Shahid Suhrawardy, Manjeri Isvaran, and Subho Tagore. Chettur’s most mature work was The Shadow of God (1935), written under the shadow of his mother’s death, and it perhaps anticipated his own death in 1936. Seshadri was a scholarly poet and an accomplished sonneteer. Bhushan’s poetic sensibility found free scope in a series of slim volumes (Flute Tunes, Star Fires, Horizons, Footfalls), while P. R. Kaikini, in volumes like Shanghai and The Snake in the Moon (1942), gave expression to the tormented unrest of the times. K. D. Sethna is a very sensitive and accomplished poet who has been profoundly influenced by Sri Aurobindo, and the collection, The Secret Splendour (1941), contains some of his best works as a poet. Suhrawardy’s Essays in Verse (1937) is no less competent in its fusion of mood, word, and rhythm. Manjeri Isvaran has travelled far from his first book Saffron and Gold (1932), and in his mature works (Brief Orisons, 1941; The Fourth Avatar, 1946) he is revealed as a very good poet indeed. Subho Tagore’s Peacock Plumes and Flames of Passion (1944) include several pieces that are sensuous and richly articulate. There are other names too, but many of them belong really to the post-1947 period. Worthy of special mention are the Goan poets—Joseph Furtado (A Goan Fiddler, 1901; and Selected Poems, new edition, 1967), Aramando Menezes (Selected Poems, 1969), Manuel C. Rodrigues, S. R. Dongerkery (The Ivory Tower), Fredoon Kabraji (A Minor Georgian’s Swan Song), R. de L. Furtado, and R. V. Pandit. Aramando Menezes has had classical training, and his poems (Chords and Discords, 1936; Chaos and Dancing Star, 1940) have accordingly a classical finish.

DRAMA AND OTHER FORMS OF LITERATURE

Compared to Indo-Anglian poetry and fiction, drama has put up a rather poor show. There are, of course, the poetic plays of Tagore and Sri Aurobindo, Harindranath Chattopadhyay and Bharati Sarabhai (The Well of the People, 1943), and there are the farces and comedies included in the two volumes of V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar’s Dramatic Divertissements (1921). Fyze
Rahamin’s *Daughter of Ind* (1940) is a tragedy, and has been performed. T. P. Kailasam was a master of the genre but he wrote only a few short pieces (*The Burden and Fulfilment, Karna*). A. S. P. Ayyar’s *The Slaves of Ideas* (1941) is a collection of prose plays. Mrinalini Sarabhai (*Captive Soil*, 1945), J. M. Lobo Prabhu (*The Family Cage*), and Purushottam Tricumdas (*Sauce for the Goose*) also cultivated the dramatic form with power and skill.

The light humorous essay has not found many successful practitioners among the Indo-Anglians. Malabari and Nagesh Pai have been mentioned already. Of latter-day essayists the more important are S.V.V. (*Soap Bubbles, More Soap Bubbles*), K. Iswara Dutt (*And All That*), R. Bangarwsami (*My Lord Ku Ku Doon Koon*, 1945), and columnists in the newspapers like Pothen Joseph and D. F. Karaka. Philosophical prose of considerable distinction has come from S. Radhakrishnan, M. Hiriyanna, R. D. Ranade, S. N. Dasgupta, and P. N. Srinivasaachari. Historians like Jadunath Sircar, R. C. Majumdar, K. M. Panikkar, and Nilakanta Sastri have made major contributions to our understanding of India’s past. Biography has been cultivated by Rustum Masani, D. F. Wacha, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and S. Natarajan, who have written about Dadabhaj Naoroji, J. N. Tata, Gopalkrishna Gokhale, and Lallubhai Samaldas respectively. Surendranath Banerjee’s *A Nation in Making* (1925) is more than a mere autobiographical work. It also throws considerable light on some of the most interesting chapters in the contemporary history of India. The autobiographies of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru have become classics, each of a different kind. Literary and art criticism of a creative nature has come from Sri Aurobindo (*The Future Poetry*) and Ananda Coomaraswamy (*The History of Indian and Indonesian Art, The Dance of Shiva, and An Introduction to Indian Art*), Humayun Kabir (*Poetry, Monads and Society*), and competent critical monographs from N. K. Sidhanta (*The Heroic Age of India*, 1929), S. C. Sengupta (*The Art of Bernard Shaw*, 1936), G. Narayana Menon (*Shakespeare Criticism*, 1938), Amiya Chakravarti (*The Dynasties and the Post-War Age in Poetry*, 1938), and K. K. Mehrotra (*Horace Walpole*). Orators, jurists, and journalists have also had to wield the prose medium, and at their best their work can be compared effectively with similar work elsewhere. In non-fiction prose, among the more important masters are Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and S. Radhakrishnan. These three stand out by reason of their eminence as men of action or of thought, and the marvellous competence or adequacy of their style for the varied demands made upon it. The English version of Mahatma Gandhi’s autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (1940), was actually the work of Mahadev Desai (with V. S. Srinivasa Sastri’s assistance). Desai had caught the Master’s style with an admirable fidelity, and in the result a beauti-

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4 The first edition of Gandhiji’s autobiography was published in two volumes, Vol. I in 1927 and Vol. II in 1929. In 1940 the second edition was issued by Mahadev Desai in one volume.
ful serenity shines on the pages of the book, as indeed on almost everything that Gandhiji ever wrote. There is in Gandhiji’s style a biblical simplicity and sufficiency, verily the model of the clear and simple style. Jawaharlal Nehru’s *An Autobiography* (1936) and *Discovery of India* (1946) are the works of a master of English prose whose sensibility had been nurtured and tempered in English literature and modern European thought. He equally drew his inspiration from the wells of Indian or Asian tradition. His style was indeed the man, and alike in his writing and speeches, the whole man—his culture, humanity, and integrity—were revealed as in a mirror. Radhakrishnan’s monumental volumes (two) of *Indian Philosophy* (1923, 1927) set a standard for Indian philosophical writings. In his later works—notably in his *An Idealist View of Life* (1932) and *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* (1939)—the constructive philosopher was more in evidence than the historian of Indian philosophy, and always it was his prose style—adequate in every sense, often eloquent, and interspersed with choice quotations from the literatures of the West and the East—that carried all before it.

**POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA**

Although after Independence in 1947 the claims of Hindi are being canvassed, English still largely retains its pre-Independence hold on the Indian intelligentsia and in all those areas where it had earlier held sway. Indian writing in English and Indian talking in English are, perhaps, more in evidence today than ever before, and no wonder an interesting new chapter is being added to the history of Indo-Anglian literature.

Since Independence a number of novelists have gained recognition in India, and in England and America. While R. K. Narayan, Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao, and Bhabani Bhattacharya have greatly extended their pre-Independence vogue, the new ‘arrivals’—Khushwant Singh, Kamala Markandaya, Ruth Prawar Jhabvala, Nayantara Sahgal, Anita Desai, Shantha Rama Rau, Manohar Malgonkar, Balachandra Rajan, Sudhin N. Ghose, Anand Lall—have in greater or lesser measure contributed to the variegated richness of the present-day Indo-Anglian literary scene. Khushwant Singh’s *Train to Pakistan* (1956) presents with surgical precision the pity and the horror of the ‘partition’ as they particularly affected the inhabitants of a border village, Mano Majra. His later novel *I Shall Not Hear the Nightingale* (1961) is a fictional study of the inner tensions in a Sikh family of pre-Partition days. Kamala Markandaya’s novels—*Nectar in a Sieve* (1954), *Some Inner Fury* (1957), *A Silence of Desire* (1961), *Possession* (1963), *A Handful of Rice* (1966), *The Coffer Dams* (1969), and *The Nowhere Man* (1973)—show a fine creative talent at work, and *Some Inner Fury* does give a vivid image of India during the ‘Quit India’ holocaust. Nayantara Sahgal’s four novels, *A Time to be Happy* (1958), *This Time of Morning* (1965),
Storm in Chandigarh (1969), and The Day in Shadow (1972), and Anita Desai's Cry the Peacock (1963), Voices in the City (1965), and Bye-Bye, Blackbird (1971) are all competently done; the former's New Delhi and the latter's Calcutta come out vividly alive in their best novels. Ruth Prawar Jhabvala's To Whom She Will (1955), Edmond in India (1958), The Householder (1960), Get Ready for Battle (1962), and other novels, and her collections of short stories like A Stranger Climate (1968) bring out the idiosyncracies and ironies of the social scene in contemporary Delhi. Shantha Rama Rau's Remember the House (1956) is the story of the girl-narrator's passage through romance and disillusion to common sense and compromise. Manohar Malgonkar has within a short time made a reputation for himself with a series of novels: Distant Drum (1960), Combat of Shadows (1962), The Princes (1963), and A Bend in the Ganges (1965)—the last leading up to the Hindu-Muslim massacres following the partition of India, Balachandra Rajan's two novels—The Dark Dancer (1959) and Too Long in the West (1961)—both centre round the problem of adjustment when an Indian sojourner in the West returns to his motherland. Sudhin Ghose's novels—And Gazelles Leaping (1949), Cradle of the Clouds (1951), The Vermilion Boat (1953), and The Flame of the Forest (1955)—are in a class apart, being tantalizing mixtures of fantasy and realism. Anand Lall's The House at Adampur (1956) and Seasons of Jupiter (1958) are interesting yarns. In his Chronicles of Kedaram (1961), K. Nagarajan has given a vivid picture of life in a South Indian temple town. There is, besides, the phenomenon of G. V. Desani whose All About Mr. Hatter (1948) is an Indo-Anglian approximation to James Joyce's Ulysses.

In poetry too the record is impressive. Aside from Sri Aurobindo's monumental Savitri, other volumes of poetry with a mystical or spiritual slant have also come from the pens of poets belonging to the Aurobindonian school: K. D. Sethna's The Adventure of the Apocalypse (1949), Dilip Kumar Roy's Eyes of Light (1948), Nirodbaran's Sun-Blossoms (1947), and V. K. Gokak's Life's Temple. Other poets reflecting Aurobindo's influence are Nalinikanta Gupta (To the Heights), Nishikanta (Dream Cadences), and Punjalal (Rosary and Lotus Petals). When The Illustrated Weekly under C. R. Mandy's editorship began to publish Indo-Anglian verse, it gave a fillip to new writing, and several names have since acquired a more general currency. Dom Moraes's A Beginning (1957) won for him the Hawthornden Prize; and his later volumes, Poems (1960) and John Nobody (1965), have helped him to consolidate his position as one of the most significant of modern English poets. Harindranath Chattopadhyay (Spring in Winter, 1956; Masks and Farewells, 1961; and Virgins and Vineyards, 1967); Nissim Ezekiel (A Time to Change, 1951; Sixty Poems, 1953; The Exact Name, 1965); P. Lal (The Parrot's Death, 1960; Draupadi and Jayadratha, 1967), Kamala Das (Summer in Calcutta, 1965; The Descendants, 1968), A. K. Ramanujan (The Striders, 1966, won a Poetry Society Recommendation), P. K. Saha (Poems for

In the post-Independence era India has witnessed a few enthusiastic writers of drama in English. Asif Currнимbooy has nearly twenty plays to his credit—The Tourist Mecca (1961), The Doldrummers (1962), The Dumb Dancer (1962), Om (1962), Goa (1967), An Experiment with Truth (1969), Inquilab (1970), Om Mani Padme Hum (1972), The Miracle Seed (1973), etc.—and they display virtuosity and vividness in dialogue. Bharati Sarabhai’s Two Women (1952), a play written in prose but charged with feeling, projects the tension at the heart of Hindustan between tradition and revolt. Dilip Kumar Roy has dramatized the life-stories of Caitanya in Sri Chaitanya and of Mirā, the Beggar Princess, in Mira in Brindaban (1956). K. Nagarajan’s chronicle play, Chidambaram (1955), has been successfully produced; Lobo Prabhu’s Collected Plays (1956) contains one or two striking dramatic pieces. G. V. Desani’s experimental Hali (1950) has been recently given a new lease of life; it is the story of Hali’s passion told in moving, disturbing, and unforgettable accents. Several other plays written in the post-Independence period are Keechaka (1949) of T. P. Kailasam, The Flute of Krishna (1950) of P. A. Krishnaswamy, Siddhartha (1956) of Harindranath Chattopadhyay, A Touch of Brightness (1965) of Pratap Sharma, Sadhana (1969) of K. S. Rangappa, Tiger-claw (1967) of Lakhan Deb, Nalini (1969) of Nissim Ezekiel, and Larins Sahib (1971) of Gurucharan Das.

Rajagopalachari was usually considered to be the dialectician par excellence, but that was only part of the story. While the severe austerity of his prose style was obvious enough, there were also emotional and spiritual lights that often lifted up his writing to poetic heights. His adaptations of the Mahābhārata (1951) and the Rāmāyana (1961) in the idiom of the modern age are masterpieces in their own right and have become best-sellers. A prolific writer, M. N. Roy made significant contribution to the dialectical and political literature of India. His works include India in Transition (1922), From Savagery to Civilisation (1943), and Materialism: An Outline of the History of Scientific Thought (1951). Nirad C. Chau-

* It is a rendering of the Ayodhya-kāṇḍa of the Tamil classic, Kamba Rāmāyana (ninth century).
dhuri is a powerful stylist in English prose. His *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian* (1951) has been followed by *A Passage to England* (1959) and *The Continent of Circe* (1965). He writes from the vantage ground of a self-forged solitariness, and his interpretations—whether of India or of England—are perhaps more valuable for the light they throw upon his own acutely sensitive nature than as balanced reports on the Indo-Aryans or the Anglo-Saxons. Some of his latest publications, *To Live or Not to Live* (1970), *Scholar Extraordinary* (1974), and *Clive of India* (1975), are marked by his usual uncharitable criticism of India. Ved Mehta is a brilliant writer, and his collection of essays *The Fly and the Fly-Bottle* (1963) surveys some of the controversies that have raged in the recent past in England’s groves of Academe. Although journalism embalmed in a book is seldom readable, there are exceptions to the rule: Rajagopalachari’s *Satyameva Jayate* volumes, N. Raghunathan’s *Sotto Voce* and its successors, M. Chalapati Rau’s *Fragments of a Revolution* (1965), and a few others. Bal Gangadhar Tilak’s birth centenary in 1956 occasioned more than one good biography of the Lokamanya, and in recent years biographies of Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda, Gopalkrishna Gokhale, the Nehrus, Sri Aurobindo, Vallabhbhai Patel, Subhas Chandra Bose, and other national leaders appeared. Books on Gandhi, of course, are legion. In the field of literary criticism K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar (*Shakespeare: His World and His Art*), S. C. Sengupta (*Shakespeare’s Historical Plays*, 1964), P. Lal (*The Concept of an Indian Literature*, 1968), V. K. Gokak (*Coleridge’s Aesthetics*, 1975), P. C. Ghose (*Shakespeare’s Mingled Drama*, 1966), and many others made significant contributions. The emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 led to the production of a mass of books in English by Indian men of letters during the recent years. Mention may be made of Prabodh Chandra’s *Bloodbath in Bangladesh* (1971), Subrata Roy Chaudhuri’s *The Genesis of Bangladesh* (1972), Dom Moraes’s *The Tempest Within* (1971), and G. S. Bhargava’s *Crush India* (1972). In history, philosophy, politics, economics—in all branches of modern knowledge, in fact,—Indian writing in English is increasingly coming up to the best Anglo-American standards.

A word or two about the Indian journals in English which played a significant role in facilitating the growth of Indo-Anglian literature. In the early days of Indian national renaissance, papers like *The Hindu* (Madras) and *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) played a notable part in educating and mobilizing public opinion on the issue of progressive self-government. Other papers that once commanded high prestige or enjoyed a great vogue, for example, the *Indu Prakash* (Bombay) and *Bandemataram* (Calcutta), now belong to history, not actuality. National leaders like Lajpat Rai (*The People*), C. R. Das (*Forward*), Mahatma Gandhi (*Young India* and *Harijan*), C. Y. Chintamani (*The Leader*), Pattabhi Sitaramayya (*Janmabhumi*), Subhas Chandra Bose (*Forward Bloc*), M. N. Roy (*Independent India* and *The Marxian Way*), Lokamanya Tilak (*The
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Mahratta), Acharya Kripalani (Vigil), and K. M. Munshi (The Social Welfare) have in their time made their journals efficient organs for the dissemination of their views. Daily newspapers like the Indian Express, the Hindustan Times, and the National Herald, as also the so-called ‘Anglo-Indian’ papers of yesterday—the Times of India, the Statesman, and the Mail—that have wonderfully adjusted themselves to the altered conditions of republican India, are all doing yeoman service by maintaining good journalistic standards and generally viewing questions from a progressive and all-India or national standpoint. The weekly papers—except the popular Illustrated Weekly—are less firmly established as a rule, although at one time papers like the Indian Social Reformer and The Servant of India enjoyed no mean prestige in the country. There are the monthly journals, too, sharing the difficulties of the tribe in other parts of the world. The Calcutta Review and the Modern Review have had a long and useful history; Prabuddha Bharata and Vedanta Kesari continue to maintain a good standard with a Vedantic and spiritual slant; and The Aryan Path has completed nearly fifty years of meritorious service, addressing itself to the task of dissemination of the abiding values and verities and also to the task of building up, through its review section, a sound critical tradition in the country. The quarterly or bi-monthly journals like the Visvabharati Quarterly, the Quest (Bombay), and the Advent (Pondicherry) deserve special notice. There are, besides, the journals, published by the Universities or other learned bodies, and these also try to maintain standards appropriate to such journals.

CONCLUSION

Indo-Anglian literature began as a hot-house plant. It has not even now wholly shed its strangeness. Yet it would be wrong to describe it as an ‘alien’ literature. It has now taken firm and deep root in the Indian soil, and it is branching out in many directions. At its best, Indian writing in English compares, not unfavourably, with the best writing in England or the U.S.A. It may therefore be confidently hoped that, as in the past, in the future also the Indo-Anglian writers will primarily aim at projecting a total vision of India—interpreting her aspirations and hopes and recording her ardours and achievements—not only before the outside world but also before the diverse linguistic groups within the country. There is no reason why Indo-Anglian literature should not, in the fullness of time, grow with the growth of Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, and other regional literatures in India, giving and taking freely, and achieve a position comparable to a distinctive national literature like modern American literature—an individual expression of the Indian genius and a means to national and international understanding.

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GUJARATI

THE LAND AND THE LANGUAGE

GUJARAT, the land of the Gurjars, in olden times extended from Rājputānā in the north to Lāṭa Pradeśa in the south. Kathiawad, the land of the Kāṭhīs, was known as Ānarta or Saurāṣṭra. The present Kutch was included in it, as its boundaries extended right up to Thar Parkar in Sind (Pakistan). These boundaries changed with the passage of time and are now restricted to Sirohi (Mount Abu) or rather Palanpur in the north, and Daman (on the banks of the Damangaṅgā river) in the south. Kathiawad and Kutch and such ancient and historic towns as Dvārakā and Bhrigu-Kaccha (Broach), Surat and Ahmedabad are included in the present State of Gujarat. The term 'Greater Gujarat' has come into vogue of late to describe those places outside Gujarat proper, where Gujaratis have gone and settled like South, East, and Central Africa, Burma, and Mauritius outside India and Nagpur, Madras, and Calcutta inside India. The Gujaratis there live as they live in Gujarat, and use their language freely wherever possible. They have built temples there, started schools, and otherwise made themselves at home. There are printing presses with Gujarati types for newspapers and magazines, and even books in Gujarati are being printed and published there.

Gujarati emerged as a New Indo-Aryan language like Bengali, Hindi, and Marathi by about A.D. 1000. The basic vocabulary of Gujarati is derived from Sanskrit through Prakrit. Leaving aside the Sanskrit works, the oldest compositions in the Old Gujarat area were in the latest form of Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit, known as Śauraseṇī or Nāgara Apabhraṃśa which may therefore be safely called the real precursor of Gujarati. Hemacandra (1089-1173), the great grammarian, calls it simply Apabhraṃśa which seems to have ceased to exist by A.D. 900. During the years A.D. 900-1150 a new kind of Apabhraṃśa came into existence which can be called Gurjara Apabhraṃśa. L. P. Tessitori, the Italian scholar, has described it as the 'Old Western Rajasthani' which, as the immediate source of Gujarati, was gradually taking shape as a New Indo-Aryan language. There was a certain local element existing in the vocabulary. It had drawn upon many words called desī or desīya, a considerable amount of which happened to be of Dravidian origin. Hemacandra has given a long list of such words in his Desī-nāma-mālā. A large number of foreign words from languages like Persian, Arabic, Portuguese, and English have penetrated into the corpus of Gujarati vocabulary. This is, however, a common feature of nearly all the Indian languages current today. It is an inevitable result of the political changes through which India passed.
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The language is easy and simple. The conjugational forms of its verbs are few. It is not overloaded with auxiliaries, articles, prepositions, and adverbs. It is only when abstruse, metaphysical, technical, or scientific words have to be used that it has to fall back on Sanskrit.

The Gujarati script is a developed or rather simplified form of the Nāgarī (or Devanāgarī) alphabet which itself appears to have belonged to Gujarat and Rajasthan as well as western Uttar Pradesh in the olden days. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, this script has again been accepted as a sort of pan-Indian script for Sanskrit.

The history of Gujarati literature can be divided into three broad periods:

(i) the Early Gujarati period up to c. A.D. 1450;
(ii) the Middle Gujarati period up to A.D. 1850; and
(iii) the New or Modern Gujarati period from after A.D. 1850 till the present day.

EARLY GUJARATI LITERATURE

Aparbhāraṁśa, the early literary medium of Gujarat, was used almost like the spoken vernacular as it is evident from the couplets (more than 100) collected by Hemacandra. These couplets are claimed as specimens of their earlier forms by Gujarati, Hindi (Brāja-bhāṣā and Khari-boli), and Marwari. The earliest writings in Gujarati both in prose and verse are principally by Jaina authors. These cover a wide area of human knowledge ranging from narrative, romantic, moral, and didactic themes to grammatical, philosophical, and various technical subjects. Some of the particular literary types prevalent in the Old Gujarati period are: rāsas, phāgs, bāramāsīs, etc. Rāsas (long poems—heroic, romantic, or narrative) were written either by bhāṣas and cārṇyas (bards) in praise of rulers, or by Jaina śādhus (monks) in praise of wealthy and religious patrons. Rāsas are valuable so far as the contemporary history of the land is concerned. In addition to the innumerable rāsas (e.g. Bhāratarāva Bāhubalirāsa, 1185, of Śālibhadra Sūri; Revantagiri-rāsa, 1235, of Vijayasa; Sāmarārāsa, 1315, of Ambadeva; and Gautama Śvāmi-rāsa, 1356, of Vinaya-prabha), Jaina poets wrote phāgs or phāgs celebrating love and joyous nature in springtime (vasanta). Sthulibhadra-phāgu (1334) of Jinapada is one of the first of its kind. Other poems of this genre are Neminātha-phāgu (1344) by Rājaśekhara, Neminātha-phāgu (1375) by Jayaśekhara, Raṅgasāgara Neminātha-phāgu (1400) by Somasundara. But Vasanta-vilāsa is the most beautiful poetical work of this class, composed around 1350 by Guṇavanta (?). The poem shows no trace of didacticism, and depicts in a charming style the advent of spring and the pangs of women separated from their lovers. Neminātha Catuspadikā (1140) by Vinayacandra, a Jaina śādhu, is perhaps the oldest and the best among the bāramāsī poems available today. It is heavily loaded with didactic and philosophical
content. The Jaina sādhus showed admirable skill in describing worldly joys and delights also, as it is evident from works like Vasanta-udāsa. They used to beg food at the houses of courtesans and picked up their knowledge of the world standing at their doors. After the fall of the Rajput rulers and at the beginning of the Mohammedan rule, darkness enveloped the literary activities of Gujarati. It must be said to the credit of the Jaina sādhus that it was they who kept Gujarati literature alive in spite of almost insuperable difficulties. Among other old Gujarati works in verse, mention may be made of Raṇamalla Chanda, Uṣa-ḥaraṇa, Sitā-ḥaraṇa, and Merutunga’s Prabodha-cintāmaṇi. Raṇamalla Chanda (1398) of Śrīdhara Vyāsa is a historical poem describing the defeat of Zafar Khan, the governor of Pātana, by Raṇamalla, the ruler of Idara. The last and most mature literary phase in Old Gujarati was reached by Padmanābha’s Kāṇhadade Prabandha (c. 1456). It narrates in great detail the invasion and conquest of Gujarat and Kathiawad by Ulugh Khan, the renowned lieutenant of Alauddin Khilji, in the last decade of the thirteenth century. The writer of this epic was the court poet of Jhālora in western Marwar, and he described the courage of Kāṇhadade, the heroic king of Jhālora, who withstood the siege of his capital by Alauddin for twelve years and was betrayed by some faithless Rajputs. His description of events is vivid, and the language forceful and stirring. The depiction of the tragic love between Virama, son of Kāṇhadade, and Piroja, daughter of Alauddin, has added an element of romance to this historical poem of war and heroism. The text shows that Persian words, specially military terms, had begun to infiltrate into the language though mainly it was Old Gujarati. The work ushered in a new tradition—the beginning of the Middle Gujarati literature.

Compared with poetry, very little prose was written. Prose works1 are meagre in number, but here, too, the Jains predominated. They wrote in elegant prose their ethical codes through simple stories acceptable to the youth. These books, meant for instruction and enlightenment, were known as Bālāvabodhas. Taruṇaprabha’s Bālāvabodha (c. 1355) is one of the earliest works in prose in Old Gujarati. Another writer of Bālāvabodhas in the fourteenth century is Somasundara (c. 1399). A remarkable specimen of ornate prose in Old Gujarati is the religious romance, Pṛthvīcandra-caritra (1422) of Māṇikyasundara. Though not very polished by modern standards, it bears all the signs of an advanced period; and though religious in the main, it provides a strikingly pleasant relish as a narrative romance and as a biographical piece. In style and narrative it is reminiscent of Bānā’s Kādambari, and it found hardly any imitator in the following few centuries till we reach modern literature.

MIDDLE GUJARATI LITERATURE

Formerly many scholars believed that the rise of Gujarati literature began

1 A specimen of prose written at that time has been given in the present author’s Milestones in Gujarati Literature (2nd Edn.), p. 27.
with Narasimha Mehta (1415-81). Before he came on the scene, a sizable body of literature, however, had already come into existence. Among the writers, there were non-Jains too—one of them aMohammedan, Abdur Rahaman (c. 1420). Parsis who had landed in Gujarat in the eighth century took a hand in it too, and a six-hundred-year-old manuscript of their religious books, the Pak Khorda Avesta translated into the Gujarati of the period, has been found.

The dominating note of the Middle Gujarati period, at least for non-Jains, was worship of God. It assumed the form of bhakti or devotion to Krṣṇa, to Rāma, to Śiva, or to Śakti. Krṣṇa-worship comes within bhakti-mārga (the school of love and devotion to God) and the germs of this cult are to be found in the Bhagavad-Gītā (IX. 26-29). It contemplates complete absorption in Him. The ideas of mutual affection as typified in the love of Rādhā and Krṣṇa, immortalized by Jayadeva of Bengal in the twelfth century, came later. Bhakti of the Lord under various names, Rāma, Krṣṇa, Hari, Viṣṇu, and Viṭṭhala, was an all-India feature in those days. It is difficult to say how this cult spread in Gujarat, but this much is certain that the two most prominent poets of this mārga, Narasimha Mehta and Mirābāī (1498/1503-1546), were un influenced by the teachings or preachings of outsiders like Vallabhācārya (1473-1531) and Caitanya (1485-1533). Though a high-caste Brahmin, Narasimha Mehta mixed freely with the untouchables (whom he called harijanas, the ‘men of God’, a term later made famous by Mahatma Gandhi) and worshipped with them, for he believed that all devotees are equal in the eye of God. Narasimha Mehta was a student of Advaitism and his poetry is deeply coloured by that branch of philosophy. But he was equally at home in depicting love for God in intensely charming and passionate songs. Many of his poems are mystical, spiritual, and didactic, and at the same time very appealing. Many people of Gujarat are in the habit of reciting some of these chants in the morning, which are called prabhātyās (matutinals). Govinda-gamana, Surata-saṅgrāma, Sudāma-caritra, etc. show him as a powerful lyricist and as an outstanding exponent of devotional poetry. Narasimha Mehta’s poems on the love of Krṣṇa and the gopīs, for example, Śrīgāramālā, apparently appear erotic in their literal representation; but studied in their symbolical aspect, they provide quite the opposite meaning. The gopīs in these poems may be taken to stand for all human souls passionately seeking union with Krṣṇa who is Love and the ultimate Reality.

¹ They who worship Me with bhakti are in Me, and I am in them.”—B.G., IX. 29.
² It is generally accepted that Mirābāī flourished round about A.D. 1498 or 1503 and died in A.D. 1546. According to one Gujarati tradition, however, her date is A.D. 1403-60.—Editor.
³ Narasimha Mehta’s approach was thus based both on jñāna (knowledge) and bhakti (devotion), and in his spiritual ideas he appears to have been influenced by both North Indian poets and saints and the saints of Mahārāṣṭra, like Ānandadeva and Nāmādeva (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries). His religio-social work through his lyrics, particularly in the jhulana metre, is based on the teachings of the saint and sage Viṣṇusvāmin.—Editor.
Tradition speaks of the unfortunate married life of Mirābāi, a royal princess, and her emigration from Mewar to Dvārakā in Gujarat. She chose to live the life of an ascetic and to worship her Lord, Kṛṣṇa, as an humble devotee and as a spiritual lover. The songs she composed and sang depict her passionate devotion to, and complete absorption in, her Lord. They are intensely popular among Gujarati women and sung all over India with genuine devotional fervour. The original language of these captivating songs was the Marwari or western form of Rajasthani, and as a matter of fact, Gujarati and Marwari were one language up to about A.D. 1600. In the intensity of her emotion, in the sublimity of her devotion, and in the charm of her lyricism she has perhaps never been surpassed in the whole range of devotional poetry in India.

Bhālaṇa (1434-1514) rendered into elegant Gujarati the Kādambari of Bāṇa. It is his greatest work. His other important works include Daśama Skandha (of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa), Nalakhyāna, and Rāmabala-caritra. Bhālaṇa has also written Caṇḍi-ākhyāna, a work on Goddess Caṇḍi or Kālī. He has not neglected Śiva either. He has tried to impress upon his readers that the devotee of one was the devotee of the other; they bore only different names but were one and the same divinity. Bhīma (fifteenth century), who wrote a Gujarati version of Vopadeva’s Bhāgavata, showed deep knowledge of the original as well as fine judgement in selection and omission therefrom.

Taking part in literary pursuits was not confined to the higher caste only. Maṇḍana, a dyer by caste and polisher of silk cloth by profession, composed three very striking works, Prabodha Battiśi (c. 1480), Rāmāyaṇa, and Rukmāṅgada-kathā.

During the sixteenth century literary activities were of a minor nature. Vasto, Vācharāja, Tulasī, Gaṇapati, Bandharāo, Śivadāsa, Madhusūdana Vyasā, Kuśalalābhā (a Jaina sādhu), Nakara (1500-1575), and Viṣṇudāsa (1564-1632) carried on the work of composition, concerning themselves mostly with ākhyānas based on the epics and Purāṇas. Lāvanyasamaya (Vimala-prabandha, 1512) and Nayasundara (Rāpachanda Kunvār-rāsa, 1581, and Nala-Damayanti-rāsa, 1609) continued the Old Gujarati rāsa tradition. There was some prose written also. There were translations into prose of Sanskrit works like the Pañcatantra, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Yogavāsiṣṭha, and the Bhagavad-Gītā.

THE GREAT TRIO

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed three great poets in Gujarati literature. They are Ākho or Akṣayadāsa (1591-1656), Premānanda Bhaṭṭa (1636-1734), and Sāmala or Śyāmaladāsa Bhaṭṭa (1699-1769). Ākho was a goldsmith by profession. He was at war with himself and the world. The

* Vide S. K. Chatterji, Languages and Literatures of Modern India, p. 235.
transitoriness of the world and its affairs, which were so stale and sordid, induced him to take a detached view of life. His satiric poems are in the nature of lashes with which he whips the hypocrites, the so-called sādhus and religious heads, all bent on making money or leading immoral lives under the garb of sanctity. As it was in vogue, he knew Hindi and composed works in that language also. Abstruse philosophical works like the Ākho-gīta testify to his knowledge of the Vedānta. His ideal was the final beatitude, the union of Jīva and Iśvara. He did not claim to be a learned man, and saw no use for Sanskrit if the masses had to be reached. Prakrit or the people’s language—in this case Gujarati as it had developed—found a strong advocate in him. Ākho, who did not consider himself to be a poet, struck out a new path for himself in both subject-matter and language. His style is simple and direct. His other important works expounding the Vedāntic philosophy include Cītta-vicāra-saṅvāda and Anubhava-bindu.

The most outstanding figure of the period under review was, however, Premānanda Bhaṭṭa who raised the language and literature of Gujarati at one bound to great heights and removed from them the stigma of being plebian. He composed many ākhyānas on Purānic and non-Purānic subjects. His portraits are so vivid and his language is so lucid, charming, rich, and vigorous in depicting all phases of human nature—joy, misery, terror, courage, humour, and tranquillity—that no other Gujarati poet has been able to match him, not to speak of surpassing him. The lament of Yāsodā when Kṛṣṇa disappears into the Yamunā, the taunts administered by his wife Mandodari and his brother Kumbhakarṇa to Rāvaṇa, the parting scene between Damayanti and her children, the sarcastic way in which Sudāmā’s wife ridicules her husband’s unwillingness to seek help from Kṛṣṇa, the humour of the scenes where poverty-stricken Narasimha Mehta has to meet the aristocratic nāgara (city) ladies and their contempt for him, are real gems of Gujarati literature. His works are popular even now, and poems like Okhā-haraṇa are recited by Gujarati women in the month of Caitra as an act of devotion. Premānanda needs to be read in the original to be fully appreciated. He had to his credit as many as forty authentic works. Apart from Okhā-haraṇa, the particularly noteworthy ones are: Raṇayajñī, Nalākhyāna, Abhimanyu-ākhyāna, Daśama Skandha, Sudāmā-caritra, and Sudhanvā-khyāna.

Sāmala Bhaṭṭa, third poet of this distinguished trio, found suitable expression for his poetic genius in romantic narratives. He is a past master in lucid and facile narration spiced with riddles and commonplace maxims of worldly wisdom. His versified stories fall into two categories, narrative and didactic. His narrative poems contain stories within stories. His estimate of women is condemnatory or laudatory as suits the occasion. Dancing women are introduced in his stories, but they are like aspasias and designed to help
his heroes and heroines by their ingenuity and skill. His poems are not subservient to religion. He was well versed in Sanskrit and Persian. Sāmala, who by profession was a story-teller, wrote profusely. Some of his important works are Bhatrisā-putali, Padmāvati, Nanda-batriśi, Siṅhāsana-batriśi, and Madana-Mohanā. A dozen other minor poets (including the Jains) wrote narrative poems on various subjects during the seventeenth century, but none of them betrays any marked ability.

Parsi poets also had absorbed the spirit of the times and utilized the language and mannerisms then in vogue for propaganda, especially for their sacred books. Ervand Rustumi Peshtotan was one of them. He wrote namas or chronicles, Zarathstnama (1674) and two others, one in 1651 and the other in 1681. He knew many languages—Sanskrit, Gujarati, Persian, Avestan, and Pahalvi. He described contemporary manners and social canons in his chronicles.

The following century (eighteenth) witnessed the rise of the Maratha power in Gujarat. The quality of literature was inferior and sectarian except for the works of Dhūra Bhagat, Niranta Bhagat, Bhoja Bhagat, and four or five poetesses like Divālī Bālī of the Nārāyaṇa sect, who preached austerity and purity of life for sādhus. Dayaram (1767-1852), a follower of the Vallabhācārya school of Vaiṣṇavism and a brilliant author, eclipsed all the writers of his period. He was the last great name in the Middle Gujarati tradition and a link between the old and the new. He was a talented musician and a gifted writer of garbīs (lyrics), depicting the episodes of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. These love-lyrics of unique charm are sung by Gujarati women at various festivals in public. Dayaram was a devoted Viṣṇu, and knew Braja-bhāṣā and Hindi in which he composed his Satsaiyā.6 His work is divided into three parts, religious, ethical, and erotic. His garbīs belong to the last category and resemble the ghazals of Persian Sufi poets like Hafiz and Rumi in their romantic fervour. His forte is his language. Of his most important works the following may be mentioned: Bhakti-poṣaṇa, Rasika-vallabha, and Ajāmila-ākhyāna. Giridhara (1787-1852) in his Rāmāyaṇa attempted to write in the ākhyāna tradition.

The Middle period in Gujarati literature is a period of Purāṇic revival, and throughout the long four centuries, from the second half of the fifteenth to the first half of the nineteenth, the tradition of the ākhyāna had a widespread vogue. Time and again men of literary genius sought to engross themselves in the treasures of the Purāṇic heritage and distribute them to the people through a medium they could enjoy and appreciate. Gujarat, too, has its own indigenous folk-literature full of adventure, sacrifice, and heroism. It is remarkable for the picture it presents of the social life of the people in those days.

6 There is considerable influence of Braja-bhāṣā on his writings, particularly of the works of the Astabhāpa followers of Vallabhācārya.
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MODERN PERIOD

Roughly speaking, the Modern period begins from 1850 when the influence of Western education began to permeate all the major languages of the country: Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, etc. Bengal was the first to come under its influence. The development of each of them in consequence of this common ruling factor proceeded on similar lines. In 1820 schools were opened in Bombay and outside for the teaching of Gujarati and Marathi; suitable text-books were prepared, and teachers were trained to impart education through them. This rudimentary or elementary education given in the mother tongue gradually led to the establishment of colleges having English as the medium of instruction, and the foundation of Bombay University in 1857, which was indeed a great landmark in the history of modern Gujarati life and culture. As a result, a number of highly qualified writers sprang up, who strove to stimulate almost all branches of literature—prose, poetry, drama, and fiction—as well as history, science, and art. Pioneer work was done by Hindus and Parsis alike. Ranchhoddas Girdharbhai and Dadabhai Naoroji are typical examples of this. Young men pledged themselves to carry on the pursuit of knowledge and bring about social reforms. Social reformers like Durgaram Mehtaji, Mahipatram Rupram, Sorabji Bengali, and Naoroji Fardunji did a great deal towards solving the problems of illiteracy, untouchability, sectarianism, traditionalism, and the like. Sympathetic Englishmen like Lord Mountstuart Elphinstone (Governor of Bombay), A. K. Forbes (Judge of the High Court), and Sir Theodore Hope (Head of the Education Department) guided them, and their efforts met with success.

Dalpatram Dahyabhai (1820-98) and Narmadashankar (1833-86) are considered to be the pioneers of modern Gujarati literature. Both of them wrote poetry, but they did not eschew prose. The former was orthodox in his outlook and the latter was radical, or rather, rebellious. The volume of poetry written by them on various subjects is enormous. Though both advocated social reform, their approach was not similar. Dalpatram was slow and steady and conservative by temperament, but Narmadashankar or Narmad was egotistic, courageous, and a social revolutionary, advocating instant eradication of all social evils. Dalpatram had not come under the influence of English education, though he was a great friend of A. K. Forbes. He was fond of Sanskrit metres and his success in handling Sanskrit metres with consummate artistic skill encouraged the progress of Gujarati poetry written in classical style. He was a master of humour and wit. His poems supporting social reforms did great service in modernizing the mind of the land. The miseries of young widows deeply affected him and he was inspired to improve the lot of these unfortunate women by

7 Dalpatram wrote an elegiac poem on the death of Forbes, Forbes-niraha (1865). This may be taken as probably the first elegy of the English type in Gujarati.
means of propaganda in verse. *Vena-caritra* is one such poem. The same social evil kindled the poetic genius of Narmad. Narmad had studied English and hence he differed from Dalpatram in his outlook. He wrote a history of the world and published a Gujarati dictionary (*Narmakośa*) and a work on *alakāra-sāstra* (poetics). Both were patriotic, but Narmad’s verses exalting Gujarat are still the proud possession of every Gujarati and are sung on all public occasions. His last days were unhappy, and from being a free lance he became a convert to orthodox views as is evident from his *Dharmavicāra*. He was a subjective poet, and a writer of drama too. His outstanding contributions to Gujarati literature are his autobiography, essays, and poems—all intensely personal and patriotic.

Narmad is known as the father of modern Gujarati prose. Poor as it was before him, he enriched it considerably.

Bholanath Sarabhai (1822-86) was a devotional poet and though not exactly a Brāhma Samājist, he modelled his verses in the spirit of the Brāhma Samāj in furtherance of the cult of *ekesvaravāda* (monotheism). *Īśvara Prārthanāmālā* (1872) is a collection of his poems. His son Narsimharao Divatia (1859-1937) was a distinguished poet who derived his inspiration from Tennyson and other English poets, besides being a sound and fearless critic and a profound scholar. His most outstanding poem is *Smarana Samhitā*, an elegy reminiscent of Tennyson’s *In Memoriam*. His four other volumes of poems written between 1887 and 1935 are *Kusumamālā*, *Hṛdayavinā*, *Nūpura-jhaṅkāra*, and *Buddha-carita*. He has found many followers. Dalpatram’s son Nanalal (1877-1946) wrote a great number of poems and that too in such a charming romantic style that he has been called ‘the Poet Laureate of Gujarat’. His compositions in blank verse have struck a new path and attracted many imitators. He described them as *apadyā godya* or rhyming prose. Nanalal’s first poem in this style is *Vasantotsava* (1898). His *Citra-darśana* (1921) is a collection of several poems presented as pictures. He attempted to write an epic of the Miltonic type in his *Kurukṣetra*. His plays, composed in the same style, are so full of feeling and liveliness that they have found a permanent place in the hearts of men and women of Gujarat. Some of his plays are *Indukumāra*, *Jayajayanta* (1914), *Viśva-gita* (1927), *Sanghamitrā* (1931), and *Jagat-preranā* (1943). The second is a unique lyrical piece.

Poetry also found devotees, and distinguished ones at that, in the Parsi

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8 Narmad also attempted other varieties of poetry, viz. narrative, nature, and epic. Mention may be made of *Rukmiki-haraṇa*, *Vana-varpana*, and *Vīravīrāha*. He adapted a few English poems into Gujarati, for example, *Lałatā* (Wordsworth’s *Lucy Grey*).

9 Dr U. M. Maniar rightly observes: ‘This (volume) would have been an attempt at Pre-Raphaelite style of writing poetry, but since the poet’s aim here is to present Truth as it is and since the poet would not accept “word-pictures” as synonymous with poetry, the whole attempt generally results only in subjective lyricism with emphasis on Tennysonian picturesqueness.’ (Cf. *The Influence of English on Gujarati Poetry*, p. 149).—Editor.
community. Two outstanding writers from this community were Behramji M. Malabari (1863-1912) and Ardeshir Faramji Khabardar (1882-1953). A journalist of note, Malabari made his mark both as a prose writer and as a poet. Khabardar, both a philosopher and a poet, got his inspiration from Dalpatram and to a certain extent from Malabari. Manilal Nabhubhai, Balashankar Kantharia, and Dahyabhai Derasari were inclined towards mysticism in poetry. The first two are well known for their ghazals composed after the style of the Persian Sufis. Manishankar Ratanji Bhatt 'Kānta' (1867-1923), Surasimhji Gohil ‘Kalāpī’ (1874-1900), and Balwantrai K. Thakore (1869-1952) are noted poets. Manishankar was a good prose writer too. He has written plays and essays. But he is almost unparalleled as a poet. He introduced a new form in poetry, khandā-kāya, and used it with great artistic skill and dramatic intensity. Surasimhji Gohil, the poet-prince of Lathi State in Kathiawad, lived a very short life of twenty-six years. He wrote letters, dialogues, a novel, and also a book about his travels in Kashmir. But he is best known as a poet. His poems are full of subjective intensity. Poetry came to him as naturally as a tear or a sigh. He lacked artistic finesse, but could infuse new spirit in simple words and give new charm to ordinary expressions. Balwantrai K. Thakore has given new dimensions to Gujarati poetry. Bhanakara, in which all his poems have been collected, is his most significant work and a landmark in the history of modern Gujarati poetry. It marked certain far-reaching changes in the traditional poetic taste. He cultivated the sonnet form with rare skill and understanding. He believed that poetic form had its own existence, independent of music and not subservient to it. He has written some beautiful lyrics that are characterized by complete harmony of sound and sense. He never allows his emotion to overpower him but restrains it and blends it with poetic thought. His style is absolutely unorthodox, and it is vigorous and fresh. Other eminent poets of modern Gujarati literature are Umashankar Joshi, Sundarram, and Sundarji Betai. Umashankar has depicted nature in her various moods and in a style which is highly lyrical. Sundarram's poems are marked by the author's deep involvement with the realm of spirit and philosophy. The poems of Betai are sober in tone and dignified in restraint. Mention must be made of some of the recent poets: Rajendra Shah, Niranjan Bhagat, Benibhai Purohit, and Balmukund Dave.

Prose writing in Gujarat underwent certain changes and passed through at least two phases. Narmadashankar's prose was different from the so-called cultured or Sanskritized prose of Mansukram Tripathi who wanted to

38 Some of his collections of poems are: Kāgya-rasikā (1901), Viḷāsikā (1905), Prakābikā (1906), Sandeśikā (1925), Bhajanikā (1928), Kalpāsikā (1940), and Nandakā (1940). His Kalākā (1926) is a long love poem consisting of 365 stanzas.

39 Some of his attempts in this new poetic form are: Dhanayānt, Atijhāna, Vasanta-pijjaya, and Cakravāka-mithuna.
eliminate the use of all foreign and Persian words. Thereafter came the Gandhian era in Gujarati literature characterized by simplicity. The dominant notes were uplift of the untouchables, fight for the freedom of the motherland, and propagation of the principles of truth and non-violence. Writers like Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) and K. M. Munshi (1888-1971) discouraged the attempt at artificial and pedantic language and guided it back to a simple style that even the masses could understand. Popular terms took the place of classical ones. Except in journals edited by Parsis where dialectical words predominate, or those edited by Mohammedans with an excess of Urdu and Persian words, Gujarati prose is now simple, clear, and elegant characterized by remarkable pointedness and precision. The credit for this wholesome change goes to Gandhiji. Two outstanding works of Gandhiji, Dakṣīṇa Āphrikānā Satyagrahāno Itihāsa and Ālmakathā, deserve to be ranked among the great classics of the world. Munshi was an outstanding stylist in prose and one of the most towering literary figures in Gujarati in the present age. Though his versatile creative genius produced quite a voluminous mass of literature including the drama, the essay, the short story, and the novel, the last is his forte. Among his novels mention may be made of Gujarātā-no Nātha (1918-19), Pythiavi-vallabha (1920-21), Jaya Somnāthā (1940), Bhagavān Parasurāma (1946), and Tapaswint (1957). Play-writing began seriously with Ranchodhbhai Udayaram (1837-1923), and his drama Lalitā Dukha Darśaka Nāṭaka depicted vividly the miseries of the educated wife of a drunkard living under the thumb of a mistress. It was a great success. Both Dalpatram and his son Nanalal had written dramas, and so had Ramanbhai Nīlkanthā (1868-1928) and a number of Parsi writers; many of these were meant for the stage. A form of entertainment called bhavai was the forerunner of the modern drama. It was performed in the open. It used to have such coarse and vulgar scenes as would tickle the sense of humour of the uneducated. Educated writers changed the style, and dramas are now written according to the standard of English plays and staged as on English boards. Navalram Pandya’s (1836-88) Bhāt Nun Bhopalun is modelled on Molière’s French drama translated by Fielding as The Mock Doctor. Humorous scenes are the special attraction of the dramas of Dalpatram and Navalram. B. K. Thakore’s translation of Kālidāsa’s Abhijñānā-The Sākuntala, which has been translated also by two other writers, is very faithful and conveys the emotions and sentiments of the original more distinctly than the others. K. H. Dhrūva (1859-1938) also translated a number of Sanskrit plays into Gujarati. Other important dramatists of the Modern period are K. M. Munshi, Chandravadan Mehta, Jayantie Dalal, Umashankar Joshi, Gulabdas Broker, Chunilal Madia, etc. The last four have distinguished themselves as writers of one-act plays which had been brought in Gujarati literature by Batubhai Umawadia, Yashwant Pandya, and Pranjivan Pathak.
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The impetus given by Narmadashankar or rather Navalram to the writing of reviews or literary criticism has not come to rest. Navalram’s prose is excellent and his style of writing admirable. He places the reader in intimate connexion with the theme by generous quotations and then says what he has to say by way of praise or censure. The canvas at present is crowded with many reviewers and critics as dailies, weeklies, or other journals have space reserved for reviews of the books they receive in shoals. Anandshankar Dhruta (1869-1942) was a sober critic. Ramnarayan Pathak, Visnuprasad Trivedi, Vijayraji Vaidya, D. R. Mankad, Vishwanath Bhatt, and J. E. Sanjana enriched the field of criticism.

Gujarat has produced a number of eminent essayists as well. The most outstanding essayist of the age is Kaka Kalelkar (b. 1886). The essays of Ratilal Trivedi are noted for the author’s Sanskrit scholarship. The names of Lilavati Munshi, Jyotindra Dave, Jayendrarai Durkal, and Ramnarayan Pathak also deserve mention for their vivacious humour.

Biography and autobiography have started coming to the fore, but not in large numbers. Nandshankar’s life by his son, Govardhanram Tripathi’s by his nephew, and Dalpatram’s by his son are good examples. Autobiographies by Narmadashankar and K. M. Munshi and Gandhiji’s Ātmakathā are specially to be noted in this connexion. There are also some good biographies by Parsi writers, for example, the life of Malabar by Khabardar. Other titles continue to be added to the list such as Sardār Vallabhabhāī by Narhari Parikh and Raviśaṅkara Mahārāja by Babalbhai Mehta. Three most outstanding autobiographies of the post-Independence period are those of Nanabhai Bhatt, Indulal Yajnik, and Prabhudas Gandhi. Diaries constitute a vital part of the modern Gujarati literature. Amongst them the diaries of Manuben Gandhi and Mahadev Desai are the most remarkable. The latter was given the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1955.

The writing of fiction is not new to Gujarati literature. In Old and Middle Gujarati the story was there in prose and verse. With the spread of English education the novel came into existence and at once gained popularity. Novels and short stories began to be produced in large numbers. Nandshankar (1835-1905) led the van with his Karanya Ghelo (1866), a historical novel, and he was followed by an array of writers contributing original novels or translations in which Parsis predominated, and so they continue to do. In Govardhanram Tripathi (1855-1907) can be seen a happy blending of the East and West. His novel Sarasvaticandra is a masterpiece in Gujarati literature. This great novel running into four volumes was completed in fourteen years (1887-1901). It took Gujarat by storm. Educated Gujarati men and women identified themselves with Sarasvaticandra or Kumud and Kusum. It displayed extraordinary creative and reflective power and enriched Gujarati prose remarkably. Writers
such as K. M. Munshi, Gaurishankar Govardhanram Joshi 'Dhūmaketu',\textsuperscript{12} Chunnilal V. Shah, Jhaverchand Meghani, Gunvantrai Acharya, and others have popularized the novel which has now gained more freedom as an independent form of literary art. Of the recent novelists the most prominent are Pannalal Patel and Manubhai Pancholi 'Dārśaka'. The short story has become an indispensable feature of magazines and newspapers. 'Dhūmaketu', K. M. Munshi, R. V. Desai, Dhansukhalal Mehta, Gulabdas Broker, 'Sneharaśmi', Jhaverchand Meghani, Ramnarayan Pathak, Umashankar Joshi, Sundarram, Pannalal Patel, Jayanti Dalal, Chunilal Madia, Shivkumar Joshi, Kisan Sinha Chavda, Vinodini Nilkantha, and G. V. Mavlankar are eminent writers of modern short stories. They depict present-day social life vividly and sarcastically, and at times attain lyrical charm. They interpret human values with artistic sensibility. Hectic activity is the most remarkable feature of fiction-writing in Gujarat today as it is elsewhere.

Juvenile literature has continued to develop since the days of Bālamitra (c. 1820), the earliest Gujarati magazine for children, till it has reached in recent times a stage where books and magazines specially designed to entertain young folk are published every month in appreciable numbers.

Literary societies have come into existence since the days of Dalpatram and A. K. Forbes in Ahmedabad, and in Bombay they have been formed by Dadabhai Naoroji and other Parsis and Hindus from the beginnings of Western education. The Buddhi-vardhaka Sabha, the Jnan Prasarak Mandal, the Gujarati Sabha, the Gujarati Vernacular Society, and Gujarati Sahitya Parisad are some of those that have survived till now. The Society for the Spread of Cheap Literature, though of comparatively recent origin, is doing commendable work under the guidance of its active trustee Manu Subedar.

Modern Gujarati literature has thus passed through many stages, but creative art is still dominated by Western attitudes and experiments. It imitates the West in technique, style, and temperament. It runs in restricted grooves and is therefore limited in range and depth. Though poetry and short story in Gujarati literature have attained great heights, the literature as a whole is still striving for higher attainment.

\textsuperscript{12} 'Dhūmaketu' was the first prose writer in Gujarati to turn to the common man and to sublimate the ordinary surroundings. In variety of theme, in genuineness of sentiment, in beauty of style, and in quality of poetry and romance, there are very few Indian novelists who can surpass some of the scenes depicted by 'Dhūmaketu'.
HINDI

NATURE OF HINDI AS A LITERARY LANGUAGE

HINDI is the standard language of a vast area of North India which includes Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh. In Hindi literature three dialects have, broadly speaking, been in use in different periods and regions, i.e. Braja-bhāṣā (the dialect spoken in the Agra-Mathurā region), Awadhi (the dialect spoken in Oudh or Awadh) and Khari-boli (the dialect spoken in and around Delhi). Braja-bhāṣā and Khari-boli belong to what is known as Western Hindi group of dialects, and Awadhi to Eastern Hindi. In Old Hindi literature, these main dialects were frequently mixed with various local dialects spoken by writers belonging to different parts of the Hindi-speaking area. But now, Khari-boli or the standard Hindi has become the exclusive medium of literary activities. There are, of course, writers who compose poems and songs in regional dialects broadly grouped under Hindi (like Braja-bhāṣā, Awadhi, Maithili, Bhojpuri, and Rajasthani), but these efforts are mostly localized. Modern Hindi literature means the literature written almost entirely in Khari-boli. It has made tremendous progress in a short span of about a hundred years, and particularly after India's independence in 1947.

OLD HINDI (PRIOR TO A.D. 1300) LITERARY TRADITION

The vocabulary of Hindi is chiefly derived from Sanskrit. But although Sanskritic in its origin, Hindi has undergone considerable modifications during the course of history, and assimilated a great many words of foreign origin such as Arabic and Persian (through Urdu) and English. Like other Modern Indo-Aryan languages Hindi, both in its western and eastern forms, began to take definite shape round about the tenth century A.D. But before the fourteenth century A.D. it was highly influenced by the latest form of Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit called Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa. In fact, it took all the metres and other poetic conventions including religious and secular styles and traditions from the Apabhraṃśa, and it can be said that from

1 In a still broader perspective, however, Hindi literature includes the literatures produced in several other forms of speech, particularly for its older periods: (1) Early Marwari (one of the Rajasthani dialects) known as Dingal, (2) Mixed Punjabi (both Western and Eastern) and Western Hindi (Khari-boli and Braja-bhāṣā), (3) Pahari, and (4) Bihari (Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Maithili). Although Urdu is one of the modern Indian languages, it, as well as its earlier form Daknī or Daknī, may be regarded as part of Hindi literature on linguistic grounds. However correct the position might be, it will not be accepted by many.—Editor.

2 Although the beginnings of the use of Khari-boli are found mixed with Braja-bhāṣā from the fourteenth century, full-fledged literary activity in this standard language did not really begin until the second quarter of the nineteenth century.—Editor.
the literary point of view, this period (tenth to thirteenth century A.D.) was nothing but an extension of the Apabhrāṃśa literature, though the language was much more advanced. All the poetic forms of Apabhrāṃśa including the dohās of heroism, love, and mystic experience, the padas or songs of devotional and mystic nature, the padhāria vadhas or the narrative and epical poems, and other such forms, have been preserved in the Hindi literature of this period. The impact of the literary traditions of Apabhrāṃśa was so powerful that some eminent scholars were tempted to call the Apabhrāṃśa language ‘Purāṇī Hindi’ or Old Hindi. On strict linguistic considerations, however, this is hardly tenable.

OLD HINDI HEROICO-ROMANTIC POETRY

There are some half a dozen rāsā-kāvyas or verse-narratives full of Rajput chivalry and romance ascribed to the period prior to A.D. 1300. But it is very difficult to find out their authentic and original forms. In almost every case, the text has been mixed with later interpolations. The most famous among all these rāsā-kāvyas is Pythvīrāja-rāso written by Cānd Bardāi, the court poet of Prthvīrāja (1159-93), the Cauhān king of Delhi and Ajmer. This voluminous work has been a subject of much controversy. It is quite clear that the entire kāvyā in its present form cannot be taken as genuine. But it is almost certain that some portions of this work actually existed before the fourteenth century. In its present form, it beautifully portrays the heroic life and achievements of the Rajput warriors, their struggle against the foreign invaders, coupled with romantic tales about the warrior-king. The cause of almost every bloody combat is some love affair of King Prthvīrāja. More legendary than historical, it tells the story of Prthvīrāja in which battle scenes are described with power and conventional poetic skill. Though historically not very accurate, it endearingly depicts the life and deeds of the Rajput warriors with all their glory and values. It is generally described as an epic but actually it has neither structural unity nor a definite central theme. On the whole, it gives quite a loose impression from the structural point of view. Another work called Khumān-rāso is also said to be a product of this period, but is in fact not so old. Viśāladeva-rāso (c. 1155) of Narapati Nalhā is a love ballad which gives an account of Rājamati’s pangs of separation from her husband Viśāladeva, king of Sāmbhar, who had deserted her after a quarrel, and of their subsequent reconciliation. The authenticity of the work in its present form, however, is doubtful. Parmoal-rāso (c. 1170) of Jaganik, preserved only in oral traditions, tells the story of Ālhā and Ūdal, two brave brothers who were very well-known warriors of their time. They are said

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* Some believe it to be a huge compilation of the sixteenth century. Others have discovered in it Apabhrāṃśa verses which may go to twelfth-thirteenth centuries.—Editor.

* This work of unknown authorship is preserved in a very late redaction (probably seventeenth century).—Editor.
to be the nephews of King Prthvirāja. The original work is not available now. But its different forms in Bundeli, Bhojpuri, and Awadhi are very popular throughout the entire Hindi area. The poem is composed in the vīra metre, later renamed as ṛhā chanda after the name of its hero Ṛhā. This can rightly be called a real vīra-kāvyā evoking the lofty ideal of Rajput chivalry. Hammira-rāṣe by Śāṅkadhara is believed to belong to the fourteenth century. The work, however, is not available.

OLDEST HINDI MYSTICO-DEVOTIONAL POETRY

The padas and vāgīs of Gorakh Nātha (c. 1150), the great Nātha Panthā teacher, and other contemporary Yogis preaching the philosophy and practice of hatha-yoga are also ascribed to this period. But their language is very much changed and it is very difficult to decide how much of these compositions is genuine. However, they are important because they provide the background of similar attempts by later nirguṇa-mārgi bhaktas like Kabir, Nānak, and Dādū Dayāl. These poems emphasize the need of a pure life, detachment from material prosperity, and real knowledge, which prepared the ground for the bhakta poets of the later period.

HINDI LITERATURE FROM A.D. 1300 TO A.D. 1450
AMIR KHUSRO AND VIDYĀPATI

The political atmosphere of North India was very much disturbed during the period A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1300 when the Turki conquest was taking place. Hardly any manuscript of this period has been discovered from the heart of this area, but some beautiful poetic compositions of Amir Khusro (1254-1325), written in Khari-boli, have come down to us. Khusro was a learned scholar and a great Persian poet. He knew Arabic and Hindi and possibly Sanskrit also. He composed verses in Hindi as well as in a mixed form of Persian and Hindi, though their present forms are not always authentic.

* There were certain schools of popular Hindu philosophy which had gathered elements from late Buddhism, from Yoga specially, and from Śaiva monism, of which the Nātha Panthā was the most important and powerful. The Nātha Panthā or the ‘Nātha Way’ was so called because its teachers all had the sobriquet of nātha as a part of their names, the word meaning ‘lord or master’. Gorakh Nātha or Gorakṣa Nātha (c. 1150) was a great teacher of this school. His influence is found all over northern India, even in the distant Maratha country, and he has been claimed by Bengali and Bihari as well as Hindi and Punjabi literatures.—Editor.

* His Hindi output is small, but quite precious. It consists of a number of four-line stanzas which are riddles beautifully expressed, and some longer verses. The MS. tradition of the Hindi writings of Khusro is not certain; and it is likely that the language has been to some extent modernized. But we can be sure that he used the New Indo-Aryan Old Hindi and not Apabhraṃśa, as the day of Aparabhraṃśa was passing away. He employs both the speech of Delhi (the -d dialect) and the speech of Mathurā (Braja-bhāṣā—the -a dialect), generally in a mixed idiom. The subject of his little poems relate to every-day affairs of life, the sentiments and situations of love sometimes being described most beautifully, and the language is simple, direct, and highly poetical.—Editor.
Himself a Sufi, Khusro was the first writer to try to bridge the gulf between two powerful cultures, the Hindu and the Muslim. His works bear testimony to the general appreciation of the various poetic forms and modes of expression and the struggle of the people against foreign invaders.

Towards the end of this period, Vidyāpati (c. 1380-1460 ?), famous Maithili poet, flourished. His Padāvali is written in the Maithili language, but his two carita-kānyas, Kirttitālata and Kirttitipatākā, are in Avahaṭha or the advanced Apabhraṣṭa language. As regards form, metre, and description of war scenes, Kirttitālata can be compared with Prthvīrāja-rāso. It gives a very lively and vivid account of the conditions of those days. His Padāvali opens a new phase in the field of lyrical songs based on the līlās (sports) of Lord Kṛṣṇa and gopiṣ, his female companions. This tradition was kept up by poets like Sūradāsa, Nandadāsa, and others. Though Vidyāpati was a Maithili poet, he inspired the poets of both eastern and western regions. He was a profound Sanskrit scholar, but his main contribution lay in the cultivation of the vernacular and the shape he gave to it. He is highly honoured in Bengal, Assam, and in the entire Hindi area.

GOLDEN AGE OF HINDI: A.D. 1450 TO A.D. 1600

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era are the golden period of Hindi literature. A galaxy of powerful bhakta poets like Kabir, Nānak, Sūradāsa, Tulasidāsa, and Mirābāī flourished during this period. The name and fame of these poets have not only crossed the boundaries of the Hindi-speaking area, but have also gone far beyond India itself.

Two noted Vaiṣṇava acāryas, Rāmānanda (c. 1400-1470) and Vallabhācārya (1473-1531), inspired many great personalities of this period. Rāmānanda had a very liberal outlook. Many of his chief disciples came from the lower strata of society. They included Kabir (a weaver), Raidāsa or Ravidāsa (a shoe-maker), and many others. He allowed them to develop according to their own genius. He was an ākāśa-dharmaguru, a teacher like the vast sky under which every tree is free to grow as much as it can. A great Sanskrit scholar, he wrote in Hindi also. Some of his writings in Hindi have been published by the Nagari Pracharani Sabha of Banaras. He believed in a modified form of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy of Rāmānuja (1017-1137), but was an ardent devotee of Rāma, the incarnation of Viṣṇu. Vallabhācārya, on the other hand, was also a very great Sanskrit scholar and believed in the Śuddhādvaita philosophy of Viṣṇusvāmin. He was a devotee of Śri Kṛṣṇa, another incarnation of Viṣṇu. He wrote only in Sanskrit. One of his great disciples was the famous bhakta poet Sūradāsa. Vallabhācārya, along with his son Viṭṭhala Gosvāmin, inspired a number of poets. Rāmānanda was born at Prayāga and preached in Vārānasī, while Vallabhācārya came from the South (Andhra) and made Mathurā his main
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seat of teaching. There were some other Vaishnava schools also, which kindled the light of bhakti (devotion). Well known among these were the followers of Nimbarka (twelfth century) and Caitanya (1485-1533).

This new bhakti movement revolutionized Hindi language and literature. The language became free from the unnecessary inhibitions and shackles of Apabhramsha tradition. The poets came from the masses, free from courtly formalities, sincere in thought and behaviour. They used the language familiar to the people. They were men of high ideals and simple habits. They themselves were inspired and could arouse thrills, ecstasy, and joy of a very high order through their devotional songs.

KABIR, NANA, RAIDASA, AND DADU

The most important poet of what is called the nirguna bhakti school is Kabir (1399-1518). He was brought up in a family of Muslim weavers who had been newly converted to Islam from, most probably, a higher Hindu caste under the influence of the Natha Yogis and had retained much of that heritage. Kabir is believed to be a disciple of the great Ramnanda, but he also imbibed virtues of the Natha Yogis as well as of the Sufis. Kabir tried to bring Hinduism and Islam nearer by criticizing the pointless rituals and customs of both and by preaching that the ultimate goal of both is identical. He used to call the Lord to whom he dedicated himself by the Hindu name ‘Rama’ (signifying ‘One in whom all are pleased’, but not the Rama of Valmiki, who is believed by most Hindus to be an incarnation of Vishnu) as well as the Muslim name, ‘Rahim’ (meaning the ‘supremely Merciful One’). His more practical teachings lay stress upon strict moral conduct and have nothing to do with superstitious beliefs. On the subject of love for Rama and surrender to Him, Kabir’s language is sweet and serene, but in the

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7 Kabir’s approach to God-head was in the main through the path of jnana (knowledge). In other words, his God was Nirguna Brahman the Absolute Divinity without any attribute and any personal form. This aspect of his concept he got from the Natha Panth tradition. But Kabir’s approach was characterized also by a highly emotional element of devotion (bhakti) and love (prema). This was due to the influence of his guru Ramananda and the Sufi way of religious perception. On the other hand, the other disciples of Ramnanda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries clung to the purely bhakti school centring round the personality of Rama as the incarnation of Vishnu.—Editor.

8 Kabir is credited with a large number of works, all in verse, but his chief work is Bijaka, divided into three sections. It touches upon many subjects including Vedantic philosophy. The poetic charm of these mystic poems is ineffable. A number of poems found in the ‘Kabir canon’ are in pure Bhojpuri, Kabir’s native dialect. But most of his writings are now available in a mixed language. This is popularly known as sadhakka boli, or the speech or diction of wandering mendicants (sadhus). It is basically Western Hindi—Braj-bhasha in fact, with -i forms from the Delhi speech, and occasionally forms from Awadhi. Some of his poems are palimpsests in language—they were originally composed in his native Bhojpuri, traces of which are found below the surface of their present Western Hindi form. In a few poems he has used too freely Perso-Arabic words to suit a special Islamic context, and these can be described as showing the possibility of an Urdu coming into being in the future. Kabir uses a rich
sphere of social reforms it sounds strong and provocative. Nānak (1469-1538) and other great Sikh gurus had a very high respect for Kabir. Nānak belonged to the same school of thought as did Kabir. Many songs and couplets of Kabir have been incorporated in the Ādi Granthā of the Sikhs. Nānak himself wrote in Western Hindi tinged with Punjabi. He also taught that God is one, and that Hindus and Muslims are the children of the same Great Father. His songs are very sweet and melodious. Raidāsa or Ravidāsa, a contemporary of Kabir and an apostle of Rāmānanda, sang songs of humble surrender to Rāma. His simplicity, directness, and high moral tone were very attractive and won the respect of every one.

There were other great saints of this school who worshipped God as nirguna or the ‘One without attribute’. All of them believed in the dignity of man and oneness of God. Among the saints of this school belonging to the post-Kabir era Dādū Dayāl or Dādū (1544-1603) is particularly distinguished. His poetic compositions have a very effective appeal on account of their sweetness and dignity which sprang from sincerity of belief and direct spiritual experience.

These poets produced outstanding gems of literature and attracted people in large numbers. They were wise but not learned, and often illiterate. They wrote from the depth of their heart in a language which was simple, direct, and effective never caring for established conventions. They were opposed to meaningless customs and superstitions and were very strong advocates of strict moral values and simple and pure life.8

TULASIDĀSA, SŪRADĀSA, MĪRĀĪ, AND OTHERS

There were other bhakta poets who believed in the worship of a personal God or God with attributes (saguna), who was for them either Rāma, king of Ayodhyā, or Kṛṣṇa, the cowherd boy of Vṛndāvana and Mathurā. They sincerely believed that God descends in visible forms to protect good people from the cruelty of the wicked and favours His devotees by the grace of His lilās. These bhakta poets belonged to two quite distinct schools: those who chose Rāma for their worship and devotion were known as the Rāmāyatas and the others who chose Kṛṣṇa as the Kṛṣṇāyatas respectively.

Among the Rāmāyatas, Tulasidāsa (c. 1532-1623) was the most distinguished.

vocabulary which is racy of the soil, and he is unquestionably the first truly national Hindi writer whose writings still have a vogue among the Hindi-speaking and Hindi-using people, both for their language and their content. He is also held in great esteem as one of the greatest poets of India in other parts of India too, particularly in Bengal.—Editor.

8 Mention may be made of some later poets in the nirguna tradition: Sundaradāsa (1597-1689), Maluklāsa (1574-1682), and Aksara Ananya (c. 1653). Sundaradāsa was a disciple of Dādū Dayāl. His principal work is Sundara-vilāsa. Maluklāsa’s Ratanakhan and Jñāna-bodha indicate his mature poetic ability. Aksara Ananya’s important works are: Rāja-yoga, Vīhārā-yoga, Siddhāna-bodha, Vīveka-dīpikā, and Brahma-jñāna.
He was fortunate enough to find a guru in Naraharidāsa, a disciple of Rāmānanda who initiated him to Rāma-mantra and made him acquainted with the fascinating story of Rāma, his īṣṭadeva. Tulasidāsa wrote a dozen books in order to preach the cult of Rāma using almost all the literary forms prevalent in those days. He had a wonderful command of both Braja-bhāṣā and Awadhi. His magnum opus is Rāma-carita-mānasā, popularly known as the Tulasī Rāmāyaṇa. This work is held in highest esteem by the Hindi-speaking Hindu masses of North India and is regarded as their Bible. His another important work is Vinaya-pātrikā. It is a series of prayers in poems, and here Tulasidāsa’s humility and sincerity, his unbounded faith in Rāma, and unparalleled command of language are powerfully borne out. Tulasidāsa combines in himself with rare grace the gift of an epic poet with that of a lyricist, a religious teacher, and a humble devotee. His Dohāvalī, Kavitāvalī, Kṛṣṇa-gitāvalī, and Gitāvalī are fine collections of devotional songs.

Tulasidāsa inherited the best of Indian culture and literature. He was a master of diction and style, classical as well as popular. About his mastery over language, Greaves rightly remarked: ‘As clay is in the hands of a potter so was Hindi in the hands of Tulasidāsa. It yields to his touch and is moulded into the forms that his will dictates. Grammar and construction and the forms of the words are as subservient to him as are slaves to the command of their lords. He takes words and shortens and lengthens them. He twists and turns them. They do his bidding and assume the shape he commands, fitting in just where they are needed and yet without loss of dignity or self-respect.’

There were other Rāmāyana poets—all overshadowed by Tulasidāsa—such as Agradāsa (c. 1575) and Nābhādāsa. Agradāsa wrote a number of books of which four are extant. They are: Hitopadesa, Dhyāna-mañjari, Rāmadhyāna-mañjari, and Kuṇḍaliśā. Nābhādāsa, a disciple of Agradāsa, wrote a few works relating to the worship of Rāma, apart from the famous Bhaktamāla which contains biographies of two hundred bhaktas. Nābhādāsa’s disciple Priyādāsa wrote an extensive commentary on Bhaktamāla in 1704. Bengali, Oriya, and Marathi literatures have been profoundly influenced by Bhaktamāla and its commentary. Keśavadāsa (1565-1617), though not a bhakta poet in the strict sense of the term, was another great lyricist of this age. His Rāma-candrikā, written in glorification of the character of Rāma, is a good specimen of his poetic skill, but it lacks the quality of a well-knit epic poem.

Among the Kṛṣṇayata poets, Sūradāsa (1483-1563) is certainly the greatest. His Sūra-sāgara is a collection of songs mainly devoted to the lilās of Kṛṣṇa as a child and as a youthful lover of the gopīs, the most prominent among whom was Rādhā. He is matchless in painting the childhood of Kṛṣṇa. He is also a master in portraying the life of Rādhā and other gopīs and their pangs of separation. Sūradāsa was the disciple of the great Vallabhācārya,
though he came into contact with him rather late. A lyricist, he had a remarkable command of Braja-bhāṣā. One is particularly struck by the musical serenity and sweetness of his padas. The theme of Sūra-sārāvali is the same as that of Sūra-sāgara. The authorship of Sāhiya-lahari, though ascribed to him, has not been definitely established. Nandadāsa, a junior contemporary of Sūradāsa, was a disciple of Viṅṭhalanātha, son of Vallabhācārya. Of his sixteen works now available, mention may be made of Rāsa-paṇḍāhyāyī and Bhanvar-gīta. He was a skilful artist and noted for his ornate use of Braja-bhāṣā. Sūradāsa, Nandadāsa, and other bhakta poets of the Kṛṣṇāyata school formed a group called ḛasta-chāpa (the eight stamp-seals). Paramānandadāsa, author of Dhrūvavācarita and Dāna-līlā, and Kṛṣṇadāsa, author of Bhrumara-gīta and Prematattvamārūpaṇa, belonged to this group. But neither could attain to considerable height. Hitaharivarīśa (b. c. 1503), founder of a sect known as Rādhā-vallabhīya, has to his credit the collection of eighty-four padas in Braja-bhāṣā, known as Hīta-cauraśī.

The name of Mīrābāī (1498/1503-1546) is an immortal one in the history of the Kṛṣṇāyata school. She was the daughter of a Rajput chief and the consort of a prince of Mewar, but became a widow in her early youth. She then devoted herself exclusively to the worship of Kṛṣṇa. She wrote devotional songs seeking love and affection from her beloved deity. The sincerity and depth of feeling towards the Eternal Divine Lover as expressed in her songs has a ready appeal, throughout India she is respected as a great devotee as well as a saintly poetess. Stories of ill-treatment towards her and even of torture by her in-law’s family are supported by some of her poems. Such treatment made the spiritual yearnings of Mīrā still more intense. Her bhajonas (devotional songs) are in a class by themselves. They are exquisite literary creations throbbing with a simple faith and an emotional yearning for union with Kṛṣṇa, her Lord. Several works are attributed to her including Narsījī Kā Mahero, Gitagovinda Kī Tikā, Rāgagovinda, Garva-gīta, and Rāga-vihaṇga.

THE SUFI TRADITION

The Sufi poets of Hindi, who always wrote in Awadhi, took romantic tales of the land and raised them to the height of spiritual communion with the Divine Beloved. The first known Sufi poet is Maulana Daud (fourteenth/fifteenth century). His famous romantic poem Candāyan (c. 1318) deals with

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10 Four other poets of the ḛasta-chāpa school are: Kumbhnanadāsa, Caturbhujadāsa, Chita Svāmī, and Govinda Svāmi. The following books of Caturbhujadāsa (b. 1516) are extant: Dviḍdala Taka, Bhakti-pratīka, Hitu Kā Maṅgala. So far as the other three poets are concerned, only stray verses composed by them are available.

11 Mīrā’s songs were originally composed in the Marwari form of Rajasthani, but they have later generally been altered to Braja-bhāṣā.—Editor.
the love story of Lor and Candā. He was followed by Kutuban who composed his poem *Mṛgāvatī* in 1501, and Manjhan whose *Madhu-Mālatī* was written some time before 1550. The greatest poet of this group is undoubtedly Malik Mohammed Jayasi (c. 1492-1543). *Padmāvatī*, his greatest work, is an elaborate narrative in *dohā* and *cauṣāi* metres. It is one of the most outstanding literary specimens of medieval Indian literature. Dealing with the love story of King Ratnasena of Chittor and Padmāvatī, princess of Sinhala, the poem is based partly on historical facts and partly on legendary tales. Human love in this poem is only a pretext for suggesting the divine love which is real and absolute. Padmāvatī symbolizes the divine beauty which permeates the entire universe, and Ratnasena the human spirit struggling to realize it. Jayasi imbued the fine literary sensibilities of Indian tradition. He used Hindu mythology and philosophical terms with ease and seemed to have a good knowledge of Yoga practices. The book evinces Jayasi’s perfect command of the pure and unsophisticated language of Oudh and serves as a precursor of Tulasidāsa’s chaste and properly Sanskritic Awadhi. Apart from its value as ‘a repository of the best form of Early Awadhi’, it has other remarkable poetic qualities.¹³

**HINDI POETS OF AKBAR’S COURT**

Abdur Rahim Khankhana (1556-1627), one of the nine jewels of the court of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), wrote some fine poems in Braja-bhāṣā and Awadhi. His liberal attitude, hard and bitter experiences of life, and disinterested approach to reality are very attractively portrayed in a chaste and fluent language. Some of his important works are: *Rahim-dohāvati*, *Barve Naṭikā-bheda*, *Madanāṭaka*, *Śrīngāra Soraṭh*, and *Rāsa-pāncādhyāyī*. Though he was not a bhakta poet in the strict sense of the term, his writings have nevertheless a sincerity of purpose and a direct appeal like those of many bhakta poets. Akbar himself is credited with some fine poems in Braja-bhāṣā. Other Hindi poets in Akbar’s court included Narahari, Virabala, Ṭoḍarmal, Prṭhvirāja Rāṭhoḍ of Bikaner (*Veḷi Kṛṣṇa-Rukmini-Rī*, written in Early Marwari known as Dingal), Alam

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¹³ This work has been mentioned by the historian Badauni of Akbar’s court, which shows its popularity in the sixteenth century. The story was very popular in North India. There is a seventeenth century Bengali rendering of this story by Daulat Kazi, which was popular among East Bengal Muslims.

¹⁴ Jayasi’s *Padmāvatī*, composed during 1520-40, was rendered into Bengali verse by Sayyid Alaq in the seventeenth century. It has also been completely translated into English by A. G. Shirreff from the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1944.

¹⁵ *Vide S. K. Chatterji, Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, p. 126.

¹⁶ After Jayasi, at least four other Sufi poets made their mark in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They are: Usman (c. 1616, author of *Citrāvati*), Seǐkh Nabi (c. 1620, author of *Jālimdāṭa*), Kasim Shah (c. 1727, author of *Hamusa-jaināhir*), and Nur Mohammed (c. 1740, author of *Indrāvatī* composed in 1744 and *Anurāga-bhūta* composed in 1764). The latest writer in the Sufi tradition in Awadhi was Nazir Ahmad of Pratapgarh who composed his romance *Nurjahan* in 1905.
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(Mādhavānala-kāmakandala, c. 1580), Gaṅga (1578-1617), Manohara Kavi, Balabhadra Miśra, and Keśavadāsa (1565-1617). Great musicians like Gopāla Nāyaka, Baiju Bāurā, and Tānasena also composed songs in Braja-bhāṣā and set them to classical Indian melodies. The songs were on various topics. They were simple yet highly poetic and sometimes full of profound meaning.

RITI-KĀLA IN HINDI LITERATURE: A.D. 1600—1850

Roughly from the beginning of the seventeenth century up to the middle of the nineteenth century, Hindi literature took a new turn. This period is called Riti-kāla, a name given to it by Ramchandra Shukla. Many talented poets in this period tried to write books on the various aspects of Indian poetics such as rasa, alankāra, and nāyaka-nāyikā-bheda, on the lines of Sanskrit rhetorical tradition. But their main concern was not the science of poetics but poetry itself. They only tried to illustrate the classical patterns. For the majority of them, the classification of rhetorical devices and heroes and heroines was a mere means to the flight of their imagination. Many of them were court poets of contemporary rulers. Some of them like Cintāmaṇi Tripaṭhī (b. c. 1609; works: Kāya-viveka, Kavikula-kalpataru, and Kāya-prakāśa), Keśavadāsa (important works: Rasika-priyā in 1591 and Kavi-priyā in 1601), Deva (c. 1673-1767; works: Rasa-vilāsa, Bhāva-vilāsa), Matirāma (b. c. 1617; his famous work: Rasarājā), and Padmakara (1753-1833; noteworthy work: Jagadāvinoda) were poets of a high order comparable to classical lyricists like Amaru, Govardhana, and Jayadeva. The poetic charm that they created was intoxicating. The dominant tendency in their verses was to describe feminine beauty in terms of well-defined traditional types rather than in a spontaneous outburst of personal feelings. The most popular theme was śṛṅgāra-rasa (erotic sentiment) or, to be more definite, physical beauty and amorous behaviour of different types of heroines whether married or unmarried. This poetry shows cultivated taste rather than spontaneity of feeling.

There were some poets of eminence who did not follow the popular pattern of poetry based on rhetorics. But the poetic inspiration of these writers was also of an amorous character. Their poetry was never mechanical, but was enlivened with genuine feeling and experience. Ghanānanda (1699-1740), Bodha (b. c. 1747), and Thakur (1766-1823) are the leading poets of this class, who could well be described as romantic poets. Ghanānanda was by far the best writer of this non-rhetorical tradition. He was a powerful and versatile poet recognized as one of the stalwarts of Braja-bhāṣā. Though formerly a mirumusi of Delhi, in his later life he became a great bhakta. He belonged to the Nimbārka school of the devotees of Kṛṣṇa. His chief works are: Sujana-sāgara, Rāsa-kelivallī, and Kṛpā-kāṇḍa. Others like Giridhara Kavirāja (c. 1743), Baitāl (1600), Vṛndā (1643-1723), and Ghagha devoted themselves to didactic dohās and padas. Strictly
speaking, they are not poets, but, as Ramchandra Shukla calls them, are good sūktikāras, composers of proverbs. There were bhaktā poets still in the field, but certainly they were not as influential as they happened to be in the preceding centuries. One such poet of this time was Raskhan, a Muslim devotee of Kṛṣṇa. He deserves mention for his passionate, stirring, and sweet poems which are popular even today. *Prema-vatikā* is a collection of his dohās and Sujana Raskhan of his savaiyas and kavitās.

Bhūṣāṇa (1613-1712), brother of Mātrāma, wrote heroic poetry of a most beautiful type. His works evince his wonderful command of language and radiate patriotic fervour. But his pattern is also poetry through alaṅkāras. His panegyrics on Śivāji, the great rebel leader of Mahārāṣṭra, in most musical Braja-bhāṣā verse (like Śivā-Bāvāni) are among the most stirring things in the domain of medieval Indian poetry. "These form," as S. K. Chatterji observes, "an apotheosis of Hindu patriotism in the seventeenth century, when to a patriotic Hindu everything seemed lost, and the advent and presence of Śivāji was the only light of hope."16 Lāl Kavi or Gorelāl Purohita (1657-1707) produced a beautiful poem in the bardic tradition in praise of Raja Chatrasīl of Bundelkhand, *Chatra-prakāśa*,17 in 1707.

The most popular poet of the Riti school was Bihārī (1603-63), a court poet of Raja Jayaśimha of Amber. He wrote a little more than seven hundred couplets (dohās). The anthology of his dohās is popularly known as Bihārī-sātsai and is in the line of Hāla’s Gāhā-sattasa in Prakrit and Govardhana’s Āryā-saptaśati in Sanskrit. Its popularity can be judged by the number of commentaries and translations in many Indian languages including Sanskrit. It has been translated into English and Persian also. The main theme of the dohās is śrīgāra, though some devotional and didactic ones have also crept in. Bihārī was a perfect master of the art of brevity, condensation of meaning, and suitable pointedness. His minute observations of the behaviour of lovers and their physical and mental expressions attracted men of culture in the middle ages. Many poets tried either to elaborate his short dohās in long verses like savaiyas, kavitās, and kundalīyās or to imitate his literary style. He was no doubt the most popular poet in Hindi after Kabir, Sūradāsa, and Tulasidāsa. He, along with Keśavadāsa, inspired Rajput and Kangra paintings very deeply. His dohās are sometimes so picturesque in depicting the fine reactions of the lovers in a variety of moods that painters could not help translate them into lines and colours. No other Riti poet influenced different branches of artistic disciplines as he did.


17 Guru Govinda Sinha (1666-1709), the last Sikh guru, was an illustrious writer in Hindi. His *Kṛṣṇa-kālī* (1688), *Rāma-kālī* (1693), and *Tirā-sastra* (1696) remind us of Sūradāsa, Tulasidāsa and Cānd Bardāi respectively. Some of his works are in an old, almost Apabhramśa style of Hindi, for example, *Vicitra-nājaka* and *Cānd-sastra* (written between 1698 and 1703).—Editor.
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The later Riti period of Hindi poetry produced fine lyrical pieces, but on the whole it was a period of decadence. A few poets tried their hands at epic composition but could produce nothing valuable. They painted stray but beautiful portraits of the different moods of lovers and their sweethearts. They were more concerned with the mode of expression than with real and inspiring life. They generally chose the longer metres like kavita and savaïya, where the subtlety of human emotions was expressed mainly in the last line and the preceding three lines gave simply elaborate, and sometimes unnecessary, descriptions of the context. Bihārī and to some extent Matirāma were, however, exceptions. Riti poetry on the whole was a popular revival of classical Sanskrit poetry and its rhetorical achievements, but only in a limited sense. Padmakara (1753-1833) was the last great poet of this tradition. The year (1833) in which he died may be considered as the terminating point of this intoxicating, but also soothing, poetic fervour marking an important literary period in Hindi literature.

THE MODERN PERIOD: FROM A.D. 1850 ONWARDS

By the middle of the nineteenth century history had taken an absolutely new turn. British rule had spread over a vast region of the Hindi-speaking area. It had brought to India not only a foreign rule, the like of which had never been experienced by the Indian people, but also new ideas and new values. The printing press was introduced which revolutionized literature. A new kind of liberal education was also introduced which gradually exerted the most far-reaching influence on the minds of newly educated young men. Calcutta became the centre of these activities. From the stand-point of Hindi literature, the most important phenomenon was the evolution of Khari-boli prose, a most promising vehicle for new ideas and a variety of subjects. Khari-boli had already been used for poetry and prose but never on such a large scale. This language had been widely used in the western region of the Hindi-speaking area for religious and philosophical discourses. Some of the nirguna-mārgī poets had already composed fine verses in it. Ramprasad Niranjani, Pandit Daulatram, and, above all, Munshi Sadasukhlal Niyaz are some of the pioneers writing in Sanskritized Khari-boli Hindi which has become very popular afterwards. Recent researches by Dr Rajguru have brought to light some good specimens of early Khari-boli prose from the Punjab. The more prominent among the newly discovered writers are Sodhi Mihīrban (1640-80), Hariji (1680-1720), and Dial Anemi (1720-75). Their works are, however, written in Gurumukhi script.

Broadly speaking, the modern epoch of Hindi literature began with the dawn of the nineteenth century, but during the first half of the century progress was very slow. The Baptist Mission, an organization of the early nineteenth century, established a printing press at Serampore near Calcutta for the purpose of publishing translations of the Bible in Indian languages under the guidance of
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William Carey. It published the Hindi translations of the Bible in Khari-boli prose. Fort William College in Calcutta founded in 1800 became a big centre of activities for Hindi literature. Two teachers (munsir) of Fort William College, Pandit Lalluji Lal (1763-1835) of Agra and Pandit Sadal Mishra of Arrah (Bihar), published their Khari-boli prose classics which became immensely popular. The language of Prema-sāgara (1803) of Lalluji Lal was not free from the Braja-bhāṣā influence, but Sadal Mishra’s Nāṣiketopākhyāna (based on the Kaṭha Upaniṣad) was less affected. In the twenties of the nineteenth century, Hindi journalism also came into the field. Pandit Jugalkishore Mishra of Kanpur started from Calcutta Udant Mārtayā (1826), the first known Hindi weekly. It continued only for nine months. Two other later Hindi journals are: Sudhakara (1850) from Banaras and Buddhī-prakāśa (1856) from Agra. The School Book Society of Agra (set up about 1833) did a great service for Hindi prose by publishing many Hindi text-books on different subjects, and by 1857, the year of the great Indian revolt against British rule, Hindi prose had taken a definite shape, though hardly any work of high literary value was produced. In fact, the first half of the nineteenth century is a period of translation. Though for prose Khari-boli was gradually being standardized in these years, for poetry Braja-bhāṣā was still in full force.

It should be remembered, however, that Hindi had to face opposition from the officially patronized Urdu, its Persianized form. Urdu was a highly polished and urbanized language associated with the courts. The new Hindi prose had more buoyancy and elasticity which was necessary for absorbing new ideas; though far less polished than Urdu, it had a vigorous vitality and adaptability and, once established, it took great strides.

‘BHĀRATENDU’ HARISHCHANDRA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

After a lull of half a century ‘Bhāratendu’ Harishchandra (1850-83) of Banaras, father of modern Hindi literature, appeared on the scene. He was a versatile genius and attracted brilliant men of letters around him. He wrote poems, dramas, novels, and stories and also translated from Sanskrit, Bengali, and English. Before ‘Bhāratendu’, Raja Shivprasad (1823-95) and Raja Lakshman Singh (1826-96) had contributed some noteworthy literary works. Raja Shivprasad was the advocate of Persianized Hindi in Devanāgari script while Raja Lakshman Singh believed that Hindi and Urdu are two different languages and favoured Sanskritized Hindi. The latter brought out his translation of Kālidāsa’s Abhijñāna-Sākuntala and other works which earned him some reputation. ‘Bhāratendu’ Harishchandra favoured the line of Raja Lakshman Singh. Very soon a powerful group of writers like Radhakrishna Das, Pratapnarayan Mishra (1856-94), Balkrishna Bhatta (1844-1914), Badrinarayan Chaudhuri ‘Premaghana’ and Sudhakar Dwivedi clustered around
him. They were full of enthusiasm and activity. They wrote in the language of
the people, in the style easily understandable to them. They produced personal
essays, humorous and satirical writings, dramas, farces, skits, and reviews and
at the same time translated Sanskrit, Bengali, and English works into Hindi.
Pandit Shraddharam Phillauri of the Punjab and Lala Shrinivas Das (1851-87)
of Mathurā became pioneers in writing original novels. These writers hailed the
new ideas of the modern age, with reservations, of course. They were Indians
from top to toe. They believed in blending the best of traditional and modern
values with an Indian bias. The literary output of 'Bhāratendu' and his colleagues
was, to quote the words of S. H. Vatsyayan, 'substantial in quantity, varied in
content, universal in appeal and compelling in tone, if not always flawless in
quality'. In the post-'Bhāratendu' period Hindi writers freely translated from
Bengali and received new light through this language. Even the diction, idioms
and structure of the Hindi language were influenced by Bengali. But by the end
of the nineteenth century direct contact with English became more prominent
and the influence of Bengali gradually began to fade. There was a tendency to
look to the polished Urdu language for idioms and also for fluency, but that too
faded at the beginning of the twentieth century.

NEO-HINDI CLASSICISM : DWIVEDI YUGA

Mahavirprasad Dwivedi (1868-1938), rightly regarded as the architect of
modern Hindi prose, was the editor of Sarasvati (1903-20), a literary magazine,
originally initiated by Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras and published by the
Indian Press, Allahabad. His own contribution to literature, though substantial,
was not of very high merit. But his honest and sincere efforts and strong and
incorruptible personal character inspired many talented writers, including
Maithili Sharan Gupta (1886-1966). He pleaded strongly for the acceptance of
Khari-boli Hindi for both prose and poetry. So far, Braja-bhāṣā had been
generally used for poetry. Many powerful poets, like Maithili Sharan Gupta,
Pandit Ayodhya Singh Upadhyay (1865-1946), Nathuram Sharma Shankar,
Ramcharit Upadhyay, and Ramaresh Tripathi wrote poetry in Khariboli
successfully and convincingly. Among these poets Maithili Sharan Gupta
is very prominent. His poems of national glory inspired at least two genera-
tions. He is a versatile genius and, although he lacks lyrical talent, is a
master of narrative verse. He was the true representative of the average
enlightened Indian not unduly influenced by foreign ideas, but always prepared
to accept the light of modern thought provided it suited Indian conditions.
He translated Meghnāda-vadha-kāvyā of Michael Madhusudan Dutt into Hindi.
His long narrative poems like Sāketa and Taṣodhara evoke the spirit of ancient

18 Cf. S. H. Vatsyayan's article on 'Hindi Literature' in Contemporary Indian Literature (Sahitya
Akademi, New Delhi, 1957), p. 75.
India in a wonderful way. In this period there were attempts to revive Sanskrit metres and other ways of classical expression, but they did not prove successful. The Sarasvati encouraged new forms like the short story, the novel, the critical essay, and various forms of the drama.

Some very powerful writers began to write in this period, but had to wait till later to gain recognition. Prominent among them were: Jayashankar Prasad (1889-1937), poet, dramatist, and novelist; Prem Chand (1880-1936), novelist and short story writer; Ramchandra Shukla, critic and essayist; Shyamsundar Das, critic and literary historian; and Pandit Padma Singh Sharma, critic and essayist. They enriched Hindi literature in many ways.

MAJOR MOVEMENTS IN MODERN HINDI POETRY

During the First World War the literary atmosphere was rather disturbed. But there is ample evidence that the years of apparent stalemate in Hindi literature were preparing fertile soil for the growth of literary activity. Major literary movements were taking shape in Hindi during this period. The poetic movement, later described as chāyāvāda, was primarily a romantic movement, aesthetic in spirit and subjective in character. It revolted against conventional metres, superimposed literary taboos, and lifeless motifs. It provided new poetic horizons and new aesthetic values for Hindi literature. The presence of spiritual elements in it can be ascribed to the teachings of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Vivekananda, and Sri Aurobindo, the spiritual prophets of the age. The poets tried to look at reality from their own angle. Makhanlal Chaturvedi (1888-1968), an old veteran, had already prepared the ground for this kind of poetry. His works include Hima-kirīṭini and Hima-taraṇigini.

A bitter controversy set in between the respective exponents of the old and the new, and a considerable polemic literature sprang up consisting chiefly of parodies and satires. The rising movement, however, was not to be so easily silenced. Some powerful poets came forward to prove themselves its worthy leaders. Suryakant Tripathi ‘Nirālā’ (1897-1963; works: Juhi Ki Kali, Parimala, Anāmikā, Arcanā, Ārādhana, etc.) revolted against the so-called matter-of-fact poetry of the day. He was brought up and educated in Bengal (Midnapur District) and had drunk deep of the springs of Bengali poetry, old and new. Though discouraged, denounced, and ridiculed, he stuck to his guns with supreme indifference and carried the banner of revolt triumphantly in his hands. Sumitranandan Pant (b. 1900), sweet and nonchalant, yet resolute and convincing, was another leader of this movement. He analysed the Hindi language, its metres and sounds, and brought out the innermost spirit of their individuality. He challenged the old convention in metrics, forms, diction, and even grammar. He is a prominent lyricist of modern India. Among his important works are: Pallava, Guñjana, Yugavāni, Grāmya, Svarṇakirana, Śilpi, and Lokāyatana.
Some of his later works are marked by his sympathy for the downtrodden peasants and women, which provided necessary fillip to a host of progressive poets.

Jayashankar Prasad joined this movement a little late but soon became very prominent. His greatest contribution is Kāmāyani (1935), a modern epic. It is 'one of the most modern and most original poems in Hindi on the theme of Man and his mental and spiritual development, conceived on the background of an idealized ancient Indian life'. His other well-known works which include Jharna, Aṅśu, and Lahar also represent the salient features of the chāyāvāda movement. The eminent poetess Mahadevi Varma (b. 1907; works: Nīhāra, Rasmi, Sandhyāgita, and Dipatsikhā) is a mystic in the true sense of the term. Her songs glorify the sufferings of dedicated life. Her sweet melodious language has no parallel in modern Hindi.

It is not possible here to give the names of all who have contributed to the enrichment of modern Hindi poetry, but a few names deserve mention: for example, Ramkumar Varma (b. 1905), a mystic poet and writer of one-act plays; Balkrishna Sharma 'Navina' (1897-1959), a romantic poet (two significant works: Kvāsi, Apalaka); Siyaram Sharan Gupta (b. 1895), an intellectual Gandhist (works: Bāpu, Ummukta, Nakula, and Mrmmayi); and Subhadrankumari Chauhan (1904-48, her Jhānsi Ki Rāni is the most popular heroic ballad of modern Hindi poetry). There were many factors giving shape to this new spirit in Hindi literature. The influence of the English Romantic poets, the struggle for freedom from foreign rule, the evergrowing evidence of India's glorious past, all these added to the strength of this new literary movement. Jayashankar Prasad's deep love for the cultural past and his intellectual approach to the mystery of nature, the joyful ecstasy of Sumitranandan Pant, and Mahadevi Varma's probe into the yearnings of the human soul deeply stirred the creative genius of Hindi poets.

In the post-chāyāvāda period Ramdhari Singh 'Dinakara' (b. 1908; notable work: Kurukṣeta), Harivansha Rai 'Bachchan' (b. 1907), Bhagavaticharan Varma (b. 1903), Rameshwar Shukla 'Āncala' (b. 1915), and Narendra Sharma (b. 1916) are poets of considerable merit. They belong to what may be called pragativāda, the progressive movement in poetry. In the background of this movement, there was the socialist philosophy of life based on the doctrine of dialectical materialism.

There was a strong movement after the Second World War called prayogavāda or experimental movement. It witnessed some poets of great talent. S. H. Vatsyayan 'Añjeya' (b. 1911), a novelist, poet, and thinker, is regarded as the leader of the experimentalists. Some of the talented poets of this school are: Balkrishna Rao (b. 1911), Shivmangal Singh 'Suman' (b. 1916), Girijakumar

MODERN HINDI NOVEL AND SHORT STORY

Modern Hindi literature can be legitimately proud of its achievements in the field of fiction also. Parikṣā-guru of Lala Shri nibhas Das is perhaps the earliest of the Hindi novels. It is also one of the first original social novels in Hindi written in a fresh colloquial style. Kishorilal Goswami’s Lakhnau Ki Kabar, Rajiya Begam, Mādhavi-Mādhava, and Lavoṅgalatlā also attracted the reading public. But it is Prem Chand who was the first and foremost to give to Hindi literature the novel and the short story in the modern sense. He wrote many novels and short stories of great literary merit. His depiction of the life of the peasantry is very faithful and sympathetic. His short stories are most artistic and have a deep human appeal. His works of fiction include Sevāsadana, Premāśrama, Nirmalā, Kāyakalpa, Raṅgabhūmi, Ghaban, and Godāna. His last novel Godāna (1936) has been translated into many languages. During his last days he became a recognized leader of pragativāda in Hindi literature. Jayashankar Prasad also distinguished himself as a writer of romantic and historical novels and stories amongst which Chāyā and Akaśadīpa have a lyrical quality. His other works are: Titli, Kaṅkāla, Mamatā, Pratidhvani, Himālaya Kā Pathika, etc. The short stories of Chandradhar Sharma Guleri (1883-1920), Sudarshan, and Vishvambhar Sharma Kaushik are artistic in character and idealistic in spirit. Jainendra Kumar (b. 1905) is another novelist and story writer of repute. He has created some wonderful individual characters. His novels include Kalvanti, Sunitā, Tyāgapatra, Sukhadā, Vivarta, and Vyaitī. Eka Rāt, Vatāyana, Deśa Ki Rāja-kumārī, etc. are some of his well-known stories. Siyaram Sharan Gupta’s novels (e.g. Nāri) are characterized by a tender gentleness. Chauransh Shastri, a powerful stylist and writer of romances, has written voluminously. Vrindavanlal Varma’s (b. 1888) novels show a skillful blending of history and fancy. Of his works mention may be made of Gaḍ Kundar, Vīrāt Ki Padmini, Kūndali Cakra, Jhānsi Ki Rāni, Kacnar, and Mrganayani. S. H. Vatsayan’s novels and stories are influenced by his study of psychology and aesthetics and they are artistically superior to most other contemporary writings. His Śekhara: Eka Jivan is one of his most characteristic works. Yashpal (b. 1904) is a first-rate novelist in the progressive line. His works include Dada-comrade, Deshadrohi, Devya, and Manusya Ke Rāpa. Rahul Sankrityayan (1895-1963), Ilachandra Joshi (b. 1902), Bhagavaticharan Varma (b. 1903), Amrital Nagar (b. 1916), Upendranath Ashk (b. 1910), Rangey Raghav (b. 1922), Dharmvir Bharati (b. 1926), Nagarjun (b. 1911), Phanishwar Nath ‘Reṇu’ (1921-77),
and several others have written many good novels and short stories. The younger generation has produced a number of promising writers. Amongst them Amrit Ray, Usha Priyamvada, Markandeya, Shivani, Manu Bhandari, Mohan Rakesh, Nirmal Varma, Rajendra Yadav, and Shivprasad Singh are quite well known. This branch of modern Hindi literature is quite rich and developed.

OTHER DOMAINS OF MODERN HINDI LITERATURE

In the field of essay and criticism, the achievement of modern Hindi literature is also quite substantial. Origin of the former can be traced back to Kavi-vacanasudhā (1868), the journal of 'Bhāratendu', and that of the latter to Dwivedi's Sarasvati (1903). Among the earlier essayists, the most powerful are: 'Bhāratendu', Balkrishna Bhatta, Pratapnarayan Mishra, Badrinarayan Chaudhuri, Radhacharan Goswami, and Balmukund Gupta. Mahavirprasad Dwivedi, Chandrakshar Sharma Guleri, Shyamsundar Das, and Ramchandra Shukla (1884-1941) made further developments in the field during the first half of the twentieth century. Ramchandra Shukla was a critic and essayist of great calibre whose influence is still very active. There are a number of important essayists and critics like Gulab Rai, Nand Dulare Bajpeyi, Nagendra, Vinaymohan Sharma, Indarnath Madan, Ramvilas Sharma, Raghuvarsha, Namwar Singh, Rahul Sankrityayan, Prakashchandra Gupta, Prabhaskar Machve, and many others.29

'Bhāratendu' Harischandra and his contemporaries had laid the foundation of Hindi drama in the nineteenth century. 'Bhāratendu' has a long list of plays to his credit: patriotic, social, traditional, and devotional. Among these are: Premayogini, Candīcāli, Bhārata-janani, Bhārata-durdaśā, Nilā Devī, Sati-pratāpa, Andheer Nagar, etc. Lala Shrinivas Das’s romantic dramas, Ranadhirā-Premamohini and Saṅgītī-swayamvara, and Radhakrishna Das’s historical dramas, Durgāvati and Mahārāṇā Pratāpa, were popular at that time. But afterwards this important branch of literature was neglected. There was a fresh attempt in the twentieth century to write plays on modern lines. Many eminent dramatists have contributed to this branch of literature. A profound thinker and a serious student of history, Jayashankar Prasad was also a distinguished dramatist, and his dramas opened up a new chapter in Hindi literature. The plots of his plays are taken from the pages of ancient Indian history and his language is naturally Sanskritized. Some of his important historical plays are: Rājyasāri, Ajātaśatrū, Candrā-gupta, Skandagupta, and Dhrusvāminī. They testify to his lively imagination and successfully reconstruct the golden days of ancient India. Some of Prasad’s contemporaries also wrote plays on old themes. Mention may be made of Ma-

29 The author of this article, Dr Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, is himself a stalwart in the field. But he has not mentioned his name in the above list. This he has done out of genuine humility, but it is our duty to point out the omission.—Editor.
khanlal Chaturvedi (Kṛṣṇārjuna-yuddha), Bechan Sharma 'Ugra' (Mahātmā Isā), and Govindvallabh Pant (Varamālā). Writers such as Badrinath Bhatt (Durgāvati, Candragupta), Seth Govind Das (Harṣa, Shershah, Pakistan), Lakshminarayan Mishra (Rākṣasa Kā Mandira, Mukti Kā Rahasya, and Sindūra Kī Holi), Harikrishna Premi (Rākṣā-bandhana, Saapnabhāṅgā), and Udayshankar Bhatt (Matsyagandhā, Visvāmitra and Rādhā), have made the drama rich and varied. Besides full-length plays, many one-act plays have been written and Hindi is specially rich in this genre. The beginnings of this type can, however, be traced back to the age of 'Bhāratendu'. Those who have latter distinguished themselves in the field are: Ram Kumar Varma, Upendranath Ashk, Jagadishchandra Mathur, Vishnu Prabhakar, and Bhuvaneswar Prasad. Jagadishchandra Mathur (Koṅārka), Upendranath Ashk (Alag Alag Rāste), Lakshminarayan Lal (Sukhā Sarovara), Bipinkumar Agrawal (Tin Aphaṇi—a collection of short plays), Lalit Sehgal (Hatā Eka Ākāra Kī), and Surendra Varma (Draupadi, Nāyaka-khalanāyaka-vidūṣaka, and Setubandha) are prominent among the dramatists of the post-Independence period. The most significant playwright of the fifties and the sixties was, of course, Mohan Rakesh (1925-75), twice winner of the Sangit-Natak Akademi Award (1958, 1968). He wrote three full-length plays, namely, Āṣādha Kā Eka Dīna (1959), Laharon Ke Rājajaṁsa (1964), and Ādhe-adhure (1969). The setting for Laharon Ke Rājajaṁsa is historical; the plot is based on the Saundarananda by Āsvaghoṣa. His Ādhe-adhure seeks to probe the intricacies of the modern mind. The Hindi-speaking area, however, still lacks an organized stage, although it is rich in film plays of doubtful literary merit.

It is not possible here to survey the various other aspects of modern Hindi literature, but there is no doubt that this literature is progressing at a very high speed. Literature of knowledge is being written in substantial quantity. Translations from different Indian and foreign languages are appearing almost daily. Writers from other linguistic regions of India as well as from foreign countries are also making original contributions in this language. All this will certainly enrich creative writing also.

Today Hindi literature is undergoing a distinctive evolution of its own life-force and it has that integral and vital self-consciousness which is infinitely more valuable than all the literary conventions of the past.
KANNADA

LANGUAGE AND ITS ANTIQUITY

KANNADA is the official language of Karṇāṭaka, formerly the State of Mysore. According to 1971 Census, it is spoken by a population of nearly twenty-two million. Quite a large number of people speaking this language are found to be scattered all over India, specially in the adjoining States of Karṇāṭaka, namely, Mahārāṣṭra, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala. Kannada is a highly cultivated speech belonging to the Dravidian family of languages to which belong three other major languages of India, Malayalam, Tamil, and Telugu. The antiquity of the language can safely be traced to the early Christian era. Reference may be made in this connexion to a few lines in a Greek drama found in a fragmentary papyrus of the second century A.D. from Oxyrhynchus in North Egypt. One of the scenes in that drama depicts an Indian court where the king and his courtiers speak in a language with a highly Sanskritized vocabulary. Dr Hultzsch identifies this language as early Kannada. ¹

PRE-PAMPA LITERATURE (BEFORE A.D. 900)

Definite specimens of ancient Kannada are, however, available from a large number of early inscriptions mixed with many Sanskrit words. The style of these inscriptions is fairly rich in poetic fancy and facile in expression, and speaks of a sufficiently developed culture and ancient literary heritage. The earliest Kannada inscription, belonging to c. A.D. 450, was discovered at Halmidī near Belur, the famous temple town of Hassan District. Its language shows that Kannada was by then fully developed and borrowed words freely from Sanskrit. The language had evidently been long employed as a medium of communication and gradually elevated to a high literary status. The next two centuries saw a good many inscriptions some of which are of high literary merit. These help us reconstruct in some measure the cultural life of Karṇāṭaka during the period.

Kavirājamārga (c. A.D. 850), the earliest available Kannada work and hence a landmark in the history of Kannada literature, is believed to have been written by Nṛpatuṅga, a Rāṣṭrukūṭa king of the ninth century. A work on poetics, it treats of grammar also incidentally. We have here an attempt to put Daṇḍin's Sanskrit Kāvyādārśa into Kannada. This work proves that Kannada had, over a

¹ Cf. JRAS (1904) p. 399. Some Kannada scholars, however, do not accept this view.
thousand years ago, a fairly well-developed literature consisting of reputed
works both in verse and in prose. The author, whether it was King Nṛpatunāga
himself or his court poet Śrivijaya as is conjectured by some scholars, mentions
many earlier poets.

The earliest work of real literary value is perhaps Śivakotyācārya’s Vad-
dārādhane which is said to have been written in c. A.D. 920. Composed in a lucid
and pleasing style, it has for its theme nineteen Jaina stories emphasizing ren-
nunciation as the highest ideal of life. Some scholars believe that this work is a
compilation of several stories culled from one Kannada commentary on Ārā-
dhana of Śivārya (a writer of the early Christian era) and amplified with material
gathered from Sanskrit and Prakrit anthologies. It is the only Kannada prose
work of the time which uses native Kannada words effectively and with un-
paralleled felicity.

Pampa and His Successors (c. A.D. 900–1150)

Pampa, court poet of the Cāluṭuka king Arikesarīn II and author of the
two great classics, Ādi Purāṇa and Vikramārjuna-vijaya, is rightly hailed as
the ādikavi (first poet) of Kannada, though there were before him poets of
considerable importance. Born in A.D. 902, he is believed to have written his
two works in 941 (or, according to some scholars, in 942) in which he expresses
his passionate love for the hills and valleys of Karnaṭaka. His first work, Ādi
Purāṇa, treats in great detail the life of Vṛṣabha, the first of the twenty-four
Tirthaṅkaras. The well-established traditional pattern allowed him hardly any
scope for an independent treatment of the theme or of the characters. Yet, in
treating the incidents and the situations, he is able to bring something of his
own into his work. Pampa’s fame, however, is virtually founded on his Vikramār-
juna-vijaya, popularly known as Pampa-Bhārata, which is an old Kannada
version of Vyāsa’s Mahābhārata. Pampa had in view a twofold objective: first,
to immortalize his patron, King Arikesarīn, who is to him more a friend than
a master; and second, to summarize the voluminous story of Vyāsa’s Mahā-
bhārata for the benefit of Kannada people. The poet, without cutting out any
significant incident, has successfully condensed the vast bulk of the original
into a compact and artistic whole. He has, besides, shown remarkable artistic
talent in handling the countless characters of the Mahābhārata. Though his
hero is Arjuna, with whom he has tried to identify his patron, he has not failed
to devote adequate attention to the other characters. His style in its brevity
and power is unique revealing, as it does, his fine command of Sanskrit as well as
Kannada.

Among the three Kannada poets who have been eulogized as kavi-cakravartins
and ratna-trayas, Ponna (c. 950) is the first kavi-cakravartin and the second of the
ratna-trayas, Pampa being the first. A contemporary of Pampa, Ponna wrote
Sānti Purāṇa, Bhuvanaika-Rāmābhuyudaya, and Jināksaramāle, the second of which is unfortunately lost. The first deals with the traditional story of Sāntinātha, sixteenth Jaina Tirthaṅkara. Ranna, whose famous Sāhasa-Bhīma-vijayam is more popularly known as Gadā-yuddha (c. 1000), is the third of the ratna-trajas and the second kavi-cakravartin. His other work is Ajita-tirthāṅkara-purāṇa-tilaka (Ajita Purāṇa), composed in 993. In writing a religious work like Ajita Purāṇa and a secular work like Sāhase-Bhīma-vijayam, Ranna has followed the footsteps of Pampa. Like Pampa, he has sought to identify his patron Satyāśraya, son of Tailapa the Cālukya king, with his Bhīma whom he regards as the hero of the Mahābhārata. Though he has given a rapid survey of the Mahābhārata in his work, he has concentrated more on the gadā-yuddha episode.

Cāmunḍarāya of the same century, a minister under the Cālukya king Rāchimalla, and famous in the history of Indian art for the colossal statue of Gommaṭeśvarā carved out of the living rock at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, has written in prose Triṣaṣṭi-lakṣaṇa-mahāpurāṇa, popularly known as Cāmunḍarāya Purāṇa (c. 978). It depicts the lives of the sixty-three ṣalaka-puruṣas. His work is a condensation of the Sanskrit Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra. The Kādambarī, Bānabhaṭṭa’s renowned prose work in Sanskrit, was rendered into Kannada in campū style by Nāgavarman I who probably lived towards the close of the tenth century. This is the first attempt and a quite successful one in Kannada at writing a purely secular work by a translator who could bring into his rendering all the grace and flavour of the original, Chando’mbudhi, earliest available work on prosody, is also ascribed by some scholars to the same author.

Durgaisīṅha with his Pañcatantra (1031) stands out as a unique writer in the history of Kannada literature. His work, while throwing some new light on Viṣṇuśarman’s Sanskrit Pañcatantra, brings to light for the first time certain unexplored sources of the Pañcatantra stories prevalent in India at the time. The author, for instance, says that he followed the Pañcatantra as related by Vasubhāga Bhaṭṭa. It is an interesting fact that this Vasubhāga Bhaṭṭa’s tradition was followed in Java. Durgaisīṅha’s version, apart from its value to the reconstruction of Vasubhāga Bhaṭṭa’s untraced work, is praiseworthy for its very fine narrative style. Nāgacandra, who lived towards the close of the eleventh and the early part of the twelfth century, has two works to his credit, Mallinīthā Purāṇa and Rāmācandra-carita Purāṇa, the second of which, popularly known as Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa, is the earliest available Rāmāyaṇa in Kannada, following the tradition of the Jaina writer Vimala Sūrī’s Prakrit work Paumacariya. It is the poetic qualities of this work that have earned for the author the title of ‘Abhinava Pampa’. The campū style saw in the works of Nāgacandra the last days of its glory.

Nayasena’s Dharmāṁṣṭa (c.1117) heralded a new way of thinking and writing.
in Kannada literature. Addressed to the common man, the work seeks to convey ethical values through artistically woven stories. It deals with the lives of fourteen Jaina mahāpurusas each of whom attained to the higher life by practising one of the guṇavaṉaṇas. Simple and direct, the poet's language reflects contemporary life. Brahmaśiva, who probably lived in the latter half of the twelfth century, wrote Samaya-parikṣa, an elaborate work and the first satirical and polemical piece in Kannada ridiculing the religious practices of all the non-Jaina sects of the day. It is perhaps one of the few poetical works where the superstitions of people (with the exception of Jains, of course) are subjected to critical examination. It is indeed a trenchant but very enjoyable work. The first Kannada grammar was systematically written in Sanskrit sūtras by Nāgavarman II of the same century in his Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa. Among his other works, Kavyavālokanā is a standard work on poetics and Abhidhāna-vastukṣa is a lexicon. His influence can be traced in subsequent writers on scientific subjects like Janna, and especially grammarians like Kesirāja. Achaṇṇa’s Vardhamāna Purāṇa, which follows the traditional manner both in its narrative and in its style, is the first among the independent works dealing with the life of the twenty-fourth Tīrthanka.

Broadly speaking, the bulk of the literature of the two centuries just surveyed has in its content a predominance of heroic sentiment and in its style a certain classicism leaning entirely on Sanskrit. Some poets like Nayasena and Durgasimha, however, tried to introduce a welcome change both in spirit and in form. But it is the vacanaśaras and their worthy successors that really brought literature to the masses.

BASAVANNA AND NEW SPIRITUAL RENAISSANCE (c. A.D. 1150—1400)

A new spiritual renaissance marks the beginning of another great era in the cultural and religious history of Karṇāṭaka with the appearance on the horizon of a whole galaxy of mystics in the early years of the twelfth century. Later, their spiritual illumination conquered the age they lived in and left a deep impression on the generations that followed it. A religious mass movement designated Vīraśaivism necessitated the use of colloquial Kannada as an effective medium for the dissemination of spiritual knowledge and ethical values. Some of these mystics were, in essence, poets, too. A new form of literature called vacana was invented by them as their vehicle of expression.

A vacana is a composition which has not the fetters of metre or rhyme but has internal rhythm and movement, making it poetic in spirit, though prose in form. Many of the vacanas are believed to have been set to music and sung, but tradition has not handed down to us the musical form that was employed. At their highest moments the vacanas are glorious outpourings of the heart, expressing various moods and experiences like the yearning for, and communion with,
the supreme Being. At lesser moments they are employed for propagating morality or expounding the philosophical tenets of the system.

Among these Viraśāiva mystics Allama Prabhu is one of the highest peaks. An Advaitin at heart and blessed with profound spiritual knowledge, he speaks in a language radiant with imagery and in words of dazzling illumination. But the most glorious of these great mystics are Basavaṇṇa and Akkamahādevi, who are two outstanding persons among the saints of any age. The vacanas of both of them are charged, on the one hand, with the agony for union with their chosen deity and, on the other, with the ecstasy of communion with the object of their seeking.

Basavesvara, popularly known as Basavaṇṇa or Basava (c. A.D. 1150), was virtually the leader of this new religious movement. He is even considered to be the founder of this new religion which was highly democratic in spirit, though somewhat prior to this school we have a vacanakāra known as Devara Dāsimayya. It is not surprising that Basavesvara should play a leading role in this movement, because he had an advantage over the others, holding as he did the office of chief minister of a State. This apart, his exemplary sincerity and genuine yearning for God lent him the authority to lead hundreds of seekers of Truth. In fine points of poetry and musical quality, his compositions are unsurpassed in the whole range of Kannada literature.

Though not so extensive as the compositions of other vacanakāras, those of Akkamahādevi are unique in their richness of poetry and melody. She renounced the world, left her royal husband, and like Lallā Didi of Kashmir wandered about among the woods of Śrīśaila in search of the supreme Being. Among this group of mystic poets Siddharāma forms a class by himself; for, a karmayogin to all appearances, he was in reality a jñānayogin devoting himself all the time to the service of his fellow men without ever forgetting his allegiance to the Lord.

The new religious movement, which added not only bulk but also quality to Kannada literature, encouraged women for the first time to participate in religious discussions held in public and to write vacanas. Women were given equal status with men in religious leadership and some of them took a leading part in the religious discussions that took place in the seminars of the mystics known as anubhāva-gosṭhi. Another great contribution of this movement was to give to men of all castes and ranks a status of equality which was probably never known before in this country except at the time of Gautama Buddha. Kāyakave kailāsa (which means ‘work is heaven’ or ‘service is salvation’) was the gospel of this movement. One’s own appointed duty performed with dedication, however humble it might be, was believed to be the means to Self-realization. It was enough if one was a devotee of God. All devotees received equal reverence from the greatest of these great saints such as Allama Prabhu or Basavaṇṇa.
In the literary field these mystic teachers dispensed with ornamental language and the traditional types and forms with which the epic works of the past were associated. For, in their view it was the substance that lent dignity to the form and raised it to the level of poetry. Harihara, a great writer of the thirteenth century, brought about two revolutions by deviating from the beaten track in both content and form of literature. Instead of eulogizing kings and their exploits, he sang of the glories of God and His devotees. The metrical experiments which he carried out make one feel that he was the progenitor of modern metres. He found that the mātrā-gaṇa suits the genius of Kannada much better than the akṣara-gaṇa which used to be borrowed from Sanskrit. And he composed the major part of his poetry in the ragale metre which may be described as 'rhymed blank verse'. He told the lives of saints, of the remote as well as immediate past. When the verse narrative seemed to be too long, he would change over to prose in order to break the monotonity. Basavarājadevara-ragale, Nambiyannana-ragale, and Puṣpa-ragale are amongst his best works. Besides using this new form of his own creation which may perhaps be called ragale campū, he also used the traditional campū in writing his Girijā-kalyāṇa-mahāpraban-dham probably in order to demonstrate that he could easily wield this difficult medium. Bhakti is the motivating force in the entire gamut of his poetry.

Rāghavāṇka, a nephew and disciple of Harihara, further extended his innovations by evolving and perfecting a new indigenous metre known as satpadi. Indeed, he has been considered the pioneer of satpadi. Like his master, he too gave expression to his devotion to God which has an appeal to the common man. His available works are Hariśeandra-kāvya, Somānātha-carite, and Siddharāma-carite. Two more pieces, also ascribed to him, Sarabha-caritra and Harihara-mahattva, have, however, not yet been discovered.

While these innovations in content, style, and metre went on, there were quite a few writers who were still devoted to the old campū style. Nemicandra (c. 1200), who wrote Līlāvatī-prabandham and Neminātha-carite, and Rudrabhaṭṭa (1172-1219), who wrote Jagannātha-vijaya, may be cited as examples. Mention must also be made of Pālkurike Somanātha, another poet of this period, who is said to have written several works. The next poet of mark is Janna whose father Sumanobāṇa was also a poet. Mallikārjuna (c. 1245), compiler of the first poetic anthology, namely, Sūkta-sudhārṇava, and Nāgavarman II and Keśirāja, the two famous grammarians, were all his close relations. Living in such a scholarly atmosphere of poets and grammarians, it was only natural that Janna should produce works of very high merit. His Yaśodhara-carite (1209) is still one of the most popular poems of Kannada literature. The scholarly Anantanātha Purāṇa on the life of the fourteenth Tīrthaṅkara is also an important work of Janna.

Another poet of this century deserving special mention is Āṇḍayya
(c. 1235) who followed the usual campū style but with great deviations both in content and in language. His Kabbigara-kāra, known also as Sobagina-suggi ('Harvest of Beauty') and as Kāvana-gella ('Cupid’s Conquest'), is unique in its language as it does not use a single Sanskrit word in its pure or tātsama form. The poet’s vocabulary throughout is either pure Kannada or modified Sanskrit (tadbhava), making this poem a remarkable tour de force for the Kannada language, which cannot ordinarily do without a considerable Sanskrit element.

Keśirāja (c. 1260) is a literary figure of importance of this age. He is the author of Šabda-mañi-darpaṇa ('Bejewelled Mirror of Words'). Primarily a grammarian, he has exhibited keen poetic sensibilities by selecting excellent poetic passages to illustrate his sūtras or rules some of which are perhaps his own compositions. We have a chain of assorted poets in Kannada language after Keśirāja. Kumudendu (c. 1275), for instance, presented the Rāma story in his Kumudendu Rāmāyaṇa composed in ṣatpadī metre. Then comes Raṭṭa Kavi (c. 1300) whose Raṭṭa-mata or Raṭṭa-Sūtra deals with natural phenomena such as rain, earthquake, planets, lightning, and omens. Puṇyāśrama of Nāgarāja (c. 1331) contains fifty-two tales from the lives of mythological heroes with a view to illustrating the duties of a householder. Khagendra-mañi-darpaṇa of Maṅgarāja I (c. 1360) is a book on medicine. Madhura (c. 1385), court poet of Harihara of Vijayanagara, wrote Dharmanātha Purāṇa portraying the legend of the fifteenth Tirthaṅkara. Aśva-vaidya of Abhinava Candra (c. 1400) is a book dealing with horses.

KUMĀRA VYĀSA AND HIS SUCCESSORS (A.D. 1400—1800)

To the first half of the fifteenth century belongs one of the greatest poets of Kannada literature. He is Nāranappa, popularly known as Kumāra Vyāsa, who has written in ṣatpadī metre the first ten parvans of the Mahābhārata. He has named his work Karnaṭaka-Bhārata-kathā-mañjari, but it is popularly known as Kumāra Vyāsa Bhārata or Gadugina. He is ecstatic in discussing devotion to God. And he is equally great in describing the spectacular battles of the Bhārata war. The richness of the Kannada language as well as of the bhāmini ṣatpadī were fully exploited by Kumāra Vyāsa. His skill in metaphor won him the epithet rūpaka-sāmrājya-cakravartin or ‘the king of metaphor’. No other work has been recited so much, nor so much admired and enjoyed as Kumāra Vyāsa’s Bhārata. Even unlettered villagers all over Karnaṭaka have heard, and are familiair with, some touching episode or other from this wonderful work. Kumāra Vyāsa’s Bhārata is a folk-epic in the truest sense. He is, indeed, the Tulsidāsa and the Kṛttivīṣa of Kannada literature.

Cāmarasa, another important poet of the fifteenth century, wrote a popular work, Prabhu-liṅga-līle, in which he treated the life of Allama Prabhu, the great mystic saint and vacanakāra of the twelfth century, who had by then become a legendary figure.
Nijagunā Śivayogin (c. seventeenth century) has seven works to his credit, six of which have come to be known as the Saṭ Śāstras. His Viveka-cintāmaṇi is perhaps the first attempt to compile an encyclopaedia in Kannada language. Two more poets of his time have captured the hearts of all lovers of literature in Karnāṭaka. One of them is Lakṣmīśa, whose work is popularly known as Jaimini-Bhārata. Yudhiṣṭhira’s asvamedha sacrifice is the main theme of this work. The other poet is Ratnākara Varṇī. Besides his minor works like Ratnākara-śataka, Triloka-śataka, and Aparājiteśvara-śataka, he wrote Bhārateśa-vaiḥava, a work that immortalized him. It has been written in an indigenous popular metre called sāṅgatya. The main theme of the work is the story of Bharata, son of Vṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara. The poet has deviated from the traditional tenets of Jainism in attempting a harmonization of bhoga (enjoyment) and tyāga (renunciation), which has been highly commended by many critics.

Naiṇḍakāvari made Kumāra Rāma, one of the popular princes of Karnāṭaka, the hero of his work Rāmanātha-carite which was also written in sāṅgatya metre. This is one of the few Kannada works where actual history forms the basis of a poetical composition.

Karnāṭaka now had another upsurge of devotion known as the Haridāsa movement with the advent of a group of saint-singers like Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa. The Haridāsas sang the glory of the Lord in hundreds of musical compositions. These songs are a perennial spiritual inspiration to all devotees in Karnāṭaka. Purandaradāsa has a special place of honour among the Haridāsas, as he was the originator of a system of music now known as the Karnāṭaka-sāṅgīta (the South Indian style of music as distinguished from the Hindustani style of North India). A great many of the compositions of the Haridāsas are ethical and moral in character.

Though many new forms had been tried with success by many poets, the campū still had its fascination for a few. Śaḍakṣaradeva is one of them. His Rājaśekhara-vilāsa is written mainly to illustrate the protective power of the Lord’s name. Vṛṣabhendravijaya and Śabara-šaṅkara-vilāsa are two more works of his.

Among the many royal patrons of literature, Cikkadevarāja, a ruler of the Mysore Wodeyar dynasty, was not only a poet himself but a great patron of poets as well. His Cikkadevarāja Binnapam is an excellent philosophical and devotional piece. Another work of his is Gita-Gopāla. Cikupādhyāya, Tirumalār, and a good number of poets of this period wrote many poems which were of great

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8 This order of the Dāsas (servants of God) was built up by a regular band of saintly souls, who dedicated themselves to the service of the Lord and, singing the praises of Hari, wandered from one end of the country to the other. These saints of the Dāsa order centred their affections on Vīṇḍhalā or Hari of Pantharpur as the patron deity of their order.—Vide CHI, Vol. IV, p. 349.
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contemporary appeal. The bulk of these writings is mythological in nature. The first Kannada drama, Mitra-vinda-Govinda, was written by Śīṅgarārya.

Kannada literature has some women poets of considerable distinction. One of them is Honnamma, a maid-in-waiting in the palace of Cikkadevarāja. Her Hadibadeya-dharma ("Tenets for Chaste and Devoted Wives") is written in sāṅgatyā metre. It is a work intended to present an ideal of conduct for women in their domestic life. Another poetess of the same period, Heḷavanaṅkaṭṭe Giriyamma, wrote a few smaller works among which the poem on the episode of Candrahāsa is the best known.

A unique poet, although not much is known about him, is Sarvajña Mūrti. His real name is said to have been Puspadatta. He composed hundreds of ethical verses known as Sarvajña-padagaḷ in the tripadi metre, whose poetic quality is admitted. As a popular poet with an ethical mission, he reminds one of Vemana of Telugu literature and Tiruvalluvar of Tamil literature.

There is a vast bulk of folk-literature in Kannada. In these compositions of many an unknown poet the entire gamut of tender emotions from human love to love of the supreme Being has been well depicted. Most of them are composed in triplets, though other characteristic indigenous metres are not excluded. It is a significant fact that the mass of this folklore formed the basis of much of modern Kannada literature.

MODERN KANNADA LITERATURE

Like all other modern Indian languages, Kannada derived its inspiration from English literature during the nineteenth century as a result of which various literary forms were borrowed by Kannada literature. A considerable part of the subject-matter of this literature of the renaissance related to the revolutionary social changes that were taking place in India. Science and technology had their impact on the numerous works that were written. At the same time, however, the old Purānic and religious themes were also cultivated in the same measure as before.

Two poets are often hailed as the heralds of modern Kannada literature. They are Kempu Narayana and ‘Muddaṇṇa’. Kempu Narayana has written in prose the story of Viṣākhadatta’s Sanskrit play Mudrārākṣasa under the title of Mudrāmaṇjuśā (1823). This is virtually the first prose work of modern Kannada literature and may be said to be the first historical romance in Kannada. ‘Muddaṇṇa’ is the pseudonym of Nandakile Lakshminarayanappā. His Śrī Rāma-Patṭālhiṣeṣa in śatpadī, whereas his other two works, Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa and Śrī Rāmaśvamedham, are in prose. His style is rather heavy; it is relieved, however, by delightful humour often blended with exquisite pathos.

Basavappa Sastri, a poet of the court of Śrī Chamaraja Wodeyar III
(1868-94) of Mysore, devoted his energies mainly to translations and adaptations from Sanskrit, which, in their excellence, read like original creations. His translation of Abhijñāna-Śakuntala is not merely the first of its kind in Kannada, but is unsurpassed even to this day as a masterpiece. Besides translating Kālidāsa’s other plays, Basavappa Sastri adapted Shakespeare’s Othello into Kannada. He was thus a pioneer in bringing European literature to Kannada, although he did not know either English or any other European language.

Hattiyangadi Narayana Rao published several translations from Shakespeare and other English poets, and in this way a rich variety of themes (that were to be found in them) were brought to Kannada readers. Translations from sister languages were also made on a large scale. Galaganatha, himself an original novelist, popularized historical novels by translating some vigorously nationalistic historical novels from Marathi. B. Venkatacharya learnt Bengali and translated, even as they were published, the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and the works of Romesh Chandra Dutt and other Bengali writers. M. S. Puttanna, hailed as the first original novelist of Kannada literature, wrote several novels of considerable merit, his Madidduna Maharāyā being the best-known among them. In all these efforts it was of course English literature that provided the chief fount of inspiration.

Some of the modern poets strove consciously to break away from tradition both in content and in form. One of the earliest poets to abandon the fetters of rhyme (which had all along been considered an integral part of poetry) was Manjeswar Govinda Pai.

The new trends and achievements of contemporary Kannada literature do not admit of easy classification. Hence only a brief account of the various literary forms created in the present century can be given here.

POETRY

The credit for opening out new horizons in modern Kannada poetry goes chiefly to B. M. Srikanthayya, known throughout Karnāṭaka as ‘Śri’. A professor of English and an accredited scholar not only in English but also in Kannada literature, ‘Śri’ was a poet of remarkable merit. Like Harihara of old, ‘Śri’ felt convinced that metres of three, four, and five mātrās together with their permutations would suit best the genius of the Kannada language. He also realized that breaking off from the rather unwieldy satpadis and nyttas, which were fashionable in the earlier generations, would give the modern poet a greater freedom to experiment and provide him with a greater variety of form. He translated some of the best-known lyrics of several English poets, inventing for each piece a metre that suited it best. The success he achieved was immediate, and many other poets of his generation followed his example. Besides his Gitēgalu, a collection of English lyrics done into Kannada, his original pieces
were published under the title of *Hoṅganasuṅglu*. He wrote the play *Aśvatthāmāṇi*, modelled on *Ajax* of Sophocles. He translated the *Persae* of Sophocles under the name of *Pārasikanu*. He also condensed and gave dramatic form to Ranna's famous poem *Gadā-yuddha*.

Two other persons who experimented in translating English and Sanskrit poets were Hattiyangadi Narayana Rao and S. G. Narasimhachar. A number of younger writers were also composing poems on new themes in modern metres. Panje Mangesa Rao, Manjeswar Govinda Pai, and 'Srīnivāsa' are some of the names closely associated with this glorious dawn of modern Kannada poetry. Their successors in this field were, however, greater poets. They are K. V. Puttappa ('Ku-vem-pu'), Dattatreya Ramachandra Bendre ('Ambikātānayadatta'), and P. T. Narasimhachar ('Pu-ti-na'). All the three were honoured with the awards of the Sahitya Akademi, and the first two with the Jnanpith Award. Nature and man, spiritual experiences and religious ideals, society and social revolution—these are the preoccupations of modern poets. The poetry of 'Ku-vem-pu' in its quality, no less than in its quantity, is unsurpassed. His unique gift to Kannada literature is his *Śrī Rāmāyaṇa-darśanam*. This is an epic written in the grand style, in blank verse running to 25,000 lines, on the traditional theme of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But his approach is entirely new, spiritually, aesthetically, and mystically, and hence it opens out new horizons. Bendre is best known in the first instance for his lyrics, many of which, written in the peculiar dialect of his area, have a delightful melody of their own. Extremely sensitive to the joys and sorrows of his fellow men, Bendre is, indeed, a true poet of the people. 'Pu-ti-na' with his deep roots in the tradition and mythology of the land, has sung largely of the aspiration of the human soul to reach the Divine. Nature and God are the twin motifs of his poetry.

D. V. Gundappa, who is well known as 'D.V.G.' in Karnāṭaka and beyond, is a great figure among our modern men of letters. His *Umarana Osage*, a translation of Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyam*, is superb. *Belūrina Šīlaḷīkkeyaru* is a chain of lyrics describing the world-famous images of the dancing damsels at the Hoysaḷa temple of Belur. Set to music by the poet himself, the poem has entered into the repertoire of professional musicians and dancers. His matchless mastery of a variety of metres, including the classical, is revealed in his *Śrī Rāma-parīkṣayaṅam*, his anthem on the first Independence Day and his elegiac tribute to Mahatma Gandhi on his martyrdom. But the poet's greatest piece is undoubtedly *Maṅku-Timmana-kagga*, which is perhaps the greatest philosophical poem not only in Kannada but in any modern Indian language. With his deep humanism, felicitous imagery, keen intellect, and sparkling wit, the poet embodies in this many-splendoured tapestry of 945 verses his vision of the cosmos, of the human world in its relation to the universe and of the significance of man's life on this planet of ours. Enshrining the poet's philosophy of
life, this marvellous poem, singularly free from all taint of didacticism, provides
guideposts for man’s march on his onward journey, warning him of pitfalls and
slippery patches and filling him with solace, hope, and joy. V. Sitaramayya
(‘V. Si’), Kandengodlu Sankarabhatta, Anandakanda, V. K. Gokak, ‘Madhurachenna’,
R. S. Mugali, S. R. Ekkundi, and M. V. Sitaramayya are some other
contemporaries who have contributed their share to the growth of modern
Kannada poetry. The lyrics of ‘V. Si’ are lovely specimens set to music by the
poet himself.

The force and beauty of colloquial Kannada were also exploited to the
fullest extent by G. P. Rajaratnam. In Ratnana-padagaṇu and Nāgana-padagaṇu,
two of his poetical collections, he has shown how a genuine and able poet can
express diverse moods and thoughts in the utterly unsophisticated and colloquial
language of unlettered folk, even as Burns, with his Scottish dialect, did in
English. Homely family life and affection, in all its aspects, has been treated by
K. S. Narasimhaswamy. His Maisūru Mallige, which was followed by several
other fine collections of poems, has brought the poet great popularity.

The wave of modernism in poetry, which gathered strength since the late
thirties, has swept many a poet off his feet. Gopalakrishna Adiga, a poet with
powerful imagination and rich vocabulary, is the leader of this modernist
trend. T. S. Eliot and other modernist poets of the West are the ideals of this
school. All the characteristics of modernism, hailed as poetic virtues, may be
said to have found abundant expression in Adiga’s poems. B. C. Ramachandra
Sarma, U. R. Anantamurthy, P. Lankesh, Purnachandra Tejaswi, Chandrasekhar
Kambor, Sumatindra Nadig, Chandrasekhar Patil, and some other
poets of this school have been striving to establish modernism in poetry.

G. S. Sivarudrappa and Channavira Kanavi, two poets who had started
their poetic career in what used to be called the romantic style of the renaiss-
ance generation, seem to be leaning in recent years towards a union of the
romanticism of the earlier generation with the modernism of the present. K. S.
Nisar Ahmed is another poet of present-day Kannada literature with a powerful
and simple style, who stands out with distinction for his exploitation of Purāṇic
images to give expression to his own experiences.

NOVEL

One of the literary forms in which modern Kannada is fairly rich is the novel.
K. Sivarama Karanta, A. N. Krishna Rao (‘A-na-kṛ’), T. R. Subba Rao (‘Ta-
ra-su’), Krishna Murthy Puranik, V. M. Inamdar, ‘Triveni’, Niranjana, Basava-
rāja Kattimani, Korāti Srinivasa Rao, B. Puttaswamiah and S. L. Bhyrappa
are writers who have extended the field of the Kannada novel by the quantity
of their works as well as by their relatively high quality. Sivarama Karanta is
indisputably the most outstanding novelist of Kannada literature. His philo-
sophy of life as revealed in his novels is the direct outcome of his intimate association with his fellow men. His _Marali Mannige_ (‘Back to the Soil’) is almost an epic in prose involving three generations, which reminds one of the _Forsyte Saga_ of John Galsworthy. The credit of writing the first great and voluminous novel in Kannada, _Kānūru Subbamma Heggaḍīṭi_, goes to ‘Ku-vem-pu’. In this as well as in his second recent novel _Malegaḷali Madumagalu_, the unique rural life of Malnad, which is fast disappearing, has been portrayed in all its variegated colour including the flavour of the local dialect.

There are some other novelists whose output has been rather small—some of them having written only one or two novels—but who have gained some distinction through their work. Rao Bahadur among them has made a new experiment with admirable success in his _Grāmāyaṇa_, where a whole generation takes the place of the ‘hero’. ‘Śrīnivāsa’ (Masti Venkatesa Iyengar), though pre-eminent a writer of short stories, has shown in his two novels, _Cennabasava Nāyaka_ and _Cikkavāra Rājendra_, that he can handle the novel with equal ease. Mirji Anna Rao’s _Nisarga_ is in a class by itself. Bhyrappa’s _Vamśa-vyśka_ and U. R. Anantamurthy’s _Saṃskāra_ are notable contributions, both of them having been filmed. Bhyrappa’s recent novel _Dātu_ has been honoured with the national award by the Sahitya Akademi. Sankar Mokasi Punekar and Yasavanta Chittala are other prominent writers in the field. V. K. Gokak, who has tried his hand at many literary forms including the diary, has achieved considerable success with his _Samarasave Jivana_, which is perhaps the most voluminous novel written in Kannada so far. Basavaraja Kattimani, who wields a vigorous pen as a novelist, has narrated in several of his novels the dramatic story of our national struggle for independence. Devudu Narasimha Sastry’s _Mahābrāhmaṇa_ and _Mahākṣatriya_ are good specimens of what may be called mythological novels, while Puttaswamiah’s _Krāṇi Kalyāṇa_ and Virakesari Sitarama Sastry’s _Daulat_ and _Nagarada Rāṇi_ are historical novels of a high order. Several authors like ‘Triveṇi’ have tried their hand with commendable success at the modern psychological novel too. Among Kannada novelists there are a good many women writers including ‘Triveṇi’—M. K. Indira, Niladevi, Jayalakshmi, H. V. Savitramma, for instance.

**SHORT STORY**

Masti Venkatesa Iyengar (‘Śrīnivāsa’) is the first fiction writer in Kannada whose themes are original and indigenous in character. Since it was he who blazed this new trail in Kannada literature, he is naturally regarded as the father of the modern Kannada short story. A. Sitaram (‘Ānanda’), who approaches Masti in excellence, has, however, written very little. Gorur Ramaswamy Iyengar has, in a number of masterly short stories and essays, portrayed the life of the rural people on the banks of the Hemavati and, with his inimitable
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humour, brought to life a whole host of rustic characters. 'Aśvattha', 'Chadu-raṅga', and 'Sadāśiva' are a few other writers who have contributed to the growth of this literary form. Purnachandra Tejaswi and U. R. Anantamurthy have tried, with much success, to carry the technique of the short story further. These writers of short stories infused into Kannada prose a certain simplicity, directness, and vigour which it had never known before. Anantamurthy with his remarkable imagination bids fair to carry this medium to still higher levels of excellence. Among the modernists, Purnachandra Tejaswi is by far the best writer of short stories, his Abachūrīna Post Office being a significant contribution to this popular form.

DRAMA

It is strange that in the vast bulk of Kannada literature with its wide variety, the drama was conspicuous by its absence until the nineteenth century. What is more, it is only in the second quarter of the present century that original Kannada plays began to be written. Certain mythological plays were no doubt written for the stage by erudite pandits like N. Srikanta Sastrī and Bellave Narahari Sastrī, but original plays bearing on the problems of contemporary society came to be written much later. T. P. Kailasam (Tollu-gatti, Home Rule, etc.), a genius if ever there was one, tried a great many experiments in drama. The intimate knowledge he had gained as a student in London of the English stage stood him in good stead in carrying out his experiments. He held undisputed sway over the amateur Kannada stage for almost a quarter of a century. School and college audiences had special fascination for his plays. A fountain of humour and a master of pathos, he tackled social problems from a new angle and created a whole galaxy of comic characters. He wrote in a language that had a great appeal to people of urban society. It was an anglicized Kannada spoken by the English-educated men and women of the day the vogue of which has gradually been on the decline. M. R. Srinivasa Murthy's Nāgarika and Dharma-duranta, Devudu Narasimha Sastrī's Naciketā and C. K. Venkataramiah's Mandodari are celebrated original plays relating to this period. Parāśurāma of 'D.V.G.' is a lovely play which presents the celebrated epic character in a new light. Although written in the thirties, it has been published recently. Sriranga is another dramatist who has written a considerable number of plays (Saṅjīvini, Sāvītri, Kelu Jana-mejaya, etc.) dealing largely with the common evils of contemporary society. He is likely to be remembered by students of literature, especially for his novel experimentation in the technique of drama and his preoccupation with social problems. A good many poetic plays and operas have also been written by various writers. Beralga Korala, a poetic drama of 'Ku- vem-pu', deals with the famous Ekalavya episode of the Mahābhārata. It gives a novel and penetrating insight into the episode as well as the motivations of the princi-
pal characters. P. T. Narasimhachar (‘Pu-ti-na’) is the veritable king of the Kannada opera. His Gokula-nirgamana introduced him to the Kannada world as a poet of great imagination and matchless poetic sensibilities. Since its publication, he has composed several other operas like Ahalyā, Śabari, and Harinābhi-sarāna. Harīsa-Damayanti, his latest collection of operas, has won him the Sahitya Akademi Award. His great knowledge of the art and science of music has enabled him to bring about a happy blending of charming music with exquisite poetry.

Sivarama Karanta (Garbha Gudi) has, in several of his plays, tried to introduce the rhythm of spoken prose into the conversation of his characters. ‘Parvatavani’, A. N. Murthy Rao, B. Sitarama Sastry (‘Kṣirasāgara’) and N. Kasturi have enriched Kannada drama with several adaptations of English plays or English versions of European plays. A. N. Murthy Rao’s Āśā-dha-bhūti, a masterly adaptation of Molière’s Tartuffe, excels the original in some respects. The translation of Shakespeare’s Macbeth by ‘D. V. G’ is another excellent specimen.

As in the fields of poetry, the novel, and the short story, so also in that of drama, several experiments are being tried by certain writers with modernist leanings. Kirtinatha Kurtokoti’s Ā Mane (‘That House’) has proved a success. Another prominent playwright of the modernist school is Girish Karnad. He has written Tughlak, Tāyūti, and Hayavadana which are plays of great merit.

ESSAY AND LITERARY CRITICISM

A. N. Murthy Rao is an essayist par excellence ranking with the greatest English writers of the century like Gardiner or Lucas. S. Krishna Sharma, with the excellent pen-portraits entitled Kuladipakaru and Dipa-māle, another collection of his brilliant essays, has revealed himself as a master of modern Kannada prose. His Pañcavati is a valuable contribution to Gandhian literature in Kannada, Vamana Bhatta, M. Rama Rao, S. Anantnarayana, P. T. Narasimhachar, N. Prahlada Rao, and H. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar (‘Echcheske’) are some of the well-known writers who have made valuable contributions to the growth of this branch of Kannada literature. V. Sitaramayya’s Pampa-yātre, dwelling on the past glories of the Vijayanagara empire, is the best specimen of poetic prose in modern Kannada literature. ‘D. V. G.’ with his Gopāla Kṛṣṇa Gokhale and Puttappa with his Vivekānanda take the foremost place among Kannada biographers. The former’s Jivana-dharma-yoga, for which he was honoured with the award of the Sahitya Akademi, is a valuable interpretation of the Bhagavad-Gītā expounding the relevance of this great scripture to modern life.

Literary criticism as a systematic branch of Kannada literature developed only during the present century. Great contributions to this field were made
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by B. M. Srikantayya, A. R. Krishna Satri, T. S. Venkanniah, and T. N. Srikantayya, whose Kāvyamimānasa is a classic, the like of which is rarely to be found in any other modern Indian language. M. R. Srinivasa Murthy’s Bhaktibhāṇḍāri- Basavaṇṇanaṇavaṇu and Vacana-dharma-sāra are valuable critical works on Viraśāiva literature. Quite a large number of writers are doing admirable work in this sphere. To mention but a few names, they include Masti Venkatesh Iyengar, Bendre, D. V. Gundappa, S. V. Ranganna (who has been honoured with the award of the Sahitya Akademi for his vacana collection, Raṅga- binnapa), ‘Ku-vem-pu’, R. R. Diwakar, C. K. Venkataramaiah, M. R. Srinivasa Murthy, V. K. Gokak, K. D. Kurtukoti, D. J. Gowda, and H. M. Nayak.

It was the pioneering work of Lewis Rice, the great epigraphist, and of Rev. Kittel, Rev. Reeve, Rev. Bucher, Rev. Ziegler, and John Garrett, the great lexicographers, that made it possible for a host of great scholars to conduct historical and linguistic research on a large scale. Kittel’s Kannada-English Dictionary is, beyond doubt, a monumental work left for posterity to study and admire. R. Narasimhacharya, Manjeswara Govinda Pai, T. N. Srikantayya, D. L. Narasimhachar, and A. N. Upadhye are outstanding names of the preceding generation, while reputed scholars who have made, and are still making, substantial contributions to this field are: A. Venkatasubbiah, S. B. Joshi, K. G. Kundanagara, T. S. Shama Rao, G. Varadaraja Rao, and M. Chidanandamurthy.

Rev. Channappa Uttangi and T. G. Halakatti have earned the gratitude of all Kannada-speaking people for their great service in collecting and editing the literary treasures of the past. Uttangi has given us an authentic version of Sarvajña’s vacanas, while Halakatti has edited and published a vast number of vacanas and ragāḷes of different writers in this field.

R. Narasimhachar’s Kavīcari is the earliest attempt to present a history of Kannada literature. R. S. Mugali’s short work on the subject entitled Kannada Sāhiya Caritre has since been followed by detailed histories which are being published by the universities of Karnāṭaka.

S. V. Parameswara Bhat has brought the whole of Kālidāsa and Bhāṣa into Kannada, besides being a poet of mark, who has made a rich contribution to Kannada not only through his lyrics but through his vacanas strung together under the title Pāmara. K. Krishnamurthy has made some valuable translations.

TULU AND KODAGI

Neither Tulu nor Kodagi has a script of its own. Hence these languages do not possess any ancient literary works. There is, of course, a good deal of folk-literature in the two languages. A certain Appachchu Kavi of the present century has written a few works in Kodagi language. There are in Tulu quite a number of yakṣagānas developed on popular themes of South Kanara.
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THE LANGUAGE

Spoken mainly in Jammu and Kashmir by about 2.5 million (according to the 1971 Census), Kashmiri is one of the Indo-Iranian languages of the Union of India, and an important one in many ways. It has been nourished by both Sanskrit and Persian literary traditions over the centuries. Early Kashmiri literature shows leanings towards mystic and spiritual subjects. But, apart from compositions in the mystic vein on Brähmanical (Śaivite) and Islamic (Sufi) themes, Kashmiri is particularly rich in short lyrics on life and nature. There are also a large number of long poems in Kashmiri, both of Sanskrit and Persian inspiration, and there is in present-day Kashmiri quite a noteworthy literary upsurge.

In its basic stratum at least, Kashmiri belongs to the Dardic branch of the Indo-Iranian group of languages. But Indo-Aryan (Sanskritic) Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa from the midland and from northern Punjab profoundly modified the Dardic bases of Kashmiri, so that one might say that the Kashmiri language is a result of a very large over-laying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan (Sanskritic) elements.

Throughout the whole of the first thousand years after Christ, Kashmir was within the orbit of Sanskrit, and Kashmiri scholars, particularly during the second half of these thousand years, made their important contributions to Sanskrit literature. The names of Dāmodara, Abhinavagupta, Kalhana, Bilhana, and others are pre-eminent in the history of Sanskrit literature. Kashmir also developed its Trika system of Śaiva Tāntric philosophy, which had points of contact with the Śaiva Siddhānta of the Tamil land, far away in the south. The development of the Kashmiri language proper took place around A.D.1200. It is presumed that before the emergence of Kashmiri as a distinct language, there were Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa stages of Kashmiri. But there are no specimens of what may be called a Kashmiri Prakrit and a Kashmiri Apabhraṃśa. Only half a line in three words of what may be described as Kashmiri Apabhraṃśa has been found in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhana (twelfth century).¹

The history of Kashmiri literature, as of the language, may be divided into the following three broad periods:

¹ It runs thus: Rāngasṛ haḷu deIPA (or deIPA), 'the village of Helu has been given to Raṅga', which in Modern Kashmiri would be Raṅgas heIPA dhruIPA.
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(i) Old Kashmiri, from A.D. 1200 to 1500;
(ii) Middle Kashmiri, from A.D. 1500 to 1800;
(iii) New or Modern Kashmiri, after A.D. 1800.

Old Kashmiri presented a language with a very full phonetic character, but from Middle Kashmiri times there were some very extensive vowel-changes, through umlaut and other sound-laws being operative, which changed the nature of Old Kashmiri and made it almost a different language.

Prior to the Old Kashmiri period, we have evidence of Indo-Aryan Prakrit and Apabhramśa both being used for literary compositions by Kashmiri scholars, side by side with Sanskrit. Thus there is a work in Sanskrit by the great Sanskrit scholar, Abhinavagupta (c. A.D. 950-1025), the Tantrasāra, in which at the end of each verse section (āhnikā), there are two verses in some kind of Apabhramśa. We have seventy-six verses in all in this language, but it does not show any specific Kashmiri character. Then, again, there is another work known as the Mahārthī-maṁjīrtī by Mahēṣvarānanda, which consists of seventy-one distichs in Prakrit (it is not the language of Kashmir but is Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit), and this work has been found in two recensions, both of which have been published, one from Srinagar in Kashmir and the other from Trivandrum in Kerala. This work in all likelihood belongs to a period before A.D. 1200 and may be immediately after Abhinavagupta.

OLD KASHMIRI: A.D. 1200—1500

The earliest compositions so far available in Kashmiri would appear to be the ninety-four four-line stanzas found in a Sanskrit work called the Mahānāyaparakāśa by Śītikaṇṭha Ācārya. G. A. Grierson, following a Kashmiri scholar, thought that this work belonged to the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century; but a closer study of the subject-matter as well as the language, with some internal evidence from the name and the title of the author, will go to show that the work is much older. The subject-matter of these verses is highly abstruse, dealing with the Śaiva Tāntric philosophy as current in Kashmir as its most popular faith, and it belongs to the period of religion and thought of the times of Abhinavagupta and his followers. It is easy to see that the language here is something very archaic when compared with Modern Kashmiri. It is like Old English (or Anglo-Saxon) beside Modern English. It is even more ancient than the language of the poems of Lallā Didi or Lall Ded of the fourteenth century as preserved in old manuscripts. The position of these verses in the history of the Kashmiri language is analogous to that of the caryāpadas in Old Bengali. P. N. Pushp, who agrees that the work may go back to the thirteenth century, has discovered another work of unknown date, the Chumma-sampradāya, giving

*Cf. his article on "Kashmiri Literature" in Contemporary Indian Literature (Sabitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1957), p. 114.
seventy-four verses, which in their language and in their subject-matter also belong to the age of the *Mahānaya-prakāśa*.

These two works give us the oldest specimens of Kashmiri, and in all likelihood they belong to a period before A.D. 1300. Next, we are on slightly surer ground with regard to the author. In the fourteenth century, there was in Kashmir the afore-mentioned Lallā Didi, a Śaiva woman-saint, whose compositions in a Modern Kashmiri form are in the mouths of all Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims, and they represent the oldest specimens of Kashmiri which still continue down to the present times by oral tradition. Lallā Didi was born in A.D. 1335 during the rule of the last Hindu king of Kashmir, Udayana Deva, and she passed away sometime between A.D. 1383 and 1386. She had a very unhappy married life, and became a *sannyāsī ni* (nun) moving about the country and singing her little poems of mystic perception of Śiva, the Supreme. It is said that she met Shah Hamdani, the first great Sufi saint and preacher of Islam in Kashmir, and they were mutually appreciative of each other’s mystic qualities. The Kashmiri Muslims consider her to have been converted to Islam by this contact with Shah Hamdani, and she is described by them as ‘Lall Arifā’, while the Hindus call her ‘Lallā Yogīśvari’. Some 110 poems by Lallā have been edited and translated by G. A. Grierson⁸ and some more have been collected by others.

After Lallā Didi there was another great mystic poet in Kashmir, a Muslim saint named Sheikh Nuruddin (1377-1440), who is called ‘Nanda Ṛṣi’ (the sage Nanda) by the Hindus. Nuruddin, who was held in great respect by both Hindus and Muslims, became a sort of a patron-saint for Kashmiri Muslims. His verses and sayings known as *shruks* give expression to his profound faith in, and love for, God, and the catholicity of his outlook. These are also didactic in their nature. These verses have been collected in the form of a book called *Ṛṣinama* or *Nurnama*. A substantial proportion of this collection is perhaps spurious. Both Lallā and Nuruddin ‘anticipated Kabīr by stressing the need of an internal discipline and by leading a crusade against spiritual apathy and formalism. In their verse Hinduism and Islam speak a common idiom and make a fervent appeal for human brotherhood, social equality and spiritual oneness, cutting across all dogma, caste and creed’⁴.

Art and literature flourished in Kashmir to a great extent in the fifteenth century under the patronage of one of its most enlightened rulers, Zain-ul’ Abidin (1420-70). A man of liberal ideas, Zain-ul’ Abidin knew both Sanskrit and Persian and encouraged the growth of literature in Sanskrit and Persian.⁵

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³ The collection was published by the Royal Asiatic Society of London in 1923.
⁵ The *Rājaśatāraśi of Kalhaṇa*, which gives the history of Kashmir up to A.D. 1150, was continued by two Sanskrit scholars under his inspiration. Zain-ul’ Abidin established a translation bureau in
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He gathered round him a number of poets and writers in both Persian and Sanskrit as well as in Kashmiri. The most prominent among the poets of his court who wrote in Kashmiri are: Utthasoma, Yodhabhaṭṭa, and Bhaṭṭa Avatāra. Utthasoma composed a series of lyrics in Kashmiri, besides a biography of Zain-ul’Abidin, and a treatise on music entitled Mānakā. An unknown poet wrote Bānāsura-vadha, the earliest epic poem so far known in Kashmiri. Yodhabhaṭṭa wrote the biography of his patron Zain-ul’Abidin, Jaina-carīta. He also wrote a drama on his patron, called Jaina-prakāṣa. Bhaṭṭa Avatāra, a distinguished Persian scholar, composed Jaina-vilāsa, also on his royal patron. All these biographical and panegyrical works in Kashmiri now appear to have been lost. The court poets of Zain-ul’Abidin also rendered Shāhnāma of Firdausi into Kashmiri verse. Zain-ul’Abidin anticipated Emperor Akbar in many ways.

The fifteenth century saw the transformation of the Kashmiri people in an atmosphere of Sufistic Islam, which was not at all iconoclastic but was appreciative of the current Brāhmanical Śaiva mysticism of Kashmir, into a predominantly Muslim people. The language, as it can be expected, began to undergo very great changes during this first period of Kashmiri literature, and was gradually moving towards Modern Kashmiri.

MIDDLE KASHMIRI PERIOD: A.D. 1500-1800

During the first half of the sixteenth century Kashmir was ruled by the kings of Zain-ul’Abidin’s family. From A.D. 1555 four Muslim Sultans of the Chak dynasty ruled over Kashmir up to A.D. 1586, when Kashmir came under the Moguls being conquered by Akbar. The period from A.D. 1586 to A.D. 1748 is known as the Mogul period in the medieval history of Kashmir. Finally, from A.D. 1748, when Kashmir was conquered by the Afghans under Ahmad Shah Abdali, begins the Afghan period of Kashmir, which comes down to about A.D. 1820. By that time the Modern period had started in Kashmir’s literary history.

During the Middle Kashmiri period continuous development of the Kashmiri language and literature occurred, but it came very largely under the shadow of Persian. Persian replaced the Sanskrit language for the mass of the Kashmiri people, and the Muslim religion also became fully established, but the tendency to bring about a harmony of Hindu thought and Sufism continued, both among the upper classes and among the masses.

A remarkable poetess, Hubb Khotun (1551-1606), popularly known among which Persian works were translated into Sanskrit and Sanskrit works into Persian. Thus the Sanskrit Mahābhārata was adapted into Persian for the first time by Mulla Ahmad, who also translated the Rājatarangini into Persian. Pandit Śrīvara, on the other hand, adapted Persian poet Jami’s romantic poem Yusuf-Zulaikha into Sanskrit and named it Kathā-kautuka (completed in A.D. 1509).
the present-day Kashmiris as Habba Khotun, enriched the literature of the land ushering in a new era of creative literary activity. Her original name was ‘Zun’ (which means moonlight—Prakrit jônhā, Sanskrit jyotsnā). With some education in Persian, she was a talented singer and could compose popular lyrics in Kashmiri known as *lol* (songs of yearning). Her first marriage (to an ordinary villager) was unhappy. Later, Yusuf Shah Chak, Sultan of Kashmir (1579-86), was captivated by her beauty, had her divorced, and married her. Her new name in Arabic, ‘Hubb’, meant ‘love’. After the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar, Yusuf Shah was taken away from Kashmir and never allowed to return. Habba Khotun passed the rest of her life in separation from her beloved royal husband for about twenty years, living virtually like a recluse. She is one of the most popular Kashmiri poetesses, and her exquisite lyrics of love and life are among the best that Kashmiri literature has to its credit.

The Mogul and Afghan periods witnessed a few poets of considerable merit. Khawaja Habibullah Naushahri (d. 1617) wrote a series of beautiful lyric poems in Kashmiri. The Hindu poet Sahib Kaul, who lived during the time of Mogul Emperor Jahangir, wrote *Krṣṇa-avatāra* and *Janam-carita*, both on Hindu Purānic themes. Poetess Rūpbabhāvānī (1624-1720) wrote a number of religious poems. Her language, as that of a Hindu religious writer, was highly Sanskritized. Mulla Fakhir, who died about the close of the eighteenth century, composed beautiful songs and odes in Kashmiri.

Araṇīmāl, third great Kashmiri poetess of love lyrics, deserves special mention. She belonged to the second half of the eighteenth century. She was the wife of Munshi Bhavānīdāsa Kacrū, a Kashmiri Brahmin, who was a distinguished Persian scholar and writer. Araṇīmāl’s married life was unhappy, as in the cases of Lallā Didi and Habba Khotun. The unhappy wife was deserted by her husband, and she poured forth her heart in a series of most poignant and at the same time most exquisite poems of love in Kashmiri, which are among the most popular and most universal compositions in the language. Araṇīmāl spent her life of frustration in composing her beautiful poems on love and on the beauty of nature. Her little lyrics, with their *abandon* and profound yearning for her husband, and charming imagery and lovely language redolent with the beauty and the fragrance of flowers, resemble similar lyrics of Habba Khotun and a few others by other poets of Kashmiri, and form some of the most exquisite flowers in the garden of Indian poetry, comparable with the finest love poems in any language.

To the eighteenth century belonged another great Hindu poet in Kashmiri, Prakāśarāma (also known as Divākaraprakāśa Bhaṭṭa) who was a contemporary of Raja Sukhajīvana Malla, a Hindu *nazīr* (governor) of Kashmir under the Afghans around A.D. 1760. Prakāśarāma wrote the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Kashmiri,
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known as Rāmāvatāra-carita, with a sequel, Lava-Kuśa-carita. It consists of
1,786 stanzas, some in the two-line Persian hazaj metre and the rest in the native
four-line accented metre of Kashmiri. The religio-philosophical work in Kash-
miri verse, Sādhārānāmājāmohajālsukhadehukhā-carita by Gangaprasad, who wrote
during the early years of the nineteenth century, belongs to this period. The
book deals with the joys and sorrows of this world of illusion and the snare of
infatuation. In fact, many of the poems and songs of this period express man's
helplessness, counselling resignation to fate or a quiet fortitude and faith in God.
Mir Abdullah Baihaqi (d. 1807) composed a volume of narrative poems
known as Koshir-'Aqa'id besides a religious poem, Mukhtasar Waqayah.

During the eighteenth century and the earlier part of the nineteenth century,
a number of Kashmiri poets wrote in imitation of Persian masnavis (narrative
poems), and also adapted many of the Persian classics into Kashmiri. In this
way, the Arabic and Persian love stories, like those of Yusuf-Zulaikha, Khusro-
Shirin, and Laila-Majnun became completely accepted and naturalized in the
literature of Kashmir. Some popular romantic stories from the Punjab also
became the common property of the masses in Kashmir.

MODERN KASHMIRI PERIOD: SINCE A.D. 1800

In 1819 the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh of Lahore conquered Kashmir from
the Afghans and ended Afghan rule which had begun in 1748. This whole
period of Afghan domination was one of nightmare for the Kashmiri people, as
the Afghan governors from Kabul came only to plunder money and oppress
the people. The intervention of the Sikhs from the Punjab who had grown into
a strong power was sought by many people in Kashmir, particularly the Hindus,
and Kashmir became a part of the Sikh State, being administered by governors
from Lahore up to the year 1848. This linking up of Srinagar with Lahore
brought in immediately a reorientation of Kashmir's relation with India, as
it existed in the pre-Muslim periods and also under the Moguls. The Persian
language continued its influence on Kashmiri as before, as Persian was also the
official language with the Sikhs. In 1848 Jammu and Kashmir became one State
under the rule of the Dogra Rajput dynasty from Jammu, and in many respects
the Hindus of Kashmir found themselves in a better situation than before.

Through the strong influence of Persian during all the centuries from A.D.
1500 onwards, Kashmiri had developed a quantitative metre in the Persian
style, side by side with the native Kashmiri metre of strong stresses which still
characterizes popular poetry. In vocabulary, in common epithets, and in phrases
and imageries the Kashmiri language came entirely under the spell of Persian;

* This work has been edited in Roman transliteration with an English summary by G. A. Grierson,
and published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1930. It was first published in Srinagar in Persian
characters in 1910.
Kashmiri nevertheless preserved a good deal of its native Hindu or Sanskrit character.

The Modern period of Kashmiri starts from the beginning of the nineteenth century with the establishment of Sikh rule. Gradually influences of Urdu and then English came into play in the evolution of Kashmiri literature, and new ideas and new styles in thought and letters became slowly established. This period of modern Kashmiri literature may be divided into three broad sub-periods or stages. The first stage, roughly from 1800 to 1880 (or, rather, from 1819 to 1879), was dominated by the Muslim poet, Mahmud Gami (d. 1855), and by the Hindu poet, Paramanand (1791-1879). This may be described as something like a 'Classic Age' for Modern Kashmiri, and a number of fine works under Persian as well as Sanskrit inspiration and influence were composed by poets, both Hindu and Muslim, who are held in general esteem as masters of Modern Kashmiri literature during the nineteenth century. The second stage of the period from 1880 to 1913 came to an end with the death of one of the great poets of Modern Kashmiri, Wahhab Pare. This stage was comparatively barren in literature, but the influence of English and Urdu came in. European scholars like K. F. Burkhard and G. A. Grierson began an intensive study of the Kashmiri language both in describing it fully and in treating it historically. Both scholars published a number of important Kashmiri texts—Grierson published four Kashmiri classics by Hindu writers, and Burkhard brought out an edition of Mahmud Gami's romantic poem Tusuf-Žulaıkha. Through modern education, the Kashmiri intelligentsia (particularly among the Kashmiri Brahmins) became once more alive to the beauties of their mother-tongue. But Kashmiri was suffering (and is still suffering) from a great handicap in not possessing a suitable alphabet. It is now generally written in the Perso-Arabic script which is very unsuitable for the genius of the language. The old Šārada alphabet, confined to the Kashmiri Brahmins and restricted to religious and ritualistic purposes only, represents an archaic tradition in its orthography. This also could not be adapted to modern times in spite of the scientific endeavours of modern scholars like Iswar Kaul⁷ and G. A. Grierson. Kashmiri is one of the main languages of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, but it is not the State language, the status of which goes to Urdu, and Kashmiri in its own home is still in the background. It is just one of the national languages recognized by the Constitution of India. The third stage in the Modern period of Kashmiri literature begins from 1913 onwards.

During the first stage of the Modern period, Mahmud Gami was a prolific writer in Kashmiri. His metrical versions of such Persian romances as Tusuf-

⁷ In the year 1879 Iswar Kaul completed an excellent grammar of Kashmiri in Sanskrit, Kāḥmira-śabdānātra. This was edited by G. A. Grierson and published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1898.
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Zulaikha, Laila-Majmun, and Shirin-Khusro present him as a poet endowed with a fine descriptive and narrative quality. He wrote a large number of ghazals also. Maqbul Shah composed his Gulrez, a narrative poem on a love theme borrowed from the Persian. He also wrote a satirical account of Kashmir peasant life known as Guristhana.

Pandit Nandaram alias Paramanand (1791-1879) is regarded as one of the greatest poets of Kashmir. He was influenced by both Lallá and Nuruddin. Taking note of the devotional and mystical aspect of his poetic genius, the Muslim writers of Kashmir have described Paramanand as the ‘Sanai of Kashmir’, comparing him with the great Persian poet of that name. Under the pen-name of ‘Gharib’, he composed also some Persian ghazals, but most of his narrative poems in Kashmiri are on themes of the Sanskrit Puráñas. His Puránic works are Rádhá-svayañvára, Sudámá-carita, and Síva-śágan. In this line of religious narratives, he was followed by other Hindu poets. Mahmud Gami and Paramanand may be said to represent two different schools, the one governed by Persian prosodic rules and drawing upon Persian for conceits, similes and metaphors, and even idioms and diction, the other drawing upon Sanskrit and the local traditions for idiom and imagery. Paramanand wrote the lilá lyrics. These lyrics are joyful devotional songs treating of the lilás (holy acts of the divinities), usually of Krṣṇa. The lilá lyrics of Paramanand are remarkable for their beautiful melody, devotional fervour, and spiritual conviction.

Paramanand’s friend, Lakshman Ju, contributed some episodes in Paramanand’s great work Rádhá-svayañvára. He was also the author of Nala-Damayantí, which is an extensive but rather pedestrian work on the story from the Mahábhárata. Besides, he composed quite a large number of ghazals and short poems in Kashmiri. Krishna Razdan, a disciple of Paramanand, wrote in beautiful Kashmiri, displaying great skill in his descriptions of nature and creating a charming musical quality in his verses. His most important work is Síva-parinaya in 1,915 four-line stanzas. Compared with his master’s, his lilá lyrics are less convincing as mystical poetry, but they are more melodious and more captivating. There is yet another Hindu classic in Kashmiri, Krṣṇavatára-lilá. In the work itself, the name of the author has been given as Dinanath. But he has not been identified. The author appears to have composed this poem during the first half of the nineteenth century. It is in 1,178 four-line stanzas, and the Bhágavata Puráṇa stories about Krṣṇa have been beautifully treated in this poem.

Waliullah Mattu belonged to the second stage of the Modern period. He

* The work was edited and published in Calcutta by G. A. Grierson in 1924 in the reformed Nāgārī script devised for Kashmiri, with a Sanskrit chājá by Mrn. Pandit Mukundaram Sastrī.
* This was published in 1928 in Calcutta by G. A. Grierson in Roman characters with an English translation.

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wrote a lyric romance called *Himāl ta Nāgarāya* based on a popular Kashmiri folk-tale. It was composed probably in the late nineteenth century. The narrative portions are by the poet himself, but there are lyrics composed by another poet named Saifuddin Zarif. The songs and the narrative fit in very well with each other, and the work is very popular.

Abdul Wahhab Pare (1845-1913) was the best and the last Kashmiri writer of the second stage of the Modern period. He made an adaptation from the Persian into Kashmiri of the *Shahnama* of Firdausi, and translated the *Akbarnama*, a historical work in Persian relating to the wars in Afghanistan. He also wrote a number of short stories, didactic as well as relating to love, and composed a large number of smaller poems on various subjects as well.

With Wahhab Pare’s death, the older period of Kashmiri literature may be said to have ended. There were, however, poets in the older tradition such as Rasul Mir (author of a number of beautiful songs and ghazals) and Azizullah Haqqani (author of *Gazhiyati-Haqqani*). There were also a number of Sufi mystic poets like Qalandar Shah, Abdul Ahad Nazim, Mohiuddin Miskin, Khwajah Akram Rahman Dar, and Maulavi Siddiquullah. Maulavi Siddiquullah translated the *Sikandarnama* of the great Persian poet of the twelfth century, Nizami. There was also Ramzan Bath, who wrote a most popular tragi-comic morality, *Akh-nandana*. It is an old popular Hindu religious tale about the loving parents of an only son being compelled by a religious vow to put him to death and even cook his flesh as an offering to a religious mendicant (*yogi*) who demanded this sacrifice. But afterwards the son was restored to life after the parents’ devotion was tested in this way. Several poets composed on this theme from the end of the nineteenth century. Ramzan Bath composed this very beautiful and touching poem around 1900 in simple and racy Kashmiri. It has been highly praised by no less well-known a scholar and literary man than Nandalal Ambaradar. Ahad Zargar, Samad Mir, and Ali Wani also wrote poems on the same theme. But Ramzan Bath’s work remains the best and the most fascinating. Rahman Dar is the author of a very popular poem called *Mañch-tuluir*. The old line of mystic tradition in poetry passed on to a number of modern poets such as Aziz Darvesh, Wahhab Khan, and Mirza Kak.

The third stage of the Modern period of Kashmiri literature was heralded by the poet Pirzadah Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur (1885-1952), who became famous as a poet of nationalism and national reconstruction before 1938 when there started a great nationalist movement in Kashmir. The desire for the uplift of the people now became very noticeable, in addition to the continuance of the old tradition of both mystic poetry and passionate love poetry. Mahjur has been in the forefront of Kashmiri literature and language, and can very properly be described as the inaugurator of the new trends in Kashmiri literature. His poems are lyrical and patriotic as well as on political themes. The educated classes,
along with the masses, all sing songs composed by him. The impress of the beautiful landscape of Kashmir is found in his writings. Another great contemporary Kashmiri poet and writer, Zinda Kaul, popularly known as ‘Masterji’, said about Mahjur: ‘Besides being very musical and correct in the matter of the metre and rhyme, Mahjur is perhaps the first to introduce into Kashmiri the ideas of patriotism, human freedom, love of men and women, unity of Hindus and Muslims, dignity of work and respect for manual labour, and Nature, scenery, flowers, etc.’ His poems are immensely popular in Kashmir for their diverse appeal. Some of his poems depicting in vivid colour the simple charms of the women and maidens of Kashmir are beautiful in themselves. A social reformer and mystic, Zinda Kaul (1884-1965) wrote in popular language. He has introduced new rhyme schemes and rhythm patterns into Kashmiri; and among his poems, ‘Ferry-man lead thou me across’ is a popular patriotic anthem.10

Among other innovators in Kashmiri literature during this stage, we may mention specially Nandalal Kaul, poet and dramatist, who wrote a number of dramas, adapting or translating from Hindi and Urdu. Satach Kaulwath, Râmun Rāj, Dāyālāl, and Prahlāda Bhagat are among noteworthy dramas by Nandalal in Kashmiri. Manaju Attar has made a Kashmiri verse translation of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Pandit Dayaram Ganju has to his credit didactic and other poems in Kashmiri, and his little book of advice to the young people, Ghar Vyezmāl, is very popular. Pandit Narayan Khar is another poet who has rendered the Bhagavad-Gītā into beautiful Kashmiri. Mohammed Ghulam Hasan Begh Arif, a zoologist, is a believer in the greatness of the destiny of man. One of his popular poems is Namaz-e-Janaza.

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

The post-Independence period in Kashmiri literature witnessed quite a number of poets of power and distinction. The most noteworthy among them are: Abdul Ahmad Azad, Dinānath Nadim, Rahman Rahi, Amin Kamil, Ghulam Rasul Nazki, Abdul Haqq Barq, and Nur Mohammed Roshan besides ‘Premi’, ‘Majbur’, and ‘Almast’. Western literary forms have been introduced into Kashmiri: the sonnet, for example, by Dinanath Nadim, and free verse by Amin Kamil and several other poets. Dinanath Nadim is a revolutionary in literature, sharply deviating from tradition and forcefully expressing his sympathy for the suffering masses. His poems like Yirada, Ba Gyavna Az, and Zinda-bad Shyamji breathe a hitherto unknown vigour into Kashmiri verse. In a symbolic opera, Bambur Yamarzal (1953), Nadim has treated an old folk-tale of Kashmir in a modern way dealing with modern problems. It made a tremendous impact on the Kashmiri literary circle. Amin Kamil, who won the Sahitya

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10 Sumran, one of his verse compositions, won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1956.
Akademi Award in 1967, is a great inspirer of the modern spirit through his various compositions. His poems and ghazals have been collected in Lava ta Prava (1965) and Beyi Suy Pan (1967). His opera Ravarūpi is written in a symbolic vein depicting the ultimate victory of the creative forces over the destructive agencies. Several symbolic operas have also been written by Nur Mohammed Roshan, who, like Dinanath Nadim and Amin Kamil, has employed free verse. Based on a native folk-tale, the opera Himāl ta Nāgarāya (1956) is a joint venture by Roshan and Nadim. Rahman Rahi won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1962 for his collection of poems and ghazals, Nauroz-i-Saba, ‘with a wide range of form and technique’, which is ‘remarkable for its bold experimentation in poetic technique and freshness of imagery’. ‘Premi’ has essayed the various types of Kashmiri folk-poetry in a modern style, giving a sympathetic view of the life of the people and praising the dignity of labour.

Kashmiri has a very noteworthy literature of popular poetry, and the Kashmiris are a singing people. Their songs are redolent of the beauty and freshness and fragrance of Kashmir. Some of these have been published by folklore enthusiasts, and here and there in travel books and other works on Kashmir there are specimens of these popular poems. Kashmir folk-tales have been collected and translated by foreign scholars such as J. Hinton Knowles and Sir Aurel Stein. Some of the folk-tales, as already mentioned, have been treated in operas or song-dramas by modern Kashmiri poets. The Kashmiri also has a sense of humour, and there are popular satirical ballads like Lari-shah which is about contemporary life, and full of humour.

Motilal Kemmu is a powerful dramatist. He introduced some novelty into dramatic technique in his three popular dramas, Trunov, Maṅgay, and Maṅjuli Nika (published in one volume in 1969). Ali Mohammed Lone’s historical play Suyya is a most significant work both in novelty of presentation and in dramatic effect. It won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1973.

The essay and other prose forms like the novel and the short story are also being developed by present-day Kashmiri writers. Among the writers of critical essays in Kashmiri Jialal Kaul, Nandalal Ambaradar, and Prithwinath Pushp are the most prominent. Akhtar Mahiuddin made a mark with his novels Dod Dag and Zuw ta Zolana as well as his collections of short stories, Sathaṅgar and Swanzal. Sathaṅgar (1955) won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1958. Amin Kamil, Ghulam Nabi Gauhar, Harikrishna Kaul, and Faruk Masudi have also distinguished themselves in the field of the novel and the short story.

Kashmiris are now generally alive to the beauty and fine qualities of their language and literature. Kashmiri literature is growing and it can be reasonably hoped that with the establishment of better conditions, writers will gradually explore new fields of artistic expression. A sense of realism marks some of the writings of modern authors. This trend is expected to yield significant results.
MALAYALAM

LANGUAGE

The Dravidian family of languages consists of over twenty members, though the well-developed languages are only four, namely, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam. Malayalam is spoken by about twenty-two million people (according to the 1971 Census) in the narrow stretch of the beautiful land known as Kerala lying between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. As in other parts of India, all the three communities—the Hindus, the Christians, and the Muslims—are found living side by side in Kerala. The country was known to ancient Greece, Rome, Arabia, and Babylon; it is mentioned in the Asokan inscriptions. Kerala is also referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, in the famous Tamil works of the Saṅgam period like Silappadikāram, Padiruppattu, and Manimekalai, and in the works of Kālidāsa.

It is not long since the language of Kerala acquired the name 'Malayalam'. The word was used at first to denote the land and is supposed to consist of two words mala, meaning 'hill', and āzhām meaning 'deep' or 'sea'. Some scholars think that the second word is not āzhām, but ālam which means 'land'. This interpretation seems to be more probable. There has been some controversy over the origin of the Malayalam language. Some nineteenth century scholars considered Malayalam to have been derived from Sanskrit. Kovunj Nedungadi in his Malayalam grammar entitled Kerala Kaumudi (1875) said that Malayalam had originated from Sanskrit. He, however, presented this theory in a speculative manner. But a few other scholars agree with his views.1 An attempt has also been made by scholars like Caldwell to treat it as an offshoot in the Middle period of the development of Tamil. It is true that Malayalam flowered into literature later than Tamil and Kannada. But the antiquity of a literature does not necessarily reflect a corresponding antiquity of the language in spoken form. Malayalam, of course, is most closely connected with Tamil; and even at present, Tamil and Malayalam are to a certain extent mutually intelligible. But there are scholars who affirm on strong grounds that Malayalam is not a daughter but a sister of Tamil. They say that Malayalam has taken its origin from the primitive Dravidian tongue and evolved through several centuries.

1The influence of Sanskrit on the growth of Malayalam language and literature is tremendous. It has to be remembered that Śaṅkarācārya, the great exponent of Advaita Vedānta, was a Brāhmaṇa from Kerala; and in Kerala there has been an unbroken succession of Sanskrit writers ever since, not only among the Brāhmaṇas, but among all other classes also. Most ruling princes had a great ambition—to compose verses and other works in Sanskrit. This led to the matter-of-fact and almost unavoidable introduction into Malayalam of Sanskrit vocables, Malayalam in this matter presenting quite a contrast to Tamil.—Editor.
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into its present form under certain special circumstances prevalent in Kerala. As a spoken language, it can claim as much individuality and as much antiquity as any other member of the Dravidian family of languages.

LITERATURE

Most of the literary historians divide the whole range of Malayalam literature into three periods: the Early, the Middle, and the Modern. This appears to be an easy way of dividing, and probably they are influenced by Grim’s system. But sufficient justification does not exist for this division into three periods as far as Malayalam literature is concerned. The earliest specimens of Malayalam literature belong approximately to the ninth century of the Christian era. What we have even of that time is scanty and of doubtful date. But literary history takes a new turn with the works of Ezhuttacchan (sixteenth century), the most notable figure in Malayalam literature. He was an outstanding writer who set standards for future writers. The popular belief is that Modern Malayalam starts with Ezhuttacchan; but, in point of fact, the composition and construction of Malayalam had taken a comparatively modern form a few decades before him. This is clear from the famous work Kṛṣṇa-gāthā whose language is nearly as modern as that of Ezhuttacchan’s works. Kṛṣṇa-gāthā belongs to the fifteenth century. The revolution started by Ceruśseri Nambūdirī, the supposed author of Kṛṣṇa-gāthā, was completed by Ezhuttacchan. So we may say that the Modern period in Malayalam literature starts with Kṛṣṇa-gāthā, i.e. from the fifteenth century.

EARLY PERIOD

The influence of other languages and literatures on a particular language can be easily noticed during its formative period. Tamil and Sanskrit have had such an influence on literary Malayalam. In the early period, i.e. before the fifteenth century, we are able to observe three distinct literary streams which have contributed to the moulding of a classical language for Kerala. They are: (1) Śuddha (indigenous) Malayalam stream, by which we mean literary expression in pure Malayalam without any admixture; (2) the Tamil stream; and (3) the Sanskrit stream. The literary field of Kerala was fed by these three streams differing in quality and depth.

Thanks to the scholars like C. P. Govinda Pillai and C. A. Menon, Malayalam has now a large collection of old folk-songs and ballads to its credit. In olden days these songs were not considered to be literature and no one bothered to preserve them. But from what is available now, we are able to get a good glimpse of the social conditions of ancient Kerala and also the kind of literature that was prevalent in those days. These songs were mostly sung at certain religious ceremonies and festivals, and also at the time of farming and other occupations. There are ballads of historical and sociological importance where-
in the glorious deeds of popular heroes are extolled. The language is usually simple and the expression direct, and that is why they are included in the śuddha Malayalam stream. It is difficult to assign dates to the early works of this school, but many scholars are of the opinion that some of these songs are at least as old as the tenth century. The forms of these songs have obviously changed to some extent while being handed down through several centuries. But there is no doubt that they reflect in a large measure the old spoken Malayalam. Bhadrakāli Pāṭṭu, Pul̄ḷuvaṇa Pāṭṭu, Čir̄iṇa Pāṭṭu, Śāstrakaḷi, and Toṭṭam Pāṭṭu are a few of the important songs. Vaṭṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ edited by Dr C. A. Menon gives a good collection of ballads of North Malabar dealing with local heroes. The Christians, who had settled on the west coast during the early centuries of the Christian era, made their own contribution to this branch of ancient literature. The most important and perhaps the earliest of their compositions is known as Mārgamkaḷi Pāṭṭu which relates the glorious deeds of St. Thomas during his sojourn in the Cola and Kerala territories.

The works which bear clear testimony to the direct influence of Tamil belong to the Tamil stream. The most outstanding example is the famous work entitled, Rāmacaritam (c. twelfth century). The subject is the Yuddhakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, and is written by one Cērāman in a language which is an artificial mixture of Tamil and Malayalam. The diction and the metrical system are modelled on the Tamil masterpieces. This artificial mixture was a recognized medium in those days, as can be seen from Lilātilakam (fourteenth century) in which a sūtra is devoted to define this pattern termed there as pāṭṭu, and a sloka is quoted as an example which fully resembles the idiom of Rāmacaritam. It is undoubtedly a book of vital importance in the study of early Malayalam.

The collection of poems known as Kaṇṇaśaṇa Pāṭṭukal was written by a family of poets who belonged to Niraṇam in Central Travancore. They are popularly known as Niraṇam poets. Kaṇṇaśa Rāmāyaṇam is the most important work in the collection, the author being Rāma Paṇikkar, juniormost in the line. The other Niraṇam works are the Bhagavad-Gītā and Bhāratamālā. These works belong to the fourteenth century. And perhaps the earliest translation of the Bhagavad-Gītā in modern Indian languages appeared in Malayalam. The authorship of the Bhagavad-Gītā is ascribed to Mādhava Paṇikkar, and that of Bhāratamālā to Saṅkara Paṇikkar, uncles of Rāma Paṇikkar. But there is no definite proof for this. The language of the poems marks a definite stage in the development of the Tamil school. The percentage of Tamil is much less and

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5Cērāman is the name of the poet as known from the last stanza of the work; but nothing more is known about him.

6Lilātilakam is a treatise on Malayalam grammar and rhetoric written in Sanskrit in the aphoristic and commentarial style. It was discovered in 1908 and first edited by A. K. Pisharoti.

7For an analytical study of the structure of this work, see the present writer's Rāmacaritam and the Study of Early Malayalam (Kottayam, Kerala, 1956).
that of Malayalam and Sanskrit is much more than in Rāmacaritam. Considerable freedom is seen not only in the technique of versification, but also in the style and general approach. R. N. Panikkar assigns the period between A.D. 1375 and 1475 to these poets and there is not much disagreement on this question. There are also a good number of prose works on religion, philosophy, history, arithmetic, medicine, and astrology, which come under the Tamil school.

The influence of Sanskrit was so dominant on the native language of Kerala that it produced a peculiar variety of literary dialect called manipayālam. The term manipayālam is familiar to other South Indian languages, as an admixture of Sanskrit and Dravidian words, but in Malayalam it has a special and distinctive sense. It is a necklace strung with maṇi (jewel), i.e. Malayalam, and pravālam (coral), i.e. Sanskrit, according to Lilātilakam. Here, not only the two languages are mixed, but also the grammars, because when Sanskrit words are borrowed they are declined and conjugated exactly as in Sanskrit. The author of Lilātilakam, whose identity is not known, was a great scholar in Tamil, Sanskrit, and Malayalam. Primarily concerned with the manipayālam form, the work contains discussions on the linguistic features of Malayalam and its differences from Tamil. We have a large number of manipayālam works in Kerala. They may be divided into two branches: the saṇḍeṣa-kāvyas and the campūs. The saṇḍeṣa-kāvyas are message poems which in technique are modelled on Kālidāsa's Meghadūta. Among these, the Uṇṇunīlī-sandelam is the most outstanding. The message is sent by a king of one of the Travancore dynasties to his beloved, Uṇṇunīlī. The authorship is unknown. The date accepted by scholars is the fourteenth century. The campūs are works written partly in prose and partly in verse. The genre is popular in Sanskrit. The verse in manipayāla-campūs follows the rules of Sanskrit prosody; but the prose is not the usual type of prose. It really consists of verses composed in the various Malayalam metres which are less rigid and more musical. Compared with other branches of literature, the campūs are prodigious in bulk; but the vast majority of them belong to the period between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries. There are quite a few prose works also which reflect the influence of the Sanskrit school. Examples are Bhāgavatam, Sundarakāṇḍam, Bhagavad-Gītā-gadyam, and a number of scientific treatises.

It was considered normal for scholars in Kerala to make use of either the highly developed Sanskrit metre or the musical Tamil metre for poetic com-

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5 This poem was discovered only in 1893 and first published in book form in 1913 with an introduction by A. K. Piśharotī. According to him, the date of the poem is A.D. 1315. On a close examination of the language used, we can clearly see in it the influence of the Tamil school to some extent. Tamil words and formations are used here and there. Tamil inflection is not very rare either. We have at the same time verbs with both Malayalam and Sanskrit inflections. Uṇṇunīlī-sandelam thus shows the three literary currents merging into one stream, though in different proportions.
positions. The purely indigenous metres used for folk-songs were considered unscientific and sub-standard. It was at such a time that the author of Kṛṣṇa-gāthā decided to compose a long poem in a purely local metre now popularly known as gāthā. Kṛṣṇa-gāthā literally means ballad on Kṛṣṇa. The author’s independence of judgment is seen not only in the selection of metre, but also in the kind of language he used for the poem. The language of Kṛṣṇa-gāthā is simple. He makes good use of current Malayalam words and such Sanskrit words as could be easily understood by the average reader. The poem does not suffer any inferiority on account of this. But, on the contrary, it has actually gained a much wider appeal than the sophisticated manipravālam poems. The authorship of this famous classic is still a matter of controversy. But the prevailing opinion is that Ceruṣeri Nambuddiri is the author. There is, however, sufficient evidence to conclude that the poem was written in the fifteenth century by one of the court poets of King Udayavarman (1446-75). The theme of the poem is the story of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The author has followed the Bhāgavata story; his imagination has brightened several portions of the original. The poem, written in a simple style, contains a variety of descriptions, some of them taking the form of anecdotes and stories.

EZHUTTACCHAN

Ezhuttacchan, who has been referred to already, has put Malayalam readers under a great debt. He not only composed several remarkable works, but also popularized a poetic language as also a special form of verse termed kilippāṭṭu (parrot-song). Even though no absolute proof about the date of Ezhuttacchan is available, there is evidence to believe that he belonged to the sixteenth century. He was not only a poet, but a philosopher and a reformer too.

The most important works of Ezhuttacchan are Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam and Bhāratam. Vālmiki’s Rāma is only an ideal man, a good king of the people; but for Ezhuttacchan, he is God-incarnate. The very mention of Rāma was enough to transform the poet into a real devotee and epithets flowed from his pen almost spontaneously. Compared with Rāmāyaṇam, his Bhāratam is more original and profound. In the former, we see the poet’s struggle to compromise between the philosopher and the poet in him; but in the latter, the poet assumes the lead. As regards description, the use of figures of speech, and characterization, Ezhuttacchan is immensely successful in both the classics. The language is direct and simple, but powerful and persuasive. Other works ascribed to him are Bhāgavatam, Uttara Rāmāyaṇam, Harināma Kirttana, and Cintāratnam. These, however, have not attained the high level of either Rāmāyaṇam or Bhāratam. Ezhuttacchan wrote his poems in response to the challenge of the society of his days. He evolved a new pattern of expression, simple enough for the average educated man, but profound in thought-content. Born in a poor family, Ezhut-
tacchan belonged to the northern part of Kerala known as Malabar. But his literary compositions are free from the peculiarities of the local conversational dialects. Even today, writers in Malayalam follow, by and large, the pattern set by Ezhuttacchan.

**CAMPÜS : SANDEŠA-KĀVYAS : ĀṬṬAKKATHAS : TULLALS**

As already said, the campûs and the sandeśa-kāvyas are two important branches of literature which Malayalam has copied from Sanskrit. The campûs in Malayalam may be divided into two classes: the old and the modern. Of the two, the older works are better. There are about two hundred old campûs, the number of modern works being nearly one hundred. Rāmāyaṇa-campû (c. A.D. 1550) by Punam and Naishadha-campû by Mazhamaṅgalam (sixteenth century) are the most popular. The major campûs were written in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are other campûs such as Kāmadahanam, Rājaratnīvalīyam, Kumbha-vadham, Bhūrata-campû, etc. Most of these works were written by the Nambūdiris of Kerala. The language is usually pedantic, and sometimes out of the way.

The sandeśa-kāvyas are very popular in Malayalam. We find several such poems from the fourteenth down to the twentieth century. The most notable among the older message poems is Uṇṇunilti-sandesam which has been referred to earlier. Written in the maṇipravālam style, the poem throws light on the history and social conditions of the period to which it belongs. Another message poem, as old as Uṇṇunilti-sandesam, is Koka-sandesam. It is the story of a dream which the hero relates to the heroine.

Kathakaḷi, as an art-form, has become world famous recently. What is termed as āṭṭakkathā is really the literature which is used for kathakaḷi. There is a popular opinion that the inspiration for the earlier kathakaḷi compositions had come from Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda. The words of the poet are usually given as ślokas and those of the characters by way of songs, usually termed as padas. As a form of art, kathakaḷi comes under nṛtya (dance), where the language of gesture is made use of. Actors never sing, but concentrate on the gesture language, and expressions on the face. Rāmāyaṇam by Koṭṭārakkara Tampurān (seventeenth century) is considered to be the first full-fledged āṭṭakkatha. The whole of Rāmāyaṇam is divided into eight parts, each being sufficient for a night’s performance. Koṭṭayyattu Tampurān is one of the leaders in the field. He has written four āṭṭakkathas, namely, Baka-vadham, Kalyāṇa-saugandhikam, Krimir-vadham, and Kālakeyavadham. Of these, the Kālakeyavadham is the best. The next celebrated writer of āṭṭakkathā is Unṉāyi Vārīer who belongs to the latter part of the seventeenth century. His Naḷa-caritam requiring four successive performances is a classic of enduring interest. It displays remarkable freedom and originality in treatment and exhibits the qualities of drama much more than any other āṭṭakkatha. There
are several others worthy of mention and the interest has been well maintained till the twentieth century.

_Tul̄kal_, a form of dance drama, is a popular literary type in Malayalam which came into prominence in the eighteenth century. It has a considerable amount of literature. This branch of literature is associated with the name of Kuṉcan Nambiār (b. 1705), who is its unrivalled master. There are three types of _tul̄kal_: _parayan_, _śītāṅkan_, and _oṭṭan_. _Tul̄kal_ must have taken its form from the folk-dramas of Kerala prevalent at that time. The dancer here relates a story by way of verses which are written in popular metres. Usually well-known Purāṇic stories are selected as themes. But as a rule there are a large number of digressions. In fact, these digressions constitute the most interesting parts of them. The most significant writer of this form, Kuṉcan Nambiār wrote over forty pieces of _tul̄kal_. Nambiār’s poetry brims with humour and satire. He has a special gift for making things interesting for the ordinary man. His language is simple and he makes fun of almost every community in Kerala. The Purāṇic stories chosen are more or less pegs on which to hang his satire on contemporary life. The Purāṇic characters become people of Kerala in his hands. Thus we get the atmosphere of life in Kerala about two hundred and fifty years ago from his _tul̄kas_. In short, _tul̄kal_ is the literature of the masses, and Kuṉcan Nambiār was surprisingly progressive in his outlook. There are some other significant works in this branch of literature. Mention may be made of _Nivāta-kavaca-kālakaṇya-vadham-śītāṅkan-tul̄kal_ by Panattoṭṭatu Dāmodaran Nambūdirī. There are excellent descriptions in this poem. Works like _Gajendra-mokṣam_, _Laṅkā-mardanam_, _Krṣṇārjuna-vijayam_, _Rāvana-vadham_, etc. also deserve notice. Many of the later works are, however, mere adaptations of the masterpieces of Kuṉcan Nambiār.

**EARLY PROSE**

Though Malayalam literature cannot claim great antiquity, comparatively speaking, its prose is old. We have quite a number of inscriptions dating from the eighth century onwards. Many are in a language considerably influenced by Tamil and just a few in the spoken language of the people. Though these are the earliest specimens of prose, they do not come under the category of literature. _Bhāṣa Kauṭāliyam_ is an important work in Malayalam prose. An adaptation of Kauṭilya’s _Arthaśāstra_, it was probably written in the twelfth century. A considerable influence of Tamil is noticed in the language of this work. _Dūtavākyam_, _Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇam_, _Ambariṣopākhyānam_, and _Nalopākhyānam_

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*One of them is Erayimman Tambi (nineteenth century) whose important works are: _Uṭtarā-svayamvaram_, _Dakṣayāgam_, and _Kīcaka-vadham_. V. Krishnan Tambi’s _Ṭañkā-vadham_ may be considered to be a classic. Kilimanur Tampuran, Ittirarisa Menon, and Irattakulangara Warrier also deserve notice.*
are other important works of the early Malayalam prose literature. A work of enduring literary quality, Dūtavākyam relates to a portion of Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata. Brahmanḍa Purāṇam was written in the fourteenth century. The famous Tamil classic Tirukkural was rendered into Malayalam in the sixteenth century.

Another work which merits consideration is Hortus Malabaricus, a study of the plants of Kerala by a Dutch missionary. It contains a number of passages in Malayalam. Written in 1686, it was printed in Rome. The first book to come out in print in Malayalam is Sanhṣeṇa Vedārtham. It was printed in Rome in 1772. Pāremmākkal Thoma Kattanār, a Catholic priest in Kerala, went to Rome and stayed there for a pretty long time (1778-86). He wrote an account of his journey in the book, Varttamāṇa Pustakam. It is one of the most interesting books of the period and written in a simple and attractive language. In modern prose, which starts from the nineteenth century, the influence of the West is clearly discernible. The Protestant missionaries gave an impetus to prose writing by publishing grammars, dictionaries, and also some simple prose works.

MODERN LITERATURE: POETRY

The impact of the new type of education brought about a renaissance in the latter half of the nineteenth century. New forms of literature like the lyric, the novel, the essay, the biography, and the prose drama slowly emerged and in the twentieth century they flourished and enriched Malayalam literature in an unprecedented manner. The development of Malayalam poetry continued in the early twentieth century more or less along the lines of the late nineteenth.

Among the leading poets of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are Venmani Nambudiripad, Kerala Varma (1845-1917), K. C. Kesava Pillai (1868-1913), A. R. Rajaraja Varma (1862-1918), Kottarattil Sankunni (1855-1937), Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer (1877-1949), Kumaran Asan (1873-1924), and Vallathol Narayana Menon (1879-1958). Kerala Varma was well versed in Sanskrit and translated Kālidāsa's Abhijñāna-Sakuntala in Malayalam. He was also a prose writer of note. A prolific writer, Kottarattil Sankunni has various literary works to his credit. He translated Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya and Bhavabhūti's Mālati-Mādhava into Malayalam. There is also an original drama, Kucela-gopālam, by him. Ullur Parameswara Iyer, Kumaran Asan, and Vallathol Narayana Menon brought into being the golden period of Malayalam poetry. Ullur was not only a poet of distinction, but also an essayist, critic, and research worker of remarkable merit. His history of Malayalam literature in five volumes is a masterpiece and the best of its kind in the language. Ullur's Umākēram is a mahākāvya. He wrote various poems of which Pingala and Kārṇabhūsānam are the most notable. Kumaran Asan popularized the lyric in Malayalam. His Viṇa Pūru (1909), which consists of
only forty-one ślokas, caused a sensation among the poets and critics of the day. His Nañini, Līlā, Duravastha, and Karuṇa have attained classic distinction. His Cañḍāla Bhikṣuki has the caste system for its theme. Asan is considered as the harbinger of the progressive movement in poetry. Vallathol wrote not only several long poems, but also hundreds of lyrics which are now collected in eight volumes of his Śāhitya-mañjari series. His Magdalana Mariyam, based on the story of Mary Magdalene in the New Testament, is a poem of haunting beauty. He rendered the whole of the Vālmiki Rāmāyana into Malayalam and wrote a mahā-kāvya entitled Citrayogam. He became the trumpet voice of nationalism and touched every subject of national importance and evinced a keen sense of beauty in whatever he wrote.

Around the three great poets—Kumaran Asan, Vallathol, and Ullur—Malayalam poetry steadily grew. V. C. Balakrishna Panikkar won appreciation as a romantic poet. Nalappat Narayana Menon’s poems (Kavunuputuḷḷi, Cakravālam, Oru Maṇaḷittari, etc.) touch realities of life and have a lyrical charm about them. Musical quality and charm of diction mark the poems of Changampuzha Krishna Pillai whose major work, Ramaṇan, earned him considerable fame. His influence on the younger generation of writers is unmistakable. One of the major poets of the first half of this century, G. Sankara Kurup (b. 1901) is noted for extensive use of symbolism in his poetry. The collection entitled Oṭakkuţhal gives some of his best poems. Balamani Amma’s poems are emotional; the neatness of her style adds to their charm. Other women poets of the period include Lalithambika Antarjanam, Mary John Tottam, and Mutukulam Parvati Amma.

The post-War days saw the emergence of a new school of poets who drew their inspiration from left-wing politics. Some gifted poets belonged to this school. The main stream of Malayalam poetry, however, continued in its normal course. Three outstanding poets of the younger generation followed the traditional line, though they were also influenced to an extent by ‘progressive’ ideas. They are: Vennikkulam Gopala Kurup, Vailoppilli Shridhara Menon, and Pala Narayananan Nair. Gopala Kurup is well known for his sparkling diction. Though Shridhara Menon writes on indigenous themes, he has been considerably influenced by Western poetry. Kutiyoţhikkal, which is regarded as his masterpiece, reflects the social life of contemporary Kerala. A kind of epic quality is noticed in Keralam Valarunnu of Pala Narayananan Nair. Among other notable modern poets are N. V. Krishna Warrier (Niñṭa Kavitakal, Kocu Tomman), Edasseri Govindan Nair (Karutta Cetṭicekkal), P. Kunjiraman Nair, K. K. Raja, O. N. V. Kurup, M. P. Appan, and Nalankal Krishna Pillai. The contribution of K. M. Panikkar, the eminent historian, to Malayalam poetry is noteworthy. Among his poetical works are Cintātaraṇgini, Panki-parinayam, and Ambāpāli. He was a versatile writer in Malayalam.
The new poetry in Malayalam created or sponsored by ultramoderns is gradually taking shape. The poets evince a definite lack of faith in what was considered ‘unchanging values’. Also there is considerable change in both content and form. The metre has given place to what they call inner rhythm—a rather difficult thing to discover. Words have lost their age-old meaning. New symbols, images, and rhythms are employed. Madhavan Ayyappattu, M. N. Palur, M. Govindan, K. Ayyappa Panikkar, and Cheriyann K. Cheriyann are the more well known practitioners in the new school, which has thrown conventions and rules to the winds.

FICTION

Coming to modern fiction, we have to mention the first original novel in Malayalam, Kundalatā (1887), by T. M. Appu Netungati. Two other celebrated novelists of the nineteenth century are Chandu Menon (1846-90) and C. V. Raman Pillai. Chandu Menon’s Indulekhā (1889), written in a simple style, gives a convincing picture of the social conditions of his time. C. V. Raman Pillai, whose style shows Sanskrit influence, produced some outstanding novels such as Rāmarāja Bahadūr, Mārttāṅga Varma, Dharmarājā, and Premāmyakām. The present century has been particularly productive in the field of fiction. Chandu Menon’s social novels and C. V. Raman Pillai’s historical novels had already earned appreciation of the reading public. Close on the heels of these novels came Appan Tampuran’s Bhūtarāyar and later K. M. Panikkar’s Keraḷa Siṁham. A new school of novelists became active soon. They rejected, by and large, the romanticism of the past and sought to present life in a realistic manner, posing relevant problems of society in the process. V. Mohammed Basheer’s Bāiyakālasakhi (1949) is a notable specimen of the new type of novels. Though he wrote on many aspects of life, his chief contribution lies in the way he deals with the problems of his own community. It was, however, Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai who raised the realistic novel to the height of real greatness. His novels include Ranṭiṭaṅnāzhi, Enippaṭikal, and Cemmin. The characters of Cemmin are drawn from the humble fisherfolk community. Among others, P. Kesava Dev (Oṭayil Ninnu, Ayalkkār9), S. K. Pottekkad (Viṣakanyaka, Oru Desaṭṭiṇṭe Kathā9), Joseph Mundassery (Professor), R. S. Kurup (Tōṭṭi), P. C. Kuttikrishnan (Ummācch, Sundarikaḻum Sundaranmārum10), E. M. Kovur (Kāṭu), and Muttathu Varki (Iḷappārūkal) have substantially contributed to the growth of the new fiction in Malayalam in which a proletarian emphasis

9Cemmin won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1957.
9P. Kesava Dev’s Ayalkkār, which deals with the evolution of the three major communities of Kerala—Nairs, Christians, and Ezhavas—won the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1964.
9Pottekkad’s novel, Oru Desaṭṭiṇṭe Katha, won the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1972.
10This novel earned the author not only the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1960, but also a special award from the Kerala Sahitya Akademi in 1973.
looms large. Mention may be made of a few more significant novels of the post-Independence period. Among these are Jivikkān Marannoopayā Strī by Vettur Raman Nair, Nālukettū by M. T. Vasudevan Nair, Joša by K. Surendran, Kaḷḷu by G. Vivekanandan, and Verukaḷ by Malayattoor Ramakrishnan. A few novelists have tried with some success the 'stream of consciousness' technique. Maṇṇu by M. T. Vasudevan Nair, Ara Nāzhīka Neram by Parappurathu, and Uṇṇāl by Vilasini are three representative works of this genre.

The standard of the Malayalam short story has been fairly high for quite a long time and it is mainly through this medium that Malayalam literature has become truly democratic. It has demonstrated that literature is not the monopoly of a particular caste or group, as it used to be, when manippavalam was the forte of the Nambūdiri Brahmins, āṭṭakkatha mainly of the Kṣatriyas, and kilippāṭṭu of the caste Hindus. Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai became popular in Kerala as a short story writer before he switched over to novel writing. Other acclaimed short story writers include Koor Nilakanta Pillai, E. M. Kovur, Lalithambika Antarjanam, Ponkunnam Varki, V. Mohammed Basheer, P. C. Kuttikrishnan, S. K. Pottekad, N. P. Mohammed, N. P. Chellappan Nair, R. S. Kurup, and Vettur Raman Nair. Some of them belong to the left-wing group of writers and their themes chiefly concern social justice. Lalithambika Antarjanam’s stories point to the social contradictions in the Nambūdiri community.

Drama

Dramatic literature in Malayalam is not particularly rich. The span of its history is only eighty years and most of the plays came to be written after Independence. Two earlier plays of note on social themes are Kalyāṇī Nāṭakam by Kocchunni Tampuran and Mariyāmmā Nāṭakam by Kochipan Taragan. The latter reflects the life of the Christian community in Kerala. During the pre-Independence period of five decades, Malayalam drama evinced the influence of the famous plays in Sanskrit, English, and Tamil. That drama could be something more than mere entertainment was realized particularly in the forties of this century when the trend of social realism reached its high watermark. K. Damodaran’s Paṭṭabākkī (1938) and M. P. Bhattatiripad’s Rūmati (1939) may be remembered in this connexion as earlier works showing the same trend.

European playwrights, notably Ibsen, considerably influenced modern Malayalam drama. Six well known plays of Ibsen have come into Malayalam by translation: Ghosts (1935), The Wild Duck (1947), The Pillars of Society (1954), A Doll’s House (1954), The Vikings of Helgeland (1962), and The Master Builder (1966). The spirit of Ibsen is clearly discernible in the way some serious problems, either social or psychological, are projected in such plays as Taṭṭabāṣṭam
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(1934) by Kuttanad, Bhagna-bhavanam (1942), Balabalam (1946), Kanyaka (1949), and Anuraññjanam (1950) by N. Krishna Pillai. C. J. Thomas imbibed the essence of drama from Sophocles to Strindberg and propagated a mature idea of the art-form. His Crime 27 of 1128 (1954), Pulimana's Samavōḍi, K. Surendran's Bali, and G. Sankara Pillai's Snehadītan are a few examples of recent plays which pulsate with some problems or other. Edasseri Govindan Nair (Kūttukṛṣi, 1950), and K. T. Mohammed (Kuttīyān) deal with problems connected with farming during the post-Independence period. Thoppil Bhasi's Āsvamedham (1962) deals with the problem of leprosy in India. It movingly portrays the frustration of a family which has become a victim of this disease and emphasizes society's responsibility towards these people. T. N. Gopinathan Nair, Ponkunnam Varki, Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai, Kainikkara Kumara Pillai, R. S. Kurup, C. N. Sreekantan Nair, C. L. Jose, and N. N. Pillai have enriched Malayalam drama during the contemporary period and made it a people's art. N. N. Pillai's plays (Pretalokam, 1965; Guerrilla, 1971) are uniformly powerful, pungent, and provoking, and he has tried out various techniques from melodrama to surrealism concentrating on one in each play. His Nāṭakadarpāṇam, a modern treatise on the technique of writing and producing plays, won the Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award for 1972.

OTHER LITERARY FORMS

Remarkable progress has been registered in other prose forms of literature as well—e.g. literary criticism, biography, travelogue, etc. Critics like A. R. Rajaraja Varma and P. K. Narayana Pillai showed in the early part of this century how the intrinsic quality of literary works should be examined without overlooking the external apparatus which is but a means to that end. The next generation of critics included A. Balakrishna Pillai, M. P. Paul, Joseph Mundassery, Kuttikrishna Marar, Kuttipuzha Krishna Pillai, P. Damodaran Pillai, and P. K. Parameswaran Nair. Among the contemporary practitioners in the field, S. K. Nair, Sukumar Azhikode, Guptan Nair, M. Achutan, P. K. Balakrishnan, and M. Krishnan Nair deserve special mention. To P. K. Parameswaran Nair goes the credit of raising the standard of writing biographies in Malayalam. He combines a spirit of research with literary craftsmanship. Of his biographical works Sāhitya Pañcānanan (on P. K. Narayana Pillai) and C. V. Rāman Pillai are particularly worthy of note. Mention may be made of some other masters in the field such as A. D. Harisarma, N. Balakrishnan Nair, and K. M. George. There are some significant autobiographical works also. Ātmakatha by K. M. Panikkar, Jīvita-sa马拉am by C. Keshavan, Kazhiinā Kālam by K. P. Kesava Menon are some notable examples. Malayalam literature owes its rich treasure of travel writing to a number of authors, some of whom belonged to the nineteenth century. Āpatkaramāya Yātra by K. M. Panikkar, Indonesian
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Diary by S. K. Pottekkad, Mexican Nāṭukaḷil by C. B. Kumar, Amerikkayil Poya Katha by K. M. George are noteworthy travelogues of the present century.

The study of the history of Malayalam literature has assumed importance in recent years. The first attempt to write such a literary history was made by P. Govinda Pillai towards the close of the nineteenth century. His work, called Malayāḷa Bhāṣācaritram, showed the way, and since its publication there has been systematic research in this subject. R. Narayana Panikkar's Keralā Sāhityacaritram, which won a Sahitya Akademi Award in 1955, is a notable work in seven volumes. Mention has already been made of Ullur's five-volume history of Malayalam literature.

Journalism had its role to play in the growth of Malayalam literature. Malayāḷa Manorama, at the beginning of this century, took upon itself the task of encouraging writers of creative talent. The first literary conference in Kerala was sponsored by this journal. Various magazines came into existence which served to provide impetus to the literary activity of the time. Special mention may be made of two weeklies—Māṭrbbhumi and Malayāḷa Rājyam.

Marxian influence has been particularly evident in post-Independence creative literature. This has led to a deliberate narrowing down of the scope of literature. The 'Back to the soil' slogan has made the labourer a hero. This is only the natural swing of the pendulum from the other side, where extolling the royal household was the norm. We should be happy, however, that recent trends show balance and widening of interests. Most of the creative writers have discovered that they cannot afford to be the stooges of political parties and that freedom of the mind is the very life-blood of creative thinking and writing. Though it is difficult to make a comparative estimate, one can say that modern Malayalam literature ranks among the most virile and progressive literatures in India.
MARATHI

MARATHI is the official language of the State of Mahārāṣṭra, spoken by forty-two million people (according to the 1971 Census). It is quite a progressive speech and since the thirteenth century has had a noteworthy literary history. The history of the language, however, goes back to about A.D. 1000. It uses the Nāgarī script, locally known as the Bāla-bodha, which replaced the older alphabet called the Mōḍī, current in the Maratha land down to the eighteenth century. Marathi is a Prakritic speech 'standing rather by itself' and has been classified in the Southern Group by Dr S. K. Chatterji in his enumeration of the important languages and dialects of New Indo-Aryan. There are several theories about the origin of the Marathi language. C. V. Vaidya is of the opinion that it developed from Sanskrit and took a distinct shape from about A.D. 700. Sten Konow maintains that it developed from Māhārāṣṭri Apabhraṃśa, the latest phase of the Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan of Mahārāṣṭra. According to Dr P. D. Gune, this language acquired its standardized form in the eleventh century. Some maintain that Marathi has no connexion with other Prakrits but had an indigenous growth, coloured with Jaina hybrid Sanskrit, which has been called Southern Apabhraṃśa.

As far as the vocabulary is concerned, the basic words of Modern Marathi are tadbhava, i.e. derived from Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit, with large borrowings from tatsama or Sanskrit. It has, however, a number of words of the nature of substrata from non-Aryan languages (Dravidian and Austro). In recent times borrowings from Perso-Arabic, Portuguese, English, and even African languages have also occurred. The history of Marathi literature can be broadly divided into three periods:

i) Early or Old Marathi period, up to A.D. 1350;

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1 The first specimen of Marathi language can be traced to the Marathi inscription dated A.D. 983 consisting of only one sentence: Śrī Cauḍārāya Karanijale (done by Śrī Cauḍārāja). It is inscribed in Marathi and Kannada at the foot of the huge monolithic image of Gomatesvara in Mysore. Later inscriptions such as the edict of King Aparāditya (A.D. 1183), the grant of King Soidva (A.D. 1202), as well as the Pandharpur inscription (A.D. 1273) of the days of King Śiromaṇi Rāmadevarāv, are in Old Marathi.


3 Ibid., p. 37.

4 The comprehensive Marathi dictionary, Mahārāṣṭra śabdakोष in eight volumes by Y. G. Date and C. G. Karve, has 1,12,189 words, out of which the words from Perso-Arabic stock are 2,900 and from European languages are 1,500 including 560 English words.
ii) Middle Marathi period, from A.D. 1350 to 1800;
iii) New or Modern Marathi, after A.D. 1800.

EARLY MARATHI PERIOD

The reign of the last three kings of the Yādava period (A.D. 1189-1320) witnessed the growth of quite a large literature both in verse and prose. The Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Pāñcatantra were rendered into Old Marathi. Śrīpati's work on astrology, Ratnamālā, and Mukundarāja's philosophical treatise, Viveka-sindhu, are among the early technical works in Old Marathi. Poetry of an ornate and rhetorical type is found in poems like Naṭopākhyaṇa and Rukmini-svayamvara.

The sacred books of the Mahānubhāva sect, founded in A.D. 1267 by Cakradhara, originally a Brāhmaṇa from Gujarāt, were written in cryptic scripts which have been deciphered by scholars like V. K. Rajwade, V. B. Kolte, and H. N. Nene. They are in prose and deal with philosophical topics in simple Marathi, deliberately rejecting Sanskrit. Members of the sect were worshippers of Kṛṣṇa, the mythical sage Dattātreya, and three Mahānubhāva founders. Two of their most sacred books are Liḷā-caritra and Siddhānta-Sūtra. Liḷā-caritra (c. 1286), written by Mahīndra Bhaṭa, records the life-story of Cakradhara including his instructions to his devotees. Siddhānta-Sūtra is a compilation of the sayings of Cakradhara by Keśavadeśa. The Mahānubhāva writers left a fairly rich literature in verse also which is to be found in seven long poems, namely, Vaccha-haraṇa, Rukmini-svayamvara, Śīṣupāla-vadha, Uddhava-Gītā, Jñāna-prabodha, Sakhyādri-varṇana, and Ritihipura-varṇana. The first three are narrative poems depicting episodes in the life-story of Lord Kṛṣṇa and the last two give accounts of the sacred places of the Mahānubhāvas, while Uddhava-Gītā and Jñāna-prabodha are essentially philosophical in character. There are, besides, the dhavaḷas (devotional songs) of Mahādāiśa, a woman devotee of Cakradhara. She happened to be the first Marathi poetess. Mahānubhāva literature formed the first expression of a revolt against Brāhmaṇical orthodoxy.

The work of uniting different orthodox and heterodox elements of Hinduism was carried on with success for four centuries by the Hindu saint-poets of Mahārāṣṭra associated with another more powerful Brāhmaṇical sect known as the Vārakarī Panth. Jñānesvara or Jñānadeva (1271-93) was the first

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* Apart from Viveka-sindhu, Mukundarāja is credited with another Marathi work, Paramānya. Both deal with Śaṅkarācārya's exposition of the Vedānta. These books, however, never became popular owing to both difficulty of subject and stylistic defects.—Editor.
* It became the chief means of expression of the Bhakti doctrine in Mahārāṣṭra. It started as an offshoot of the Jñāna school of the Nātha Pantha of Gorakṣa Nātha, with its Yoga practices and its Saiva-Vedānta philosophy, and after coming to Mahārāṣṭra it joined forces with the local Vedānta school which favoured the worship of God as Viṣṇu in his form of Viṣṇu at the shrine in Pandhar-
among the Hindu saints who made the Vedānta popular for everybody through the spoken language. He proclaimed the equality of man in the eyes of God and openly revolted against the tyranny of Hindu orthodoxy. His monumental work, Bhāvārtha-dīpikā, popularly known as Jñānēśvarā, consisting of 9,000 ādi9 stanzas, forms an erudite commentary on the Bhagavad-Gītā. He wrote it in 1290 at the age of nineteen. His Amṛtānubhava is a treatise on the Vedānta philosophy couched in excellent poetry. Variety of imagery and lucidity of diction characterize both the works. Jñānēśvara is held in profound esteem as the first great Marathi literary and philosophical genius. Another philosophical poet of note contemporaneous with Jñānadeva was Nāmadeva (1270-1350), who was a tailor by profession. Two of Nāmadeva’s devotional poems are found in the Ādi Grantha of the Sikhs. His name ranks among the noteworthy saint-poets of India, and with his death in a.d. 1350 ends the Early period of Marathi literature. Nāmadeva’s guru Visobā Khecara, a grocer by profession, was a poet himself. Other early saint-poets of humble rank were Muktābāi, Nāmadeva’s sister; Janābāi, a maid-servant; Sāvantā, a gardener; Gorobā, a potter; and Cokhā, a sweeper. There were also Muslim saint-poets like Sheikh Mohammed.

MIDDLE MARATHI PERIOD

The major part of the period from a.d. 1350 to a.d. 1550 can be looked upon as a ‘dark period’ of Marathi literature. The first invasion of Alauddin Khilji in 1294 led to the gradual establishment of Muslim rule in this part of the country. The age was not favourable for steady literary progress due to war and famine in the country. Among teachers and writers of the post-Nāmadeva period were Narasāṁha Sarasvatī and Janārdana Svāmī. Both belonged to the Vārakari Panth. A number of devotional poems are attributed to them.

Ekanātha Svāmī (1548-99) in the sixteenth, and Tukārāma (1588-1649) in the seventeenth century built up the great structure of the bhakti poetry. Ekanātha’s Bhāgavata (known as Ekanāthī Bhāgavata) and Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa, pur, and became a school of Vedāntic bhakti with the figures of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa as personal deities through which the devotees approached the Godhead. Pandharpur became the great centre of this school, and from the word sārī, meaning ‘the annual pilgrimage (to Pandharpur)’, which was enjoined on its followers and which became very popular, the sect got the name of Vārakari. A number of great religious teachers had become associated with this school of Vedāntic bhakti by a.d. 1290. —Editor.

9 By the middle of the fourteenth century two distinct literary forms had been well established in Marathi. One was the ādi metre (which was a sort of rhythmic prose, the sentence being divided into short lines of about ten syllables each, followed by a half-line) which was employed in narrative poems. It may be mentioned that the seven long poems of the Mahānubhāva writers were written in this metre. The other was the abhaṣa metre which was used for lyric compositions, particularly devotional songs.—Editor.
each having 20,000 ovi stanzas, not only made Marathi poetry exalted by their
grand style and poetic fervour, but also firmly established Hindu philosophical
beliefs in those days of national set-back under the Muslims. A saint and a
great social reformer, Ekanåtha was profoundly influenced by Jñâneśvara.
He redacted Jñâneśvari and brought out an authentic version of the text. His
renderings of the Purânic stories immensely contributed in rehabilitating the
old Hindu culture in Mahârâṣṭra. Among a number of minor poets who followed
Ekanåtha, Dâsopanta deserves special mention. He was a voluminous writer
and a master of facile verse. Thomas Stephens (1559-1619), an English Jesuit
who came and settled in Goa, was a contemporary of Ekanåtha. He had a
great love for Marathi and wrote Khâsta Purâṇa, an extensive work on the

Tukârâma’s lyrical abhaṅgas in simple Marathi (5,000 in number) are
pointed and direct in style, and throbbing with an intense devotion to his God.
They have a charm of their own, and form a veritable Bible for the people
of Mahârâṣṭra. Born in a Śûdra family, Tukârâma was a poet of the masses.
He was a vehement critic of the hypocrisies of his time and was a great uni-
fying force bringing the masses under one religious banner before the Maratha
revival under Śivâji during the second half of the seventeenth century. Among
other great poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were: Mukteśvara
(1608-60), Samartha Râmadâsa (1608-82), Vâmana Paṇḍita (1615-78),
Raghunâtha Paṇḍita (c. 1650), Śrîdhara (1678-1728), and Mayûra Paṇḍita
or Moropanta (1729-94). Mukteśvara, son of Ekanåtha’s daughter, re-told
the stories of the Râmâyana and the Mahâbhârata in Marathi in a vigorous style.
Samartha Râmadâsa, spiritual teacher of Śivâji, wrote Dâsa-bodha, a work
of both high seriousness and practical wisdom for the rulers as well as the masses,
in a style of rare vigour and forthrightness. Great national leaders like Śivâji
and his followers found their inspiration and incentive to action in Dâsa-
bodha. Vâmana Paṇḍita devoted himself to composing narrative poems based
on Purânic themes, such as Gajendra-mokṣa, Sitâ-swâyâwarâ, and Venu-sudhâ.
Notable also is his commentary, Yathârtha-dipikâ, on the Bhagavad-Gîtâ.
Furthermore, he rendered the Bhagavad-Gîtâ into Marathi under the title Samaślokî-
Gîtâ. He also translated some Sanskrit works into Marathi verse.8 Raghunâtha
Paṇḍita’s narrative poem Nala-Damayanti-swâyâwarâ is based on the Nala
story of the Mahâbhârata. Both Śrîdhara and Moropanta flourished during
the Peshwa period (1700-1818). The former was the leading poet of the early
days of the Peshwas and the latter of the later and the greatest days of the
Peshwa glory when Mahârâṣṭra had emerged as the strongest power in the
whole of India. Śrîdhara carried the tradition of Ekanåtha, Mukteśvara, and

8 Vâmana Paṇḍita enriched Marathi prosody by introducing new metres based on Sanskrit.
Marathi was till then rather poor in this respect.—Editor.
Vāmana Paṇḍita. His Pāṇḍava-pratāpa, Rāma-vijaya, and Hari-vijaya are based on the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa respectively. Moropanta is the greatest Marathi poet of the eighteenth century. He has to his credit a large number of poems on Purānic themes, such as Kṛṣṇa-vijaya and Mantra-Bhāgavata. The most important work of Moropanta is his rendering of the Mahābhārata in the āryā metre. His devotional lyrics, Gāngā-prārthana, Sannāya-ratna-mālā, and Kekevali, are also held in high esteem in Mahārāṣṭra.

The second half of the seventeenth century witnessed the growth of a kind of heroic poetry, known as puvāḍā (from Sanskrit pravāda), which became very popular. The poets who composed these poems were wandering ballad-makers and singers, known as sāhirs. The sāhirs recited their compositions to the accompaniment of a simple one-wire lute, and could keep audiences of thousands enthralled by their animated songs about wars and heroic exploits. The first famous puvāḍā is by Agnidāsa on the subject of Afzal Khan’s meeting with Śivāji, the second by Tulasidāsa on the capture of the fort of Sinhagad by Tānāji, Śivāji’s heroic lieutenant. There was also another form of popular poetry known as lāvaṇi which came into prominence in the eighteenth century. The lāvaṇi songs dealt mainly with earthly love. Honāji Bālā, Prabhākara, Saganbhāhu, Paraśurāma, and others were famous lāvaṇi composers during the Peshwa period. The growth of these types of folk-poetry, side by side with the sophisticated and decorative kāvya, immensely enriched Marathi language and literature during the last century and a half of its Middle period.

Marathi prose, which came into existence as early as the Yādana period, was also slowly developing and from about the middle of the seventeenth century it took a definite form in the chronicles of the Maratha rulers, known as bakhars. Vākenavis-bakhar, Sabhāsadi-bakhar (c. 1697), Ājñā-patra, and Śivādigəjaya (1718) are some of the representative specimens of these prose chronicles.

MODERN MARATHI PERIOD

The transition from the Peshwa period to the British period was complete after the Treaty of Bassein in 1818. Some great thinkers, scholars, political leaders, social reformers, and educationists came forward and brought about a real intellectual and cultural renaissance in Mahārāṣṭra in the nineteenth century. Bal Gangadhar Sastri Jambhekar (1810-46), Govind Vitthal Mahajan (1815-90), and Krishna Sastri Chiplunkar were pioneers in modernizing the mind of the people. The foundations of Marathi journalism were laid around 1840 by Jambhekar with his daily Darpaṇa and the periodical Digdarśana, and by Mahajan with his Prabhākara. Krishna Sastri Chiplunkar’s Vicāra-lahari (1853) was a further milestone in the development of journalism. Among others who followed were Parasuram Tatya Godbole (1799-1874),
Vishnu Bhikaji Gokhale (1825-71), Vishnu Sastri Chiplunkar (1850-82),
Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1866-1915), Mahadev Govinda Ranade (1842-1907),
Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915), Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak
(1856-1920), Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850-93), Jotiba Phule (1827-89),
Bhimrao R. Ambedkar (1891-1956), and Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar
(1837-1925). They all contributed to the renaissance in literature and thought
in Mahārāṣṭra. India responded intellectually and emotionally to the Western
challenges mainly through Bengal and Mahārāṣṭra.

POETRY

The modernity in Marathi literature was felt simultaneously in poetry and
novel towards the end of the nineteenth century and gradually it cast its spell
over other domains of literature. Let us start with the poems of Krishnaji Keshav
Damle popularly known as ‘Keśavasuta’ (1866-1905), who heralded the dawn,
as it were, of the modern age in Marathi literature. His first poem was published
in 1885; this, however, betrayed a style typical of the scholar-poets belonging
to the period immediately preceding. But he was soon able to cast off his fascina-
tion for traditional forms and composed poems which gave something new
to Marathi literature in style, in expression, and in content. His awareness
of contemporary social and political thought and his acquaintance with
English literature came to his advantage in this respect. Among other remark-
able contemporary poets were: Narayan Vaman Tilak (1865-1919), Ram
Ganesh Gadkari (1885-1919), Vinayak Janardan Kanandikar (1872-1909),
Tryambak Bapuji Thomare (1890-1918), Narayan Muralidhar Gupte (1872-
1947), and Bhaskar Ramachandra Tambe (1874-1941), who achieved distinc-
tion particularly in the twenties.

The twenties of the twentieth century saw the emergence of a group of
poets, called the Ravikirana-manḍala, who tried to avoid extravagance of
emotion in their poems. Their special interest lay in the formal and technical
aspects of poetry. Y. D. Pendharkar (‘Yaśovanta’) was the most notable poet
of this group. A note of frustration characterizes his poems. Other poets of the
group are S. K. Kanetkar and M. T. Patvardhan. In 1925 Prahlad Keshav
Atre (1898-1968) published a collection of parodies entitled Jhendūci Phule
which made great fun of both sentimental sob-stuff and the strawberry-and-
cream trend in poetry. There were several other poets contemporaneous with
the Ravikirana-manḍala, who represented a reaction against them. Of them,
Anant Kanekar (b. 1905), is the most distinguished. He, however, forsook
poetry after the publication of his Cāndrāṭ (1933).

The use of a real modern idiom in poetry began, however, in the forties,
particularly after the Second World War, though the older idealism continued
to attract the average reader. The trio who brought about the revolution in
form and content, including stark realism, were B. S. Mardhekar (1907-56), P. S. Rege (b. 1910), and A. R. Deshpande ('Anil'; b. 1910). Though P. S. Rege already struck some of the typical features of this new poetry, Mardhekar's *Kāhi-kavītā* (1947) heralded it in its true spirit. Mardhekar was tried on a charge of obscenity in his writings, but was later exonerated. He is to Marathi what T. S. Eliot is to English, both in poetry and aesthetic theories. His book on poetics, *Saundarya-anti-sāhityā*, won in 1956 a posthumous award from the Sahitya Akademi. P. S. Rege did something magical to the use of poetic language in Marathi. He experimented with it and expanded its frontiers in his pithy, gossamerlike yet sinewy poems. 'Anil' introduced, on the one hand, innovations in technique ('free verse' was rehabilitated by him in Marathi) and, on the other, deepened the social awareness of the poet by emphasizing his responsibilities. The maturity of his talent is amply reflected in *Bhagna-mūrti* (1940) and *Pertevhā* (1947). The Mardhekar-Rege school was kept alive by many younger advocates of 'pure poetry' like Mangesh Padgaonkar, Dilip Chitre, Arun Kolhatkar, and others. Side by side with this, there was the other school of progressive poetry to which belonged V. V. Shirwadkar, better known as 'Kusumāgraja' (his famous work: *Viśūkha*, 1942), Sarat Chandra Muktibodh, Vasant Bapat, Vinda Karandikar, and Narayan Surve. While poets like B. B. Borkar, Indira Sant, N. G. Deshpande, and G. D. Madgulkar restricted themselves to lyric poetry proper, the so-called 'intellectual' poets went on to cater for a different audience and to serve a separate function. In the fifties, Marathi poetry was rapidly advancing to an incomprehensible area like abstract art, to a land without labels.

Recent Marathi poetry is much more concerned with technical innovations than with content. As a reaction to this formalism, there are angry young poets who call themselves *dalita panthers* and write with sharp pens dipped in venom. There are also experiments in typography and calligraphy, collage poems and 'eye' poems by R. K. Joshi.

**NOVEL AND SHORT STORY**

The Marathi novel has a history of more than a century since the publication of Baba Padmanji's *Yamunā-parvatana* in 1857. Padmanji represented the social trend, while N. S. Rishbud with his novels like *Mānjugošā* (1868) and R. B. Gunjikar with his *Mocaṅgaḍ* (1871) stood for the romantic and the historical respectively. But the Marathi novel was still seeking a really mature and creative talent in the field which it found in Hari Narayan Apte (1864-1919), commonly referred to as the 'prince of novelists'. From 1885 onwards he produced quite a large number of novels—historical, romantic, and social. Idealism is writ large in the novels of Apte and he particularly excelled in depicting the psychology of women. Among his notable works the
following deserve mention: Pañ Laksyāt Koṇ Gheto, Uṣahkāla, Keval Svarājyāsāthi, Gad Ālā Pañ Śimha Gelā, Sṛyā-grahana, Vajrāgāthā, etc. Vaman Malhar Joshi (1882-1943) has to his credit a few popular novels: Rāgini (1915), Susīlecā Deva (1930), and Indu Kālē Aṇī Saralā Bhōle (1935). Vishram Bedekar's novel, Raṇāṅgaṇa (1939) is a most characteristic work in many ways. It has an international canvas and is marked by a note of profound humanism. Translations of Bengali novels, particularly those of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, and Prabhat Kumar Mukherjee, were done by V. S. Gurjar, K. R. Mitra, and others. Narayan Sitaram Phadke (b. 1894) and Vishnu Sakharam Khandekar (1898-1976) were the rage of the reading public from about 1930 to 1950. Phadke while advocating 'art for art’s sake' also used political backgrounds for his love stories. The technical skill of the author is evident in his Jādūgār. His three other important novels are Pravāsi, Uddhāra, and Jhelam. The novels of Khandekar stand in contrast to those of Phadke. Ulkā, Krauṇca-vadha, and Tāyāti are among his best works. Another popular writer, Gajanan Tryambak Madhoklar, was primarily concerned with political fiction. Muktātmā, his first novel, is also the first successful political fiction in the language. He mixed, however, a due proportion of romance in his novels. His Candanāvāḍī, which sympathetically depicts a Harijan girl, is considered a masterpiece in Marathi. Purushottam Yashwant Deshpande carried the ‘novel of ideas’ of V. M. Joshi to its existentialist peak. Bandhanācyā Palikaḍe and Viśāla Jivana are his two most notable novels, the former having created a stir when published. The novels and stories of Sane Guruji (1899-1950) became popular in the forties. Malati Bedekar (‘Vibhāvarī Śirurkar’) has made herself distinguished in the field, and her Baḷi (1950) is a class by itself. S. R. Biwalkar’s first novel Sunitā (1948) is a landmark in the realm of Marathi novel dealing with Hindu-Muslim relations in East Bengal (now Bangladesh) at the time of Partition. Other novelists of note in the forties and fifties are: Gita Sane, Muktabai Dikshit, Kamalabai Tilak, Kusumavati Deshpande, G. N. Dandekar, B. S. Mardhekar, and S. N. Pendse*.

Fiction in Marathi assumed new directions in the sixties with Bhalachandra Namele’s Kōślā, a novel analysing the lack of values in a young man’s life and the irrelevance of old cherished ideals. There are controversial novels dealing with permissiveness in sex and depicting the rather seamy side of metropolitan life. Two of these much discussed novels are Bhau Padhye's Vāsunākā and Chandrakant Khot's Udbhayāṇvaya Ayyaya. There are also popular historical novels based on important personalities. Among them Ranjit Desai’s novel on Śivāji, Śrīmān Yogi, Gangadhar Gadgil's novel on Lokamanya Tilak, Durdamya, B. D. Kher’s novel on Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Yajña, and

* One of Pendse's novels, Rathacakra, won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1963.

The short story, as a distinct literary genre, came to be established during the twenties with N. S. Phadke and V. S. Khandekar. The stories of Hari Narayan Apte and others of the earlier period cannot be considered as short stories proper. They are rather novels in a shorter dimension. The thirties witnessed a number of powerful story-writers, some of whom represented a kind of reaction against Phadke and Khandekar. They are Muktabai Dikshit, Kamalabai Tilak, Malati Bedekar, Y. G. Joshi, Vaman Chorghade, Prabhakar Padhye, S. M. Mate, Narayan Hari Apte, V. V. Bokil, Anant Kanekar, and others. Since the forties, the short story has turned to a new direction and become more and more psycho-analytical. Gangadhar Gadgil, Arvind Gokhale, P. B. Bhave, and V. Madgulkar gave this form of literature a modern idiom and a rare subtlety of expression. D. B. Mokashi, K. J. Purohit (‘Sāntārāma’), G. A. Kulkarni, S. D. Panvalkar, S. J. Joshi, C. T. Khanolkar, Sadanand Rege, V. S. Pargaoankar, Kamal Desai, Sarat Chandra Chirmule, Vidyadhar Pundalik, Jayawant Dalvi, and other exponents of this art-form have carried the Marathi short story much further than the earlier popular stories of Y. G. Joshi or Vaman Chorghade, both in the depth of their understanding of the interplay of human passions and in the variety of techniques. Ranjit Desai, G. L. Thokal, D. M. Mirasdar, Shankar Patil, Ananda Yadav, Baburao Bagul, and Shankarrao Kharat have specialized in an important type depicting the life of the rural classes, in their own stark idiom, with all their downright earthy atmosphere and an all-too-human experience in the raw.

**Drama**

Mahārāṣṭra has a fairly old tradition of play-writing. But the early Marathi plays, like those in other Indian languages, were based on mythological themes. The Tamil dramatic forms, particularly *kuravaṇci*, exercised a deep influence on the early Marathi drama known as *lalīta* in its initial phase of development. In the realm of modern Marathi drama, Vishnu Amrit Bhave was the pioneering figure. His Purānic drama, *Sītā-svayamvara*, was staged in 1841. He wrote some more plays based on Purānic themes. With the spread of education and the foundation of the Bombay University in 1857, there grew a tendency to translate or adapt Sanskrit plays and later European plays, particularly those of Shakespeare, into Marathi. This continued for more than two decades. Though Vishnu Amrit Bhave is chronologically the first writer of Marathi drama in the Modern period, he was not its real originator. The credit of writing the first real modern drama goes to Balwant Pandurang Kirloskar (1843-85) who with his *Śakuntalā* (1880), *Saubhadra* (1882), and *Rāma-rājya-viṣyoga* (1884) provided a synthesis between the mythological
content and the modern treatment. The author has infused into the traditional themes of these plays, particularly of Saubhadra, a romantic aroma and delineated them with a remarkable dramatic skill. The poignancy of their appeal is due also to the power of their music. After Kirloskar, G. B. Deval (1854-1916) and K. P. Khadilkar (1872-1948) set Marathi drama on a more sound and secure ground. Deval’s most characteristic play is Šāradā, his only original play. He has to his credit six more plays all of which are adaptations, three from Sanskrit and three from English. Khadilkar’s mythological play, Kicakovadha (1910), was banned by the British Government, as Kicaka and Bhīma resembled Lord Curzon and Lokamanya Tilak respectively in their speeches on the stage. Nationalist sentiment was thus seeking masked expression through such mythological and historical plays. Ram Ganesh Gadkari’s plays (e.g. Prema-sanyāsa and Punya-prabhāva) depicting social and moral problems became popular. His plays are characterized by his creative and facile dialogue. N. C. Kelkar (1872-1947) wrote a number of plays based on history as well as mythology. Vasudeo Sasatri Khare (1858-1924) wrote fine historical plays like Śivasambhava.

The first Hindi film Alam Ara was screened in Bombay in 1930, and the stage suffered a heavy blow at the hands of the cinema. But a few playwrights kept up the struggle, like Bhargavram Viththal Warerkar, better known as Mama Warerkar (1883-1964), and Prahlad Keshav Atre. Both used colloquial language and broad humour in their social plays, and satire was their main weapon. Warerkar wrote about forty plays, and tried to modernize the stage by making some modifications in dramatic technique as well as in production. Starting with mythological themes, he went on experimenting with various subjects. Two of his important plays are Apūrva Vanaṅgal (1953) and Bhūmi-kanyā Stīṭā (1955). The former is on Gandhiji’s Noakhali tour in East Bengal. P. K. Atre was essentially a humorist and a greater source of strength to Marathi drama. His Lagnāci Beṭi, on a feminist theme, is a really noteworthy play. Another playwright who also tried to revitalize the stage was S. V. Vartak, leader of the group nātya-manvantara. His play Andhalyāṇci Śāla (1933) was an adaptation from B. Björnson, famous Norwegian playwright. Purushottam Lakshman Deshpande has revolutionized the Marathi stage in recent years with his plays and very widely admired ‘one-man’ shows of humour-cloaked social comment. Vasant Kanetkar’s extremely touching historical play Rāyagadaḷa Jenhvā Jāg Yetē opened a new dimension for Marathi drama and Vijay Tendulkar has pushed it forward by his flair for the theatre of the Absurd. There are many other successful dramatists like V. V. Shirwadkar, C. T. Khanolkar, Nana Jog, C. Y. Marathe, Purushottam Darvekar, S. G. Sathe, Ratnakar Matkari, and Vidyadhar Gokhale, who are giving of their best to enlarge the horizon.
The new drama is to a great extent concerned with sex and violence and the hypocrisy of modern life. Vijay Tendulkar's plays like Sakhārāma Bāndar and Ghaśstrām Kothāl and a recent play Vāsanā-kānda by Mahesh Elkunchwar created a lot of stir among connoisseurs as also among ordinary spectators. Drama is freely borrowing from folk-forms like tamāśā and jafita. The problems it seeks to discuss are partly biological and partly socio-political. So there is an eternal conflict between merely popular plays and plays with a lasting literary value. Marathi has its own quota of commercially popular plays, translations and adaptations, and mere entertainers also. Some old plays of Deval and Gadhkari continue to charm the audience with their musical interludes and scintillating dialogues.

OTHER DOMAINS OF LITERATURE

Marathi literature is very rich in personal essays, sketches, travelogues, autobiographies, and biographies. N. S. Phadke and V. S. Khandekar attenuated the sweep and verve of thought found in the early discursive essay of the days of Vishnu Sastri Chiplunkar and S. M. Paranjape (1864-1929) to a more witty personal idiom and a choice of common subjects of everyday life. Many others like Kusumavati Deshpande, Anant Kanekar, V. M. Dandekar, N. M. Sant, and K. J. Purohit have enriched this form. Side by side with their essays, there are the humorous essays of P. L. Deshpande and others. The essay suffered some sort of decline in the forties; but during the last twenty-five years Durga Bhagwat, Iravati Karve (both have won Sahitya Akademi Awards), N. G. Gore, and Vinda Karandikar have given to this genre a further depth by their scholarship and wide range of subjects, poetic sensibility and delicate handling of the language. Besides, they have added a special charm to it by subdued irony and understatement, witty observations and satirical sketches. R. B. Joshi's travel sketches have the flavour of genuine essay in them.

Biography in Marathi has quite an old tradition which can be traced to the works of the Mahānubhāva sect. In the Modern period the life of Dr Johnson written by Vishnu Sastri Chiplunkar and lives of heroes like Garibaldi and Mazzini by N. C. Kelkar and V. D. Savarkar respectively have rendered great service in setting new standards in this field. N. R. Phatak, B. M. Purandere, Dhananjay Kir, and others have widened the horizons of this particular genre. Autobiographies were written during the days of the Peshwas, and the one by Nānā Phadanaavis (1742-1800) is remarkable for its frank self-analysis. Māzā Pravāsa (1857) of Godse Bhatji and the memoirs (1910) of Ramabai Ranade (1862-1924), the wife of M. G. Ranade, are in a class by themselves. The auto-

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10 Tamāśā is a kind of dance-drama with songs and music, which became popular in Mahārāstra in the eighteenth century. In those days young boys dressed as women used to sing vulgar and even obscene lāunātrī in the tamāśā performances.—Editor.
biographies of D. K. Karve and Dharmanand Kosambi, Lakshmibai Tilak, V. D. Savarkar, Senapati Bapat, N. V. Gadgil, Chintamanrao Kolhatkar, and B. V. Warerkar are very notable records of their age as well as of their personal reactions and vicissitudes in life.

Mahārāṣṭra with its tradition of scholarship in disciplines like history, philosophy, politics, and linguistics is very much advanced in literature dealing with these subjects. During the early years of the twentieth century V. K. Rajwade and C. V. Vaidya concentrated on works of historical research and S. M. Paranjape on vigorous political writings. Gitā-rahasya, the magnum opus of Lokamanya Tilak, is a profound testament of the author’s political philosophy and philosophical acumen. G. S. Sardesai, D. B. Parasnis, T. S. Shejwalkar, D. V. Potdar, and V. S. Bendre contributed greatly to Marathi historical writings in the years that followed. R. D. Ranade and Lakshman Sastri Joshi have made rich contributions to Indian philosophy and logic, and Iravati Karve and G. S. Ghurye have earned a fine reputation in the field of sociology. N. G. Kalekar and Ashok Kelkar are linguists of great stature. Lexicographical and encyclopaedic works have been undertaken in Mahārāṣṭra with great diligence right from the days of Śivāji when a Rājya-yyavahāra-koṣa was compiled, up to Chitrav Sastri’s more recent Prācīna-caritra-koṣa. Mahārāṣṭra Jñāna-koṣa of S. V. Ketkar (1884-1937) is an encyclopaedia in twenty-three volumes. Added to these, there is Sanskrit scholarship in all fields including poetics. The emergence of literary criticism can be traced to the early Marathi periodicals, particularly to the illustrious monthly of Vishnu Sastri Chiplunkar, the Niban-dha-mālā (1874). Literary criticism has had a varied record, and amongst modern critics G. T. Deshpande, K. N. Watwe, R. S. Jog, S. K. Khīrsagar, R. S. Walimbe, B. S. Mardhekar, W. L. Kulkarni, Kusumavati Deshpande, Prabhakar Padhye, Madhav Achawal, Vasant Davtar, and D. K. Bedekar have contributed towards the development of this genre. Marxist criticism could not strike any deep roots in Mahārāṣṭra, though Lalji Pendse, Sarat Chandra Muktiibodh wrote with a socialist-realistic bias. It is the logical positivist or existentialist approach that seems to be gaining ground. This finds favour with writers as well as readers.

Marathi literature has contributed to the cultural integration of India in various ways. There are, for example, poems, novels, and plays on personalities who do not belong to Mahārāṣṭra but are adored as leaders of national importance. Mention may be made of the novels on Swami Vivekananda,11 Subhas Chandra Bose, and Sri Aurobindo written respectively by B. D. Kher, P. K. Atre, and Jyotsna Devdhar. G. D. Khanolkar’s Ravindra-viṇā and B. B. Borkar’s Ānandayāṭī are two very good books on Tagore’s life and work.

11 A drama and a long poem on Vivekananda in Sanskrit have also been composed by S. B. Velankar and S. B. Varnekar.
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

Marathi literature has evinced, during the last thirty years after Independence, remarkable variety and vigour. Writers belonging to different ideologies and socio-political beliefs have produced works of literary merit in all fields. The list of writers in Marathi who received Sahitya Akademi Awards includes B. S. Mardhekar and R. B. Patankar (aesthetics), N. R. Phatak (biography of G. K. Gokhale), T. S. Shejwalkar (biography of Shivaji), Godavari Parulekar (autobiography), V. S. Khandekar and S. N. Pendse (novels), and Durga Bhagavat and P. L. Deshpande (light essays). The present-day Marathi literature is the product of a healthy interaction between a deep respect for the past and a forward-looking feeling for the future. A very encouraging factor is that activists in political field from Lokmanya Tilak to Vinoba Bhave have shown great sensitivity to matters literary and cultural. Now, scientific literature is also rapidly developing and mathematicians like Jayant Narlikar write science fiction.
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ORIYA

LANGUAGE : ITS ORIGIN

ORIYA\(^1\) is the official language of the State of Orissa which forms a part of the Indian Union. In ancient days Orissa was known variously as Utkala, Kaliṅga, and Oḍra-deśa. There is ample historical evidence to show that the people of Utkala (lit. the land pre-eminent in *kalā* or the arts) excelled in every branch of the arts, and the Oriya literature was one of the earliest to flourish in the Indian Sub-continent. Recognized in the Indian Constitution as one of the major languages, Oriya is spoken (according to the 1971 Census) by about twenty million people residing in Orissa and in the contiguous areas of the neighbouring States. The language was derived from Māgadhi Prakrit and influenced by the local pre-Aryan and other Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit dialects used by the Aryan-speaking people who had settled in Orissa from the Ardha-Māgadhi and Śauraseni areas. Oriya as a New or Modern Indo-Aryan language came into being about the tenth century A.D. It can be looked upon as the immediate sister of Bengali and Assamese, and first cousin of Maithili, Māgadhi, and Bhojpuri.

For convenience, the history of the Oriya language and literature may be classified broadly into three main periods, namely, the Old (up to A.D. 1500), the Middle (A.D. 1500-1800), and the New or Modern (after A.D. 1800). In the course of evolution through the periods mentioned, the language and literature of the land have assumed distinct traits as a result of various political, social, and cultural movements, culminating in the present form.

OLD ORIYA LITERATURE

Orissa, the land of Lord Jagannātha, has absorbed almost all the religions of India, and this is reflected not only in its art and architecture, but also in its literature. The Hāthigumpha inscription of King Khāravela (first century B.C.) in Prakrit may be taken to be the earliest indigenous literary expression in the land. The language of this inscription, having a definite artistic flair, is

\(^1\) The anglicized words *orṣa* and *orissa* are derived from *oḍā* and *oḍās* both of which again are derived from *oḍra* (or *uḍra*) and *uḍra-eiṣuṃ > oḍīṣa* respectively. The Oḍras, an ancient aboriginal tribe, still survive as a cultivating class in the deltaic areas of Orissa. They are now called ‘Odas’. Oḍra-deśa thus signifies the land of the Oḍras or Udṛas. The word *oḍa* or *oḍas* is supposed to have an association with the act of ‘tilling’ in the Dravidian tongues. The other two tribes associated with the names of ancient Orissa, the Utkalas and Kaliṅgas, seem to have gradually lost their supremacy and assimilated with the other insiders in the course of time.
reaching impact on the literature and people of the land. Five outstanding poets, known as the pānca sakhās or 'five friends' of Caitanya (1485-1533), flourished during the first quarter of the sixteenth century and left behind them an enormous mass of religious literature in Oriya, which is still read and enjoyed by hundreds. These poets are Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Ananta Dāsa, Yaśovanta Dāsa, and Acyutānanda Dāsa. These pānca sakhās advocated Vaiṣṇavism, and their literature chiefly dealt with man's quest of God for the attainment of salvation. Their works, particularly the adaptations of the epics and Purāṇas, solved the problem of illiteracy in Orissa to a great extent. Among the pānca sakhās, the contributions of Balarāma Dāsa and Jagannātha Dāsa to Oriya poetry are the most significant. Balarāma Dāsa wrote the first Oriya Rāmāyaṇa (c.a.d. 1500), the most popular among more than a dozen versions of the epic tale of Rāma and Sītā existing in the language. Like Sāralā Dāsa's Mahābhārata, Balarāma Dāsa's Rāmāyaṇa is also tinged with local colour. He has to his credit a large number of smaller works also, of which Bhāva-samudra deserves special mention. It is a unique literary expression of the sublime devotion, complete surrender, and self-forgetting love of an essentially pious soul who sometimes challenges his beloved Lord and takes Him to task in the most daring terms, which of course clearly brings out the real bhakta in him.⁸

Jagannātha Dāsa's Bhāgavata Purāṇa has a greater and wider appeal for the

⁸ An idea of his apparently challenging but fundamentally prayerful attitude can be had from the following lines taken at random from his work.

Referring to the abduction of Sītā, he bursts into open defiance:

‘That you Jagannātha, let your wife go to Rāvana,
Is very like you;
Not able to maintain your own wife
Why did you blame another for doing it?
And she, tired of suffering so much with you,
Went rightly to a man who would make her comfortable!
And are you indeed worthy of that beauteous daughter of King Janaka?
Believe me, my Lord, you look like no more
Than a servant beside her!’

The poet even challenges Jagannātha's existence in Orissa!

‘My Lord, your home is outside Jambudvipa,
At Dvārakā, somewhere in the sea,
Why don't you go back to live in your own land?
Why are you here, in our country?
Have you made yourself overlord here
To insult innocents like Bali Dāsa?’

But the sublime prayer, the genuine tone of total surrender, and the self-forgetting love of a highly sensitive devotee burst forth most poignantly in many places tearing all veils of pique:

‘You made me a prisoner at the hands of the king,
But I have made you a prisoner in the secrecy of my heart!
Tell me, my Lord, that you are my Prisoner,
And that gives me blessed happiness!’

—(translation by Mayadhar Mansinha, op. cit., pp. 92-93)
Oriya

reading public of Orissa than even Sāralā Dāsa's Mahābhārata. It is still held in the highest esteem in every nook and corner of Orissa as a relic of divinity. Defying the contempt of the royal court, friends, and critics, Jagannātha started writing his Bhāgavata Purāṇa in the language of the masses in order to show them the clear path of faith and virtue, which the common man without a fair knowledge of Sanskrit could hardly find out with any sense of certainty. Jagannātha not only undertook to write in Oriya, but succeeded in writing it in the most elegant and lucid diction hitherto considered impossible. In its simple dignity, unadorned beauty, and inherent poetical quality, his language reminds one of the authorized version of the English Bible. For translating the Sanskrit Bhāgavata into Oriya, Jagannātha invented a new rhyming couplet with nine syllables. Popularly known as the bhāga meter, it has since then turned out to be the handiest meter in Oriya. Jagannātha's work is not at all a literal translation of the original, but 'its general aroma of sanctity, its soft fluency, its quiet dignity and the sublime air of high moral and spiritual life it breathes, go straight into the hearts of hearers and readers'.

Jagannātha Dāsa was a prolific writer in Oriya as well as in Sanskrit. Ananta Dāsa, Yaśovanta Dāsa, and Acyutānanda Dāsa also wrote a large number of books. Acyutānanda's Hariamśta is a highly sacred work to the people of Orissa, and in popularity it is next only to Bhāgavata of Jagannātha Dāsa. These five mystic poets released religion out of the stone walls and spread it in the hearts of the people, taking it to great poetic heights.

Influenced by the pañca sakhaś, a group of religious poets and poetesses wrote poems solely on the love theme of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. They were Rāya Rāmānanda, Mādhavī Dāsi, Śīṣu Śaṅkara Dāsa, Mahādeva Dāsa, Murāri Rāya, Cāndakavi, Dāmodara Campatirāya, and Pratāparudra Deva—the Gajapati king of Orissa. The influence of the Brajabuli literature may also be traced in the Oriya literature of this period, especially in the works of these poets. The cult of Jagannātha is manifest in its greatness in this age through hymns and other poetic genres influenced by the esoteric principles of Yoga. Śri Caitanya also gave a new impetus to the literature of this period by his prema-dharma or cult of love.

It was the age of epics and Purāṇas, and taking inspiration from Sāralā Dāsa and the pañca sakhaś, several poets created a vast mass of Purānic literature in Oriya. Among them Mahādeva Dāsa, Pitāmbara Dāsa, and Kṛṣṇacarana

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10 Mahādeva Dāsa was the most prolific of the three. His works include the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, Viṣṇuketari Purāṇa, Padma Purāṇa as well as Kārttikeya-māhātmya, Vaiṣṇava-māhātmya, Māyika-māhātmya, Aṣṭādhi-mahātmya, Devadīti-mahātmya, and Nīlādri-mahātmya.
11 Pitāmbara Dāsa wrote only one Purānic epic, Nṛsiṁha Purāṇa, but in narrative skill, imaginative wealth, character delineation, originality of thought, and in stylistic elegance it stands out as one of the most remarkable productions in the whole Middle Oriya literature.
Paṭṭanāyaka\textsuperscript{12} were the most popular. Of numerous versions of the epics, the most remarkable is Kṛṣṇa Sīrha’s Mahābhārata which is fairly accurate in its translation of the original. Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa of Viśvanātha Khunitā and Tīkā Rāmāyaṇa of Maheśvara Dāsa are also popular for their lyrical appeal.

In the first part of the seventeenth century, the kāvya literature reached its zenith. This period of Oriya literature popularly known as the kāvyay-ya, the age of ornate poetry, started in open rebellion against the strong and simple devotional faith and religious enthusiasm enshrined in the works of the pañca sakhas. This age is also called an age of convention and style. Happy similes, apt metaphors, and verbal jugglery embellish the poems of this age. The influence of Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda towards the growth of this ornate poetry in Oriya is clearly recognizable. The tendency had already become conspicuous in a few earlier works like Rāma-bibhā of Arjuna Dāsa. Some gems of this genre belong to the latter part of the sixteenth century. They are: Usābhīlāsa by Śiśu Śaṅkara Dāsa, Rahasya-mañjari by Devadurlabha Dāsa, Śaṭisenā by Pratāpa Rāya, and Śaṭirekhā by Padmanābha Śricandana. Rāmacandra Paṭṭanāyaka in his Hāravali (early seventeenth century) made a bold departure from convention by choosing the principal characters from the commonalty. This was a new type which may be called novels in verse.\textsuperscript{13} From the middle of the seventeenth century, as already mentioned, poets began to write in an ornate and artificial style which was a dominant feature of the new age. The first poem having an artificial tinge is perhaps Kalpalatā by Arjuna Dāsa. It was followed by Premālo-cana by Viṣṇu Dāsa, Lilāvati by Raghunātha Haricandana, Kāñcanalatā by Śrīdhara Dāsa; a number of fictional, historical, and devotional poems including Kāñci-Kāveri by Purusottama Dāsa, Caitanya Bhāgavata by Īvara Dāsa, Jagannātha-caritāmṛta by Divākara Dāsa, Kalāvati by Pārtha Śricandana, Ratnamañjari and Raghunātha-vilāsa by Dhanaṅjaya Bhaṅja, Jagamohana-chanda, Rasa-kallola, Ārta-trāṇa-cautisā, and other poems by Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa,\textsuperscript{14} Sarvāṅga-sundari Cīrakalā by Lokanātha Vidyādharā, and Prema-paṅcāmṛta by Bhūpati Paṇḍita. Rasa-kallola, Dinakṛṣṇa’s magnum opus, is a type of its own, and it stands unrivalled in its diction, music, metrical beauty, and aesthetic appeal. Other well-known authors of this period are Madhusūdana, Sadāśiva, Śiśu Īvara Dāsa, Vṛndāvana Dāsa, and Kāhānu Dāsa. Vṛndāvana Dāsa’s Rasa-vāridhi is an excellent adaptation of Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda. Kāhānu Dāsa’s Rāmasūndṛṣṭa-sindhu is a beautiful kāvya in 108 cantos of 108 verses each on the Rāmāyaṇa theme. These works show that erotic themes and artistry of presentation

\textsuperscript{12} Kṛṣṇacaraka Paṭṭanāyaka had to his credit two works, Vāmanā Purāṇa and Kalki Purāṇa. But they were not as popular as the works of the other two writers.

\textsuperscript{13} Cf. S. K. Chatterji, Languages and Literatures of Modern India, p. 206.

\textsuperscript{14} Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa was a follower of the Jāna-bhakti school of Vaishnavism. His great scholarship and thorough acquaintance with all Sanskrit sciences served as an added advantage to his remarkable poetic genius.
were developing into a poetic mode that reached its culmination in the poetry of Upendra Bhāṇja (1670-1720) and was adopted by Sadānanda, Abhimanyu, and Mandāradhara. Dīnakṛṣṇa, Upendra Bhāṇja, and Abhimanyu were the outstanding poetic geniuses of this period, and Upendra Bhāṇja was the most highly talented of the trio. At a period when poetic themes admitted of little variety, he concentrated mostly on the artistry of execution. His literary output is a motley world consisting of merits and demerits, the pure and the trivial, the fine and the gross, the pointed and the circumlocutory. His vocabulary was rich, and he showed so great a skill in its use that he appeared to be a poetic wizard without a rival. Lāvanyavati, Vaidehiśa-vilāsa, and Kṣi-ra-brahmāṇḍa-sundarī are his masterpieces. Of his numerous other works, Rasika-hārāvali, Premasudhānidhi, Subhadra-parināya, Kalā-kautuka, Abannā-rasa-taranā, Rasa-paṇḍaka, and Gītābhishāna deserve special mention. The last two books were written specially to enlighten young aspirants about poetical and rhetorical devices. Vidagdha-cintāmaṇi is the finest work of Abhimanyu Sāmantasimharā and a remarkable contribution to the realm of Oriya Vaiṣṇava poetry of the ornate type. Some of the cantos of this Kāvyā are so pathetic and yet so charming that a sensitive reader is sure to be moved to tears on reading them. Unfortunately, side by side with the 'sublime flashes of his (the poet's) vision of Divine love', his depiction of the popular earthly concept of love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa sometimes brings 'his golden images' down to the level of sensuousness. But it must be said to his credit that his delineation of love is unique in Oriya literature, the parallel to which is rarely to be seen in any literature. Despite the erotic flashes on a superficial reading, one is astounded by the allegorical depth and implied mysticism in his poetry. He devoted three chandas (cantos) consisting of 148 stanzas only to depicting love in its various forms found in the human as well as the animal world. Apart from this, Abhimanyu composed a few more kāvyas, of which Sulakṣṇā, Rasavati, Premakaḷa, and Prema-cintāmaṇi deserve special mention.

The poetic tradition of Upendra Bhāṇja, Dīnakṛṣṇa, and Abhimanyu was followed by a number of poets: Bhaktacaraṇa Dāsa (Manodbha-cautīṭā and Mathurā-maṅgala), Yadumani Mahāpatra (Prabandha-pūrṇaṇaḍra), Kṛpāśindhu Bhikhāri Dāsa, Cakrapāṇi Paṭṭanaṇyaka, 'Kavisūrya' Baladeva Ratha, Banamali, Gopalakrushna Pattanayak, and others. Their poems are simple and graceful; but the stamp of artificiality can be traced there. Kīśora-candrānanda-campū of Baladeva Ratha (1789-1845) is a remarkable composition written on the theme of the love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. A musical drama in construction, it is a string of enchanting lyrics composed in the cautīṭā pattern, each lyric being the utterance of a character. The character of Lalitā, messenger between the divine lovers, powerfully depicted in this work stands out as

15 Cf. Mayadhar Mansinha, op. cit., p. 128.
unique in the whole range of Oriya literature. The songs of the Campū cover a very wide range of musical composition. Held in great respect by experts, they offer a real test to the students of music. Taken as a whole, the Campū can be looked upon both as a brilliant ‘lyrical drama’ and as an exquisite piece of ‘musical poetry’. Apart from this small work of thirty-four songs, ‘Kavisūrya’ has to his credit several hundred songs also almost similar in character to those in the Campū. Gopalakrushna (d. 1862) and Banamali are two other great Vaišnava song-makers of the late Middle period, the former being as prolific as Baladeva. Free from conventionalities, the songs of Gopalakrushna and Banamali can be compared with those of the famous Vaišnava poets, Vidyāpati of Mithilā and Caṇḍīdāsa of Bengal. Gopalakrushna is unique in another respect. He is the only poet as yet to depict Kṛṣṇa as a child with all his frolics and pranks.

The metaphysical tradition ushered in by the pañca sakhā, particularly by Acyutānanda Dāsa, was continued by a few late medieval poets. The most prominent among them are Bhima Bhoi (d. 1895), the blind and unlettered Khond poet, and Arakshita Dasa. The former’s bhajanās contained in books like Stuti-cintāmaṇi are still very popular in Orissa. Arakshita Dasa is the author of the well-known Mahimaṇḍala-Gītā. Both of them advocated the worship of, and faith in, Brahmā the formless One and preached openly against idolatry. Bhima Bhoi was the poet who dreamt of the emancipation of mankind. In one of his poems he says: Let condemned be my life to hell, but let mankind be saved.

Another landmark in Oriya literature of the Middle period is Samara-taraṅga of Vrajanātha Baḍajenā (1730-95 ?). It can easily claim a place of distinction in Indian literature as a poem of war and heroism. It records in heroic style and picturesque manner the historically doubtful victory of the forces of Trilocana Mahāendra Bahadur, king of Ḍheṅkānal, over the Marathas under Cimaṅji Bhōṅšḷa. A historical (?) poem, Samara-taraṅga offers a thrilling study of patriotic sentiment, vivid details of military manoeuvres, and a noble account of soldierly conduct. Apart from Samara-taraṅga, the following two of his thirteen books now extant deserve special mention: Caturvinoda, a story-cycle in prose, and Ambikā-vilāsa, a kāvyā on the marriage of Śiva with Ambikā or Umā. The authorship of Ambikā-vilāsa, however, is still doubtful. The variety in poetic genres of Oriya literature in its Middle period is astonishing. To mention a few of them: purāṇa, kathā, māhātmya, pālā, boṣi, padi, gītā, samhītā, janāna, bhajanā, vrata, mānasā, kīrttana, prasaṅga, citāv, dohā, gāna, tīkā, campū, paṭala, avakāśa, vilāsa, gujjari, ogāla, kavacā, and nirṇaya.

MODERN ORIYA LITERATURE

Broadly speaking, the Modern period in Oriya literature began with its
contact with the West after the British occupation of Orissa in 1803. The period witnessed the spread of Western education and culture, gave rise to new trends of thought, and widened the literary vision of the writers. Consequently, both in form and content, there was a complete break from the past, the dominant trends being humanism, love of Nature, nationalism, realism, etc.

THE GREAT TRIO AND OTHERS

Phakirmohan Senapatı (1843-1918), Radhanath Ray (1848-1908), and Madhusudan Rao (1853-1912) are the great pioneers of Modern Oriya literature. The three writers, however, expressed themselves in different ways. They took Man, Nature, and God as their motifs respectively. It is said of the trio that Phakirmohan represented Satya, Radhanath stood for Sundara, and Madhusudan for Siva.¹⁶

Phakirmohan has works both in prose and verse to his credit, but is better known as a prose writer. He created a vigorous style in which the spoken language was used freely for the first time in literary composition. He is the first great writer of novels¹⁷ in Oriya and his works include Chamana Athaguntha, Māmu, Prāyaścitta, and Lachamā. These books represented a reaction against the older school in ways more than one. The use of the spoken language and the selection of the common people as heroes and heroines are the two important novel features noticed in Phakirmohan’s works. He introduced a new outlook into novel-writing also by depicting the contemporary social life of Orissa. Phakirmohan’s deep insight into human nature is reflected in his novels. He is also the first writer of modern short stories in Oriya, which have now been collected in two volumes under the title Galpa-svalpa. His Atmajivana-carita, an autobiography, is a remarkable specimen of the genre. It is as interesting as any work of fiction. Though primarily known as a prose writer, Phakirmohan was a gifted poet too. Besides his verse translations of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Gītā, the Harivanśa, and the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, the author has to his credit such original poetical works as Utkala-bhramana (1892), Puṣpamālā, Upahāra, Avasara-vāsara, and Bauddhāvatāra-kāvyā (1909).

Radhanath, who came from a Bengali family settled in Orissa, loved Nature deeply and interpreted her every passing phase and mood with a passion and wealth of imagery, hardly surpassed in any other modern Indian literature. He was the first Oriya poet to reveal the beauties of Nature to the common eye; the landscape, the hills, rivers, and brooks of Orissa have been made

¹⁶ These are the three aspects of the supreme Spirit as enunciated in the Upaniṣads.
¹⁷ The credit of writing the first novel in Oriya goes to Rāmasankar Ray, father of modern Oriya drama. Vinasini, his only complete novel, was written about twelve years before Phakirmohan attempted his first in Chamana Athaguntha, published in book form in 1901. But it is in the hands of Phakirmohan that the novel in Oriya literature came to maturity.
familiar by his pen. He still remains the greatest landscape painter in Oriya poetry. He clothed Nature with a human personality and depicted her as capable of human understanding and sympathy. His long lyrical narrative Cīlikā is a unique specimen of Nature poetry. The lake Chilka was dearer to him than any human beloved could be. She consoled him when he was depressed by bitterness, sorrow, and sickness. She unfolded before his eyes visions of Orissa’s past glories. Radhanath was a patriot, and infused the spirit of love for the country into the hearts of the people. He was the first to give in Mahāyātra, his magnum opus, an epic in blank verse to Oriya literature. It was written on the theme of the final departure of the Pāṇḍavas to the Himalayas after the great battle of Kurukṣetra. Although incomplete, it is indeed a landmark in Oriya literature. He also exhibited rare talent as a social reformer. His Darabāra is a verse satire on human vanities. His notable verse romances other than Cīlikā are: Kedāra-Gauri, Candrabhāgā, Nandikeśvari, Yayāti-keśari, Uṣā, and Pārvati. They have a sensuous character about them.

Mahārāṣtrian by birth, Madhusudan, a contemporary of Radhanath, was a bhakta-kavi (devotional poet). He was an optimist who saw order and peace in the world. A member of the Brāhma Samāj, he was not satisfied with worldly attachments and yearned for union with the Spirit Divine. Madhusudan made remarkable experiments in verse forms. He composed his sonnets after Shakespeare and Milton. Vasanta-gāthā, a sonnet-sequence, and Kusumānjali, a collection of devotional poems, ‘embody some of the highest flights of his imagination in the realms of Truth, World and Time’. His Himācāle Udaya-uchava is an outstanding Nature poem. Utkala-gāthā containing songs and poems on Orissa, forcefully reveals Madhusudan’s patriotic fervour. His Rśitrīpa Devāvataraṇa gives an imaginative but impressive picture of a Vedic sage. It is said to have been highly eulogized by Rabindranath Tagore. He has also to his credit a wonderful translation of Bhavabhūti’s Uttra Rāma-carita. He wrote also a number of stories and essays in forceful prose.

Next in importance is Gangadhar Meher (1862-1924), weaver-poet of Sambalpur. Due to lack of good education, the range of his world was limited, but in his own way he contributed considerably to the realm of modern Oriya poetry. He described natural scenery and human passions and sentiments with admirable skill and artistry. His poetry is rich in imagery and colour. He wrote beautiful odes, sonnets, and lyrics as well as kāvyas on classical models. His kāvyas, Tapasvini and Kicaka-padha, are among the rarest gems in the whole range of Oriya literature. His Sīṭā in the former is a unique creation

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18 It is now available only in seven cantos. It was originally planned by the poet to be completed in as many as thirty cantos. Radhanath is reported to have finished the twenty-first canto, but he had to destroy the other fourteen cantos as they were suspected of containing strong anti-British feelings.
19 Cf. S. K. Chatterji, op. cit., p. 211.
of his poetic genius. It has been rightly observed: 'An enormous quantity of poetry has been produced in Oriya on the portrayal of Sitā, the ideal woman. But nothing in the whole of Oriya literature can surpass the beauty, charm and grandeur of Sitā as she comes to life in Meher's famous kāvyā, Tapasvini.' Though he borrowed his material from the classics of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, his original creative touches are too unmistakable to be missed. His other poetical works include Pranayā-vallari, Indumatt, Utkala-lakṣmi, Kavitā-kallola, Arghya-thāḷi, Bhārati-bhāvanā, Padmini, and Kṛṣaka-saṅgīta.

Nandakishore Bala, familiarly known as a palti-kavi (poet of the village), has immortalized rural Orissa in his Palti-citra and Nirjharini. His poems exhale the smell of the soil and radiate the quiet and unsophisticated aroma of the countryside. His novel Kanakalatā is also surcharged with the flavour and romance of rural Orissa. He also made his name as a writer of children’s poems and his Nana Baya Gita is an excellent specimen of this particular branch of literature. Chintamani Mohanty followed the style of Radhanath in his poetic art. Humour was one of his fortes. He was a laborious poet and wrote profusely. His Vikramāditya is a heroic kāvyā in blank verse and his Viśva-citra is a collection of poems written in a satirical vein.

SATYAVĀDI YUGA

The period that followed is commonly called the Satyavādi Yuga. It covers a brief range of eleven years (1909-20) and has its origin in a kind of idealistic cultural activity which centred round the Satyavādi school founded by Pandit Gopabandhu Das. The other pioneers of this movement were eminent scholars like Kripasindhu Mishra, Godavarish Mishra, Harihara Das, and Nilakantha Das, who sought to reform society and rebuild the nation. Nationalism found an effective expression in their poems, essays, and plays. Nilakantha Das and Godavarish Mishra won Sahitya Akademi Awards for their outstanding autobiographies. Gopabandhu, who was a staunch patriot, launched his campaign of revitalizing the nation through education and literature. His two popular poems written in the Hazaribag jail (1924-26), Bandi Amakathā and Dharmapada, clearly bring out the man and the literary genius. Māyādevi, Konārake, and Khāravela are the three chief historical kāvyas of Nilakantha, of which the second is his magnum opus. He excelled also in adaptations. In Dasa Nāyaka and Pranayini he reproduced so to say Tennyson’s Enoch Arden and The Princess respectively. Nilakantha was a vigorous stylist in prose too. His Arya-jīvana is a collection of essays interpreting in a scintillating style the Brāhmaṇic ideal of life and society. His Odīya Sāhityara Kramaparipāṇā is a critical study of the history of Oriya literature. Kripasindhu based his works on history, weaving facts into the delicate fabric of language. His three out-

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standing works in prose are Koñāraka, Bārabāti, and Utkala-īthāsā. Though essentially historical in character, they are enlivened by a marked literary grace and charm. Godavarish composed a number of historical ballads, poems, and patriotic plays, which have a definite stamp of originality and which created a sensation when published. These authors contributed in their own ways to the awakening of a national spirit among the people. Though nationalism and reformation were the dominant trends of this age, the delineation of love and beauty and the expression of personal emotions also formed features of Oriya poetry of this period. Of contemporary writers, Madanmohan Pattanayak, Padmacharan Pattanayak, Lakshmikanta Mahapatra, Satchidananda Das, and Brajamohan Panda have shown excellence in poetry preserving the typical spirit of the movement.

SABUJA YUGA

The Satyavādī Yuga was succeeded by the Sabuja Yuga or 'the era of the greens' (the word 'green' stands for youth) which prevailed between the years 1921 and 1935. It was a reflex of the Sabuja Patra (Green Leaf) literary coterie of Calcutta, with its journal, Yugaśīla. The leader of the Sabuja Patra movement was Pramatha Chaudhuri (1868-1948), an eminent writer of Bengal, whose powerful journal Sabuja Patra (1914) played a very vital role in the literary history of Bengal. What characterized this age was the dominant influence of the contemporaneous Bengali literary ways and thoughts. Rabindranath Tagore's ideas formed a basis for imitation, a craze which overwhelmed the Oriya writers of this period. Poets of this group evinced a freshness in their form, language, technique, symbolism, and imagery as well as in their spirit of revolt and youthful exuberance. The distinguished writers of this age are Annadasankar Ray, Kalindicharan Panigrahi, Baikunthanath Pattanayak, Harihara Mahapatra, Harishchandra Badal, and Sarat Chandra Mukherjee. Annadasankar's poem Kamalā-vilāśira Vidyā and Baikunthanath's sonnet-sequence Mṛttikā-darśana bring out what is best in both the poets.

PEOPLE'S POETS AND OTHERS

Side by side with the Sabuja group, there arose a class of writers who called themselves 'people's poets'. They chiefly echoed the ideas of Freud, Karl Marx, Lenin, and Walt Whitman. Chief among them are Bhagavaticharan Panigrahi, Satchidananda Routray, Ananta Pattanayak, and Manomohan Mishra. The most prominent among them are, however, Satchidananda Routray and Ananta Pattanayak. Satchidananda Routray is claimed as the great innovator of the ultramodern note in the present-day Oriya poetry. His revolutionary and experimental poems have established his fame. The most important works of Routray are Pāṇḍuliṣa (1947) and Kavita (1962), both being collections of
poems. He is a source of inspiration to many modern progressive Oriya writers. Ananta Pattanayak tried to bring about a social revival through his poems and his themes savour of a deep sympathy for the afflicted soul. He is an experimentalist so far as techniques are concerned.

Among other eminent contemporary writers of the period, the best known are Mayadhar Mansinha, Radhamohan Garnayak, and Godavarish Mahapatra. Mansinha’s remarkable talent found expression in numerous forms of literary activity, such as lyrics, epics, drama, travelogue, fiction, and literary criticism. He has also compiled an encyclopaedia. Most of the lyrics of Radhamohan Garnayak are based on historical legends and traditions of national culture. His poems savour of a fine lyrical grace. Godavarish Mahapatra, editor of Niñkhunta, was a devastating satirist who ruthlessly exposed the corruptions and hypocrisies in every level of society, politics, and administration. He was also a first-rate short story writer in Oriya. He was posthumously honoured with the Sahitya Akademi Award for his book Kantā O Phula. There are others like Kunjabehari Das, Baikunthanath Das, Krushnachandra Tripathi, Bidyutprabha Devi, and Pranakrushna Samal, who also deserve special mention.

**DRAMA**

From Ramasankar Ray (1860-1920), father of modern Oriya drama, up to the young prolific playwrights of the present day, dramatic literature in Oriya has flourished side by side with other branches of literature. The first modern Oriya drama was, however, Bābājī written by Jagamohan Lal in 1877. But it was not a stage success. Radhamohan Rajendra Deb (king of Chikiti), Gopinath Nanda Sarma, and Harihar Mishra carried on the classical Sanskrit tradition. Ramasankar wrote nearly thirty plays of different types: historical, mythological, social, and farcical. Kān̄ci-Kāvorti (1880), his first drama and also his magnum opus, had a tremendous significance in the evolution of modern Oriya drama. In his dramas Ramasankar used blank verse and prose with admirable skill. Aswini Kumar Ghosh wrote Koñāvaka, Kaḷāpāḥaḍa, Hindu-rāmaṇī, and thirty other plays. Kalicharan Pattanayak wrote more than twenty plays including Adbhūta, Cakri, and Phaṭā Bhūin. Both Aswini Kumar and Kalicharan were talented playwrights who set an ideal for future writers. Two outstanding plays of the first quarter of the twentieth century are Purasottama Deva and Mukunda Deva of Godavarish Mishra of the Satyavādī group. They are specially distinguished for their high poetic quality and strong patriotic fervour. Govinda Surdeo, another contemporary dramatist, showed a flair for historical and Purānic episodes in his quaint style. The dramas of Kamapala Mishra (Sitā-vīvāha), Kalindicharan Panigrahi (Priyadarśī), Baikuntha Pattanayak (Mukti-paṭhā), and Bhikaricharan Pattanayak (Kaṭaka-
vijaya) also deserve mention. Of the succeeding dramatists, the following are the most distinguished: Bhanjakishore Pattanayak, Ramachandra Mahapatra, Ramachandra Mishra, Gopal Chhotaray, Kamalalochan Mohanty, Jadunath Das Mahapatra, Raghnunath Mishra, Satyanarayan Panda, Kartik Kumar Ghosh, Narasingha Mahapatra, Ramaranjan Mohanty, and Debendra Singha. They have written in the tradition of Kalicharan Pattanayak. Vaishnab Pani, Balakrushna Mohanty, and Gopal Das were among the pioneers of opera in Orissa.

OTHER FORMS OF LITERATURE

Gopinath Nanda Sarma, Mrityunjay Rath, Nilamani Vidyaratna, Syamasundar Rajguru, and Tarinicharan Rath were all great essayists. They may be said to have laid the foundation of literary criticism in Oriya by writing a number of articles on the contribution of the poets belonging to the ancient and medieval periods. Gopinath Nanda Sarma showed his talent also as a great philologist and lexicographer. Odiyā Bhāṣātattva (1927) and Šabdattvaabodha (1916) are instances in this regard. Mrityunjay Rath became the source of inspiration for the members of the Prachi Samiti, the pivot of which was Artaballabh Mohanty. The Samiti edited a number of old works focusing their subject-matter, style, and inherent beauty. Among the early modern writers who contributed to the growth of the essay and criticism, mention should be made of Biswanath Kar, Bipinbehari Ray, Kulamani Das, Gaurisankar Ray, Girijasankar Ray, Nilakantha Das, Basudeb Mahapatra, Kapileswar Das, Brajabhari Mohanty, Sashibhusan Ray, Ratnakar Pati, and Suryanarayan Das. Gopalchandra Praharaj (1874-1950) was a distinguished prose writer and a great satirist. He was the author of the biggest Oriya dictionary Purnacandra Odiyā Bhāṣakoṣa (1931) in seven bulky volumes. A quadrilingual one (Oriya, Bengali, Hindi, and English), this dictionary has filled a long-felt want.

POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA

The achievements of the writers of the post-Independence period give promise of their bright future. The poets have made experiments with new techniques. Their poems contain new ideas, spiritual and otherwise. Internationalism and modern social, cultural, and political concepts are found to have been reflected in their writings. Jnanendra Varma, Guruprasad Mohanty, Bhanuji Rao, Binode Nayak, Jagannathprasad Das, Chintamani Behera, Jadunath Das Mahapatra, Binode Routray, Durgacharan Parida, DurgamadHAV Mishra, Brajanath Rath, Praharaj Satyanarayan Nanda, Benudhar Rout, Ramakanta Rath, Sitakanta Mahapatra, Umasankar Panda, Kailas Lenka, Rajendra Panda, Saubhagya Mishra, Nrisingha Kumar Rath,
Bibekananda Jena, Surendra Mohanty, and Rabi Singh deserve mention as important poets of the period. Three of them, Binode Nayak, Guruprasad Mohanty, and Sitakanta Mahapatra have been honoured with the Sahitya Akademi Awards for their books *Sarasvita*, *Samudra-snāna*, and *Sābdara Ākāśa* respectively. Ramakanta Rath’s poetry is distinguished by powerful themes and rich imagery. Some of the old veterans who distinguished themselves before Independence have continued to appear in this period also. The most remarkable of them are Satchidananda Routray, Ananta Pattanayak, Mayadhar Mansinha, Radhamohan Garnayak, and Baikunthanath Pattanayak. Radhamohan Garnayak and Baikunthanath Pattanayak have won the Sahitya Akademi Awards for their books *Uttarāśaya* and *Śūrya O Andhakāra* respectively.

The new reflections and researches in the spheres of politics, psychology, philosophy, history, science, and arts have considerably influenced the domains of the Oriya novel, short story, and play. There was hardly any remarkable novel in Oriya written after Phakirmohan excepting the two works of the Sabuja group, *Vāsanti* (1927) and *Mātīra Maniṣa* (1931). The former was a collective venture and the latter was written by Kalindicharan Panigrahi. But Oriya literature has found a flow of talent in this field during the post-Independence period. The new novelists who have won popularity are Kanhu Charan Mohanty (*Kā, Sāṭiti*), Gopinath Mohanty (*Parajā, Aṃptara Santānā, Māṭi Matāla*), Nityananda Mahapatra (*Hidamāṭi, Bhaṅgāhāḍa*), Chandrasingh Rath (*Tantrārāṇīha*), Vaishnavacharan Das (*Mane Mane*), Rajkishore Pattanayak (*Calābāṭa*), Kamalakanta Das (*Bau*), Upendra Kumar Das (*Malōjahan*), Harekrushna Mahatab (*Pratibha*), Basanta Kumari Pattanayak (*Amaḍābāḍa*), Surendranath Mohanty (*Nilāśila*), Bibhuti Pattanayak (*Nāyikāra Nāma Śrāvaṇi*), Mahapatra Nilamani Sahu (*Tāmāṣi Rādhā*), Santanu Kumar Acharya (*Nara-śinnara*), and Govinda Das (*Aṃvāsīyāra Candṛa*). Both the Mohanty brothers, Gopinath and Kanhu Charan, and Surendranath Mohanty won the Sahitya Akademi Awards.\(^1\) Of the novelists in Oriya Gopinath Mohanty and a few others have shown traces of existentialism and ‘stream of consciousness’ in their works. Right from Phakirmohan Senapati, the novelists in Oriya have portrayed the contemporary society of Orissa. Phakirmohan in his novels has shown how the innocent are oppressed; in the writings of Kalindicharan Panigrahi the oppressed are not inclined to accept the injustice done to them, and in the works of Gopinath Mohanty, they rebel against the oppressor. Notable among the modern short story writers are Nityananda Mahapatra, Godavarish Mahapatra, Anantaprasad Panda, and...\(^1\) Gopinath Mohanty was honoured with the Award for his novel *Aṃptara Santānā* (based on the tribal life of Orissa) in 1955. Kanhu Charan received the Award for his *Kā* in 1957 and Surendra Mohanty, for his *Nilāśīlā* in 1969. Gopinath Mohanty was further honoured with the Jnanpith Award for his novel *Māṭi Matāla* in 1975.
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Surendranath Mohanty, Rajkishore Ray, Rajkishore Pattanayak, Brahmananda Panda, Bibhuti Bhushan Tripathi, Mahapatra Nilamani Sahu, Manoj Das, Ramachandra Mishra, Krushnaprasad Mishra, Kishoricharan Das, Baikuntha Das, Harihara Das, Bamacharan Mitra, and Akhilmohan Pattanayak. In their treatment, action, theme, and setting Oriya short stories have transcended the limits of regional colour and achieved universal appeal. Among these short story writers, Manoj Das has won the Sahitya Akademi Award for his book *Kathā O Kāhāni*. Pranabandhu Kar, Manoranjan Das, Biswajit Das, Ratnakar Chaini, Bijay Mishra, and Byomkesh Tripathi have evinced remarkable originality and boldness in the sphere of modern Oriya drama and the one-act play during the period.


As a testimony to the wide varieties of experience, Oriya writers can boast of first rate travelogues like *Dairira Kyadambha* by Jalandhar Dev, *Pascimapathika* by Mayadhar Mansinha, *Vipulā Ca Prthiv* by Srihara Misra, *Deśavidese* by Govinda Das, and *Lankā-yātri* by Kunjabehari Das. In addition to these, Radhanath Rath, S. Supakar, Golokbehari Dhal, Sriramachandra Das, and others have written excellent travelogues. In the sphere of journalism

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Manoranjan Das was a recipient of the Sahitya Akademi Award for his drama *Aranya-phasula* in 1972.
too, Oriya writers have made positive contributions. Among creative journalists, mention may be made of Balakrushna Kar, Radhanath Rath, and Harekrushna Mahatab. Their editorials have contributed much towards the growth and development of the Oriya language and literature. The autobiographies of Harekrushna Mahatab and Kunjabeahi Das are remarkable specimens of the genre.


Some of the outstanding names in the field of scientific and technical literature are: Gokulananda Mahapatra, B. Samanta Ray, Kulamani Samal, Debakanta Mishra, Radhanath Rath, Gopalchandra Pattanayak, and Jayakrushna Mohanty. Gokulananda Mahapatra among these writers has made distinct contributions to the field. His popular science fictions like Prthivi Bāhāre Maniṣa have brought him to the limelight. Books on politics, sociology, medicine, psychology, logic, economics, and various other technical subjects are being written in Oriya. Baidyanath Mishra and a few others have already earned reputation for their writings on parliamentary democracy and socio-political topics. Kunjabeahi Tripathi, Golokbehari Dhal, and Dhaneswar Mahapatra have contributed to the critical studies in Oriya language and script. In the sphere of translation also, Oriya literature is sufficiently advanced. As a whole, as it stands today, Oriya literature is quite rich and its canvas considerably broad.
PUNJABI, as the name suggests, is the language of the Punjab, the land of the five rivers. Though the political boundaries of the Punjab have changed from time to time, the linguistic boundaries have remained intact since the origin of the modern vernacular. Punjabi is one of the Indo-Aryan languages. It evolved out of the Apabhraṃśa of the region. It has been said that from Sanskrit originated Prakrit, whence the Apabhraṃśa language. Therefore, the characteristics of Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa can be traced in the Punjabi language. According to Dr G. A. Grierson, Punjabi is not the language of the entire land of the five rivers. He is of the view that the vernacular of the whole of eastern Punjab is Punjabi. He considers the language of the western Punjab or Lahnda (or Lahndi) as a separate language. Therefore, for him the word 'Punjabi' connotes only Eastern Punjabi. But he has not been able to draw a hard and fast boundary line between the two. Dr P. D. Gune follows Dr Grierson and confirms that Punjabi is the language spoken in the modern Punjab, excepting the westernmost part along the banks of the Indus, which is the place of Lahndi. He further says that the classification of Lahndi under the name of Multani as one of the dialects of Punjabi by Hoernle and others is not correct because it has proved to be an independent dialect, allied more with Sindhi than with Punjabi. Dr Grierson has classified the modern Indian languages into two groups, the outer and the inner. According to him, Punjabi belongs to the inner circle and Lahndi to the outer. This classification, however, has not been accepted by Dr S. K. Chatterji. Dr Grierson has mentioned Majhi, Doabi, Powadhi, Rathi, Malwai, Bhatti, and Dogri as the dialects of Punjabi. The areas of Majhi and Lahndi are contiguous to each other, and Principal Teja Singh, who made a comparative study of Majhi and Lahndi in his book Sāhit Darṣan, has come to the conclusion that they are closely related to each other, just as Majhi and Malwai. He has asserted

3 Ibid., p. 607.  
6 G. A. Grierson, op. cit., p. 611.
that the language of the land of the five rivers is Punjabi, which includes the areas of Malwa, Doaba, Bar, Pothohar, Dhanni, and Multan (or Lahnda). According to him, Lahndi is part and parcel of Punjabi. Later Punjabi scholars have accepted the view of Principal Teja Singh that Lahndi is a dialect of Punjabi. It has been generally accepted that it was a popular literary medium prior to the production of literature in Eastern Punjabi.

The Vedic language has been called the oldest Punjabi,9 because it is nearer to Punjabi than Hindi. Classical Sanskrit evolved from the Vedic is the main source of Punjabi vocabulary and Śaurasenī Prakrit is nearest to Classical Sanskrit. Dr S. K. Chatterji has remarked that Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa (which originated from Śaurasenī Prakrit) was not merely the spoken language of the area round about Mathurā, it was a sort of lingua franca for the whole of north, north-western, and north-eastern India.9 It was actually this Apabhraṃśa that gave birth to Punjabi and was also the mother of the saints' language, known as sant-bhāṣā or sādhukādi-bhāṣā.10 The land of Lahndi is the place of settlement of the ancient Kekayas.11 This has led some scholars, especially Dr Prem Prakash Singh, to affirm that there is a possibility that not only Lahndi, but also Eastern Punjabi evolved from Kaikēyī Apabhraṃśa.12 But Dr Gune says that Lahndi is the outcome of Paīśācī.13 According to Dr Mohan Singh, Paīśācī Bhākhā, Bhūt Bhākhā, Avahat, and Jatkī are the other names of Punjabi.14

In both poetical and prose works of Punjabi literature, the standard literary medium is the dialect known as Majhi, though the influence of various other dialects is found here and there. With the Muslim penetration into the Punjab, there was a great Perso-Arabic influence on the Punjabi language. The Medieval period in Indian history extends from the eighth to the eighteenth century. During the first five hundred years, Islam penetrated into India from the South, Sind, and the North-West and during the next five hundred years, it held its sway over the whole of India as a ruling force. The Muslims invaded India in about A.D. 1000 and about the same time Punjabi had gradually evolved out of the Apabhraṃśa of the area, which might have been one of the three Paīśācīs as mentioned by Mārkaṇḍeya, namely, Kaikēyī, Śaurasenī, and Paīṇcāla.15

The oldest writings in Punjabi, e.g. the janam-sakhīs and the compositions of the Ādi Grantha, were written in the Gurumukhi script. The Muslims, however,

9Ibid., p. 23.
8Suniti Kumar Chatterji, op. cit., p. 113.
used the Persian script for their writings in Punjabi, but phonetically, it could not reproduce the actual Punjabi sounds as it lacked necessary sound signs (letters). Gurumukhi has remained the vehicle in the Punjab for its language. The composition of Guru Nānak named patti establishes that this script was being used in the Punjab much earlier. It came to be known as Gurumukhi (which literally means 'from the mouth of the Guru') after its adoption for the writings of the Sikh Gurus. It is a simple, flawless, and most appropriate medium of Punjabi expression. According to the researches of S. G. B. Singh, it is an offshoot of the Brāhmī script and its letters are much older than those of the Devanāgarī script.

LITERATURE
PRE-NĀNAK PERIOD

In the pre-Nānak period, Nāthas and Yogīs were very active in the Punjab. Their compositions are found in two languages—the Apabhraṃśa and the language of the common people. Gradually, the language of the common people replaced the Apabhraṃśa and manifested itself as sant-bhāṣā (sādhukāḍī). This language contained words not only from Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa, but also from Persian and Arabic, because by that time Islam had established itself in India and even the Muslims could be initiated into the fold of Yogic cults. This new language became popular with the popularity of the saints who moved from place to place in order to preach their creed and meet their followers scattered over the various parts of the country. The peculiar characteristics of this language were: the religious diction derived from Sanskrit and Prakrit works, the affixes and case-terminations of the language of the area in which the saints lived, the analytical character, the mixed vocabulary and the inflections because of the travels of the saints from one area to the other, and finally the influence of Persian and Arabic. In the pre-Nānak period, Nāmadeva and Kabir visited the Punjab for some time; therefore, we find a tinge of Punjabi in their hymns written in sant-bhāṣā.

The only poet of note in the Punjab of the pre-Nānak period is Baba Farīduddin Shakarganj (1173-1266), a Sufi saint. He was a mystic of a very high order. Because of the purity and sincerity of his mystic fervour, his poetry was included in the Ādi Granthā. He is famous for his exuberance of love for God. His mysticism may be called Quranic mysticism. The Ādi Granthā contains four hymns and 112 slokas of Baba Farid. His poetry is rich in imagery. He conveyed

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16His Gurumukhi Līpī da Janam ta Vīkāś (Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1972), pp. 60 and 77.
17S. S. Kohli, op. cit., p. 49.
18The Ādi Granthā, sacred scripture of the Sikhs, is a collection (made in 1604 by Guru Arjuna, fifth Guru of the Sikhs) of devotional and mystic poems by the Sikh Gurus and by some others who preceded them and were celebrated as bhaktas or lovers of God.—Editor.
his thoughts through various metaphors and symbols. The seeker is for him a lady in search of her lord, God. A man of God has been likened to a swan and a worshipper of mammon to a crane. The spiritual teacher is like a boatman who takes us to the other bank of the river of saṃsāra. The body is like a fort which is captured by the angel of death, who extinguishes the two earthen lamps or eyes. The grave is the ‘real home’. The verses of Baba Farid are composed in Lahndi. The maturity of the verses of Baba Farid makes us realize the richness of the literature preceding him. Unfortunately, because of the geographical situation of the Punjab, most of the literature preceding and succeeding Baba Farid has been lost. We do not find any composition worthy of note for about three centuries after him. In the Ḍi Grantha, besides the verses of Baba Farid, we find some references to vārs written in this period. A vār is a typical Punjabi poem which celebrates the exploits of heroes fighting in the battlefield.

A specimen of Punjabi prose of the pre-Nānak period has come to light. It is entitled Ekādaśi Mahātām. The famous epigraphist, Dr B. C. Chhabra, has deciphered the script of the manuscript as Devaśeṣā, a stage of development between Śāradā and Gurumukhī. According to Jagannath Aggarwal, the language of the manuscript is undoubtedly Punjabi and the script used is full-fledged Śāradā. He ascribes the manuscript to the thirteenth/fourteenth century and considers it to be the earliest known specimen of the Punjabi language preserved in writing.

NĀNAK AGE : GOLDEN PERIOD OF PUNJABI LITERATURE

The golden period of Punjabi literature begins with Guru Nānak (1469-1538) and ends with the passing away of the tenth and the last Sikh Guru, Guru Govinda Singh (1666-1708). In this period, the folk traditions of the pre-Nānak age were preserved. The religious fervour of the bhakti movement manifested itself in the traditional metres. The vārs were composed by the Sikh Gurus singing the glories of the Almighty, the religious preceptor, and the ideal person (Gurumukh). Besides these religious types of vār, we have a model vār of Guru Govinda Singh entitled Caṇḍī-dī-vār depicting the battles of Goddess Durgā with the demons.

The poetry of Guru Nānak is marked by lyrical exuberance, richness of imagery, and pointedness of thought. It is chiefly Upaniṣadic in theme. His masterpiece Ḍapji is considered an epitome of the Ādi Grantha. His philosophical thoughts never overshadow his poetic genius. There are references to all the creeds and sects of his time in Nānak’s lyrics. He wrote in different styles, and

Ibid., p. 22.
his poems show his knowledge of most of the vernaculars of North India. The Gurus who succeeded him elucidated his doctrines in their lyrics. Most of the poems of Nānak are not in pure Punjabi but in Old Hindui, Braja-bhāṣā, and the speech of Delhi, occasionally mixed with Punjabi. Guru Arjuna (1565-1605), the fifth Guru, compiled and edited the Ādi Grantha about the year 1604 and thereby preserved the poetry of the Sikh Gurus and the medieval saints for posterity. The Ādi Grantha is a treasury of Old Hindui dialects.

The poets of the Ādi Grantha, who wrote either in Eastern Punjabi or in Western Punjabi besides the saints’ language, are: Baba Farid, Guru Nānak, Guru Angada, Guru Amara Dāsa, Guru Rāma Dāsa, Guru Arjuna, Satta, Balvand, and Sundara. Baba Farid, Satta, and Balvand are essentially poets of Western Punjabi, but Guru Nānak and Guru Arjuna have also written some hymns in that dialect. The verse of Guru Arjuna is marked for its haunting melody and verbal beauty. His most popular composition is Sukhamani. He also wrote a few līkās in Sindhi.

The Muslims had established themselves in the Punjab in the pre-Nānak period. The influence of Persian and Arabic on Punjabi had begun at that time. The literature of the Nānak age was indebted to the traditions of Persian literature. Janam-sakhis (in prose), sikhāns (in prose), qīssas (in verse), and namas (in verse), which were written in the Nānak period and the succeeding periods, had their models in Persian literature. Since Persian was the court language, its influence on Indian literature was inevitable. Not only were Persian words absorbed into Punjabi, the poets also drew several similes and metaphors from Persian.

In the Nānak age there were three distinct movements in Punjabi poetry. Mention of the religious poetry of the Sikh Gurus has already been made. There were, besides, Gurudāsa (c. 1551-1629) and other Sikh poets like Jalhan and Suthra. Gurudāsa composed forty vārs as a sort of ‘pendant’ to the Ādi Grantha. Written in a simple style, they are all didactic poems conveying teachings of moral import through fables and stories. The Sufi poets like Shah Hussain, Sultan Bahu, and Ali Haidar represented the second movement. Their kafs and siharfs have a significant place in the realm of Indian mystic poetry.21 As opposed to the sayings of Baba Farid, they present a note of revolt. The third movement was with regard to qīssa poetry. Dāmodara, a contemporary of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), was the first in this line. He composed the first Punjabi qīssa dealing with the story of Hir and Ranjha.22 Pilu (late seventeenth century), Hafiz Barkhurdar (probably a disciple of Pilu), Muqbil

21Kafs are short lyrical and generally mystical poems and siharfs are poems based on the (thirty) letters of Persian alphabet.—Editor.
22The love story of Hir and Ranjha has been treated in long narrative poems by a number of Punjabi poets.—Editor.
(c. 1696 or, according to some, c. 1750), and Ahmad Gujjar followed Dāmodara. They wrote love romances which are full of exquisite descriptions of various moods of the human mind and contain specimens of remarkable poetry. Both Pilu and Hafiz Barkhurdar took their theme from the popular tragic story of love of Mirza and Sahiban.

The prose of the Nānak period is mostly religious and revolves round the personality of Guru Nānak. Janam-sakhis, sakhis, goshts, paramārthas, parchis, uthānkhās, etc. are various forms of this prose, which contain biography, anecdote, dialogue, commentary, and exposition steeped in the philosophy and religion of Guru Nānak. In these works there is a comparative study of the thoughts of Guru Nānak and the religious systems of the areas visited by him. There are five important versions of the janam-sakhī, namely, Janam-sakhī by Bālā (sixteenth century), Purātana Janam-sakhī, Sambhunātha Vāli Janam-patri, Janam-sakhī Meharban, and Jñāna-ratnāvali or Janam-sakhī by Maṇī Singh (d. 1737). The last was written after the passing away of Guru Govinda Singh.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The period which is known as the later Mogul period in Indian history was one of great storm and stress in the Punjab. The Sikhs under the leadership of Banda Singh Bahadur uprooted Mogul imperialism from the land of the five rivers. Though hundreds of Sikhs and Banda himself were captured and brutally murdered, the power and prestige of the Sikhs began to grow. The principal Sikh chiefs established their sway in different parts of the Punjab. The various confederacies (or misals) ultimately consolidated their power under the leadership of Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) by the end of the eighteenth century. The small military monarchies disappeared and a Sikh kingdom was established. Two luminaries of Punjabi literature belong to this period. We have the culmination of Sufi poetry in Bulhe Shah and the climax of qissa poetry in Waris Shah. The kafīs of Bulhe Shah and the qissa treating the Hir-Ranjhā story by Waris Shah a have become classics in Punjabi literature. The Udāśī and Nirmalā saints contributed a great deal towards the development of Punjabi prose which more or less followed the literary tradition of the Nānak period. The Miṇās and Sevāpanthis have also not lagged behind in their contribution, especially to Punjabi prose. A remarkable work of this period is Pāras Bhāg. It is a translation by Addan Shah of Kīmiyāe-Sadat of the great Muslim scholar, Imam Ghazali.

a This qīssa by Waris Shah, which was composed in 1766, is the most extensive and at the same time most popular poem in Punjabi on the Hir-Ranjhā story. Judging from the extent as well as the popularity of this work, its author has been acclaimed as the greatest poet of Punjabi before the modern age. The poem is significant for another reason. It gives us a very beautiful and detailed picture of the contemporary village life of the Punjab.—Editor.
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PERIOD OF Ranjit Singh

The first half of the nineteenth century is highly significant, because the Punjabis, after centuries, established their own rule in the Punjab during this period. But Persian continued to be the court language. Though Ranjit Singh is said to have been an admirer of art and literature, he could not find much time to patronize them because of his various military expeditions. The poets who flourished in this period are Hasham, Ahmad Yar, Qadar Yar, Imam Bakhsh, and Shah Mohammed. The first four poets wrote *qissas* or longer poetic romances and the last one wrote a *vār* depicting the battles between the Sikhs and the English giving a correct picture of the whole situation. There was no significant contribution to prose literature except the translations of *Adlay Akbari*, *Akbarnama*, and the *Bible*. The Christian missionaries had established a centre at Ludhiana in 1837, and William Carey of the Serampore Mission did some spade-work regarding Punjabi grammar. Other grammars and an English-Punjabi dictionary were also brought out, besides the Punjabi translations of the *Bible* at various Mission centres.

BRITISH PERIOD AND MODERN PUNJABI LITERATURE

The British period in the Punjab extends for nearly one century, from 1849 to 1947. During the first half of British rule, the old tradition of *qissa* poetry, and the poetry of religious, didactic, and lyrical nature continued. In the first twenty-five years Mohammed Bakhsh and Fazal Shah are the pre-eminent *qissa* poets and Ghulam Rasul is the famous didactic poet. Some of the important masters of traditional poetry in the last quarter of the nineteenth century are Kishan Singh Arif, Bhagwan Singh, Mansingh Kalidas, Hidayatullah, Mohammed Buta, and Ghulam Farid.

There was a general degeneration among the Sikhs because of the British occupation of the Punjab. With the adoption of the English language as the medium of instruction and the teaching of English literature in schools and colleges, there was a great social awakening among the educated people of the Punjab. The Sikhs had a golden past of heroic feats and sacrifices, but their kingdom having been lost to the British, their future seemed bleak. They had become weak politically and socially, and taking advantage of this situation, several religious missions raised their heads in the Punjab and prepared for an onslaught on Sikhism. A few young intellectuals among the Sikhs took up the cudgels and came forward to awaken their community. This led to the commencement of the Singh Sabha movement. An organization named Khalsa Tract Society was established. Bhai Vir Singh (1872-1957) was one of its founder-members. The *Ārya Samāj* movement had also gained momentum in the Punjab. Both these movements were of considerable social and religious significance. Under their impact as well as that of English literature, there was
an attempt at social and religious reform through various literary mediums. Bhai Vir Singh appeared as a literary giant at this juncture. He composed not only smaller poems of great merit, but also composed an epic entitled Rāṇā Sūrat Singh (1905). Written in a kind of blank verse called śrīkhanda chanda, Rāṇā Sūrat Singh is essentially a religious work. Bhai Vir Singh also wrote biographies, novels, and dramas. His biographies of Guru Govinda Singh (1925) and Guru Nānak (1928) are quite well known. A tragic story of Sikh heroism is unfolded in his Sundari (1897)—one of the earliest novels in Punjabi. His other novels, namely, Vijay Singh, Savant Kaur, and Bābā Naundh Singh have also the chivalry and heroism of the Sikhs as their themes. He has also a number of charming lyrics to his credit. He is rightly called the father of modern Punjabi literature. The seeds of a romantic movement are discernible in his poetry, which culminated in the poetry of Puran Singh (1882-1932), Dhani Ram Chatrik (1876-1954), Kirpa Sagar (1879-1939), and Mohan Singh (b. 1905). Poet and essayist, Puran Singh rendered into English a number of Punjabi poems by Bhai Vir Singh. Emotional fervour and a note of humanism mark his original poems. As an essayist, he is at his best in his Khule Lekh (1929). Dhani Ram Chatrik’s notable collections of verse are Candana-vāri, Kesar Kiāri, Nava Jahan, and Sufi Khana. Kirpa Sagar is particularly famous for his long romantic poem, Lakṣmi Devi (1920-21). He also wrote a historical play, Ranjit Singh (1923). Mohan Singh is a poet with a modern outlook. Puran Singh, Pritam Singh Safir, Diwan Singh Kalepani, and several others are indebted to Bhai Vir Singh for the mystic trend in their poetry. The popularity of the historical novels of Bhai Vir Singh induced Charan Singh Shahid and others to write a similar type of fiction. This tradition of writing historical novels has continued in modern literature in the novels of Narindar Pal Singh, Harnam Das Sehrai, Tarlok Singh Toofan, Sadhu Singh Hamdard, and Bhajan Singh. The tracts of Bhai Vir Singh written with the object of social uplift inspired Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid (1881-1936) to write novels for the propagation of high morals.

Poet Dhani Ram Chatrik, novelist Nanak Singh, and dramatist Ishwar Chandar Nanda came under the impact of the movement for social uplift. The Jallianwalla Bagh massacre and several other nationalistic movements awakened the masses politically. Creative writers did not sit idle. Their patriotic fervour found expression in vigorous poetry. The progressive movement in the realm of Indian literature started around 1935 and received an impetus from the victory of the socialist powers in the Second World War. Socialism was considered the panacea of all the ills of humanity. The eminent prose writer, Gurbakhsh Singh, was very much under the influence of this progressive movement. In Punjabi poetry Mohan Singh, Bawa Balwant, Amrita Pritam, and several others drew inspiration from the progressive movement. Besides
Gurbakhsh Singh, Teja Singh, Lal Singh, Harinder Singh Roop, and Sahib Singh made their contributions to Punjabi prose. Among them Teja Singh is noted for his chaste Punjabi. In this period Kartar Singh Duggal emerged as a leading short story writer and Harcharan Singh as a promising dramatist. Nanak Singh wielded his influence over the Punjabi novel in the pre-Partition period.

POST-PARTITION PUNJABI LITERATURE

The nationalist and progressive forces at work during and after the Second World War compelled the British imperialists to withdraw from the Indian Sub-continent. On the 15th of August, 1947, came Independence, and in its wake, millions of people had to move from one area to another, because the country was partitioned and communal forces were at work. The Punjab was cut in twain. This holocaust gave a subject and a theme to many types of writers—poets, short story writers, novelists, and dramatists.

With the dawn of Independence and the emergence of India as a republic, new vistas and horizons were spread out for Punjabi literature. Many of the pre-Independence poets continued to compose poetry in the post-Independence period. Worthy of notice among those are Mohan Singh, Pritam Singh Safir, Bawa Balwant, and Amrita Pritam. Progressive in their outlook, they freely expressed their views on imperialism and capitalism. The poets who have shown their worth after Independence include Avtar Singh Azad, Harbhajan Singh, Jaswant Singh Neki, Sukhpal Vir Singh Hasrat, Takhat Singh, Santokh Singh Dhir, Gurcharan Rampuri, Surjit Rampuri, and Shiv Kumar Batalavi. Traditionalists like Hazara Singh Gurdasprui, Teja Singh Sabar, Hira Singh Dard, Gurmukh Singh Musafir, Nand Lal Nurpuri, Vidhata Singh Tir, and others also made new experiments. The main characteristics of the new poetry are a broader outlook on life, an intellectual and subjective approach, subtlety in expression, and novelty in technique. The poets are influenced by other Indian literatures in their experiments in form and technique. They are more inclined towards the metres of folk-poetry. Though revolutionary and progressive, they also sing songs of love and peace.

As regards prose, we have the writings of old stalwarts like Teja Singh, Gurbakhsh Singh, Sahib Singh, Lal Singh, and Harinder Singh, and others like Prem Singh, Ganda Singh, Bhai Sher Singh, Dr Sher Singh, Bhai Jodh Singh, Bhai Randhir Singh, and Sohan Singh Josh. Some new writers like Kapur Singh, Ishwar Chitarkar, Jagjit Singh Anand, Balwant Gargi, Suba Singh, and Kulbir Singh Kang have made their presence felt. The prose writings in various journals are mainly literary and critical essays. The contribution of Nanak Singh to the development of the novel in this period is significant. He wrote novels about Partition, its after-effects, and other problems. Other
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The new literature is marked by a realistic outlook and sound nationalism. Writers of fiction have become more materialistic showing a preference for psychological treatment in their works. At times their realism degenerates to the depiction of morbid, sexual, and baser aspects of life. A new movement in Punjabi poetry, known as the experimental movement, aims at seeking new modes of perception and new spheres of imagery. It revolts against the romanticism born out of a combination of middle-class individualism and anti-class revolutionary forces. This movement has yet to make a significant headway. Another striking feature of the post-Partition Punjabi literature is the growing tendency towards Hindi-ization and Sanskritization of the language comparable to a similar trend towards Urdu-ization and Persianization of Punjabi in Pakistan.

The foregoing survey of Punjabi literature covering a span of nearly a millennium exhibits the impact of various movements, invasions, and forces on a people full of life and vigour and the creation of a literature depicting their aspirations, both religious and secular, spiritual and mundane. While Guru Nanak and his successors and Sufis like Baba Farid Shikarganj, Shah Hussain, and Bulhe Shah enriched this literature with their lyrical outbursts delineating their spiritual and mystic experiences, the romantic and heroic ballads of Dāmodara and Waris Shah depicted the secular aspects of life. The trends and tendencies in modern Punjabi literature reveal the impact of various movements. Besides nationalist trends, there is a tendency to cross the boundaries and talk in terms of international peace and justice.
SINDHI

SINDHI is one of the Indic languages of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. In India, it is spoken in the Kutch (Gujarat) and Jaisalmer (Rajasthan) regions. There are, besides, about a million Sindhi immigrants spread over the urban and semi-urban areas of western and northern India, particularly in Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Delhi. In Pakistan, Sindhi is spoken in the Sind and Lasā Bela (Baluchistan) regions. Sindhi is spoken by about seven million people distributed in the two countries—Pakistan and India. Out of the total Sindhi speaking population, about 5.6 million are reported to be in Pakistan and the rest are in India. In the 1971 Census of India, 1,204,678 persons have recorded Sindhi as their mother tongue and 470,991 have recorded Kachhi (a dialect of Sindhi) as theirs.

LANGUAGE: ITS ORIGIN AND LINGUISTIC INFLUENCES

The Sindhi language belongs to the North-West group of the Indo-Aryan family. As regards the linguistic ancestry of Sindhi, both Dr. Ernest Trumpp and Sir George Grierson opine that it has been directly derived from the Vṛcāḍa Apabhraṃśa. Although there are some scholars who have expressed their doubts about the validity of this theory, it is generally accepted that Sindhi is a language of Sanskrit-Prakrit origin.¹ It has absorbed some characteristics of the neighbouring languages: Baluchi (an Iranian language) and Brahui (a Dravidian language) on the west, Pashto and Kashmiri (Dardic languages) on the north-west and north, Multani and Bahawalpuri (Lahnda dialects) on the north and north-east, Marwari (a Rajasthan dialect) on the east, and Gujarati on the south and south-east. Due to the Muslim influence since the eighth century A.D., Sindhi vocabulary and grammar have been saturated with Arabic and Persian elements in roughly similar proportion as English is with French. Besides, with the persistent influence of Hinduism and the bhakti movement, the spread of Sikh faith in Sind and the impact of British rule during the last one hundred years till 1947, and now due to the modernizing influence of technical progress in the Sub-continent, Sindhi has also absorbed a large stock of vocabulary from Hindi, Sanskrit (mostly through Hindi), and English, thus assuming a pan-Indian character.

SCRIPTS AND DIALECTS

The Sindhi language has used various scripts during the course of its history.

There was no regular script in use for writing Sindhi before the British conquest of Sind in 1843. Sindhi writings were hitherto mostly found in two scripts: Persian and Devanāgarī. Besides, traders were generally using the Landa (Hatai) script which is closely related to the Mahajani characters of Marwar and the Śāradā script of Kashmir. The use of the Gurumukhi script, which is an improved and polished form of Landa with borrowed features from the Devanāgarī script, has also been noticed among certain sections of the people, particularly among Hindu women. In 1849 Captain George Stack published the first English-Sindhi dictionary in the Devanāgarī script. Sir Bartle Frere, who became Commissioner of Sind in 1851, appointed a committee which recommended in 1852 an artificial script for Sindhi. This script, known as Arabic-Sindhi, consisted of 52 letters. It was used extensively for one hundred years and more for printing works of Sindhi literature. In 1858, A. Burn translated the Gospel of St. John into Sindhi using the Persian script, and in 1859 its Gurumukhi version was also published. In the latter part of the century, when British rulers introduced the Sindhi language for education, they gave official recognition to a modified form of the Perso-Arabic script. But the use of the Devanāgarī and Gurumukhi as well as the Landa scripts continued for religious, personal, and business purposes. After the post-Partition immigration of Sindhi Hindus to India, attempts have been made to revive the Devanāgarī script for educational purposes in India. At present, both the Arabic-Sindhi (modified Perso-Arabic) and the Sindhi-Devanāgarī (modified Devanāgarī) scripts are taught in various schools in India. But the Arabic-Sindhi script, devised artificially under the auspices of the British Government, is generally in common use.

According to Grierson, Sindhi has six major dialects: (1) Siro or Siraiki (northern Sind), (2) Vicholi (central Sind), (3) Lari (southern Sind), (4) Lasi (Lasa Bela State and Khirthar range on the western border of Sind), (5) Thari or Thareli (eastern Sind and Jaisalmer District in Rajasthan State), and (6) Kachhi (Kutch regions of Gujarat on the southern border of Sind).

**STORY OF SIND: A BRIEF OUTLINE**

The present province of Sind is located in the north-west corner of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. It now forms a part of Pakistan. As Prof. L. H. Ajwani defines its present geographical limits, it is ‘the most westerly part of the Indian Sub-continent. It is an alluvial plain formed by the river Sindhu or Indus plus the delta of the river. A range of hills in the west demarcates Sind from Baluchistan and a stretch of desert in the east distinguishes it from Rajasthan. The Rann of Cutch in the south is the boundary between Sind and Cutch’. In olden times, however, Sind was a much larger region and

*Ibid., p. 1.*
its boundary extended up to Saurāstra in the south.\textsuperscript{3} Situated astride some of the major approaches to India, it has been a much-frequented invasion route. It was the seat of the ancient Indus valley civilization during the third millennium b.c. as discovered from the Mohenjo-Daro excavations. It was one of the early settlements of Indo-Aryan speakers in India in the second millennium B.C. During the ancient days of Indian history, Sind ‘appears’, as Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji observes, ‘to have been quite abreast with other parts of India’.\textsuperscript{4} There are references to Sind in ancient Sanskrit documents as the country of ‘Sindhu-Sauvīra’. It has been depicted in the \textit{Mahābhārata} as an important province, the ruler of which was Jayadratha who sided with Duryodhana in the battle of Kurukṣetra and was vanquished and killed by Arjuna. Jayadratha was matrimonially related to Duryodhana, being the husband of the latter’s sister, Duḥśalā. In the days of the Mauryas, Sind constituted a part of their kingdom. Around 100 B.C., the Sakas or Scythians began to pour into Sind and ultimately became merged with the original inhabitants. During the days of the Guptas also, Sind was an important State and continued to be so, participating ‘in the common cultural life of the Hindu people of the rest of India’\textsuperscript{5} till the coming of the Arabs early in the eighth century A.D. Conversion of the people was the foremost aim of the early conquerors and by far the most permanent result of their conquest. In the eleventh century, Sind fell to Mahmud of Ghazni, and when Mohammed Ghori established his empire in Delhi, it became a part of it. Till the middle of the nineteenth century, it remained under Muslim rule, being first governed by two native Rajput tribes (Sumras and Sammas) converted to Islam as an independent State and then taken over by Turkish tribes (Arghuns and Tarkhans) and then annexed to the Mogul empire during Akbar’s reign; on the breaking up of the Mogul empire, two Baluchi tribes, first the Kalhoras and then the Talpurs, took it over. In 1843 the British conquered Sind from the Talpurs and annexed it to British India. Sind took active part in the struggle for independence. In 1947 British India was partitioned into two sovereign countries, India and Pakistan, and Sind was included in Pakistan.

\textbf{LITERATURE}

It seems exceedingly likely that literature in Old Sindhī started from the late Apabhrāṃśa period. It would appear that before A.D. 1000 there was an Old Sindhī work on the ancient history of Sind, which was translated into

\textsuperscript{3} For a detailed geographical account of ‘Sindhu-deśa’ (the province of Sind) in the centuries immediately before, as well as after, the Christian era, see Dr Bratindra Nath Mukherjee’s article in \textit{Our Heritage}, Vol. XV, Part II (Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1967), pp. 3-12.

\textsuperscript{4} Vide his \textit{Languages and Literatures of Modern India}, p. 349.

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid.
SINDHI

Arabic by Abu Salih Bin Suayb Bin Jami. The date of the Arabic version is not known, but it was certainly made before A.D.1026, because this was translated into Persian by Abul Hasan Ali Bin Mohammed in A.D.1026. This Persian version was further abridged in a later Persian work known as Mujmil al Tawarikh. The date of this work is, however, not known.6

SHAH ABDUL LATIF AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Besides some stray songs attributed to the days of the rule of the Arabs and the folk-poetry of Mamui fakirs and Rajput poets traced back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the earliest records of Sindhi literature are the Sufi (mystic) poems of Kazi Kazan (d. 1551) and Shah Abdul Karim (1536-1620), great-great-grandfather of Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit (1689-1752). But to the world outside, Sindhi literature means almost exclusively the work of Shah Abdul Latif, popularly known as ‘Shah Bhitai’ or simply ‘Shah’. This is not surprising, because it is the work of Shah which is so much alive on the lips of many villagers even today. Shah ranks very high among classical Sufi poets of India and his Risalo, the most valued work in Sindhi literature, is accepted as one of the world’s masterpieces. He combined in himself the powers of a skilful narrator, a mature Nature poet, and a profound mystic. In his hand, a rustic language was raised to the height of perfect expressiveness and artistic elegance. After Shah came Sacal (1739-1829) and Sami (1743-1850). The highly lyrical kafs of Sacal form a class by themselves. They are clearly reminiscent of thoughts contained in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavad-Gītā. Sacal’s poetry is further characterized by a spirit of revolt and a fiery freedom of thought. The slokas of Sami are also full of Vedāntic overtones and marked by a note of serene contemplativeness and soothing melody. There were, besides, the Vedāntic poetry of Dalpat (1769-1841) and the Vaiṣṇava lyrics of Rohal (d. 1780), Hamal Laghari (1815-79), Murad Fakir, Daryakhkan, and Bedil (1814-72) and his son Bekas (1859-82) are Sufi poets of great fame. Many of them wrote in the Siraiki dialect of Sindhi.

The whole structure of Sindhi Sufi poetry is based on numerous folk-tales and popular legends. Chief among these are of Umar-Marui, Sasui-Punhun, Suhni-Mehar, Nuri-Jam Tamachi, Lila-Chanesar, Rai Dyach-Sorath, and Mumal-Rano. Sind being claimed as the ‘home’ of Indian Sufism, the early literature of the land is immensely influenced by that faith. Sufism in Sind marks a synthesis of Indian mystical and theistic systems, on the one hand, and Sufism of the Iranian type as enunciated in the classics of Jami, Attar, and

6 Dr S. K. Chatterji has discussed about the original work written in the old language of Sind and its Arabic and Persian versions (which gave stories of the ancient history of Sind, of the Mahābhārata heroes, and of some later kings of India from the Purāṇas) in the Appendix to his Languages and Literatures of Modern India (pp. 341-48).
Rumi, on the other. The bhakti movement of northern and central India during the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries has influenced Old Sindi literature (poetry) to a great extent. The Hindi poetry of Kabir, Nānak, Sūradās, Tulasidāsa, and Mirābāī left a great mark on Sindi culture as well as literature. The poetical form cultivated was also principally the dohā like that of the poetry of Hindi and other North Indian languages. Dādū Dayāl, a prominent saint-poet of Hindi, wrote in Sindi as well.

BRITISH PERIOD : 1843-1947

The British conquest of Sind in 1843 was an event of far-reaching significance so far as the literature of the land was concerned. Persian ceased to be the court language and English took its place; but for ordinary communication as well as literary purposes Sindi became the medium. This heralded a fresh growth of the literature of the land. The introduction of the Arabic-Sindi script in 1852 facilitated the process.

POETRY

The period as a whole witnessed a flood of Sindi ghazals, masnavis, rubaiyats, musaddases, mukhamases, and qasidas composed in imitation of Persian models. The role of Khalīfa Gul Mohammed (1809-56), popularly known as ‘Gul’, was that of a pioneer so far as Sindi poetry in the Persian pattern is concerned. Diwan of ‘Gul’ contains 175 ghazals replete with Persian imagery, idiom, and allusions. Shamsuddin ‘Bulbul’ (1857-1919), Mir Abdul Husain Khan ‘Sangi’ (1851-1924), Lilaram Singh Watanmal ‘Khaki’, and Mirza Kalich Beg (1853-1929) are some of the many who merit mention as Sindi poets writing on the Persian model. The trend was seen continued in the second phase of the British era (1900-1947) also in the compositions of Hyderbux Jatoi, Lekhray Kishinchand ‘Aziz’, Parsram Hiranand ‘Zia’, H. I. Sadarangani, Sobhray Nirmaldas, and Ghulamali Rahimbux. N. V. Thadani’s verse-translation of the Bhagavad-Gītā appeared in 1923. Although written in Sanskritized Sindi, it strictly followed the Persian prosodic model. Mengraj Kalwani, Mulchand Lala, Chainraja Bulchand, and T. L. Vaswani also translated the Bhagavad-Gītā, the last-mentioned having done so in free verse. There were some who composed Sufi poems and poems on love in the traditional line, chief among these masters being Udharam Thanwerdas, Akhund Abdur Rahim, Asumal, Jiwat Singh, Kutub Shah, Bedil, and Bekas. The last two poets, though already referred to as the successors of Shah, actually belong to the first phase of the British era, i.e. to the period 1843-1900. They are the most outstanding poets in Sindi literature after Shah, Sacal, and Sami. Both of them primarily owe their poetic inspiration to Sacal so far as their Sufistic poems are concerned. They have, however, tried their hands at poems on the Persian pattern as well. Bedil

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composed poems in several other languages apart from Sindhi. He has his Sindhi verse compositions both in beyt and kafi forms. He has three volumes of Sindhi poems to his credit, namely, Vahdatnama, Srudnama, and Faraiz Sufia. The kafis of Bekas often resemble his father's, but many of them are marked by an element of sensuousness.

The poems of Kishinchand 'Bewas' (1885-1947) may be said to have inaugurated the new or modern trend in Sindhi poetry. They marked a distinct departure from the tradition set by 'Gul'. 'Bewas' wrote in a homely and natural language, and his poems deal with the lives of the poor and describe the beauties of Nature. Shirin Shair (1929), Samundi Sipun (1929), and Gāṅgā Jūn Lahrūn are some of his best-known poems. He has also to his credit many poems written in the Persian tradition, but he did not make himself a slave to the strict rules of the Persian prosodic pattern. He rather freed Sindhi poetry from the obsessions of imitating Persian patterns and brought in new modes and themes in poetry. He also turned to themes which would appeal to children. 'Bewas' was a great lover of Rabindranath Tagore, and the optimistic note in his poetry is due to the influence of the latter on him. Hundraj 'Dukhayal' (Saṅgīta Phul, 1946), Hari Dilgir (Ked, 1942), Ram Panjwani, Gobind Bhatia, and others followed the literary tradition which 'Bewas' started. 'Dukhayal,' under the influence of the struggle for national independence, and afterwards in active association with the Bhūdāna movement, has brought poetry very close to the masses by his patriotic fervour and human sympathy. The famous savant Dayaram Gidumal (1857-1927) wrote a book of philosophic poems entitled Mana-ja-chabhuk (1923-26). It was a landmark in Sindhi poetry in many respects. Hariram Mariwala's translation of Rabindranath's Fruit-gathering in Phalanchund and Dayo Mansharamani's translation of some of Kazi Nazrul Islam's fiery poems in Bagi might be mentioned in passing. Dewandas Kishnani 'Azad' was another illustrious poet of the second phase of the British period. Although not strictly a follower of 'Bewas', 'Azad' could not help imbibing some aspects of the former's poetry. His masterpiece, Pūrāv Sandeśa or Buddha-jivana (1937), is a classic adaptation of Edwin Arnold's Light of Asia. It bears the stamp of the genius of 'Azad', his bold poetic vision, and his artistic vigour. Nanikram Dharamdas Mirchandani produced in 1947 a translation of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta which, however, did not prove to be a successful attempt. M. U. Malkani's translations of Rabindranath's Gardener (Prit-ja-gita, 1940) and Gitānjali (1942) attracted quite a large audience. Some other names of the later British period which deserve mention are: Narain 'Syāma', Sheikh Ayaz, Khialdas 'Fani', Baldev Garija, Arjan 'Shad', Moti Prakash, and Goverdhan Bharati. Most of these poets continued to be active during the post-Independence period also.
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

PROSE

The printing press and journalism, increasing literacy, and interest in Western forms of writing opened new vistas in Sindhi literature. The movement for social reforms in Bengal led by Raja Rammohun Roy made an indelible mark on the early Sindhi prose. The appearance of Swami Vivekananda on the Indian scene in the late nineties, and his fiery speeches and writings on Hinduism and the heritage of India also made a vigorous impact on the prose works of Sindhi men of letters, particularly on those of the Hindus.

Although there are some claimants for an earlier beginning, the emergence of Sindhi prose proper can be ascribed to the early years of the British era. The first fifty years of the era, however, did not witness any original prose work of particular merit. It was exclusively a period of translations, and of grammars and dictionaries. The grammatical and other works by Captain Stack, E. Trumpp, Udharam Thawerda, Nandiram Mirani, and others laid the foundation on which Kauromal Chandanmal Khilnani (1844-1916), Mirza Kalich Beg (1853-1929), Dayaram Gidumal (1857-1927), and Parmanand Mewaram (1866-1938) built a superstructure. Before going to say anything about the four stalwarts of Sindhi prose, we should mention Thamatmal Narunal whose lexicon, Viyutpati-kos (1886), is really an important book. It shows that the majority of Sindhi words are of Sanskrit origin. Kauromal appeared on the literary scene with his original essay Pako Paha (1872). This was the first of its kind written in Sindhi. Then appeared his more well-known works which were translations of notable Sanskrit or Bengali works, e.g. Ratnãvali (1888), Arya-nâri-caritra (1905), and Râdhârâni (1914). A man of varied interest, Mirza Kalich Beg was a prolific writer both in verse and in prose. His literary career virtually started with the publication of his translation of Bacon’s Essays under the title of Maqalat al Hikmat (1877). It was followed by his renderings into Sindhi of Lamb’s Tales from Shakespeare (1890) and Ghazali’s Kimayi-i-Sadat. Mirza Beg gave in his Zinat (1890) the first original novel to the Sindhi language. His other novel Rustum Pahlwan (1905) is based on Firdausi’s Shahnama. The material for his first and best play Khurshid (1885) was taken from a Gujarati play. His other important plays include Sakuntalâ (1896), Hasna Dildar (1897), and Shah Elia (1900), the first being a translation of Kalidas’s great work and the other two of Shakespeare’s Merchant of Venice and King Lear respectively. Dayaram Gidumal’s prose works are all characterized by a vigorous and forceful style.

7 Some of the early important journals in Sindhi, which had a good share in the development of Sindhi prose are: Sindhi Siddhir and Sarasati (1870) of Hiranand Showkiran; Prabhâta (1891) of Lekhraj Tilokchand; and Jote (1896), a Catholic journal started by two Indian converts, one Sindhi and the other Bengali—Khemchand Amritrai and Brahmanbandhav Upadhayay. The last-mentioned was a very powerful organ in shaping and reflecting the Sindhi genius in the social and literary fields. It scrupulously avoided politics.

8 Some scholars, however, think that it is not an ‘original’ work.
rarely to be seen in any other Sindhi prose writer. Himself a vastly learned scholar, he had a special liking for philosophical themes, and his *Jap Sahib* (1891), *Gitā-jo-sāra* (1893), and *Yoga-darśana* (1903) are considered as three masterpieces in the realm of Sindhi philosophical literature in prose. Among his other prose works, the most remarkable is his Introduction to Mirza Kalich Beg’s verse translation of *Rubaiyat Omar Khayyam*. Parmanand Mewaram, popularly known as the ‘Addison of Sind’, rendered a great service in facilitating the growth of Sindhi prose. He was the editor of *Jote*, a powerful literary fortnightly in Sindhi, for about four decades (1900-1938). Under his able editorship, this magazine played the same role in Sind as *Sanvāda Prabhākara* under Iswar Chandra Gupta in Bengal by discovering and encouraging new literary talents, the chief among them being the essayist, Wadhumal Gangaram. One of the achievements of Parmanand as the editor of *Jote* was the publication of *Gul Phul* in two volumes (1925 and 1936). These volumes contained the best writings hitherto published in *Jote*. The best prose work of Parmanand is *Kristji Peravi* (1923) which is an elegant translation of *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas À Kempis. He has to his credit yet another great work, a dictionary of the Sindhi language (1910), which still remains the best of its kind in the language. He also wrote simple stories for children and made a collection of some of them in his *Dil Bahar* (1904).

In 1914 Fateh Mohammed Sewhani wrote a biography of Prophet Mohammed, which is accepted as the best and most authentic work on Mohammed in Sindhi till today. His *magnum opus*, however, is the biography of Abul Fazl and Faizi, which appeared in 1936. The literary fame of Nirmal das Fatehchand mainly rests on his two works of fiction, *Sarojini* (1914) and *Dalurai-ji-nagari* (1944). Hotchand Gurbaxani (d. 1947) is held in high esteem in Sindhi literature as a writer of prose. His first public literary venture was a novel, *Nur Jahan* (1915). It is an adaptation of an English novel of the same title by Sardar Jyendra Singh, but in some places the adaptation transcends the original. The most outstanding work of Gurbaxani is, however, his edition of Shah’s *Risalo* published in 1924. U. M. Daudpota’s scholarly edition of Shah Abdul Karim, which appeared in 1937, is in the tradition of Gurbaxani. Bherumal Mahirchand (d. 1950) distinguished himself in modern Sindhi literature as a writer of travel books, such as *Sind-jo-Sailani* (1923) and *Latifi Sair* (1926). He also wrote essays dealing with various social problems. He was a writer of fiction too, and *Ānanda Sundrika* (1910) is his first attempt in the field. His popular *Golan-ja-gundar* (1928) was a translation of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. One of his most important contributions to Sindhi literature is his history of the Sindhi language, *Sindhi-boli-ji-tarikh* (1941). Jethmal Parsram (1885-1948) was another prose writer of great ability. His critical work on Sacal, *Sacal Sarmast* (1922), is one of the unique things in the whole range of Sindhi works of literary criticism. He tried
his hand at translations and adaptations as well, and his Pūran Joti (1923) in which he adapted Edwin Arnold’s Light of Asia bears the stamp of his genius. His Chamra-posh (1923) may be said to have carried the germs of the Sindhi short story. Lalchand Amardinomal (1885-1954) left an abiding mark in Sindhi literature as an outstanding writer of prose. His fictional works include Kishnijo-Kasht (1917) and Goth-jo-când (1947). Some literary historians believe that the English novel Mrs Halliburton’s Troubles might have furnished material for the former. His work, however, denied the validity of this speculation. Of the biographical works to his credit, the following may be mentioned: Mohammed Rasul Allah (1910), Râma Badshah10 (1912), Shahano Shah (1914), and Sunharo Sacal (1916). He was a successful playwright too, and when performed on the stage, his Umar Marui (1925) earned him laurels of enthusiastic appreciation. Assanand Mamtora’s beautiful romantic novel Shair saw the light of the day in 1941. In his Introduction to this book, Lalchand Amardinomal eulogized it as one of the few original works of fiction in Sindhi. Besides contributing substantially to the domain of children’s literature, Shewak Bhojraj made his mark in Sindhi literature with his two autobiographical novels, Āśārādā (1933) and Dādā Śyāmā (1934). Allah Bachayo’s Sair-i-Kohistan (1942) is the finest travel book in the language. As a work of prose also it can legitimately claim a position of dignity. Other important novels written in the forties are: Guli Sadarangani’s Ithad (1941); Ram Panjwani’s Qāidī (1943), Sharmīla (1944), and Latīfa (1945); Naraindas Bhambhani’s Matjīh (1942) and Vidhoā (1943); and J. D. Ahuja’s Rānī (1947). The stories of Gobind Punjabi (Sārth Ahun, 1941) and Gobind Malhi (Registanī Phul, 1944) prepared the ground for the development of the short story which came to its maturity during the post-Independence period. Translations of the novels and stories of Bankim Chandra, Rabindranath, Sarat Chandra, and Prem Chand were legion. The development of non-fictional prose works did not lag behind either. The essays of Naraindas Malkani (Anar Dana, 1942), Wadhumal Gangaram (Pangati Inquilab, 1940), Gobind Bhatia (Warq, 1940), Tirth Basant (Chingun, 1940), and Lekhraj Aziz (Adabi Aino, 1941) are the high watermarks of Sindhi prose before Independence.

In the evolution of Sindhi drama, the D. J. Sind College Amateur Dramatic Society (1894-1914) and the Rabindranath Literary and Dramatic Club (1925-31) played the most significant roles. Among the plays written and staged under the auspices of the Society, the following deserve special notice: Jethanand’s Nala-Damayanti (1894), Lilaram Singh Watanmal’s Hariścandra (1895), and Shewasing Ajwani’s Kānisht (1902). The Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and Sheridan’s Pizarro were the respective sources of these plays. The plays of Mirza

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10 Amardinomal wrote this book on Swami Ram Tirth (1873-1906), who made a great impact on the Hindus of the Punjab and Sind during the first quarter of this century.
Kalich Beg, who was associated with the Society, have already been mentioned. The most successful productions of the Rabindranath Literary and Dramatic Club include Lalchand Amardinomal’s Umar Marui (1925); K. S. Daryani’s Mulk-ja-Mudabar (1923), a rendering of Ibsen’s Pillars of Society, M. U. Malkani’s Kismet (1923), and Ahmed Chagla’s Khuni (1931). M. U. Malkani, one of the founders of the Club, produced plays during the post-Independence period also. He mainly concentrated on writing social plays. He is the pioneer in the field of one-act plays in Sindhi. Among other successful plays of the later British period are: Lilaram Pherwani’s Hik Rāt (1936), Ram Panjwani’s Mumal Rano (1941), and Ismail Ursani’s Bad Nasib Thari (1941).

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

Sindhi literature has undergone a remarkable transformation since Independence. Some new influences have made a deep mark on most contemporary writings. The struggle for independence and the violence-ridden partition of the country which led to the migration of Sindhi Hindus to India, spread of various creeds and beliefs like Marxism, Freudism, existentialism, etc. derived through Western literature, the five-year plans, the problems of the linguistic minority, the Chinese and Pakistani attacks on India—all these played a significant part in the development of contemporary Sindhi literature. The Sindhi literature of the post-Partition period shows greater diversity and newer spheres of literary pursuit. During the last three decades, Sindhi literature has made significant strides in poetry, novel, short story, one-act play, biography, essay, literary criticism, and other fields.

Post-Partition poetry shows a marked departure from the poetry of the earlier period in form, technique, and content as well as outlook. Towards the end of the British period Sindhi poetry had already begun to free itself from the strict rules of Persian forms like ghazal, masnavi, and rubaiyat, and to follow Western forms like sonnet, blank verse, and free verse. Novelty is the keynote of the post-Independence Sindhi poetry. There are poets like Krishin ‘Rahi’, Lekhraj ‘Aziz’, Narain ‘Śyāma’, and H. I. Sada-rangani, who have employed form and metre peculiar to the old poetry (e.g. dohā, ghazal, rubaiyat, etc.), but in theme and approach their poetry shows a complete deviation from their earlier counterparts. Sind took an active part in the struggle for freedom. Patriotic poems, therefore, occupy a special position in the history of Sindhi literature. In the contemporary period too, a large number of poets have written and are still writing poems full of patriotic fervour. Among them are: Lekhraj ‘Aziz’, Dayal Asha, Govardhan Bharati, Hiro Thakur, Moti Prakash, Arjan ‘Shad’, Prabhu ‘Wafa’, and Arjan ‘Hasid’. The growing impact of Western poetry led to the emergence of New Poetry (nai kaviya) in Sindhi literature towards the end of the fifties. An obsession with sex distinguishes many of the new poets.
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There are, however, poets interested in various other contemporary trends and situations. Some of the notable exponents of this new trend in literature are Govardhan Bharati, Nand Jhaveri, Harish Vaswani, Mohan Kalpana, Vasdev Mohi, Anand Khemani, Prem Prakash, Vishnu Bhatia, Govardhan Tanwani, Lachhman Hardwani, and Shyam Jaisinghani.

The post-Independence period has also witnessed quite a few novelists and short story writers of remarkable calibre. Although there are exceptions, the novelists in general lack an awareness of the contemporary social perspective. A tendency to depict sex in all its nakedness, to probe the intricacies of human psychology, to question the age-old human values, and to propagate Marxist ideologies marks the writings of the majority of the Sindhi novelists. There are, however, a few voices advocating spiritual ideals and faith in God. The more distinguished names in the contemporary novel include Ram Panjwani, Gobind Malhi, Sundri Uttamchandani, Mohan Kalpana, Lal Pushp, Guno Samtani, Shyam Jaisinghani, and Param Abichandani. The short story, which has reached a more developed stage, is characterized almost by the same features as is the novel. But a conscious attempt is to be noticed among the short story writers to portray life and society in the raw. In fact, there is hardly any facet of life that has not been touched upon. Unemployment, poverty, frustration, domestic conflicts, and various social injustices and inequities have been depicted with remarkable accuracy and objectivity. Prominent among these writers are: Anand Golani, Sughan Ahuja, Sundri Uttamchandani, Popati Hiranandani, Tara Mirchandani, Kala Prakash, Gobind Malhi, Gobind Punjabi, Kirat Babani, Tirth Basant, Santdas Jhangiani, Lal Pushp, Mohan Kalpana, and Vishnu Bhatia. It may be mentioned that in both the genres women writers have made substantial contributions.

In the field of drama, the writing of full-length plays has practically been discarded and one-act plays have become the fashion of the day. As for theme, the writers of one-act plays have turned to contemporary social problems as well as problems at the national and international levels. Among the chief protagonists in the genre, the following deserve special mention: M. U. Malkani, Vasdev ‘Nirmal’, Gobind Malhi, Govardhan Bharati, Harikant Jethwani, Ranjan Chawla, Jiwan Gurshani, and Tirth Basant.

The period under review has also witnessed considerable growth in such other important domains of literature as biography, essay, and literary criticism. The writers who have distinguished themselves in these fields are Tirth Basant, Chhetan Mariwalla, Lalsingh Ajwani, Kalyan Advani, M. U. Malkani, Lekhraj ‘Aziz’, Bhojraj Nagrani, Popati Hiranandani, Harish Vaswani, and Arjan ‘Shad’. Besides, Narain Bharati has made a commendable collection of Sind’s folk-songs and tales in a series of nine volumes, and scholars like Jhamatmal Bhavnani, Satish Rohra, Murlidhar Jetley, and L. M. Khubchandani made
some noteworthy contributions in the field of linguistics which is a recent phenomenon in Sindhi literature. There are some scholars who have come forward to write standard literary histories. Among them the most important are: M. U. Malkani, Murlidhar Jetley, and Lalsingh Ajwani.

To sum up, Sindhi literature had frequently to undergo periods of interrupted development for obvious historical reasons. As such, it may not be comparable to most other modern Indian literatures in point of output. Nevertheless, it can boast of some great masters in various fields. Early Sindhi poetry had passed from the Sufistic poems of love in Shah's Risalo and the volcanic kafis of Sacal to the serene slokas of Sami. The first phase of the British period (1843-1907) may be described as the period of diwans, musaddases, and rubaiyats in Sindhi poetry. The second phase or the period 1907-1947 saw a change both in content and form. The poetry of Sufism and love delighted the Sindhis still, but they did not want merely prototypes of some Persian poems. Kishinchand 'Bewas' along with others opened a window for modern themes. Sindhi prose grew in the British era. The spade-work for Sindhi prose was undoubtedly the achievement of some devoted Europeans who facilitated the process by compiling dictionaries and grammars of the language. The modern Sindhi prose is greatly indebted to Parmanand Mewaram, H.M. Gurbaxani, Bherumal Mahirchand, Jethmal Parsram, and Lalchand Amardinomal. During the post-Independence period, there has been in Sindhi quite a good and strikingly varied output in poetry, novel, short story, and other branches of literature. Some women writers have come forward in the literary field and made noteworthy contributions. Information is not also wanting of significant literary activities in Sindhi across the borders. It can be hoped that future masters of Sindhi literature will lead it to a point of progress comparable to that of other developed languages of modern India.
TWO millennia of almost continuous literary history with an added significance of being a spoken tongue throughout this period have ensured a place of honour for Tamil (Tamizh) in the galaxy of languages of the world. It is considered by scholars as close to the proto-Dravidian, forerunner of the cultivated languages of South India. The richness of its vocabulary and the antiquity of its literature impart to Tamil a rank in the Dravidian group similar to that of Sanskrit among the Aryan languages. An ancient classical speech that possesses an enormous stock of indigenous literature, Tamil has retained its vigour and youthfulness with an abundant vocabulary to express modern ideas. It can be considered as a ‘finer language to think and speak in than any European tongue’. In its poetic form,’ says Dr Miron Winslow, ‘Tamil is more polished and exact than Greek and in . . . borrowed treasures more copious than Latin’. Official language of Tamil Nadu, it is spoken in India (according to 1971 Census) by about thirty-seven million people. The speakers of this tongue have spread out from their original home of Tamizhaham (Tamil Nadu) to Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore, Burma, Fiji, South Africa, etc. Literary tradition claims for the language a much wider area, ‘Lemuria’ as it is called, with a highly cultivated speech.

On the basis of certain words found in the Vedas, some scholars think that the Dravidian tongue might have had an impact on Sanskrit. The antiquity

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5 Lemuria is considered to be the bed of the present Indian Ocean. An English scholar also asserts this view thus: ‘Peninsular India or the Deccan (literally, the country to the south) is geologically distinct from the Indo-Gangetic plain and the Himalaya. It is the remains of a former continent which stretched continuously to Africa in the space now occupied by the Indian Ocean . . . In the Deccan we are, therefore, in the first days of the world. We see land substantially as it existed before the beginnings of life.’—T. W. Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India* (Williams & Norgate, London), p. 23. See also K. K. Pillai, *A Social History of the Tamils*, Part I, p. 42.

TAMIL

of the Tamil language is established by the fact that words like ‘tugi’ for ‘peacock’ (from Tamil togai), ‘arusa’ for ‘rice’ (from arici in Tamil) were introduced in the European languages as early as King Solomon’s time (c. 962-930 B.C.), which must have been due to vigorous commercial relations between ancient Tamizhaham and the Mesopotamian valley. The term dravida is considered by some as of Sanskrit origin, whereas Sanskrit scholars think it as the Sanskritized form of tamizh. C. W. Damodaram Pillai derives tamizh from the root tami (lonely). According to him, tamizh means ‘peerless’. In Pīngalandalai, a Tamil lexicon, it is explained that tamizh means sweetness and mercy. Hence, ‘Tamizh’ is a language which is ‘sweet’. The word tamizh is used in early Tamil literature to denote the language, the people, and their country.

LITERATURE

The growth of Tamil literature admits of three main period divisions. The Early period, stretching from c. 600 B.C. to A.D. 600, has two sub-divisions, namely, the Saṅgam period (c. 600 B.C.-A.D. 200) and the post-Saṅgam or epic period (c. A.D. 200-600). The Middle or Medieval period begins around A.D. 600 and continues up to 1750. This comprises the following sub-divisions: the period of Näyanmàrs and Āḻvārs (c. A.D. 600-900), the period of literary revival (c. A.D. 900-1200), and the period of exegetical, philosophical, Purānic, didactic, and minor works (c. A.D. 1200-1750). The Modern period includes the period of transition (c. A.D. 1750-1850) and that of renaissance and growth (from 1850 onwards). The period divisions indicated above are, however, not always rigid. There are instances of writers classified under a particular group flourishing earlier or later than the period assigned to the group.

Tamil, which is rich in synonyms, had even as early as A.D. 200 a large and copious indigenous stock of vocabulary. And so, it has always been resisting unrestricted borrowing of words from other languages including Sanskrit. The literature of the Early period is virtually free from words of foreign origin in

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* In the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament: Chronicles and Books of Kings) these words are found. Cf. André Lefèvre, op. cit., p. 125. See also T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India (T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London, 1917), p. 116. There is also abundant reference in Pāṭṭinappālai, a Saṅgam work, to indicate a list of the goods imported on the shores of the Coḷa port-capital Kāvippampāṭṭinam. The discovery of a Roman factory near Pondicherry (Arikamedu) is an irrefutable evidence of the maritime commerce that existed between South India and the Roman world. For further details see E. H. Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India (Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1974), pp. 57-64 and Martirr Wheeler, Ancient India, Vol. II, pp. 17 ff.


* Inimaiyum nirmaiyum tamizh malāhūm.—Pīngalandalai, X. 580. Tam, a reflexive pronoun, has given rise to a very interesting class of words like tam-oppum (father), tōy or tam-ōy (mother), tam-aiyam (elder brother), tam-ukkai (elder sister), tam-kai (younger sister). Izh, which means sweetness, is the root of izhø or izhūd, izhūdu, etc.—Cf. M. Srinivasa Iyengar, op. cit., pp. 7-8.
spite of Tamizhaham’s commercial relations with the Roman world. Sanskrit is almost absent in its texture. The language of the poetry is not ornate but simple. It is in blank verse, in chaste classic style, devoid of rhetorical and metrical flourishes. The description is true to Nature. Āśiriyappā (ahaval), kalippā, venbā, and vañcippā are the metres mainly used. The Tamil of the Middle period is marked by an abundance of Sanskrit words, mostly relating to religion, ethics, and philosophy. For metrical composition, viruttam, tāṇḍakam, and many forms of Sanskrit prosody are taken recourse to. Gone is the simple and the natural poetry of the earlier age. There being a struggle for religious supremacy during this period, every one of the four sects—the Śaivites, Vaiśṇavites, Buddhists, and Jains—attempted to excel the rest. This is amply reflected in their respective literatures. The latter part of the Middle period witnessed, among other things, productions of Muslim and Christian writers. During the Modern period Tamil retained its old linguistic and literary features. Following the establishment of the East India Company’s rule in Tamil Nadu from about the middle of the eighteenth century, Tamil became gradually exposed to the influence of the Western world. The process of modernization in its real sense, however, did not set in till the Madras University came into existence in 1857. Tamil literature has three principal forms: iyai (belles-lettres), iṣai (music), and nāṭakam (drama). A survey of Tamil literature gives us an idea of how these have grown and matured, undergoing changes in their character from time to time.

SANGAM PERIOD

In ancient times the association or academy of the most learned men of the Tamil land was called ‘Saṅgam’ (or ‘Caṅkam’), whose chief function was promotion of literature. Later Tamil writers mention the existence of three literary academies (Saṅgams) at different periods. The last academy is credited with the corpus of literature now known as ‘Saṅgam Works’. It is, however, almost certain that some noteworthy literature existed even before the Saṅgam era. Dr K. K. Pillai, a renowned Tamil historian, is of the view that academies of the type of the Saṅgam must have flowered under an earlier designation like ‘Avai’ or ‘Kūdal’.\(^\text{10}\) Naturalism and romanticism were the salient features of the poems of the Saṅgam bards. Excepting Tolkāppiyam, the earliest work on Tamil grammar and poetic techniques, no other works attributed to the first two Saṅgams have come down to us in their entirety. However, from the titles of the writings traditionally traced to these Saṅgams, it is evident that they dealt with music and the art of dancing.

Tolkāppiyam, the name signifying the ‘ancient book’ or ‘the preserver of

ancient institutions', was written by Tolkāppiyar, and is the oldest extant Tamil grammar dating back to 500 B.C. It lays down rules for different kinds of poetical compositions drawn from the examples furnished by the best works then extant. *Iyāl* is elucidated clearly and systematically in Tolkāppiyam. Containing about 1,610 sūttirams (aphorisms), it is in three parts—ezhuttu (orthography), ṣol (etymology), and porul (literary conventions and usages)—each with nine sections. While the first two parts are interesting from both linguistic and philosophical points of view, the third, poruladhiyāram, is most valuable as it gives a glimpse of the political, social, and religious life of the people during the period when the author of this treatise lived.

The principal works of the third Saṅgam have come down to us in the shape of anthologies of poems. The two compilations forming the corpus of the poetry of the third Saṅgam are Ėṭṭuttogai (eight anthologies) and Pattuppāṭu (ten idylls). They exhibit a consistency in the use of words and forms which is lacking in later literature. There were about 473 poets during this period; the writers of 102 poems are, however, unidentified. Of the identified poets, about thirty are women, the famous poetess Auvaliyar being one of them. The anthologies of the third Saṅgam consist of poems divided into two broad categories—aham or interior and puram or exterior. The former concerns all phases of love between men and women. An allegory of the different stages through which the soul of man passes from its manifestation in the body to its final unification with the supreme Being is seen in aham. The puram covers varieties of distinctive poems, mostly relating to man's social behaviour. Analogous to five major regions of Tamil Nadu, these poems describe five types of tracts with their distinctive features. These are: kuriṇci (mountainous region), mullai (forest region), marutam (agricultural region), neyatal (coastal region), and palai (desert region). True love, which is either karpu (wedded) or kaļaou (furtive), is considered under five aspects, namely, punartal (union), pirital (separation), iruttal (patience in separation), iraṇgal (bewailing), and uḷal (sulking), and these are made to correlate with tiṇai, the fivefold physiographical divisions.

Ėṭṭuttogai consists of Narriṇai, Kuruntogai, Aiṅkurunur, Padiruppatatu, Parippaṭal, Kalittogai, Ahananur, and Purananur. A collection of 400 verses in ahaṭal metre, Narriṇai deals with the five tiṇais on the theme of love. These poems were compiled at the instance of the Pāṇḍya king Māran Vazhudi. Kuruntogai, literally meaning 'a collection of short lyrics' on love, by about two hundred poets, was compiled under the patronage of a chieftain called Pūrikko. An ancient gloss on

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11 Vīdu V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p. 21. It is difficult to assign a definite date to this work. Some scholars hold that Tolkāppiyam is posterior to the classics of the third Saṅgam and hence assignable to the fourth century A.D. or even to a later date; according to another view, it should be considered as a work of the second or first century B.C. But, from Panamparandar's introductory verses (pūṭiram) to this work, it seems that the author Tolkāppiyar was a predecessor of Pāṇini (c. fifth century B.C.).
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it by Perāsiriyar is lost and Naccinārkkiniyar wrote another dealing with only twenty verses of the work. Aiṅkurunūru, which means ‘the short five hundred’, is divided into five parts, each devoted to one of the five aspects of love and consisting of a hundred verses in ahavai metre. Orambogiyār, Ammūvanār, Kapilar, Odālandāiyār, and Peyanār are said to be the respective authors of hundred verses each on marutam, neytal, kuriṇci, pālai, and mullai tiṇais. Kūḍalūr Kizhār is the compiler of this work. Padirruppattu or ‘ten-tens’ consists of groups of ten poems, each by one of ten poets. It contains ‘a museum of obsolete words and expressions, archaic grammatical forms and terminations, and obscure customs and manners of the early western Tamil people who were the ancestors of the modern Malayalis’.12 This work is a store-house of historical facts about the Cera kings. A true picture of the political conditions of the Tamil land about two thousand years ago is beautifully portrayed in it. The first and last series of poems of this work are lost.

Paripādal (lit. ‘stanzas of strophic metres’) contained originally seventy long poems of which twenty-four only have survived. Love is the general theme of these verses. Some of them, however, relate to gods, the river Vaigai, and the hillock Tirupparaṅkunram (one of the six houses of Lord Muruga). A commentary on it by Parimelazhagar is available. A collection of one hundred and fifty exquisite lyrics in kali metre, Kalittogai dwells on the theme of love. It also contains many moral maxims. Peruṅkaṇṭungo, Kapilar, Marudan Ilānāganār, Čoḷa Nalluttiran, and Nallanduvanār are the poets of this anthology. It is the general belief that one of these five poets, Nallanduvanār, was the compiler. It has a gloss written by Naccinārkkiniyar. Ahanānūru or Neṭunogai is a collection of 400 poems on love and is divided into three sections: kalirripāna-rāna (array of male elephants), manimidiapavaḷam (string of corals interspersed with gems), and nittilakkovai (necklace of pearls). Containing contributions of as many as 145 poets, this work was compiled by Uruttirasaṅmanār under the patronage of the Pāṇḍya king Ukkirapperu Vazhudi. Puranānūru is a very popular and valuable anthology of 400 verses of the puram type dealing with the different facets of ancient Tamil culture, war, and State matters. It is the counterpart of Ahanānūru which treats of love. The contributors to this collection, about 150 in number, were loyal advisers and faithful friends of the monarchs. Through their poems they even averted war.

Pattuppattu contains the following ten idylls by eight different authors: Tirumurugārruppadai, Perunārārruppadai, Cīrūppārruppadai, Perumāṅṅārruppadai, Mullaippāṭṭu, Maduraikkāṇi, Neṭunavāṭṭai, Kuriṅciippattu, Pattinappālai, and Malaippadukaṭām. These idylls are short poems describing mostly pastoral scenes or events. Tirumurugārruppadai by Nakkirar is in praise of Muruga and the various shrines in which he is worshipped. The life of ancient Tamils is also

depicted therein. Naccinärkkiniyar has commented upon this idyll. *Porunarruppadai* by Muṭtattāmakkanṉiyar is in praise of the wisdom and martial glory of the Cola king Karikālan. Sung by Nattattanār, *Cirupāṇṟuruppadai* extols the chieftain Nalliyakkoḍan. Descriptions of cities and villages and of the life led by the people there abound in this poem. *Perumpāṇṟuruppadai* by Uruttirankaṉanār is a poem similar to *Cirupāṇṟuruppadai*. It glorifies Tonḍaimān Iḷantiraiyan, king of Kānci. Shortest of the idylls (103 lines), *Mullaippattu* portrays the feelings of an ideal wife awaiting her husband’s return from a military expedition. It is sung by a gold merchant Nappūtanār and generally supposed to have been composed in praise of the Pāṇḍya king Neṇuṇcezhian.

*Maduraikkāṇci*, written by Māṅguḷi Marudanār, is the longest of the idylls consisting of 782 lines. It gives a vivid picture of the ancient city of Madurai and celebrates the great Pāṇḍya king Neṇuṇcezhian, hero of the Talaiyāṉkānam battle. *Neṇunaloṇḍai* by Nakkirar, written in praise of the same Pāṇḍya king Neṇuṇcezhian, has a fine description of winter. The title is very apt, meaning ‘the tedious but favourable cold north wind’. *Kuriṇciippatū* by Kapilar contains a beautiful portrayal of the mountain scenery. It brings out the social conditions of the Tamil land in prominent relief. This idyll is said to have been composed to acquaint the Aryan king Pirahattan with the charms of the Tamil language and literature. That the qualities of modesty and chastity alone adorn women is emphasized in this poem. *Paṭṭinappālai*, literally meaning ‘a port and separation’, is a song of love. It was composed by Uruttirankaṉanār, author of *Perumpāṇṟuruppadai*, to glorify the Cola king Karikālan. Torn between love and the call of the battle drum, the hero finally decides to remain with his beloved. It gives a very graphic picture of Puhār or Kāvirippumpattinam, great port-capital of the Cola kingdom, and has valuable information regarding trade relations of the Tamil land with foreign countries. *Malaiṇadukadām*, last of the idylls, is a long poem of 600 lines. It means literally ‘the secretion oozing from a mountain’ and figuratively ‘the echo or rut of a mountain’. Sung by Perunkaśikanār, it extols the chieftain Nanan and his court. The poem gives a beautiful description of Nature and presents a critical account of the art of dancing as well as the details of musical instruments along with the artists’ way of life.

The delineation of the early Tamil society in these poems is remarkably clear and a great deal of light is thrown on the civilization of the Tamils. The rugged virility in the songs of these early bards is not found in the more polished compositions of later ages. Saṅgam works provide us with valuable information regarding religion, social life, government, commerce, arts, music, dance, courtship, manners and customs, and the daily life of the Tamils. In those days heroism was exalted to the position of religion. From the equanimity of the Saṅgam poets came the sermons of equality. The concept of unity in existence
was preached through their poems. The following lines of Swami Vipulananda are a fitting tribute to the early poets of Tamil literature: 'Honour, friendship, devotion to duty, love of home and hearth, these are among the ideals that guided the life of the early Tamilians. These same ideals inspired their poetic utterances. The poetry they bequeathed to posterity is not a mere dream woven out of an idle fancy, but it is the record of human struggles and achievements, both in the field of action and in the realm of thought. What this ancient race felt and thought, throughout the long centuries of its existence, lies indelibly recorded in the pages of its literature. The configuration of the land has changed, the hills and rivers familiar to the ancient Tamilians have sunk beneath the ocean-bed, the waters of the Indian Ocean roll over the spots where proud Tamilian cities flourished, yet the songs of the bards of ancient Tamil land, passing down through the centuries, fall on our ears and awake in our hearts the selfsame rapture which they roused in the hearts of those who first listened to them'.

TIRUKKURAL

There is a collection of eighteen 'minor works' known as Padiney-kizhkkayakkku which deals mainly with moral virtues. Some of these works are assigned to the third Saṅgam, while the others belong to a much later period. They are, however, grouped together in Tamil literature and called kizhkkayakkku which denotes a literary piece short in length. But these 'minor works' are not less important than other poems from the literary point of view. Among them, the most notable is Tiruvaḷḷuvar’s (c. first century B.C.) Tirukkural or Kural, which is in the form of couplets and deals with the three aims of life—aram (righteousness), porul (wealth), and inbam or kāmam (pleasure). It consists of 133 chapters each containing ten couplets composed in kural-venbā metre. Conveying noble thoughts couched in terse language, each couplet is a gem by itself. According to Dr Albert Schweitzer, ‘There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom’. The first part of Kural (arattuppāl) gives the essentials of Yoga philosophy. Besides, it deals with the happy household life as well as the excellence


14 The following are the eighteen minor works:


15 Though the period of Tiruvaḷḷuvar is the most disputed question, it is generally admitted on the basis of internal evidences that his Tirukkural may have been composed later than Telikappiyam (c. 500 B.C.) but earlier than Śilāppadikāram (c. second century A.D.).

of the path of renunciation. The thoughts of Kural in its second part (poruppāl) centre on polity and administration, including citizenship and social relations, in an admirable way. The third part (inbattuppāl or kāmattuppāl), consisting of couplets in dramatic monologues, treats of the concept of love. It is difficult to find similar delineation of emotion even in Saṅgam poetry. In Tirukkural one can see a life spiritual that is yet secular, a life secular that is yet spiritual to the core. Tiruvalluvar’s philosophy of life hinges on his conception of Godhead, for to him God is the sumnum bonum of life.17

POST-SAṅGAM PERIOD: THE EPICS

The five major epics—Silappadikāram, Maṇimekalai, Jivaka-cintāmani, Valaiyāpati, and Kundalakeshi—are the outstanding contributions of the post-Saṅgam period. Silappadikāram, earliest extant Tamil work in the nature of drama, gives a vivid picture of Tamil society after its contact with Aryan culture. As it contains all the three aspects of Tamil literature, viz. iyal, iśai, and nāṭakam, it has been designated as a muttamizh-kōppiyam. It is, therefore, invaluable as a source-book of ancient Tamil dance and classical music—both vocal and instrumental. The Aryan concept of Karma is embedded in the story and stated explicitly through the female protagonist, Kaṇṇagi. The author of this work is the ascetic-poet Iḷaṅko Aḍikal, younger brother of the Cera king Ceṅkuṭṭuyan (latter half of the second century A.D.). Silappadikāram gives a vivid description of the stage, the actor, the singer, the drummer, the flute-player, and the yāzh (a typical viṇā). It contains beautiful specimens of varī, kuravai, ammānai, uśal, kandukam, vallai, and other classes of musical plays. Maṇimekalai, a direct sequel to Silappadikāram, is also a great source of information on ancient Tamil society. Written by Cittalai Cāttanār, this epic marks a new development in Tamil literature by presenting philosophical and religious debates in mellifluous style.

The other major epics, although grouped together, do not fall within this period. Jaina ascetic Tiruttakka Devar is the author of Jivaka-cintāmani (c. tenth century A.D.). It is also called Muḍi-poruṭ-toḍar-nilai-ṭeyyul, suggesting that it deals with the fourfold object of life, namely, virtue, wealth, pleasure, and bliss. This work is commendable for its chaste diction and sublime sentiment. Apart from establishing certain conventions and setting the pace, this epic introduces Sanskrit prosody for the first time in Tamil poetry. Its verses are distinguished by an immense expressional wealth, brilliant style, and prosodical variegation. Even in this respect it is an indicator of further development of

17 This is evident from the couplets such as ‘No fruit have men of all their studied lore/Save they the Purely Wise One’s (God’s) feet adore’—Tirukkural, 1.1.2 (Translated by G.U. Pope). Cf. K. Appadurai, The Mind and Thought of Tiruvalluvar (Sekar Pathippagam, Madras, 1966), p. 19.
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Tamil epical poetry. Only fragments of the last two epics, Vaşaiyāpati and Kunḍalakesī, are available. Besides these major epics, there are five other minor works probably by Jain authors. They are: Cūḷāmanī, Perun-kathai, Nilakesī, Taśodara-kāviyam, and Nāgakumāra-kāviyam. Among these Cūḷāmanī and Perun-kathai deserve special mention, since they are notable specimens of literary elegance. The influence of Sanskrit is clearly noticeable in them. In Cūḷāmanī, written by Tolāmozhittēvar, viruttam metre is employed with facile grace. An adaptation of Bhākathā, Perun-kathai or Udayāyan-kathai is composed by ‘Koṅkuveḻir’ (lit. chieftain of the Koṅku country) in ahaval metre. Portrayal of ideal characters, description of Nature, and stress on renunciation are some of the important features of these two epics.

PERIOD OF NĀYANMĀRS AND ĀLVĀRS

After the two epics, Silappadikāram and Maṇimekalai, there was a long period of darkness (kaḷabhra) which continued till about the end of the sixth century A.D. when the Nāyanmārs (Śaiva saints) and Ālvārs (Vaiṣṇava saints) appeared with hymns of rare charm and religious fervour. Their advent gave Hinduism in the Tamil land a new turn and led it, in the course of time, to two distinct paths, viz. Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. The contribution of these saints to Tamil literature was quite considerable. About 7,000 hymns were composed by Jñānasambandhar, Appar, and Sundarar—three of the sixty-three Nāyanmārs. The collection of the hymns of these Śaiva ācāryas is called Devāram. Jñānasambandhar is said to have got a divine vision at the age of three when he started pouring out in melodious verse the joy and devotion that overflowed his heart. A happy and buoyant note is noticed throughout his hymns. Saint Tirunāvukkarasar (lit. the blessed king of speech), affectionately called ‘Appar’ (father) by his younger contemporary Jñānasambandhar, was persecuted by the Pallava king, Mahendra Varman I (c. A.D. 600-630), who afterwards became an ardent devotee of Śiva upon his conversion to that faith from Jainism. His hymns, couched in fine poetry, ‘contain the quintessence of the Vedas’. The hymns of Sundarar, who claims himself as ‘the devotee of the devotees’, breathe a sense of intimacy with God. The hymns of these three saints were collected in the first seven of the twelve anthologies of Śaivite hymns known as Tiru-murais. The eighth Tiru-murai consists of Tiruvacakam and Tirukkovaiyār of Saint Māṇikkavācakar (? ninth century), the fourth great Śaiva ācārya. Tiruvacakam relates in rapturous melody the different stages of the author’s spiritual experience and appears to be a manual on mystical theology. In Tirukkovaiyār, śṛṇgāra-rasa (erotic sentiment) serves as a thin veil to sublime and great truths. The ninth Tiru-murai, Tiruvistaippā, consists of the hymns of other saints of a later period. The tenth, known as Tirumandiram, contains

3,000 mystic songs by Tirumūlar who is supposed to have lived earlier than all other Nāyanmārs. A great mystic and a spiritual reformer, Tirumūlar composed this highly abstruse work containing the essence of Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy in a language devoid of superficies. The eleventh Tiru-murai is an anthology of poems by different devotees. All these eleven Tiru-murais were compiled by Nambi Āndār Nambi (c. eleventh century) whose own hymns occur in the eleventh book. Śekkizhār’s (twelfth century) Periya Purāṇam or Tiruttōṇḍar Purāṇam is considered as the twelfth Tiru-murai. A remarkable and composite work of hagiology consisting of the lives of sixty-three Nāyanmārs in seventy-two cantos having 4,286 verses, it is regarded as a great classic analogous to Kālidāsa’s Raghuvarṇa.

What the Nāyanmārs did for Śaivism, the Āḻvārs did for the Vaiṣṇava faith. The latter wove their songs of mysticism around Viṣṇu. These songs, 4,000 in number, were compiled by Saint Nāṭhamuni (824-924) in the anthology Divya Prabandham or Nālāyira Divya Prabandham, which is divided into four books, each bearing a separate name and consisting of about 1,000 verses. The first three of the twelve Āḻvārs—Poygai Āḻvār, Bhūtattāḻvār, and Pey Āḻvār—are said to have belonged to the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. Of the rest, the great names are Āndāḷ (eighth century) and Nammāḻvār (Śaṭakopar; ninth century). Āndāḷ or Godā or Nācciyār, the only woman-saint among the Āḻvārs, like Mīrābāi, practised madhura bhāva (worship of God with the attitude of a lover). Lord Kaṇṇan or Śrī Kṛṣṇa was the object of her divine love. She yearns for an eternal union with her beloved Kaṇṇan through her mystic and devotional songs. Nammāḻvār’s Tiruvāyirmozhi, the third book of Divya Prabandham, is said to be a quintessence of the Upaniṣads. The songs of these Āḻvārs exhibit a catholicity which could not be found in the sectarian utterances of later days.

PERIOD OF LITERARY REVIVAL

The period of religious fervour was followed by a period of intense literary activity. Three great poets of this period are Kamban, Oṭṭakkūttan, and Pugazhendi. Greatest of the court poets of Kulottuṅga Cola III (1178-1218), Kamban19 adapted the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa in Tamil in his Rāmakālai or Kamba Rāmāyaṇam following South Indian traditions for style, figures, and techniques. His choice of viruttam metre earned him high praise. Kamil Zvelebil, a Czech scholar, writes: ‘...descriptions of human emotions and relations, ...brisk tempo, dramatic force, ...extremely rich and expressive language, cascades of poetic imagery and waterfalls of similes, frequent use of onomatopoeis,

ingenious alterations of the metre, extraordinary musicality of the verse—these are the main features of Kamban’s style. Ideas of deep humanism, serene faith in mankind, its goodness and its abilities form the very core of his work. Ever since its composition, Kamba Rāmāyaṇam has been a great force in the literary life of the Tamils. A contemporary of Kamban, Oṭṭakkuttan excelled in metrical compositions (antādi, kovai, ulā to name only a few). He wrote Uttara-kāndam (which completes Kamba Rāmāyaṇam), Takka-yāgap-paran, Mūvar-ulā, etc. Pugazhendi, the last of the trio, was a versatile poet famous for his work Naḷa-veṅbā, written in veṅbā metre. A poetess of the same name as Auvaiyār of the Śaṅgam period is said to be a contemporary of Kamban. Her works, Ātticūḍi, Konraivendan, Mādurai, and Naḷvazhi, are marked by simplicity and practical wisdom. Periya Purāṇam, already mentioned, also belongs to this period. Jayankonḍān (c. A.D. 1100) is well known for his paranī. Kaliṅgattupparan, which describes the conquest of Kaliṅga by the Cola king Kulottunga I (c. A.D. 1070-1120).

The theme of clandestine love has been depicted in Iraiyanār’s Ahapporuḷ or Kaḷaviyāl (c. eleventh century), which is a grammatical work consisting of sixty sūttirams. Kallādanār’s Kallādam relates the divine sports of Śiva and the glories of Madurai. Aiyanār Itanār’s Purapporuḷ-veṅbā-mālai (c. eleventh century) is a compilation of Tamil verses of the Śaṅgam period in veṅbā metre dealing with war and other connected subjects. Narkavi Nambi, a Jaina scholar, in his Ahapporuḷ-viḷakkam treats of various aspects of love. Tāpparunilakam and Tāpparunilakal-kārigai are works on Tamil prosody written respectively by two contemporary Jaina ascetics, Gūnasāgarar and Amutasāgarar. Gunavira Panḍitar’s Neminādam is a work on orthography and morphology. The same author has to his credit another grammatical work called Veṅbāppattiyal. Other notable works of the period include Vīrakoḻhiyam by Puttamittiranār, Nanuḷ by Pavananti, and Divakaram by Divakaran and Pingaladai by his son Pingalar. The first two of these relate to grammar, while the last two are lexicons.

PERIOD OF EXEGETICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, PURĀNIC, DIDACTIC, AND MINOR LITERATURE

The late Middle period of Tamil literature, from c. A.D. 1200 to 1750, is characterized by the production of exegetical, philosophical, Purānic, didactic, and minor works. But for the efforts of the commentators, many of the earlier

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20 Kamil Zvelebil, op. cit., p. 13. Regarding the narrative quality of Kamba Rāmāyaṇam, M. Arunachalam has observed thus: ‘On every page in the narrative there is a short story. Characters appear to speak or act; the story works up to a pitch; and suddenly there is a curtainfall; the curtainfall is objectively perceivable as on the stage.’—An Introduction to the History of Tamil Literature (Gandhi Vidyalayam, Tirucitrumbalam), p. 118.

21 Parānti is a type of poetic composition which eulogizes a warrior who has killed a thousand male elephants in the battlefield.
Tamil works would not have survived to us. Commentaries (kaṇḍikāi, short; and viruttī, elaborate) played a prominent role in the clarification of the obscure parts of the early Tamil classics. The pioneers among the commentators were Nakkirar and Iḻampūraṇar. Nakkirar (c. twelfth century), bearing the same name as that of the Saṅgam poet, has written a very scholarly and critical commentary on Iraiyanār Ahapporul. Iḻampūraṇar’s commentary on Tolkāppiyam is also a remarkable work. Among other commentators mention may be made of Perāśiriyar (dealing with Saint Māṇikkavācakar’s Tirukkovaiyār), Śenāvaraiyar (dealing with Tolkāppiyam), Naccinārkkiniyar (dealing with Tolkāppiyam, Pattuppāṭu, Jivaka-cintāmani, part of Kuruntogai, etc.), Aḍiyārkkku Nallār (dealing with Śilappadikāram), and Parimalazhagar (dealing with Tirukkur̄a). In a sense, these commentaries paved the way for later prose writing in Tamil.

The period also witnessed the revival of literature concerning Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. As early as the thirteenth century itself, Meykanḍar (d. A.D. 1223) and other Śaiva apostles started developing Śaiva Siddhānta thought. Meykanḍar’s Śivajñāna-bodham is the most noted of the Śaiva scriptures, wherein Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy is codified. Śivajñāna Svāmīgaḷ’s Dirāvida-mahāhāṣyam is an elaborate commentary on it. Similarly, Vaiṣṇava apostles wrote commentaries on Divya Prabandham in the maṇipravālam style (a mixed language of Tamil and Sanskrit). During this period, there appeared a class of mystic poets called siddhars, eighteen in number. Their poems contain great philosophical ideas couched in simple language. Of them, Śivavākkīyar, Paṭṭināṭar, and Bhadragiriyaṟu were the forerunners of later poets in the adoption of a moving, direct, and easy style of poetry. Some of the siddhars were social reformers as well in that they carried on a tirade against the caste system and bigotry of the religious zealots.

The influence of Sanskrit was very much pronounced in some of the great works of this period. Saint Aruṇagirināthar’s (c. fifteenth century) Tiruppukazh was one such composition, where the language and the metre are of a mixed variety. A master of śleṣa (pun), Kāḷamegappulavaru wrote Tiruvānaikkā-ulā. During this period, many Purāṇas and other notable works were either translated or adapted into Tamil from Sanskrit. An early adaptation of the Mahābhārata, Perundevanār’s Bhāratam, composed during the régime of the Pallava king Nandivarman III (c. 826-49), has not come down to us in its entirety. Villipputtūravar, a contemporary of Aruṇagirināthar, wrote Bhāratam which is an adaptation of the Mahābhārata and is reckoned as a great epic in Tamil. Two translations of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa by Cēvvaiccuḍuvār and Varadarāja Aiyaṅkār (both of the sixteenth century), Piramottira-kāṇṭam (Kūrma Purāṇa) and Naṭatam (Naṣadha-carita by Śrīharṣa) by Adivirarāman, Kāṣik-kāṇṭam (Kūrma Purāṇa) by Varuṭuṅkan, Mācça Purāṇa (1647; Matsya Purāṇa) by Vaḍamalaiyappār Pillai, and Kanda Purāṇam (c. 1625; Skanda Purāṇa) by Kacci-
yāppa Śivācārīyar are some of the notable works of this genre. The popular story of Nala and Damayantī has been retold in Naṭa-vaṇī by Pugazhendī (thirteenth century) and that of Hariścandra by Vīrāṅghavakkāvī (c. sixteenth century) in Aricandira Purāṇam. Aruṇācala Kavirāyī's (c. 1712-79) Rāma-
ātakaṁ, a narration of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, is in the form of an opera. Special mention may be made in this connexion of the translation of the Bhagavad-Gītā, along with the commentary of Śaṅkara, by Paṭṭar. Many of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Purānic works in Tamil were composed in honour of the deities of the different shrines of Tamil Nadu. Though some of them are of considerable literary merit, there is nothing in them showing that grasp of life which the Saṅgam poets had; nor did they evince the emotional and spiritual quality of the post-Saṅgam works. Paraṅcotī's Tiruvilaiyādal Purāṇam (adaptation of Halāsya-māhātmya), Śivajñāna Svāmīgal's Kānci Purāṇam, and Kacchiyappa Śivācārīyar's Taṅkal Purāṇam are, however, a few works of this category noted for their literary merit.

The Saiva monasteries (maṭams as they are called) took active part in spreading religion through literature. Kumaramuruparar and Śivapprakāśar are two of the eminent poets of the seventeenth century who wrote on devotional and didactic themes. The former's works include Kandar-kalvaṇī, Mināṭcepp-
pilaitattamizh, Maduraṅk-kalambakam, and Nitiṇerī-viḷakkan. The latter's Nāḻvar-
nāṇaṅaṅiṇi and Nanneri are well known throughout Tamil Nadu. The songs of the philosopher-poet Tāyumāṇavar (c. seventeenth/eighteenth century) are marked by devotional fervour as well as by catholicity of outlook. His most well-known couplet serves to show how non-sectarian he, a devout Śaivite, was at a time when religious intolerance was the order of the day. His prayer to the Almighty, 'Let all be in blissful state is my only wish, O Lord, the Supreme! I know not anything else', is reminiscent of Kaṇiyan Pūṅkunrār of the Saṅgam period. Interspersed with Sanskrit words, Tāyumāṇavar's philosophical poems contain many charming imageries.

Mention may be made here also of a few other works of the late Middle period which do not belong to any specific category, but are important as specimens of Tamil literature. A new type of literature called cīṟuk-kāvī (epistles in verse), for instance, made its appearance during the period. Virai-viḷai-dūru, Kūṟappā Nāyakkan-kādal, and Varuṇa Kulaiṭṭanam-ṭaḻai are examples of this kind of poetry which, according to Dr Meenakshi Sundaran, 'in spite of the command over the language, the charm of its style and striking similes . . . , shows more of

23 The Tamil original runs as follows:
Ellārum inbūru irukka ninaippatwe
Allāmal serorum ariven pariṟarame.−Tāyumāṇavar's Pariṟparakkaṁ, v. 221.
22 Yāduṁ ārē yāvarum koḻi: All towns are one, all men our kin.—Kaṇiyan Pūṅkunrār (Puranāṉuṟu, v. 192).
the weakness of the decadent age than the vigour and life of a new age.24 Ballads and folk-songs based on earlier classics but dwelling on themes of the contemporary Tamil country appeared in this period. Some of these are noted for their rich content.

MODERN PERIOD : PERIOD OF TRANSITION

The advent of Muslims and Christian missionaries in Tamil Nadu had considerable impact on the growth of its literature. Among the early Muslim Tamil poets, the most prominent is Umaruppulavar (c. 1605-1703), author of Śīrāppurāṇam which is a verse narrative on the life of Prophet Mohammed composed in 12,000 stanzas. This work is entirely in the tradition of Tamil poetry, though words of Arabic origin were freely used to heighten the effectiveness of the milieu and the incidents inherent in them. Next to him in importance is Mastan Sahib of Tiruchirappally whose devotional lyrics and philosophical verses resembled those of Tāyumānavar. Mention may also be made of Mohammed Ibrahim alias Vaṇnakkañciyappulavar who wrote Muhaidin Purāṇam (1845) dealing with the Islamic faith.

Christian missionaries helped in introducing printing which facilitated the growth of literature during the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. Robert di Nobili, an Italian Jesuit missionary, was perhaps the first to initiate biblical studies in Tamil prose early in the seventeenth century. Though meant for proselytizing purposes, it helped the evolution of Tamil prose into an easier means of communication. Constanzio Beschi (1680-1747), another Italian missionary, reformed the Tamil characters for printing. Further, under the assumed name of ‘Viramāmunivar’, he compiled a Latin-Tamil dictionary and wrote a classic, Tembāvanī, on the life of Jesus in chaste Tamil poetic convention. He was also the author of some prose and fictional works. In the nineteenth century, Bishop Robert Caldwell (1815-91) produced his monumental linguistic work on comparative Dravidian philology. Another British missionary, G. U. Pope (1820-1907), rendered great service for the study of Tamil through his grammatical works and English translations of the Tamil classics like Tirukkovai and Tiruvācakam. Two notable native Christian writers were Vedanayagam Pillai (c. 1824-89) and H. A. Krishna Pillai (1827-1900). Besides writing poetical works like Ntinīl and Sarvaśamayak-kirttanaikal, the former produced the first novel in Tamil, Pirātāba Mudaliyar-carittiram (1875). The latter was the author of Iratçnya-yattirigam, which is an adaptation of John Bunyan’s The Pilgrim’s Progress.

The poems of ‘Vaḷḷalār’ Ramalinga Swamigal (1823-74), spiritual leader of Tamil Nadu, are melodious and yet full of devotional fervour. His soul-

24 T. P. Meenakshisundaran, op. cit., p. 156.
stirring hymns, compiled in a book called *Tiru Arupṭa*, are remarkable 'for their inner glow, perfectness, and musical language'.²⁵ His *Jivakāruṇya Ozhukkam* and *Manumurai-kaṇḍa-vācakam* are among the best prose works written during the last century. Gopalakrishna Bharati's *Nandanaṟ-carittirak-kīrttanaikāla* is a popular verse-drama which narrates the life story of Nandanār, a Nāyanmār. A giant among the Tamil scholars of the nineteenth century, Mahavidwan Meenakshisundaram Pillai wrote many Purāṇas and other works belonging to the *cirrilakkiyam²⁶* in highly chaste classical Tamil. It is he who inspired the great Tamil scholar Dr U. V. Swaminathayygar in the latter's literary pursuits. Arumuga Navalar (1822-76), C. W. Damodaram Pillai, and Murugesa Panditar are some of the scholars of Jaffna (Sri Lanka) who have enriched Tamil literature.

Till the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was no significant work in prose excepting the diary kept in the current colloquial Tamil prose by Anandarangam Pillai who was Dewan to Duplex, French Governor of Pondicherry. Rudiments of Tamil prose can be traced to *Śilappadikāram* wherein occur a few lines in prose. In Perundevanār's metrical work, *Bhāratam*, some prose passages are found. The first prose writing as such is, however, Nakkīrār's commentary on *Iraiyanār Ahapporuḷ*. The prose employed here is very ornate and incomprehensible for an ordinary reader. The commentators of classics, as has already been pointed out, used a kind of prose.

**PERIOD OF RENAISSANCE AND GROWTH**

The period after 1850 synchronized with the unearthing of Saṅgam and other ancient works from private possessions and their printing. The credit for this goes to Dr U. V. Swaminathayyar, whose masterly editions with copious notes deserve special mention. Thanks to the painstaking efforts of this pioneer in editing classics on modern lines, the Tamils came to have the Saṅgam literature in print with elaborate commentaries. The twentieth century saw the germination of Swadeshi spirit. Swami Vivekananda's clarion call to the nation to think of its ancient heritage, the partition of Bengal and its aftermath, the rise of the national poet Subrahmanya Bharati in Tamil Nadu—all these were contributory factors for the growth of patriotic feeling among Tamils. The advent of Bharati ushered in an era of literary renaissance in Tamil Nadu.

**POETRY**

Subrahmanya Bharati (c. 1882-1921) blazed a new trail which was followed by many other poets of the next generation. His chief contribution lies in his

²⁵ Kamil Zvelebil, op. cit., p. 20.
²⁶ Ninety-six types of poetical compositions in Tamil literature are grouped under the general title cirrilakkiyam (minor literature). A few notable types of this group are: antāḍi, nāḷai, ulū, sāṭakam, parāṇi, pāḷī, kuravāṭhi, koṇai, pīḷlaṭṭamich, and kalambakam.
patriotic and devotional songs, an epic poem of small dimension but of great charm, and prose writings on contemporary affairs. His egalitarian outlook, concern for women, intense patriotism, and solicitude for children and the downtrodden are well known. An attempt to integrate the twentieth century with the past was made by him in his Pāñcāli Šabadam which is an epic poem based on a single episode of the Mahābhārata. His deep concern for the political and social freedom of the people, including the pariah, inspired him to create a new literature easily comprehensible by the common folk. This can be seen from his songs such as ‘Freedom, freedom, freedom to the pariahs...’. Love for humanity, nay, for the entire creation, and indignation against all kinds of oppression and injustice have made the poet sing many a thought-provoking song in new rhythm and symbolic language. The mystical tradition of Ālvārs and Nāyanmārs is found in Bharati’s religious songs. His hymns to Goddess Śakti in Kālīppēṭtu and to Śrī Kṛṣṇa in Kaṇṭaṇ-pāṭṭu are sweet and soul-stirring. His Kuyil-pāṭṭu has various levels of appeal—mythological, romantic, allegorical, and mystic. The poetry of Bharati is remarkably rich and suggestive, passionate and sensuous, simple yet satirical.

The patriot-scholar V. O. Chidambaran (1872-1936) composed, besides his autobiography, a few poetical works on ethical and philosophical themes (Meyyari; Păḍal Tiraṭṭu, 1935). ‘Kavimani’ Desikavayagam (1875-1954) wrote Malarum-mālaiyum, Umarkkayām-pāṭalkal (translation of Omar Khayyam’s Rubaiyat), Āṣiyajoti (adaptation of Edwin Arnold’s Light of Asia), etc. Tīru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram (‘Tīru. Vi. Ka.’; 1883-1954) wrote Podumai Veṭṭal (1942) in simple ahavai metre dealing with the harmony of all religious and sectarian thoughts. Besides his two poetical works Tamizhan Idayam and Šaṅkoli (1953), ‘Nāmakkal Kaviṉar’ Ramalingam (1888-1972) has versified a love story, Aṭvalum Aveṇum (c. 1953), in a lucid language. His patriotic poem composed on the occasion of the Salt Satyagraha in 1931 is a marching song full of vitality and vigour. These poets including Kothamangalam Subbu (1910-74), author of Gāndhi Mahān Kathaiṭal (1947), belong to the Gandhian school of thought in one way or other. Yogi Sudhamananda Bharati is the author of Bhārata-mahāsvākti and a number of poems of topical interest.

Belonging to the Bharati school, Kanakasubburatnam (‘Bhāratidāsan’; 1891-1964) is a poet of revolt and individualism. He is famous for his poems on love, the status of women, and welfare of the masses. The poet’s identification with the downtrodden is complete, his attitude being socialistic. With an apt description based on close observation, he has expressed his love for Nature in a unique way in his Aṭhakku Śrippu. His Păṭḍiyan Pariśu, a poem of epical dimension, is embellished with thought-provoking ideas and sentiments. His Tamizh-iyakkam is an appeal to Tamils who have forgotten the glory and antiquity of their mother-tongue. His conception of an ideal home is contained in Kuṭumbab-
vilakku and the opposite picture is depicted with remarkable clarity in Irungada Vidu. His Isaiyamuthu and Ilaiñar Ilakkiyam have beautiful maxims for the young. Other works of ‘Bharatidasa’ include Purachik-kavi, Kurinciittitu, and Sañciiti Parvatattin Cäral. His fame, however, in later years suffered on account of his espousal of the Dravidian movement. Durai Manickam (‘Pavalar Perunçittiranar’; b. 1933) is one of the worthy successors of ‘Bharatidasa’. He has written many songs in the Sañgam tradition, and made new experiments dealing with modern philosophical ideas. Aiyai, Nürősiviyam, Koyyãkkani, Epswãj Enbutu (1969), and Paviyakkottu (1969) are a few of his outstanding works. Pulavar Kulantai’s Ràvanya-kãviyam (1946) is an epic written only to glorify Ràvanya of the Ràmiyãna. Many poets like M. L. Thangappa (Andaip-pãttu), ‘Muñiyarañan’ (Pünkõdi), and ‘Ezhilmutalvan’ (b. 1940; Inikkum Ninaiyukal, 1976) have written on new themes in a charming style following ‘Bharatidasa’.

There were also poets who adhered to the old pattern, metre, and ideas. N. Kanakaraja Iyer in his Marainta-mañagar and R. Raghava Iyengar in his Pãri-kãnai (1937) employed fully the traditional style. ‘Vâñidasa’ (b. 1915; Tirtta Yâttirai), ‘Muñiyarañan’ (Vinakãviyam), ‘Sûradã’ (Sakti Pirakkutu, 1948), and similar other poets drew upon the old classics. Their treatment is, however, modern. Some academicians like A. Srinivasaraghavan (1905-75), ‘Sâlai Ilantiraiyan’ (b. 1930), and ‘Tamizhanñal’ have contributed to the development of modern Tamil poetry. Veñãipparavai (1967), a collection of poems written by A. Srinivasaraghavan, is marked by freshness, verve, and depth. It won the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1968. Among the modern poets, mention may be made of Trilokasitaram (Gandarva-gànam, 1967), Periyasamy Thuran (Enrum Padinãru), ‘Sadhu. Su. Yogi’ (Manitanai-pãduven), ‘Sûrabî’ (Sattiya âgadai), Al. Valliyappa (an eminent children’s poet; Malarum Ulam, 1954), ‘Kañnadãsan’ (b. 1926; Mânkani, 1970), and ‘Tamizhazhagan’. ‘Kaññadãsan’ is a household name in Tamil Nadu because of his lyrics written in simple and chaste style. There are quite a large number of lesser poets, among whom are writers of free verse, who have created a stir in the Tamil literary world by their unconventional use of the language. Many of their works are of little merit. There are others who strive hard to create poetry in this new line; they include N. Pichumurthi, Dharumu Sivaraman, Vaideeswaran, and C. Mani. Promising young poets like ‘Abi’ (Maunattin Návukal, 1974), ‘Gângai-konðân’ (Küttuppuzhukkal, 1974), M. Rajendran (‘Mi. Râ’; Kanavugal+ Karpanaigal=Kágitalgal), and N. Mehta (Kaññirppãkkal, 1974) have also made some new experiments in writing verse.

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FICTIONAL LITERATURE

The first work of fiction in Tamil is the highly symbolic Paramārtha Gurukathai written by 'Viramāmunivar' in the eighteenth century. Piratāba Mudaliyar-caritiram by Vedanayagam Pillai (nineteenth century) marked the next stage in the growth of the novel. This was followed by Kamalamāl-caritiram (1896) by Rajam Ayyar. A further development took place in the early twentieth century with Madhaviah's (c. 1870-1925) Padmavati-caritiram. After him came Vaduvur Duraiswamy (Menakā, Bāllamani), Arani Kuppuswamy (Ratnapuri-rahasayam), Shankara Ram (Manṇasai, Kāriyarasi), 'Nāraṇa Duraikkanan' (Śimāṭṭi Kārttīyāyini, Uyirvoiyam), and other authors. 'Nāraṇa Duraikkanan' is an eminent novelist of the post-Independence period also. R. Krishnamurthi ('Kalki'; 1899-1954) wrote Pārttipan Kanavu (1942), Śivakāmiyin Śabadam (1944), and Ponniyin Selvan—all historical novels depicting the glorious past of Tamil Nadu. These set a pattern which was followed by such post-Independence writers as 'Śāndilyan' (b. 1910; Tāvand-rāṇi; Kaḍal-purā, 1967), 'Jagaccirpiyan' (b. 1925; Tirucirrambalam; Nandivarman Kaḍali, 1958) 'Govi. Maṇiśekharan' (b. 1927; Śebimiyen Selvi, 1959; Nilamallikai), and 'Akillan' (b. 1925; Venugaiyin Maindan, 1961). Their novels are based on the anecdotes of ancient Tamil kings. Pālmarakkāṭṭile (1977) is the latest novel of 'Akillan', which delineates the sufferings of Tamil workers of rubber estates in Malaysia.

The style of M. Varadarajan ('Mu. Va.'; 1912-74), who started writing in the pre-Independence period, is simple and lucid. He made experiments with new techniques in his novels. Perra Manam (1953), Karittuṇḍu (1953), Śentāmaraï, and Maṇkudīsai are some of his popular works. He was a recipient of the Sahitya Akademi Award (1961) for his Ahal-vilakku (1958). Distinguished politician C. N. Annadurai (c. 1908-69) was a novelist of distinction. Two of his important works are Nallatambi and Rangoon Rādha (1952). He also wrote a number of short stories advocating Dravidian movements. Pāvai-vilakk 'ai and Cittirappāvai (1968) by 'Akillan' are two outstanding novels of the post-Independence period. A psychological novel, the former is autobiographical in a sense. It revolves round a novelist and his various women fans. The latter, which won the Jñanpith Award in 1975, is his magnum opus wherein the conflict between the precept and practice of 'art for art's sake' is the theme. 'Anuttamā' (b. 1922; Keṭṭavaram, 1951), 'Lakṣmi' (Peṇmanam), Jayalakshmi Srinivasan (Pusparāham, 1944), and Kodinayaki Ammal (Tūya-ulłam, 1951) are some of the women writers who became famous in the forties and fifties. Samudāya Vidi (1968), Kuriṇci-malar (1961), Pon-vilanku (1964), and Kapāṭapuram (1967) are a few important novels of N. Parthasarathy ('Maṇivanṇan'; b. 1932), who belongs to the 'Kalki' school. The first won the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1971. Gandhiji's non-co-operation movement provided the theme for such novels as Alaiyośai, Makuṭapati, and Tīyagabhūmi by 'Kalki'; Murugan

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Or Uzhavan by K. Venkataramani; Maṇṇul Teriyutu Vāṇam (1969) by Chidambara Subramanyam; and Kalluḷkuḷ Iram (1969) by R. S. Nallaperumal. Alaiyōsai of 'Kalki' received the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1956 posthumously.

New experiments in novel-writing were tried by Jayakantan (b. 1934) in his Oru Naṭikai Naṭakam Pārkkirāḷ (1971) and Śīla Neraṅkaṭal Śīla Manitarkaṭ (1970). The latter won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1972. Attempts on the 'stream of consciousness' line were also made. A notable writer of this genre is L. S. Ramamritam (Putra, 1965). Indira Parthasarathy's (b. 1930) novels, such as Tantirabhāmi (1969), Kurutippunāl (1974), and Tiṅukal (1976), are based on Freudism. Sundaram Ramaswamy's Oru Puliyamarattin Kathai (1966) is a distinguished work of fiction so far as its technique is concerned. T. Janakiraman's (b. 1921) Mohamuḷ (1961) interprets the complications in social and family life from the psychological standpoint. P. M. Kannan's (b. 1910) Peṇ Deivam (1943) and other novels provide realistic pictures of family life. Oru Naḷ (1950) and Poṟteṭṭu of Ka. Naa. Subrahmanya are two remarkable productions of the post-Independence period from the stylistic point of view. Raghunathan's Paṇicam Pasiyum (1953) is a novel with a socialistic slant. Among the new fiction writers who have become prominent are 'Nakulan,' 'Aśokamitran' (b. 1935), 'Śujāṭā' (b. 1935), R. S. Nallaperumal (b. 1931), U. Subbayya (b. 1930), 'Puśpā Taṅkatturai', Jothiralatha Girija (b. 1936), Sivakasi (b. 1942), 'Kiruttikā' (b. 1915), and Rajam Krishnan. Of these, the last four are women. Translations have been added to creative literature, though very few of them have retained the flavour of the original. Of the recent translations, the Tamil renderings of V. S. Khandekar's Marathi novels by K. S. Srinivasacharya ('Kā. Śrī. Śrī.') deserve special notice. T. N. Kumareshwari, a student of Santiniketan, is mainly responsible for popularizing Tamil translations of Bengali novels. In spite of a plethora of novels that have been published during the recent years, there is hardly any novel of outstanding merit. Novels written in a humorous vein are rather few in Tamil. However, S. V. Vijayaraghavachari (1879-1950; Vasanth, 1941), 'Tumilan', (b. 1904, Amrūḍhā, 1961), 'Nāṭopū' (Maṇaṇap-Piḷḷaiyār), 'Devan', 'Cāvi', and other writers have contributed to the Tamil literature of this particular genre. From Rajam Ayyar's Kamalambōḷ-carittiram (1896) to T. Janakiraman's Mohamuḷ (1961) and Neela Padmanabhan's (b. 1938) Talaimuraigaḷ (1968) there has been a continuous flow of writings with a regional flavour.

In the domain of the short story, pioneering efforts were made by V. V. S. Aiyar (1881-1935; Maṅgayarkkaraṭiyin Kādal). He was followed by a group of powerful writers like 'Kalki', 'Pudumaippittan' (1916-48), 'Ku. Pa. Rā.', 'Mauni' (b. 1907), B. S. Ramayya (b. 1905), 'Va. Rā.' (1889-1951), and A. S. P. Ayyar. Popular collections of short stories by 'Pudumaippittan', who was a great experimentalist, include Kaṇčanai (1943), Sirrnnai (1950), and
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Šāba-vimocanam. ‘Vindan’ (Pālam Pāvaiyum, 1951), Chidambara Raghunathan (b. 1923; Idaya Ośi), G. Alagirisamy (b. 1925; Tavappayan, 1956), T. Janakiraman (Vēvil), R. Chudamani (b. 1931; Manattukku Iniya vel 1960), ‘Mu. Va.’ (Vidutalaiyā), ‘Ārvī’ (b. 1920; Aṇaiyā-viḷakku, 1956), ‘Cāvi’ (Tirukkural-kathaikal), and ‘Māṇiyam’ (Ātticēdi-kathaiyāl) have contributed much to this branch of literature. Jayakantan’s short stories (Inippum Karippum, 1960; Uṇnai Śuḍum, 1964) are true reflections of life with interactions of men and women in varied situations. The short stories of ‘Akiłan’ are more than 150 in number (Sakotara Anro, 1963; Satiya Āvesam, 1974). There are also short stories as well as novels which have been written from a propagandist point of view. Besides, there are ‘progressive’ writers who have tried to use literature as a means of transforming society. It is in this field that works in Tamil have been produced in bulk, though the quality is sometimes indifferent.

PLAYS

Works like Śilappadikāram contain references to plays being enacted. Theatrical techniques are also found mentioned in them. Tamil dramas, kēṭṭu as they were called, must have been a popular resort of the public during the period of Imperial Colās. It had lost its hold gradually until in the nineteenth century there was a revival of the theatre and dramatic literature. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Arunācalā Kavirāyar wrote a drama, Āsomuki-nāṭakam, besides an opera type piece, Rāma-nāṭakam. Sundaram Pillai’s (1855-97) Manомнāṭiyam (1891), a poetic drama, gave a new dimension to the dramatic literature in Tamil. V. V. Suryanarayana Sastri alias ‘Paritimaḷ Kalaīḷar’ (1870-1903; Rūpāvati, Kalāvati) wrote dramas on the Shakespearean model. Sankaradas Swami’s plays are based on old stories of mythology. Among the plays written by ‘Pammal’ Sambanda Mudaliar (1873-1964) Sabhāpati (1931), Manohara, and Ratnāvali became very popular. Śākuntalamāṭakam (1907; translation of Kālidāsa’s Abhijñāna-Sakuntala) by ‘Maraimalai Aḍikāḷ’, Kuzhandai Rāmu (1929) by R. S. Desikan, Appar-nāṭakam (1934) by M. Balasubramaniam, and Paṭiya Peṅkaḷ (1948) by ‘Bhāratidāsan’ are some of the notable works of the first half of this century. T. K. Shanmukham and his brothers infused a new life into the stage by presenting many historical and social dramas like Awaiyār and Rāja Rāja Colān. Dramatists like T. K. Pavalar wrote plays (Katarin Verri, Deśiyak-kasti) with the freedom movement as their background during the pre-Independence period. ‘Bhāratidāsan’ has presented a Saṅgam theme in his Ceratāṇḍavam (1949). His Piśrāndaiyār, which won posthumously the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1969, has for its theme the life-story of a Saṅgam poet, Piśrāndaiyār. K. Appadurai’s Aṇḍi-maṭam (1952), Periyasamy Thuran’s Manakkukai (1955), B. S. Ramayya’s Ter Oṭṭiyin Makan (1957), T. Janakiraman’s Nāluveli Nīlam (1959), R. Chudamani’s Irwar
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Kaṇḍanar, K. A. P. Viswanatham’s Tamizhcevai, M. Varadarajan’s Kādal-eike, and Vāzhvil Inbam by ‘Akillan’ are some of the recent plays which deserve special notice. Latterly, there has been a definite swing of popular taste towards hilarious social plays with political overtones, but plays of real literary merit are rare.

OTHER FORMS OF LITERATURE

Tamil prose, as has already been seen, originated in the commentaries of the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries. It started flourishing with the advent of the Westerners into South India. Ramalinga Swamigal, Arumuga Navalar, Vedanayagam Pillai, and many others have contributed much for the development of Tamil prose. Thanks to the Tamil journals, prose-writing became quite common, and patriots like V. O. Chidambaram and Subrahmanya Bharati and scholars like Tiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram and T. K. Chidambaranathan distinguished themselves as eminent writers of prose. ‘Maraimalai Aḍikaḷ’ (1879-1950), who led the puritan movement in Modern Tamil, wrote in a chaste and charming style using pure Tamil words only. Cintanaik-katta-raikaḷ (1908), Tolaiviluṇartal (1935), and Tamizhar Matam (1941) are some of his important prose works. The writings of Tiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram (Penṉin Perumai; Manita Vāzhkkaiyum Gândhi Aḍikaḷum; Uṭṭoḷi, 1942; Tamizheckolai, 1935; Murugan Allatu Azhagu, 1925) are remarkable as much for the wide range of subjects covered as for their high idealism and spiritual content. They set a new pattern for modern Tamil prose. An illustrious journalist, ‘Kalki’ was also a novelist, short story writer, humorist, and music critic of note. The great statesman C. Rajagopalachari (‘Rājāji’; 1879-1972) was a prose writer of distinction. He summarized the Mahābhārata (Viṭṭaṭar Virundu) and the Rāmāyana (Cakkaravarittit-Tirumakam). His Śrī Rāmakṣayārit Upaniṣadām (1950) was declared by the Tamil Academy of Madras as the best book in Tamil for the year 1952-53. The tales and parables of Sri Ramakrishna have been retold in an impressive and fascinating way in this book which has been translated in various languages of India including English. The Ramakrishna Math at Madras has brought out a sizable volume of literature in Tamil to spread the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement. Mention may be made of Mozhiya-mutam by Swami Paramatmananda, Svāmi Vivekanandar by R. Ganapathi, and Tiruvarammozhī in this connexion. The Tinnevelly Šaiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society has made significant contributions to the development of religious literature in Modern Tamil. The writings of Swami Chidbhavananda expound the immortal philosophy of life in a simple, rational, and soul-elevating manner. He gives a critical analysis of the life of Sri Ramakrishna in Paramahamsar Perumai (1959), which is a unique exposition of practical Vedānta. Besides lucid commentaries on the Bhagavad-Ḥīḍā, Tiruvakam, and
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Tāyumānava Svāmīgaḷ Pāḍalkāḷ, Swami Chidbhavananda has produced many other literary works that are companions to spiritual aspirants—Etirkāla Indiyā (1953), Dīnāsāri Dhiyānām (1960), and Gāyatri (1973) being a few among them.

Apart from some earlier critical works like Bhagavad-viṣayam (on Divya Prabandham), literary criticism in the modern sense of the term did not emerge in Tamil literature till the middle of the nineteenth century. Scholars who contributed in this field during the first four decades of the present century include ‘Maraimalai Aḍikal’ (Tiruvalluvar Kālam, Paṭṭinappālai Ārāycci), ‘Nāvala’ Somasundara Bharati (1879-1950; Tirukkural, Kamba Rāmāyaṇam), M. Raghava Iyengar (1878-1950; Ārāycci Tokut), S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (Ilakkiyac-cintanaikal), ‘Paṇḍitamanḍi’ M. Kathiresan Chettiar (Tiruvačakam), and R. P. Sethu Pillai (Tamizham—Orum Perum). The next three decades and a half saw the productions of some more notable works in this genre. Among the writers of this period are: Auvei Duraisamy (expositions of the Saṅgam and Śaiva Siddhānta literature), K. V. Jagannathan (b. 1906; Virar Ulagam, 1966), M. Varadarajan (Ovacceyyi, 1952), K. Appadurai (b. 1907; Kumarik-kaṇḍam Allatu Kaṭal Kaṇḍa Tennāḍu, 1951), M. Rajamanickanar (Pallavar Varalāru, 1952), C. Ilakkuvanar (Pazhantamizh, 1962), K. A. P. Viswanatham (Tirukkural-śuraṅgam), ‘Tirukkurāḷ’ Munusamy (Tirukkural-payānām), V. S. P. Manickam (Tamizh-kādal), ‘Tamizhaṇṇal’ (Oppiyal Oru Arinagam), ‘Śālai Iļantiraιyan’, A. M. Paramasivanandam, ‘Iļavazhaganār’, and Sp. Annamalai. Most of their works are on great classics of the past. G. Devaneya Pavanar (b. 1902) has pioneered in the field of literary and linguistic researches. His Mutal-tāy-mozhi (1955), Sollāryecik-katturaikaḷ (1949), and Diraviḍattāy (1964) are significant philological works. But for his researches in philology, the purity and antiquity of Tamil might have remained a myth. His Paṉḍait Tamizhar Paṇḍārum Nāgarikamam (1966), Tamizh Nāṭtu Viḷaiyāṭṭukkal (1954), and Tamizhar Matam (1972) reveal the glory of Tamil culture. Swami Vipulananda (1892-1947) has written a research work, Yāzh-nūl, on the ancient Tamil īśai (music), besides his critical essays and devotional poems. Yāzh-nūl is a prodigious work of great dimension and no work produced later on Tamil music has surpassed it.

Biographical literature in Tamil prose developed rather late in this century. A notable work is Śrī Rāmānujar by ‘Pi. Śrī’, which received the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1965. Pudumaippittan Varalāru (1951; biography of ‘Pudumaiippittan’) by Chidambaram Raghunathan, Puraṭṭippāvalar (biography of ‘Bhāratidāsan’) by Durai Manickam, Śivakāmiyin Selvan (biography of Kamaraj) by ‘Cāvi’, and Maraimalai Aḍikal Varalāru (1959; biography of ‘Maraimalai Aḍikal’) by M. Thirunavukkarasu are a few other important works of this genre. U. V. Swaminathayyar (En Caritam), ‘Tiru. Vi. Ka.’ (Vāzhkkaik-kurippukkal), ‘Nāmakkal Kaviṉar’ Ramalingam (En Kathai), T. S. S. Rajan, and
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T. K. Shanmukham are some of the writers of good autobiographies. Travelogues forming an interesting feature of modern Tamil literature are getting popular. The works of 'Tiru. Vi. Ka.', 'Mu. Va.' (Yân Kanđa Ilañkai), 'Somale' (Māvaṭṭa Vaiśai), Mi. Pa. Somasundaram (b. 1921; Akkaraie-clmaiyil, 1961), and 'Mañiyam' (Idayam Peñukiratu) deserve special mention. Science and technology are being popularized by P. N. Appuswami, Subbu Reddiar, E. T. Rajeswari, Manickam, G. R. Damodaran, Samuel Abraham, and others. Juvenile literature, however, has not yet attained a high standard, though there are many periodicals such as Tamizhe-ciṭṭu, Kaññan, Puñcolai, Karumbu, and Gokulam. While journals like Ānanda ViKaṭan, Dipam, Kalaimagal, and Kalki are popularizing fictional literature in colloquial Tamil, Centamizhe-selvi, Tenmozhi, Tamizham, Tamizhp-požhil are enriching modern Tamil literature through their pure, classic, and chaste style.28

Modern Tamil literature does not match favourably with the ancient works in the language. Compared even with some of the Indian languages, its development in recent years has not been adequate. However, the international recognition of Tamil has found its expression in three World Tamil Conferences resulting in a spate of scholarly papers. With the adoption of Tamil as the medium of instruction in Tamil Nadu, there has been a spurt of literary activity which augurs well for Tamil, a language with a great cultural heritage and rich literary tradition.

28 The credit for starting the first journal in Tamil (Tamizh Itazh in 1831) goes to the Christian missionaries. Gradually, others also appeared in the field and published both monthlies and weeklies—religious as well as literary. But the style of those journals was artificial and laboured and marked by an abundance of Sanskrit words. This continued till the middle of the second decade of the twentieth century. Journalism took a new turn when Tiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram became the editor of Delabhañkan in 1917, which played a very commendable role in facilitating the growth of the Tamil language.
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THE LAND AND THE LANGUAGE

TELUGU is one of the most important languages of India belonging to the Dravidian family. Its speakers are chiefly concentrated in Andhra Pradesh and the neighbouring States of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu. Next to Hindi, it is the mother-tongue of the largest number of people in India. The Census of 1971 gives the number of Telugu-speaking people as 44,707,697. Bounded by Madhya Pradesh and Orissa in the north, the Bay of Bengal in the east, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka in the south, and Karnataka and Maharashtra in the west, Andhra Pradesh is the fifth largest State of India. Telugu is the official language of Andhra Pradesh.

Telugu is also known as Āndra-bhāṣā or the language of the Āndhras. To derive the word telugu, or the older forms teluṅgu and tenugu, some scholars unconvincingly relate them to Sanskrit words like trilīṅga (country of the three līṅgas), trikaliṅga (country of the three Kaliṅgas), or trinaga (land of three mountains). Telugu is perhaps connected with ‘Telīṅga’, the name of a tribe that must originally have lived in the region. This assumption is supported by the existence of Telagás, a major agricultural community in Andhra, and Telagāṇyas, a sub-sect among the Andhra Brahmans, and also by the name Telāṅgāna, denoting a part of the Andhra region. It is, therefore, possible that Telugu was originally an ethnic name. The word tenugu is the result of the phonetic change of l to n which is attested elsewhere in the language. Both telugu and tenugu were found to be in use from the eleventh century A.D.

The earliest reference to the Āndhras as a name denoting a tribe of people who migrated to the south of the Vindhyas is found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. They are also mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Megasthenes refers to them as a political power in the south-eastern Deccan. It is, therefore, possible to suppose that the Āndhras were migrants from the North, and that their political and cultural domination over the people in the Telugu region would have given their name to the country, the people, and later to the language. The two terms telugu and āndhra have been synonymously used from the early times and they signify one and the same people, region, and language.

The political and social history of the Āndhras can be sketched from the times of the Sātavāhana rule (263 B.C. to A.D. 163). The geographical position of the Andhra region as a meeting place of the North and the South has been
a dominant factor in the political, social, cultural, and literary development of the Andhras. In the process of Aryanization of the South, the Telugu people seem to have been the first to lose much of their identity as a Dravidian race. They became Aryanized soon in their ways of life. From the earliest times of their history, the Telugu people struck a note of synthesis between the two cultures, Aryan and Dravidian, and played a significant role in the evolution of a pan-Indian culture in the Sub-continent.

The Telugu language, as already stated, belongs to the Dravidian family. We do not know when it branched out as an independent language from the proto-Dravidian, but a reasonable guess would be that it was not earlier than the sixth century B.C. The literary history of Telugu begins with poet Nannaya (eleventh century A.D.) whose Mahābhāratamu is the earliest extant literary work in Telugu. But we have inscriptive evidence for Telugu from the third century B.C. with the commencement of the Sātavāhana rule in the Deccan. A few Telugu words, mostly names of persons or of some gifted villages, or descriptions of their boundaries, are found in the Prakrit inscriptions of the Sātavāhana kings and their successors. They occur in greater number in the Sanskrit inscriptions from about the middle of the fourth century A.D. The language thus came under the dominating influence of Prakrit and Sanskrit which were the upper languages during the first five centuries of the Christian era. Telugu inscriptions are available from the middle of the sixth century A.D., and until the beginning of the eleventh century we have about one hundred such inscriptions written in prose or verse. Nannaya’s Mahābhāratamu (A.D. 1030) marks a definite stage in the history and development of the Telugu language. The epigraphic sources of pre-Nannaya or pre-literary Telugu may be called Old Telugu, marking out the first 700 years (200 B.C.-A.D. 500) as the period of Prakrit-Sanskrit inscriptions and the next 500 years (A.D. 500-1000) as the age of Telugu inscriptions. From the point of view of linguistic development, the period A.D. 1000 to 1600 can be designated as Middle Telugu, and the period from A.D. 1600 onwards as Modern Telugu. The oldest inscriptions in the Andhra area were written in the southern variety of the Brāhmī script. It developed later into what is called Telugu-Kannada, parent to the modern Telugu and Kannada scripts.

Telugu is a borrowing language, and it seems to have started borrowing from Sanskrit since its infancy. Sanskrit always held a superior position in Andhra, and it was the language of education and scholarship among the Telugu people till the advent of the British. Telugu poets and grammarians were votaries of Sanskrit, and unrestricted borrowing of Sanskrit words and expressions was not only permitted, but also encouraged. Proficiency in Sanskrit was considered indispensable to a Telugu poet or scholar. The impact of Sanskrit on Telugu was so great that until recently Telugu poets
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and grammarians eulogized Sanskrit as the mother of Telugu. Over the nine hundred years of development of Telugu literature, this has resulted in translation and adaptation of many Sanskrit works into Telugu.

AGE OF KAVITRAYA (NANNAYA, TIKKANNA, AND ERRANA): A.D. 1000-1400

Classical Telugu literature dates from the time of Nannaya, whose work, Mahābhārata (a.d. 1030), marks an epoch in the history of the Telugu language as well as literature. It is an adaptation of the Sanskrit Mahābhārata in the form of campū, i.e. poetry mixed with prose. Though the later poets acclaimed Nannaya as the ādikavi (the first poet), it is difficult to assume that Nannaya's style—so chaste, sublime, and faultless, which set the norm for later poets—should have come into existence without any preceding stage of literary development in Telugu. Whether literary works in Telugu existed before the eleventh century A.D. is a debatable point. However, inscriptive evidence of the pre-Nannaya period shows the prevalence of metrical composition in Telugu from the seventh century A.D. Significantly, they are all in deṣṭi (indigenous) metres like taruvaṭa, akkara, tisam, etc. References are also available to show that deṣṭi kavita or folk-literature, which was mostly in the form of padas or folk-songs, was flourishing in the pre-Nannaya times as an oral tradition among the people. As against deṣṭi, Nannaya through his Mahābhārata (a.d.) pioneered the mārga (Sanskrit) tradition in Telugu. He borrowed freely Sanskrit words and expressions and also used liberally the different mārga metres along with deṣṭi metres in his work.

During the pre-Nannaya times, the vāmācāra practices and the Cārvāka and Kāpālikas schools were gaining hold on the people. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (seventh century A.D.) and Śaṅkarācārya (a.d. 788-820) preached against these and made a nation-wide drive to revive the Vedic dharma among the people. Nannaya and his patron-king Rājarāya Narendra (1022-63) took upon themselves the great task of reviving the varṇāśrama dharma (scheme of duties according to castes and stages of life) in the Andhra region. The translation of the Mahābhārata, which is known as the Pañcama-Veda (fifth Veda), was therefore an appropriate choice to serve as a means to propagate the Vedic

1The Śakti cult was prevalent in ancient South India along with Śaivism and Vaishnavism. The Śaiva school had numerous ramifications in the course of time with various forms of worship or āśiras, such as dakṣipālā, vāmācāra, kulācāra, and virācāra. For the philosophy of vāmācāra, see CHI, Vol. IV, pp. 228-29.

2The Cārvāka or the Lokāyata is a heterodox school of ancient Indian philosophy which did not accept the validity of the Śrutis and regarded pratyakṣa or direct perception as the only means of knowledge. For details of the philosophy of this system, CHI, Vol. III (pp. 168-83) may be consulted.

3By the side of a pure stream of Śiva-bhakti (devotion to Śiva), there grew up in South India several Śiva cults with somewhat gruesome practices. Chief among these were cults of the Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. Kāśi, Tiruvorriyūr, Melpādi, and Koṇjumbāḷūr were some of their strongest centres. Cf. CHI, Vol. IV, p. 71.
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heritage among the Telugu people. The Telugu Mahābhāratamu is not a mere translation of the original. Nannaya has shown sufficient originality to make it a work of high literary merit. For reasons unknown to history, Nannaya left his work incomplete. He wrote two parvans, Ādi and Sabhā, and only a part of the Vanarāvan. The rest of the Mahābhārata remained unfinished for the two centuries that followed. Ganita-sāra, a mathematical treatise of Mahāvīrācārya in Sanskrit, was translated into Telugu by Pāvulūri Mallana in the second half of the eleventh century. This explains, as Dr S. K. Chatterji observes, 'the advance made by Telugu as a means of scientific expression'.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D., Andhra-deśa (land of the Andhras) witnessed major political, social, and religious changes. The feudatories in Andhra asserted independence creating political unrest. The Vedic revivalism sponsored by Nannaya and his patron-king received a setback. The teachings of Basaveśvara, prophet of Vīraśaivism, disturbed the social fabric of the people both in the Karnataka and the Andhra region. Vīraśaivism became partly a mass movement and its gospel was preached to the people through literary works by Śaiva poets. Nannecoḍu (c. A.D. 1150) is the first of the Śaiva poets in Telugu. His Kumāra-sambhasamu in twelve cantos is a great kāvya of high merit written in the campā form. Pālakuriki Somanātha (c. 1200-1240) was a prolific writer among the Śaiva poets. He wrote in Telugu, Kannada, and Sanskrit. He was not only a crusader for Vīraśaivism, but also a rebel in the literary field in the sense that he opposed the mārga tradition of Nannaya and advocated the desī tradition. He did not favour translations from Sanskrit, or Sanskrit metre or Sanskritized Telugu. His major works are Basava Purāṇamu and Panḍitirādhya-caritra, written in dvipada metre dealing with the biographies of the two Śaiva prophets, Basaveśvara and Panḍitirādhya, respectively. Somanātha was also the pioneer in creating new literary genres like gadya, ragada, śataka, and udāharaṇa in Telugu. The desī movement initiated by him aimed at freeing the language from its dependence on Sanskrit in every respect. His religious zeal, if not fanaticism, unfortunately proved an impediment to the success of his desī movement in the literary field. Though the movement died with him, it did influence the writings of the later poets to some extent. The first translation or rather adaptation of the Rāmāyaṇa in Telugu was by Gona Buddha Reḍḍi (thirteenth century); it is called Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇamu (c. 1250). Though he was not a Śaiva poet, he was influenced by the writings of Somanātha in using dvipada metre for his work.

Tikkanna (c. 1220-1300) heralded a new era in Telugu literature by making

4 Cf. S. K. Chatterji, Languages and Literatures of Modern India, p. 274.

5 The school of Vīraśaivism or the Liṅgāyata school traces its origin to the Āgamas which are as old as the Brāhmaṇas. Basaveśvara infused new blood into the cult in the twelfth century. For details, see CHI, Vol. IV, pp. 98-107.
a fine synthesis between the mārga of Nannaya and the deśi of Pālakuriki Somanātha. As a minister to a feudal king, Tikkanna worked for the political unity of Āndhra-deśa with a view to averting a possible Muslim invasion of the South. As an Advaitin, he also worked for the religious unity of the Hindus by establishing the Hari-Hara cult. He brought together the Śaiva and non-Śaivaite schools of Telugu poets who were obsessed with religious dissensions. His first work was Nirocanottara Rāmāyaṇamu written in the kāyya style. Tikkanna took upon himself the great task of completing the translation of the Mahābhārata left unfinished by Nannaya. Commencing with the Vīrāparvam, he completed the remaining fifteen parvans of the Mahābhārata in the campū form and dedicated the book to Hari-Hara. He blended the mārga and deśi traditions in his works, particularly with regard to the language and metre. His Mahābhāratabamu is more than a translation; it is a great piece of original literary art too. He exploits the semantic wealth of deśi words and makes his style highly suggestive to his reader. Although he did not translate the Gītā portion, its message is conveyed throughout the poem. Tikkanna was also a patron of poets. Dasakumāra-caritra, a free poetical rendering of Daṇḍin’s famous prose romance in Sanskrit, by Mūlaghaṭika Ketana (1220-60) was dedicated to Tikkanna. Ketana has to his credit a grammatical treatise of Telugu, known as Āndhra-bhāṣā-bhaṣāṇamu. The author claims it as the first of its kind in the language. The Telugu version of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa by Mārana and Keśūrabhū-caritra, a poetical rendering of the Sanskrit Viddhaśāla-bhaṣṭikā, by Maṇcanna were notable works of this period. Kṛṣṇamācārya of this period wrote Śrīhagiri Narahari Vacanamu, a collection of devotional prose compositions, lyrical in character and original in content.

After Tikkanna, the political and social conditions in Andhra became chaotic. The Muslim invasion at the beginning of the fourteenth century broke the Kākatīya empire (1081-1323). The feudatories became independent and established small kingdoms. The eastern part of Andhra was ruled by the Reḍḍhi kings during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (1323-1450), and they extended patronage to literature and other fine arts. Errāpreggaḍa or Errana (c. 1280-1350) was the first court poet of the Reḍḍhi kings. He completed the translation of the latter part of the Vanaparvan left incomplete by Nannaya. The three poets, Nannaya, Tikkanna, and Errana, who completed the translation of the Mahābhārata, occupy a venerable place as the kavitraya, trinity of poets, in Telugu literature. If the story of the Mahābhārata won greater appreciation in Andhra than in other States, it was primarily due to the poetic genius of the kavitraya. Errana was the first poet to render the Harivanśa into Telugu. He was also the author of a Telugu Rāmāyaṇa, which is lost to us. His Nṛsiṁha Purāṇamu is considered a landmark, as it initiated a literary type called prabandha in Telugu literature. A contemporary of Errana was Nācana Soma
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(1355-77), a great admirer of Tikkanna and follower of the Hari-Hara cult. He was the author of Uttara-Harivamśa, which is highly appreciated for its embellished style. Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇamu, a joint work by four authors, is another noteworthy contribution to the Telugu literature of this period.

AGE OF ŚRĪNĀTHA (A.D. 1400-1500)

Śrīnātha (1365-1440) was a great scholar in Sanskrit and a literary prodigy in Telugu. As a court poet of the Reḍḍi kings, he occupied a position of great honour and distinction. He was the kavi-sārvabhauma (king of poets) of his time having had the royal honour of kanakābhiṣeka. Śrīnātha was the pioneer of an epoch, as he gave a new lead to set the shape and tone for the later kāvya-prabandha, a unique form of literature in Telugu. Some of his works are lost. Śrīgāra-naiṣadhatham, Hara-vilāsamu, Bhīmesvarama Puruṣamu, Kāśi-khaṇḍamu, and Palanāṭi-vīrā-caritramu—a popular ballad cycle in deśī metre, the first of its kind in Telugu—are the major works of Śrīnātha now extant. They rank as high class poetical compositions, comparable with the kāvyas in Sanskrit literature in their rhythm and cadence and stylistic majesty and stateliness. In fact, Śrīnātha linked the age of Puruṣas of the kaviraya with the age of prabandhas of the later period. A contemporary of Śrīnātha, Potana (c. 1400-1475) was the author of Mahābhāgavatamu, a free and enlarged rendering of the Bhāgavata Puruṣa in Telugu, which is still very popular in the land. A great bhakta poet, Potana had a musical soul, and mellifluous lyricism runs in each of the verses in his Mahābhāgavatamu. The Abhijñāna-Sākuntala of Kālidāsa was adapted with some changes into a kāvya form by Pinavirabhadrudu (c. 1450-80), a disciple of Śrīnātha, in his Sākuntalā-pariṇayamu. He had to his credit several renderings of the Purānic stories also, of which Jaimini Bhāratamu is only available today. Telugu works of translation, such as Padma Puruṣamu, Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇamu, and Nācitopākyảnamu, appeared during this century. The Pañcatantra was adapted into Telugu verse by Dūbaṇḍuṣṭa Narāyaṇa (1450-1500). Annamācāraya (1408-1503), a bhakta poet of Tirupati, composed thousands of saṅkīrtanas (devotional songs) of high literary and musical value. His wife Timmāmba, believed to be the first Telugu poetess, wrote Subhadarā-kalyāṇamu in the dvipada metre. The Varāha Puruṣa and Prabodha-candrodaya were rendered in the campū form jointly (c. 1480) by Nandi Mallaya and Ghaṇṭa Siṅgaya. The Prabodha-candrodaya is an allegorical play in Sanskrit by Kṛṣṇa Miśra; the Telugu version of the work is a beautiful poem in five cantos.

The noteworthy feature of the age of Śrīnātha was the multiplicity of poets and the variety and quantity of literary output representing various new

*Potana is not, however, the sole author of the extant Mahābhāgavatamu. He wrote the bulk of the poem undoubtedly, but there are portions which had been written by his disciples, Veligandala Nārāyaṇa, Gaṅganārāya, and Erūrī Siṅganna.
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tendencies in the evolution of the kāvya literature which culminated in the form of prabandha during the following century. Sanskrit poets were also extended equal patronage by the Reḍḍi kings, some of whom were themselves writers in Sanskrit.

AGE OF PRABANDHAS (A.D. 1500-1700)

The rule of Vijayanagara kings in Andhra-deśa during three quarters of the sixteenth century is considered as the golden age in both Andhra history and literature. Kṛṣṇadevarāya, the Vijayanagara king who ruled from 1509 to 1530, was a great scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu, and Kannada and composed poems in all the three languages. Poets were greatly honoured in his court. According to tradition, Kṛṣṇadevarāya had aṣṭa-digajas (eight learned poets) in his court, namely, Allasāṇi Peddana, Nandi Timmanna, Rāmabhadrā Kavi, Mādayagārī Mallana, Piṅgali Sūranna, Bhaṭṭumūrti, Dhūrjaṭi, and Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa. Royal patronage made these poets vie with each other to excel in narration and originality in their works. The result was the emergence of a new literary form called prabandha during this period. The prabandha in Telugu literature was no imitation or adaptation of the Sanskrit kāvya. It is a remarkable literary type original to Telugu literature. Though it apparently resembles the Sanskrit kāvya, it embodies in itself the excellence of śrāvaṇa (poetic), drṣṭya (dramatic), and madhura (lyric) elements. The development of plot, characterization, poetic imagery, figurative style, the treatment of rasa (sentiment)—each of these aspects presents a uniqueness of its own in a Telugu prabandha. Allasāṇi Peddana (c. 1510-75) was the originator of prabandha with his work Manu-caritramu. Pārijātāpaharanamu of Nandi Timmanna ranks with Peddana’s poem in excellence with its mellifluous style. It can be described as a drama in the form of a prabandha. Rāmabhadrā Kavi made an admirable epitomization of the Rāmāyaṇa in his Rāmābhuyudayamu (c. 1550). Rājaśekhara-caritramu (1515) of Mādayagārī Mallana deserves particular notice for its poetical merit. Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself was the author of a Telugu prabandha, Amukta-mālyada. As a Nature poet, he excelled in his description of the cycle of the seasons. Piṅgali Sūranna (c. 1520-80) wrote three poems of remarkable merit: Rāghava-Pāṇḍavyayamu (1545), Kālāpūrṇodayayamu (1550), and Prabhāvatī-Pradyumnayamu (1555). Rāghava-Pāṇḍavyayamu is a tour de force with each verse containing two meanings, one pertaining to the Rāmāyaṇa and the other to the Mahābhārata; Kālāpūrṇodayayamu is an original poetic romance with characters from the Purāṇas; and Prabhāvatī-Pradyumnayamu is a prabandha with a Purānic story. Rāghava-Pāṇḍavyayamu is the first dayarthi kāvya (poem with double meaning) in Telugu. Sūranna’s gift of inventiveness and poetical genius is greatly reflected

1Modern researches, however, indicate that Piṅgali Sūranna and Bhaṭṭumūrti did not actually belong to the court of Kṛṣṇadevarāya.
in Kalāpūrṇodayamu, a work conceived far ahead of his time. Critics have acclaimed it as a mahākāvya and a novel in verse. Bhāṭṭumūrti, also known as Rāmarāja Bhūṣaṇa, was a contemporary of Sūranna. He was the author of Vasu-caritra and Hariścandra-Nalopākhyānamu. In Vasu-caritra, magnum opus of Bhāṭṭumūrti, the Telugu prabandha reached its high watermark. That Vasu-caritra was translated into Sanskrit is a great testimony to its poetic merit. Hariścandra-Nalopākhyānamu is a devarthi kāvya like Sūranna’s Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyam. Though Kālahaṭṭīvara-māhātmyamu of Dhūrjaṭi and Pāṇḍuranga-māhātmyamu of Tenāḷī Rāmakṛṣṇa are not prabandhas in the real sense, they bear a few of the prabandha characteristics. Cintalaπūḍi Ellanārya (1510-60), who was patronized by Kṛṣṇadevarāya, is the author of two noteworthy poems, Rādhā-Mādhavam and Tārakabrahmarājīyam, the former being his masterpiece. Nṛṣimha Kavi, who probably flourished during the last years of Kṛṣṇadevarāya’s reign, was a powerful poet of his time. He has depicted śṛṅgāra (erotic sentiment) and vairāgya (dispassion) with equal grace and force with apt words chosen for expressing different sentiments in his prabandha of six cantos, Kavikārṇa-rāṣṭīyanamu. Rāmāyaṇamu of Kummari Molla, a poetess of this period belonging to the potter caste, deserves special notice for its beautiful descriptions and lucid style. It retains its popularity even to this day. Mention should be made here of Vemana, an outstanding poet and the ‘prince’ of śataκa writers, who probably belonged to the sixteenth century. He composed hundreds of verses of ethical and didactic import in a desī metre known as ātavelaḍi, which are still very popular in the land. Vemana’s poetry marks a complete departure from the artificial poems of his contemporaries.

LITERATURE UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE SULTANS OF GOLKONDA

Telugu literature flourished also under the patronage of the Sultans of the Qutub Shahi dynasty of Golkonda (1518-1687). Sultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah (1550-80), his son Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah (1580-1611), and their successors were all great patrons of Telugu literature. Taπati-saṇḍhvaranamu (1565) and Tavāṭi-caritramu (1578) are two celebrated prabandhas written by two court poets of Sultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah, Addaṇki Gaṅgādhara Kavi and Ponnikaṇṭi Telaganārya. Both the works were composed in what is called acca tenugu or pure Telugu devoid of Sanskrit words. This was something unique as most of the writers of the day preferred the highly Sanskritized miśra-bhāṣā (mixed language). Kandukūra Rudra Kavi, who earned appreciation from Ibrahim Qutub Shah, has to his credit a fine poem, Niraṅkusopākhyānamu written in mixed verse and prose. Saṭṭakaravarti-caritramu of Mallā Rėḍḍi (c.1550-1600), who is said to have been patronized by Ibrahim Qutub Shah, also deserves mention. Vaijyanti-vilāsamu of Sāruṇgu Timmannu, court poet of Quli Qutub Shah, is an excellent poem of love. Elakūci Bālasarasvati’s
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(c. 1600-1640) Rāghava-Yādava-Pāṇḍava-yamam is a noted tryarhi kāvya of the first half of the seventeenth century narrating the stories of the Rāmāyana, Bhāgavata, and Mahābhārata in the same set of verses.

SOUTHERN SCHOOL (c. A.D. 1500-1800)

With the fall of the Vijayanagara empire in 1565, Muslim rule was established in the major part of the Andhra area. The Telugu litterateurs had therefore to seek patronage in the courts of the Telugu Nāyaka kings at Tanjore and Madurai situated in the Tamil country. Telugu writers received patronage also from the local rulers at Pudukkottai and Mysore. Emulating the example of the Vijayanagara kings, the rulers of these southern kingdoms showered their patronage upon poets and writers in Telugu and this continued for over a couple of centuries. The Telugu works of the Southern school produced during this period beyond the borders of the Andhra area are varied in their form and tone. Though works of real literary merit and originality were few, the output was considerable. Some of these kings and sometimes their chieftains also were talented poets in Telugu. King Raghunātha Nāyaka (1600-1631) of Tanjore wrote both in Telugu and Sanskrit. Written in the doipada metre, his Acyutābhyyudayamam gives the life-story of his father. It furnished the pattern of writing verse biographies in Telugu. The author’s poetic talent is marvelously reflected in his Nala-caritram and Vālmiki-caritram. His son, King Vijayarāghava Nāyaka (1633-73), was a prolific writer of the yaksagānas, over twenty in number, in Telugu. The yaksagāna is a kind of popular play—an opera type of work, combining the elements of music, dance, and poetry in its form and presentation. The first yaksagāna in Telugu was Sugriva-vijayamam written by Kandukuri Rudra Kavi around 1568. Vijayarāghava Nāyaka with his love for music, dance, and drama popularized the yaksagānas by having them staged in his presence. Given a life of merry-making, he seemed to have converted his court into a centre for fine arts. Koneṭi Dikṣita Candra’s yaksagāna Vijayarāghava-kalyāṇam (c. 1680) has for its theme Vijayarāghava’s marriage with Kāntimati. Cemakūra Venkaṭa Kavi, court poet of Raghunātha Nāyaka, ranks high as an original poet. Sāraṇgadhara-caritram and Vijaya-vilāsam (1630) are two of his famous works, the latter being his masterpiece. Vijaya-vilāsam is a unique prabandha in which the poet exploits the sound and sense of native Telugu words in each of the verses to create wonderful poetic imagery. Kṛṣṇādhvari, a voluminous writer in Sanskrit as well as Telugu, wrote a remarkable dayarthi kāvya in Telugu, Naishadhā-pārijātīyamam. From the stylistic point of view, this poem is considered as a much better work than its earlier counterparts composed by Śūranna and Bhaṭṭumūrti. Čeṅgalvakāla Kavi, court poet of Vijayarāghava, composed Rājagopāla-vilāsam, a love romance on Kṛṣṇa and his eight wives representing eight types of nāyikās (heroines). Poetesses
also adorned the courts of the Tanjore kings. Pasupuleti Raṅgajāmmā, the first poetess to have the patronage of King Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, wrote two prabandhas—Mannarudāsa-vilāsam and Uśa-parīṇayamu. Madhuravāni, Rāma-bhadrāmba, Muddu Paḷani are some of the poetesses who dedicated their works to their patron-kings.

For the first time prose works in Telugu appeared under the patronage of the Nāyaka kings of Madurai. A prose biography of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, Rāya-vācakamu was written by Sthānapati during the time of Viśvanātha Nāyaka (1529-64). It gives an idea of the early prose literature in Telugu. Dhenu-māhātmyamu, a well-known prose work by Kāmesvara Kavi (1623-70), is devoted to the glorification of the cow. His Satyabhāmā-sāntvanamu marks the beginning of the erotic sāntvanam kāvyas in Telugu literature. Jaimini Bhāratamu and Sārāṅgadhara-caritramu of Samukham Venkata Kṛṣṇappa are two works in prose written under the patronage of Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha (1706-32) who was himself a writer in Telugu. Rādhikā-sāntvanamu and Akalyā-sahkrandanamu of Samukham Venkata Kṛṣṇappa are two more representative poems of this period in which the poet indulged in the description of love ad nauseam. Mitra-vindā-parīṇayamu of Venkatacalapati, another court poet of Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha, is a remarkable prabandha in six cantos composed in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Under the patronage of King Vijayarāghunātha Toṇḍamān (1730-69) of Pudukkottai, a Telugu lexicon in verse known as Āndhra-bhāṣārṇavaamu was written by Mudurupāṭi Veṅkanāryuddu. The Pudukkottai king Rāyarāghunātha Toṇḍamān (1769-89) was himself a talented poet and his Pārvati-parīṇayamu is regarded as ‘a poem of high poetic conceits’.* King Vijayarāghunātha, successor of Rāyarāghunātha, also patronized Telugu poets. His court poet Gonasuru Nārāyaṇaguru translated Bhānu Miśra’s Sanskrit work Rasamaṇjari into Telugu verse. Telugu literature also found favour with the local rulers of Mysore, particularly during the time of Cikkadevarāya (1672-1704) and his successors. Mahābhāratamu (c. 1730) of Vīrājū and Halāṣya- māhātmyamu of his son Naṅjarājū are two important works in prose that came from Mysore.

No survey of the Southern school of Telugu literature will be complete without a mention of Kṣetraya, Kavi Coḍappa, and Tyāgarāja. Kṣetraya and Kavi Coḍappa, contemporaries of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka of Tanjore, made themselves distinguished by composing padas and sātakas respectively. The saint-poet Tyāgarāja (1759-1847) of Tanjore composed his inimitable devotional songs in Telugu in praise of his favourite deity Rāma. His songs, which are sung all over southern India with great devotional fervour, gave an additional prestige to Telugu as a mellifluous speech and a sweet language.

* Cf. G. V. Sitapati, History of Telugu Literature, p. 46.
for music. Besides his songs, about 750 now available, Tyāgarāja has to his credit two opera-type works, namely, Prahlāda-bhakti-vijayam and Naukā-caritra.

AGE OF DECADENCE (A.D. 1750-1850)

Broadly speaking, decadence in Telugu literature started following the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire in the second half of the sixteenth century. The poets, rather versifiers, had a huge literary output to their credit, but most of them exhibited their lack of creativeness by imitating earlier works like Vasu-caritra or by writing dvīpada or prose versions of earlier Telugu classics like Mahābhāratamu, Mahābhāgavatamu, and Rāmāyaṇamu. A few poets, however, attempted to show their originality by writing in acca tenugu. But, with the exception of a few, most of these writings are just ‘laborious products’ which ‘owe their origin to a frantic effort, on the part of the poet, to hold the flickering attention of his audience by doing something out of the way’.

Poetry in general became artificial and the vices of the kāya style were too glaring to be missed. From the last quarter of the sixteenth century down to the first half of the nineteenth, Telugu literature had to pass through a long period of creeping paralysis. It was an age of literary stagnation and gradual degeneration. There was ‘a thick growth of rank vegetation, but hardly a noble tree showing itself’.

The only redeeming exceptions were, however, the literary productions of the Southern school. But the Southern school had its defects too. The erotic poetry which developed under its auspices made a formidable impact on the later poets of the period of decadence.

Although the signs of decadence in Telugu literature can be traced to about 150 years earlier, they were particularly conspicuous during the second half of the eighteenth century. By and large, one finds decadence not only in the content and quality of the works produced, but also in the literary taste and values of the people. The poets of importance of this age were Kācimaṇci Timma Kavi (1690-1757), Āḍidamu Sūra Kavi (1720-85), Kācimaṇci Jagga Kavi (younger brother of Timma Kavi), Kankaṇṭi Pāparāju (eighteenth century), Sishtu Krishnamurti (1790-1870), Pindiprolu Lakshmana Kavi (a senior contemporary of Krishnamurti), Madina Subhadramma (1780-1840), and Tarigonda Venkamamba (a contemporary of Subhadramma). The erotic sentiment looms large in the poems of this period. The narration of the adventures of love and depiction of the amours of the lovers become almost a craze with most of the poets. This was, however, in response to the demands of the contemporary reading public in general.

*Cf. P. Chenchiah & M. Bhujanga Rao, A History of Telugu Literature, p. 89.
*10Ibid., p. 86.
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A RÉSUMÉ

To sum up the salient features of Telugu literature till 1850: (i) The literature in general consists more of translations and adaptations from Sanskrit than original writings. However, Telugu poets did not fail to leave a stamp of originality in their translations or adaptations. (ii) The poets usually acknowledged the authority of Sanskrit treatises on poetics. (iii) Kings extended their patronage not only to Telugu but also to Sanskrit, and many Telugu poets wrote also in Sanskrit. (iv) The ancient Telugu grammars were written either in Sanskrit or in Telugu verse. (v) Telugu lexicons were composed in verse. (vi) Prose works of real merit were not found until the eighteenth century. (vii) Curiously enough, Sanskrit plays were not translated into Telugu until the late nineteenth century. (viii) The purāṇa, kāvyā, prabhanda, ṣatakā, yakṣagāṇa, udāharana, sanākīrī, vacana, dandaṅka are the main literary genres found in the pre-Modern period of Telugu literature.

MODERN TELUGU LITERATURE (1850 ONWARDS)

The Modern period in Telugu literature commences with the establishment of British rule in the whole of Andhra. Although the whole of the Northern Circars came under the British in 1765 with the grant of the same by the Mogul emperor, it took a few decades more for the Telugu language and literature to be really ‘modernized’. The process of modernization actually started with the spread of Western education since the 1850’s. By 1850 almost the entire Telugu-speaking area, excluding Telangana in the Nizam’s Dominions and Kolar District in the State of Mysore, had come under the East India Company. Madras under the British emerged as an important centre of Telugu studies and the foundation of the University of Madras in 1857 provided a further fillip to the process of modernization of the language. The literature under survey can be divided into three periods: (i) the period of transition, (ii) the period of renaissance, and (iii) the period of growth and proliferation. The transition period can be reckoned to have begun around the middle of the nineteenth century and continued almost up to the end of the century. Signs of renaissance were also discernible in a rudimentary form during this period. They became evident towards the end of the last century and developed during the first half of the present. The period of renaissance in Telugu literature was marked by nationalistic and socialistic trends in creative writing. Inspired by the national movement for freedom, writers of this period used their talent in producing significant literary works of patriotic fervour. While idealism continued to be the key-note of most of the creative writings of this period, writers were rational in their outlook, showing a sense of social awareness. Though scholars of Sanskrit-and Telugu, unacquainted with English, followed traditional models, writers with Western education attempted to
experiment on fresh lines. The age of renaissance was followed in a natural way by a period of growth and proliferation which is still in progress. During these last two periods Telugu literature has made significant progress in all its important branches, viz. poetry, fiction, short story, drama, essay, and criticism.

PERIOD OF TRANSITION

Writers of the period of transition were subject to a kind of conflict in their aims and ideals. While they were bound to an extent by the tradition of the past, they could not ignore new ideas and discard changing attitudes to life, thanks to the influence of English education. Some Englishmen made notable contributions to Telugu during the early years of the nineteenth century. William Carey wrote as early as 1814 a grammar of Telugu in English. He also set the types for Telugu printing. A. D. Campbell prepared the first Telugu-English dictionary and also a grammar of Telugu (1816). But the service rendered by Sir C. P. Brown (1798-1884) is the most significant. He compiled Telugu-English and English-Telugu dictionaries and collected hundreds of palm-leaf manuscripts of old Telugu works. But for his collection, many of the old Telugu classics would have been lost to us. He trained the local pundits in lexicography and textual criticism, and under his guidance they prepared commentaries on many old Telugu classics. His Telugu grammar (1840) was a very standard work and far surpassed all other earlier works in the field. His publication of Vemana’s Šatakam (1829) with his own translation of it into English was a most valued contribution to Telugu literature.

The prose that started at Madurai was generally followed, and hundreds of books were written—almost all in popular Telugu that had little to do with the rules of old grammars. But Chinnaya Suri (1806-62) arrested the progress of this fairly developed prose tradition in popular Telugu with his Niti-candrikā (1853) written in the artificial rhythmic and ornate language of the old prabandhas. Korada Ramachandra Sastri (1816-1900) also exhibited his fascination for the style of rhythmic prose heavily loaded with Sanskrit compounds in his Rathāṅga-dītām. Gurujada Sri Ramamurthi (1851-1900) in his Citra-rātnākaram, Timmarusu-caritra, and Kavi Jīvitamulu followed the style of Chinnaya Suri.

In the field of poetry too, the prabandha style continued to be the model with many writers during the transition period. Mantripragada Suryaprakasa Kavi (1808-73) composed two prabandhas, Sitā-Rāma-caritra and Kṛṣṇājuna-caritra. The latter is a doyarthi kāyya. Matsa Venkata Kavi (1856-1903) wrote Suddhāṅdhra Nirvacana-niroṣṭya Kuśa-Lava-caritra (1893) in pure Telugu. Composed in a very artificial style, it narrates the story of Lava and Kuśa from the Rāmāyana. Two more kāyas of the period, Bhadrā-parinayam and Bhāratābhudyayam,
were composed by Allamaraju Subrahmanyam (1831-92) and Madabhushi Venkatacharya respectively. A new form of poetry known as *avadhānam* (a feat in extemhope poetry and memory) was originated by Madabhushi Venkatacharya; this found enthusiastic practitioners in Subbaraya Sashti (1853-1909), Krishna Sashti (1856-1912), Allamaraju Rangasayi (1860-1936), Oleti Venkatarama Sashti (1883-1939), Vedula Ramakrishna Sashti (1889-1918), Kopparapu Venkata Subba Rao (1885-1932), Kopparapu Venkata Ramana Rao (1887-1942), Divakarla Tirupati Sashti (1871-1919), and Chellapilla Venkata Sashti (1870-1950). *Sravanānandam* and *Buddha-caritram*, two major works of the twin poets Divakarla Tirupati Sashti and Chellapilla Venkata Sashti, attracted large audience. A lucid style with a classical touch marks their poems in general.

Among other poets and writers of prose who clung to the old literary tradition the following may be mentioned: Dasu Sriramulu (1846-1908), Tumu Ramadasa Kavi (1856-1904), Vavilikolanu Subba Rao (1863-1936), Kasibhatta Brahmayya Sashti (1863-1940), Akondi Vyasamurti (1860-1916), Vavilala Vasudeva Sashti (1851-1897), Pundla Ramakrishnayya (1860-1904), Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu (1842-1915), Janamanchi Seshadri Sarma (1882-1953), and Tripurana Venkata Suryapradasa Rao (1889-1945). Some of them, however, historically belong to the period of renaissance.

**PERIOD OF RENAISSANCE**

With the spread of English education in the Andhra area as elsewhere in India, new forces were released in the social fabric of the people. Kandukuri Viresalingam Pantulu (1847-1919) was the best product of the influence of the Western thought and culture in Andhra. Standing between the old and new ages in Telugu literature, he heralded the renaissance in Andhra. He was greatly influenced by the writings of Raja Rammohun Roy and was a Brähmo Samājist himself. He was the pioneer in the field of journalism in Telugu and through his journal *Viveka-vardhini* (1874) he propagated modern ideas, fostered fresh creative art in literature, and printed the unpublished works of earlier poets. He started two other journals also, viz. *Hāsya-saṅjivini* (1876) and *Satīthita-bodhini* (1885), and primarily through his writings in these journals he launched attacks against social evils and superstitions and advocated social reforms, particularly widow-marriages and better education and status for women. He is generally acknowledged as the pioneer of modern trends in Telugu literature. In the early part of his career he, however, wrote in a pedantic style, but very soon realized the futility of taking resort to it. He started making experiments and gradually his language became simple and uniform. By introducing colloquial speech in his farces he paved the way for the use of actual spoken Telugu for literary purposes. His translation of Kālidāsa’s *Abhijñāna-Sākuntala*
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(1883) is still the best. It is one of the earliest translations of Sanskrit plays into Telugu. He gave in his Rājaśekhara-caritram (1878, based on Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield) one of the earliest novels in Telugu. His Hariścandra is also one of the earliest original dramas in the modern Telugu literature. His other writings, which include poems, essays, farces, criticisms, and biographies, run into several volumes. In fact, there is hardly any branch of Telugu literature to which he had not contributed in a unique way. Directly or indirectly, he exerted a great influence on his contemporaries as well as the writers of the later period.

At the beginning of this century, a controversy raged among Telugu writers over the use of the grān thika-bhāṣā (old literary language) as against nyāvāhārika-bhāṣā (modern spoken language), similar to that between the sādhu-bhāṣā and calītā-bhāṣā in Bengali. Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti (1863-1940) spearheaded the movement in favour of the modern spoken language, and Gurujada Venkata Appa Rao (1861-1916) was his ardent supporter. Ramamurti wrote his essays advocating the standard spoken Telugu. Although in the beginning the movement was not successful, it found favour with all later modern writers and journalists. Gurujada Venkata Appa Rao, a social reformer like Viresalingam, was the first to make experiments in new poetry in his Muttyālasaramulu (1910). His Kanyā-sulkam (first published in 1897, second revised and enlarged edition in 1909), the first social play in Telugu, is distinguished for its originality in theme, expression, humour, and characterization. Telugu poets in the twenties and thirties wrote mostly under the influence of the English Romantic poets, giving expression to their subjective feelings and thoughts and love of Nature. This movement in Telugu poetry was styled as bhāva-kavītram—the poetry of imagination. Rayaprolu Subba Rao (b. 1892; Trānakāṇkāyaṇam, 1913) is the precursor of this new movement in Telugu poetry. Devulapalli Krishna Sastri (b. 1897; Kṛṣṇapakṣam, 1924), Duvvuri Rami Reddi (1895-1949; Palita-keśam), Adivi Bapiraju (1895-1952; Śālikāla), Tallavajjhalā Sivasankara Sastri (1893-1977; Ḥṛdayeṣvari), Vedula Satyanarayana Sastri (1900-1976; Dipāvali), and Viswanatha Satyanarayana (1895-1976; Kinnerasāni-pāṭalu, 1933)—to mention only a few—made noteworthy contribution to modern Telugu poetry. The freedom movement inspired many Telugu poets who sang the glory of the motherland in a new voice. Balijepalli Lakshmikantam, Garimella Satyanarayana, Madhavapeddi Buchchi Sundararama Sastri, Somaraju Ramanuja Rao, Abburi Ramakrishna Rao, Marepalli Ramachandra Sastri, and others composed poems full of patriotic fervour and sentiment.

Marxist ideas also had their impact on modern Telugu poetry. Some 'progressive' poets started writing the poetry of revolution in the late thirties. The 'progressives', however, could make an impact only on the post-Independence period. These writers have a new attitude to poetry which is noticeable

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both in the form and the content of their works. Srirangam Srinivasa Rao ('Sri Sri'; b. 1910) ranks high among these poets. His *Mahāprasthānam*, although written in the thirties, is still widely read and appreciated. A number of poetesses who flourished during the period of renaissance wrote on themes borrowed from the epics and other religious subjects. Among them the most prominent were: Kotikalapudi Sitamma (1872-1934; *Sādhurakṣaṇa Satakam*), Silam Subhadramma (1876-1947; *Rāmāyaṇa*), Kancharpalli Kanakamma (b. 1893; *Jīvayūrā*), Gudipudi Indumati Devi (b. 1892; *Ambariṣavijayam*), and Kolluri Visalakshamma (b. 1901; *Bhārata-kathāmytam*). Tallapragada Vishwasundaramma (b. 1900), Basavaraju Rajalakshamma (b. 1904), and Chavali Bangaramma (b. 1900) made themselves distinguished in the field of *bhāva-kavitā*.

Fiction in Telugu had its origin in the seventeenth century, but it was then in the form of narration of a Purānic story or a fairy tale with little artistic merit. It was not until the seventies of the nineteenth century that novels in the modern sense came to be written in Telugu. Though the credit for writing the first novel in Telugu goes to Narahari Gopala Krishnamma Chetti (*Śri Raṅgarāja-caritra*, 1872), it is Viresalingam who gave in his *Rājaśekhara-caritam* (1878) the first mature novel in Telugu. Early Telugu novels were mostly based on, or adaptations or translations of, celebrated English novels. Bengali novels, particularly those of Bankim Chandra, Sarat Chandra, and Rabindranath, find also more than one translation in Telugu during the first half of the twentieth century. Among the notable novels written in the first few decades of the century are: *Bhuvana-mohinti* (1901) by Dharanipragada Venkata Siva Rao, *Rāṇi Saṅhyuktā* (1908) by Vellala Subba Rao, *Mālapalli* (1921) by Unnava Lakshminarayana, *Nārāyaṇa Rāo* by Adivi Bapiraju, *Veyi Paḍagalu* (1934) by Viswanatha Satyanarayana, *Asamathuni Jīvayūrā* (1945) by Tripuraneni Gopichand, and *Nārāyaṇabhāṣṭti* by Nori Narasimha Sastri. The period of renaissance saw the emergence of the short story of the modern type in Telugu in Gurujada Venkata Appa Rao’s *Māṭā-manti*. Other prominent figures who specialized themselves in the field are Gudipati Venkatachalam (b. 1894), Chinta Sankara Dikshitulu (b. 1891), Mokkapati Narasimha Sastri (b. 1892), Munimanikyam Narasimha Rao (b. 1898), Malladi Ramakrishna Sastri (1905-65), Tripuraneni Gopichand (1910-65), Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao (b. 1909), Palagummi Padmaraju (b. 1915), and Ande Narayana Swami (b. 1907).

Drama made its appearance in the language in the shape of translations or adaptations of well-known Sanskrit plays during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Kokkonda Venkataratnam’s *Narakāsura-vijaya-vyāyogam* (1872) and Viresalingam’s *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam* (1883) are known to be the earliest translations of Sanskrit plays. *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Comedy of Errors* of Shakespeare were also done into Telugu by Viresalingam. Viresalingam’s
Hariścandra, written in the eighties of the nineteenth century, is the first important original drama in Telugu. Two other dramas written before Hariścandra are Korada Ramachandra Kavi's Maṇiṇi Madhukariyam (1860) and Vavilala Vasudeva Sastri's Nandakarājyam (1880). Although original in treatment, the last two were not successful on the stage. Most of the plays produced during the last few decades of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth were based on mythological and historical themes. Written mostly for various dramatic associations, the plays of this period, with one or two exceptions, do not have much literary value. Quite a number of these plays, however, earned popularity with their audiences. Vedam Venkataraya Sastri's Pratīparudriyam (1897), Balijepalli Lakshmikantam's Hariścandra (1912), Kopparapu Subba Rao's Roshanara (1921), Muttaraju Subba Rao's Śri Kṛṣṇa-tulābākāram (1922), and Gundimeda Venkata Subba Rao's Khilji-rājya-patanam (1931) are some of the popular plays of this period. Popular Bengali dramas like Candragupta, Shahjahan, and Durgādīsa by D. L. Roy were also translated into Telugu and found successful on the stage. Social plays came into vogue with Kanyā-sulkam of Gurajada Appa Rao. Kaṇṭhābhāraṇam (1917) of Panuganti Lakshmi Narasimha Rao and Tappevaridi (1929) of Pakala Venkata Rajamannar (b. 1901) became popular on the stage. Rajamannar wrote a number of one-act plays also, of which Deyyālu Lānkā (1930) and Emī-magavāḷḷu (1947) deserve special notice.

The period under review showed remarkable progress in essays, particularly in works of literary criticism. Although the honour of being the first essayist in Telugu goes to Samineni Muḍdu Narasimha Naidu for his Hitastūci (1862), a collection of eight essays, the essay in the modern sense started with Viresalingam. Essays on Telugu language and literature also began to appear in the late nineteenth century, but stalwarts in the field are mostly found during the period of renaissance. Among the most distinguished are: Veturi Prabhakara Sastri, Rallapalli Anantakrishna Sarma, C. R. Reddi, Bhupati Lakshmi Narayana Rao, Nidadavolu Venkata Rao, Jonnalagadda Satyanarayana Murti, and G. V. Sitapati.

The period of renaissance also witnessed the publication of some commendable biographies and autobiographies. Biographical works were, however, written in the transition period, but most of them had little literary merit. Among the writers of biography the following deserve special mention: Viresalingam, Vavilala Venkata Sivavadhani, K. V. Lakshmana Rao, Gorrepati Venkata Subbayya, and Swami Chirantananananda. The autobiography is entirely a new thing in Telugu literature, first attempted by Viresalingam in his Śrīya Caritra (1910). In other domains of literature like history of literature and works on technical and scientific subjects, Telugu literature also made some progress during the period.
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PERIOD OF GROWTH AND PROLIFERATION

The literature produced in the post-Independence period is as prolific as it is diverse. The ‘progressive’ poets under the banner of ‘Abhyudaya Racayitalu’ have provided speed and verve to the ‘progressive movement’ led by ‘Sri Sri’. Anisetti Subba Rao, Bhagavatula Sankara Sastri (‘Arudra’), A. Somasundara, Gangineni, Rentala, and K. V. Ramana Reddi are the most distinguished representatives of the ‘progressive’ poetry in Telugu during the post-Independence era. A group of young writers known as ‘digambara’ poets emerged in the mid-sixties. They seem to echo the writings of the angry young men of the USA, England, and Calcutta. They entered the field with a bang, but the noise did not last long. With the beginning of the present decade, they are found to have identified themselves with the revolutionary group headed by ‘Sri Sri’, K. V. Ramana Reddi, and other veterans. Poets like Umamaheshwar, Srirangam Narayana Babu, and Pattabhi have made a mark by their revolt against Classical as well as Romantic poetry. C. Narayana Reddi and Dasarath from Telanāgāṇa have attempted in their poems to effect a reconciliation of the best aspects of the old and the new. Kundurti Anjaneyulu, D. B. Tilak, Aripirala Viswam, and Madiraju Ranga Rao have made successful experiments in vacana-kavītā or free verse. Boyi Bhimanna’s poems show him as a vigorous romantic poet. The poems of ‘Bairāgi’ strike a note of despair and pessimism peculiar to the post-War generations. Some of the stalwarts of the earlier generation like Viswanatha Satyanarayana, Rayaprolu Subba Rao, and Devulapalli Krishna Sastri have been found sufficiently active in the post-Independence period also. Viswanatha Satyanarayana, former Poet-laureate of Andhra Pradesh and a winner of the Jnanpith Award (1970) for his magnum opus, Rāmāyāna-kalpavṛkṣam, is undoubtedly one of the greatest poets of the Telugu country. A great scholar and a prolific writer of high order, Viswanatha has enriched Telugu literature since 1916. During the six decades of his literary activity he wielded his pen in an admirable and amazing way. The literary output of Viswanatha, in variety and quality, is immense and unsurpassed by any modern writer. Author of thirty poems, twenty dramas, sixty novels, thirty-five short stories, ten works in Sanskrit, besides a good number of playlets, essays, translations, and critical introductions to literary works, Viswanatha will ever remain a source of inspiration to posterity. His inimitable style—vivacious and grand, sharp and robust—reflects his great personality. His writings project the glory of Indian heritage and culture in its manifold aspects.

The traditional, descriptive, sentimental, and historical novel of the earlier generation gradually went out of fashion and new experiments were made which were based on realism and on theories of psycho-analysis and the ‘stream of consciousness’. Civaraku Migiledi (1952) of ‘Butci Bābu’, Paṇḍita Parameswara
TELUGU


The post-Independence Telugu literature has shown a remarkable progress in literary criticism. A. Ramapati Rao, N. Venkata Rao, K. V. N. Sastri, K. Kutumba Rao, P. Lakshmikantam, and Tirumala Ramachandra are some of the important scholars contributing to this field. Samagra Āndhra-sāhityam in twelve volumes (1965-68) by Ārudra is an authentic history of Telugu literature. D. V. Avadhani and K. Lakshmiranjanam have written shorter works on the subject. Essays, biographies, autobiographies, etc. in Telugu are not wanting either. The progress, however, is less striking than that in the fields of the novel and literary criticism.

New plays with an ideological motivation made their appearance in the late forties and early fifties. Writers started using the medium of drama to propagate 'progressive' and constructive ideas. The divide-and-rule diplomacy of the British comes in for criticism in Ī Nāḍu (1948) of Acharya Atreyā and Eka Deśam (1947) of K. Gopalaraya Sarma. The plays of Sunkara Satyanarayana (Bhūmi-kosam, 1954) and Vasireddi Bhaskara Rao (Pothu Gaḍḍa, 1953) are motivated by the principles of class conflict. The problems of the middle class are reflected in Atreyā's Kappalu (1954), K. Gopalaraya Sarma's Nyāyam (1947), and Pinisetti Srirama Murti's Ātmāyulu (1956). There is an element of Ibsenesque satire in Kirtiśeṣulu (1960) of B. Radhakrishna. Maro Mohenjodāro (1970) of N. R. Nandi is one of the most significant plays published in the present decade. It ruthlessly criticizes the corruption rampant in high levels of the contemporary society. From the point of view of thematic presentation as well as artistic merit, the sophisticated one-act plays of V. R. Narla deserve special notice. The author's approach to his themes is marked by what can be called social realism.

In view of the substantially rich literary tradition since the early eleventh century and a fairly healthy literary output of the last three decades after Independence, one can easily visualize a glorious future for Telugu literature. From the age of Nannya till today there has not been any significant break in the literary tradition of Telugu. Important writers of the post-Independence period have a link with this tradition. At the same time they are dynamic and have a new awareness. That ensures a bright prospect for Telugu literature. The future may add new chapters of spectacular activity to it.
URDU
THE BEGINNINGS

URDU, one of the major modern Indian languages, had its beginnings during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. It developed a noteworthy literature first in the Deccan (sixteenth-seventeenth centuries) and then became established as a very important language of northern India with its centre in Delhi in the eighteenth century. A Persianized Turkish word, urdu originally meant 'the camp of a Turkish army'. In India, the word means 'court' or 'camp'. Urdu was known in its initial stages as Hindi or the language of Hind or India, i.e. North India, and also as Hindawi or Hindwi, the language of Indians. It also acquired the name of Hindustani, first among the people of the Deccan, as a language different from Dakhni or its sister dialect in the Deccan. Its home districts are really in the present-day eastern Punjab and western U.P., and quite early it came under the influence of Punjabi and Braja-bhāṣā. This language, as it was current in and around Delhi, mainly adopted the grammatical base of the East Punjab-Delhi speech, but came under the cultural influences of Persian in its vocabulary as well as its poetic nuances. Written in a script of Perso-Arabic pattern, which has been extended by adding new letters for its special Indian sounds, it is now spoken as their home language by a large number of people all over the country, particularly in the towns of North India; but a much larger number use it as a language of religion and culture. According to the 1971 Census, the number of the Urdu-speaking people of the country (i.e. those who have declared it as their mother tongue) is 28,600,428. Besides, there are some more million people in Pakistan and in the land of the Pakhtoons, who use it for literature as also in public life.

Controversial as the nature and form of its early beginnings are, it is now usually accepted that trade and cultural relations between India and West Asia go back to several centuries before Islam and many Arabic and Persian words were in vogue in India. India's early contacts with Islam were not the result of political invasion as is usually thought; these came about in the course of trade and exchange of ideas between Indian and foreign mystics. Even before the Arab conquest of Sind, Muslim (Arab) traders and mystics had settled in large numbers in Malabar and other places. These early contacts also resulted in exchanges of ideas and vocabulary. There was, of course, the discovery of the conceptual identity between Islamic and Hindu mysticism. It may be
that the Hindu idea of Advaita, or the Reality as being One without a second, and the Islamic idea of Tawhid, or essential Unity of the Godhead, were very much similar. There was an ‘Aryanization’ of Islamic mysticism, on the other hand, by bringing to bear upon it the Vedântic concept of the identity of the human soul with the supreme Spirit.

This intermixture of Islamic and Indian cultures possibly helped in the spread of Sufi ideology among the people of Sind, both Hindu and Muslim. But the emergence of Urdu as the most important vehicle of Islamic culture on the Indian scene was a later phenomenon. Muslim saints, mostly Iranian by birth and hence Aryan by stock, crossed over to India to spread a humanitarian mysticism, and as this involved free and frank dialogue with the masses, they had to develop a mixed vehicle of intercourse. As a matter of fact, all early specimens of Urdu go back to the writings and sayings of Muslim Sufi mystics. The Ghaznavid attacks (tenth-eleventh centuries) poured into India a large number of soldiers of Turkish, Persian, and Afghan origin. They settled down in the Punjab, around Delhi, and possibly in some areas of Gujarat. With the political stabilization of the Ghori and Slave dynasties, these strangers left their homelands for ever and began to look on India as their own country. Thus a slow but steady process of cultural and linguistic admixture started, heralding a new era of synthesis of Arab vigour and spirit of inquiry with Iranian graces of life, art, and luxury, and Indian love for subjective idealism and genius for achieving unity in diversity. In this process of Indianization, a cross fertilization took place in the field of fine arts, philosophy, and other cultural subjects, which is symbolized by the music and poetic compositions of Amir Khusro (1254-1325) and the architecture of the Qutub Minar in Delhi and the Arhai-Din-kâ Jhonpra at Ajmer. Some early Muslim writers in Apabhramsa like Abdur Rahman (Addahamanâ), author of Sandeśa-râsö, and Fariduddin Shakarganj (1173-1266) of Pakputtan may be mentioned in this context. Khusro is the first poet to claim to have compiled a diwan or ‘book of verses’ in Hindawi (as Urdu was then called). Most of the literary pieces attributed to him including the popular pâhelis (riddles in verse) are, however, considered by some scholars as spurious. But Khusro is known to be the first India-born Persian poet to have gained reputation even in Persia. A genius in music, he was the originator of khayal and gawwali and many other forms of vocal and instrumental music in India. It is no wonder, therefore, that he wrote freely in Urdu.

With the spread of the Sufis or Muslim mystics to far off places like Gujarat and the Deccan, this new Indian language also travelled to different corners of the country and accepted freely various regional and local influences, so much so that the incipient Urdu language with its literature was called Gujarî, Dakhni, or Dehlavi according to the region concerned. This impact was further
stabilized by the conquest of Gujarat and the Deccan by Alauddin Khilji (1296-1316), and specially by the forcible mass exodus of the Delhi population to the Deccan at Mohammed Tughlaq's (1325-51) abortive bid to transfer his capital with most of its inhabitants to Devagiri (Daulatabad). The trend extended still further with the setting up of independent sultanates in the Deccan by various Muslim chiefś, with local support, on the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom established in the fourteenth century. Hence the first centres of Urdu literature grew up in Gujarat and the Deccan—a fact not so much indicative of political influences as of the popularization of the language by immigrants from the north and its subsequent adoption by large masses of the local population as an indigenous link language. The literary speech that developed in the south came to be known as Dakhni or Dakhni Urdu.

EARLY URDU: LITERARY DEVELOPMENT IN GUJARAT AND THE DECCAN

Almost the entire Urdu literature available in Gujarat is mystic in content and strongly resembles the devotional literature of Muslim mystics—Sheikh Bahauddin Bajan, Shah Ali Jiv Gamdhani, Qazi Mahmud Daryai, and Khub Mohammed Chishti being the pioneers. The same is true of the Dakhni literature flourishing in the Bahmani kingdom where the first available Urdu treatise, _Meraajul Ashiqin_ (compiled in A.D. 1398), was written by the émigré Sufi saint from Delhi, Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz (d. 1442). This work is exclusively devoted to mystic interpretation of life and ethics. Contemporaneously was written Nizami Bidari's _masnawi_ , _Kadam Rao Padam Rao_, a love tale of a prince with an allegorical undercurrent. Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz is credited with the compilation of a large number of mystic treatises reaching, according to some, the imposing figure of 101. These deal with various aspects of esoteric experience and rituals almost always connected with folk-culture and tradition. Two noteworthy specimens are his _Chakkinama_ and _Shikarnama_. The former is a poetic rendering of mystic thought into tunes popular with the rural womenfolk at the time of grinding corn, while the latter consists of prose riddles in the form of stories which call for mystic interpretation. The authenticity of these works has often been disputed, but that the author wrote in Dakhni Urdu, which was in vogue in those times, is beyond doubt. Judged by his treatises, Gesu Daraz may well be called the father of Urdu prose. The language shows even in its early stage remarkable directness, precision, and considerable fluency. Other early writers included Shah Miranji Shamsul

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1The extant version of _Meraajul Ashiqin_ is now considered as spurious.

2The _masnawi_ may be broadly defined as a long narrative poem. Besides giving allegorical and ethical tales, _masnawi_ s have romance, war, mysticism, and religion as their major themes. Most of the _masnawi_ romances bear the names of the lover and the beloved in their titles. These narrate contemporary events, tales taken from Indian and Persian folklore, and stories borrowed from classical epics in Persian.
Ushshaq (d. 1496) and his son Shah Burhanuddin Janam (d. 1582). Gujarat had in the sixteenth century two great poets in this line, namely, Shah Ali Mohammed Jan Gamdhani (d. 1575) and Sheikh Khub Mohammed. The former was the author of a number of poems compiled as Jawahirul Asrar, while the latter composed Khub Tarang (1578).

The point of royal patronage to Urdu literature has often been over-emphasized. But the fact remains that Urdu was not the court language of either the Bahmani rulers or of the kingdoms which emerged following the fall of the Bahmani dynasty. Nor was it the language of the court of Delhi except for a very short period towards the end of Mogul rule in India. In fact, Urdu everywhere asserted itself on the strength of popularity with the masses, which helped it get recognition later from the aristocracy and the royalty. With the downfall of the Bahmanis, their kingdom broke up into five independent sultanates which were often at war with each other. These were known as the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur, the Qutub Shahi dynasty of Golkonda, the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar, the Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar, and the Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar. The first three developed into major seats of the early Urdu literary tradition known as Dakhni. The literary pattern in Bijapur and Golkonda followed the lines with which we are familiar in modern Urdu. Bidar earned the distinction of being the homeland of Nizami, pioneer among the writers of masnavis which remained the dominant form of poetic expression.

Practically all forms of Urdu poetry date back to the early flowering of literature in the Deccan. The most significant among them are masnavis, the best specimens being Ibn Nishati’s Phul-ban (1655), Nusrati’s Aininama, Wajhi’s Qutub Mushtri (c. 1609), Ghaswasi’s Tutinama (1639) and Saiful Muluk-va-Badiul-Jamal (c. 1616), and Muqumi’s Chandrabadan-va-Mahiyar. We also have marsiyas or elegies (specimens of writings of Mirza, Seva, and Momin are extant); prose tales and allegories represented by Mulla Wajhi’s masterpiece, Sab-ras (1634); and qasidas in praise of religious leaders, kings, and Amirs of the period. And, of course, there is ghazal or song, which found its main champions in Sultan Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah (1580-1611), Wali (1668-1741), and Sirajuddhin Siraj (1714-66). Quli Qutub Shah gave ghazal and other forms of his poetry a distinct local colour and a deep romantic flavour, while Wali and Siraj blazed a new trail by lending to the Urdu ghazal the grace and poetic elegance of the Persian masters.

Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1626) of Bijapur was a cultured man and a patron of arts like Sultan Quli Qutub Shah of Golkonda. The former’s work in Dakhni on music was known as Navrasnama. During the rule of Mohammed

\*Qasida is a kind of ballad written in praise of some emperor or a great personality. The characters of qasida are fictitious.
Adil Shah (1626-56), a number of poetical works were produced which included *Fathnama Nizam Shah* by Hasan Shawqi, *Khawarnama* (1649) by Rustumi, and *Bahram* and *Yusuf-u-Zulaikha* (two romances of Persian origin) by Malik Khushnud. Nusrati, whose *Alinama* has already been referred to, belonged to the court of Ali Adil Shah II (1656-73). He composed a number of works including *Gulshan-i-Ishq*. Aurangzeb conquered the whole of Muslim Deccan towards the end of the seventeenth century, but verse-writing in Dakhni continued for some time more. There were several notable poets of Dakhni during his rule. The following among them deserve special mention: Shah Husain Zawqi (*Mabapnama*), Qazi Mohammed Bahri (*Man-lagan*), and Wali Vellori (*Ratan-padam*, a Deccani version of Malik Mohammed Jayasi’s *Padmāvat*).

**MIDDLE PERIOD: LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH INDIAN URDU**

The Middle period of Urdu literature as a whole coincided with the early period of literary development of Rekhta or what is called North Indian Urdu. This period started around 1700 and extended up to 1875. Even after the annexation of Golkonda and Bijapur to the Mogul empire by Aurangzeb in 1687, not only did the literary development in Dakhni continue in southern areas but its impact was deeply felt in Delhi too, where a new literary idiom for this language gradually took shape. Special mention may be made of the role of Wali and Siraj in popularizing this idiom in Delhi. Employing this, Siraj wrote a large number of short poems and a romance known as *Bustani-Khiyal*. A new literary style thus made its influence felt on the North Indian scene. Earlier, some of the Mogul emperors are known to have composed poems in Braja-bhāṣā; but from the end of the eighteenth century, the scions of the Mogul house turned to Urdu for their literary pursuits. In the meantime, the Indian poets who used to write Persian poetry had already begun to write in Urdu from about the middle of this century, first with some degree of frivolity and then as a fashion.

The first important poet of this category is Jafar Zatal, whose biting satires (written in a language full of deliberately distorted Arabic and Persian words, with a generous sprinkling of words from various Indian dialects) cost him his life when he wrote a sarcastic couplet on the enthronement of King Farrukhsiyar. He was followed by a number of other poets who wrote mainly in Persian, but took to Urdu poetry. The literary situation was stabilized in the age of King Mohammed Shah when a group of poets mainly writing in Urdu emerged, headed by Abru, Naji, Mazmun, Hatim, and others. This period was associated with the name of a genre of poetry known as *eiham* (poetry based on words of double meaning). Abru and others excelled in this form, which imparted to their poetry an added charm.
These pioneers were followed by literary giants: Mirza Mazhar of Delhi (1699-1781), Mir Taqi Mir of Agra (1720-1808), Mohammed Rafi Sauda (1730-80), and Mir Dard (1719-85). Against the backdrop of the tottering Delhi empire under the telling blows of the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, these poets wrote their lyrics of love with its ecstasy and agony, and sang of humanism. Mir Taqi, the greatest ghazal writer in Urdu, set a new pattern of ghazal by giving it the simplicity of everyday speech and charging it with the depth of human emotions. Sauda, the greatest qasida and hajo writer, holds a mirror to his age, and in his tears and smiles one realizes the turmoil undergone by the common man living in a period of great change. Mir Dard sought refuge in mysticism, but how sweet, refreshing, and tender is the poetry his mysticism evoked! This period, in fact, set the entire tone of Urdu poetry, for it preferred pathos to joy, scepticism and free thinking to all kinds of dogmatism. Urdu poetry now preached sincerity and tolerance as the key-note of all understanding. Along with ghazal which dominated the scene, hajo, qasida, marviya, masnavi, wasokht, and shahr ashob also gained currency side by side with prose writings as represented by Fazlī's Kārbal-katha (1732). Almost contemporaneous with Mir Taqi, Nazir Akbarabadi (1740-1830) wrote his poems on themes of everyday life in a simple, lucid, and thought-provoking manner, thus giving Urdu poetry a real democratic look. His poems portray the life of the common man with an abandon and mundane mysticism all his own, which remain unexcelled to this day. He wrote on some Hindu themes also, remarkable specimens of such works being on the festival of holi. His Banjaranama and Adminama are great poems by any standard.

This golden period of Urdu poetry in Delhi was shortlived, for unsettled conditions prevailed forcing even Mir Taqi and Rafi Sauda to seek refuge in Oudh. This new centre of literary patronage, was relatively safe from the ravages of foreign conquerors and local marauders. With the transfer of the capital of Oudh from Faizabad to Lucknow in the age of Nawab Asafuddaula (1775-97), a new era of literary patronage dawned, thus attracting a host of important poets, artists, and specialists from every field to Lucknow. In the early stages, Lucknow merely tried to maintain and copy the cultural and literary traditions set in Delhi. The first generation of Lucknow poets had come from Delhi and they were proud of this association. But even in their poetry, the affluence, grandeur, and sensuousness of Lucknow expressed

\^A kind of poem, hajo has satire as its predominant element.
\^A popular form of Urdu poetry composed in praise of historical emperors and other characters of real life.
\^Shahr ashobs are poems of short length. Mir Taqi Mir and Rafi Sauda wrote some of their famous poems in this form.
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themselves in a new vein, and this poetry thus departed from the pattern of Mir Taqi, Sauda, and Dard. Pathos and mysticism gave place to a quest for sensuous delight and romantic abandon as manifested in the poetry of Insha (d. 1817) and Jurat (d. 1810). Mushafi (1750-1824), however, was an exception. Master of many languages and dialects, Insha wrote in Persian a grammatical treatise on Urdu, and composed a work named Rani Ketaki-ki Kahani, using pure Hindi words. Besides writing lyrics and romances, Mushafi compiled several tazkiras containing biographical notices of 300 poets. Later on, when under the British influence Nawab Ghaziuddin Hydar assumed the title of king, thus breaking the ties of political subordination to Delhi, a new wave of literary autonomy led Nasikh (d. 1838) and others to emphasize artistic craftsmanship and linguistic purity as the criterion and tone of poetry. Thus ghazal entered a path of artistic jugglery where graces of style held predominance over the niceties of emotion, experience, and thought. Atish (d. 1847) and a few others, however, were not totally submerged in this artifice-ridden style.

Despite the damage done to ghazal by revelry and abandon, Lucknow expanded the scope and variety of Urdu literature to a great extent and standardized the norm of the language. Marsiya touched a new high, and Anis (1802-74) and Dabir (1830-75) excelled in writing elegies. These poems combine the lyricism of ghazal, the vibrant power of the epic, and the pathos of the elegy. They are also marked by delightful characterization and powerful description of human relationships as well as scenes of the battlefield, homes, and deserts round about the plain of Karbala. These elegies narrate the story of the martyrdom of Husain, grandson of Prophet Mohammed, but the cultural atmosphere and details are of feudal Lucknow.

The same is true of Urdu drama which also owes its early beginnings to Lucknow. Nawab Wajid Ali Shah’s (deposed 1856) Radha-Kanhaiya-ka Qissa, Amanat’s (1815-58) Indar-sabha, and Madari Lal’s Indar-sabha, all were set against the background of Indo-Iranian culture. As regards masnavis, all the three outstanding specimens were written in Oudh. These are: Mir Hasan’s (1736-86) Sahrul Bayan, Daya Shankar Nasim’s Gulzar-i-Nasim, and Mirza Shauq’s Zahr-i-Ishq. They narrate romantic episodes. The locale is always different, and mostly imagery; but the characters along with their cultural bearings, thought-patterns, and values unmistakably bear the imprint of the eighteenth-nineteenth century Indo-Muslim civilization that took shape in Lucknow. Again, wasokht, rekhta? (a form of poetry written by men expressing the emotions of women in their own colloquial speech), and prose tales, in particular, flowered during the period. During the reign of Nasiruddin Hydar

*Originally, the name of this form of Urdu poetry was rekht.*
(d. 1837), the printing press came to Lucknow. It helped the publication of books on social and physical sciences of the period.

In 1800 the East India Company set up the Fort William College in Calcutta with a view to acquainting the British employees with the history, languages, and cultural traditions of India. To meet their educational needs, the college authorities under the direction of John Gilchrist supervised and encouraged the writing of Urdu books of historical tales and anecdotes in a simple, unornamental language. Mir Amman’s Bagh-o-Bahar was a pioneering effort in this direction which was followed by similar works by other writers of the college such as Hydar Bakhsh Hydari, Sher Ali Asos, Bhadur Ali Husaini, and Mirza Ali Lutfi. Written as it was in colloquial ornamental prose, Bagh-o-Bahar set a new style in Urdu prose and also evoked strong reaction in Lucknow where Rajab Ali Beg Surur (d. 1868) wrote his Fasana-i-Ajaib in ornamental style and ridiculed Amman’s claims of writing chaste and standard Urdu. But the wind of change had already set in. The British administration under the aegis of the East India Company had started a process of social transformation with the introduction of the postal system, press facilities, railways, and other transport arrangements backed up by a network of schools, colleges, and missionary centres. Delhi College, founded in 1825, accelerated the process by awakening a spirit of inquiry in educated young men and women. The Delhi of the last Mogul emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar (deposed 1857), was influenced by the novel concepts introduced by the teachers of Delhi College which combined the old educational pattern and syllabi with new modes of thought in such subjects as history, geography, and the elements of the physical sciences. Master Ramchandra began translating books on mathematics, geometry, and various other sciences, and edited journals carrying articles on social and literary reform written in lucid and popular Urdu prose. Pyare Lal Ashob and other teachers brought about a new awareness in their pupils included among whom were promising young men like Nazir Ahmad (1831-1912), first Urdu novelist, Zakaullah (d. 1910), first Urdu historian, and Mohammed Husain Azad (1829-1910), first literary historian and critic in the language.

GHALIB, MUMIN, AND ZAUQ.

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1797-1869) whose shadow along with that of his two contemporary poets, Mumin Khan Mumin (1800-1851) and Ibrahim Zauq (1789-1854), loomed large on the literary horizon. Ghalib wove the profound philosophical truth of his age into the rich tapestry of poetic tradition, drawing profusely from his deep awareness of Persian poetic craftsmanship. His broad humanism, radiant scepticism, faith in the spirit of free inquiry,
and attempt to substitute thought as the main plank of poetic art in place of artifice or sensuous delight—all these along with his freshness of diction, wit, imagery, and iconoclasm go to make him the most popular and powerful Urdu poet of all times. Author of ghazals, qasidas, and masnavis, Mumin was also a great scholar. Zauq, court poet of Bahadur Shah, wrote fluent and lucid poetry and made a mark as the best qasida writer after Sauda. But his contribution was mainly in the realm of simplicity of diction and lucidity of expression, while Mumin excelled in the use of suggestion through oblique modes of expression.

MODERN PERIOD

The Aligarh movement started by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98) for social, cultural, and literary reform laid the foundations of the Modern period of Urdu literature which commenced around 1875. This reformist movement had a sustained influence on the character of Urdu literature after 1875, which continued in a positive manner for more than three decades. Through the journals Tahzibul Akhlaq (The Social Reformer) and Aligarh Institute Gazette, Sir Syed Ahmad preached the gospel of rationalism and social change. To him literature was the vehicle of such reform and his efforts to fashion Urdu literary norms on Western (particularly Victorian) patterns bore fruit. In the first instance, it immensely widened the scope of, and gave variety to, literary forms. Urdu prose, which was mainly confined to some mystical allegories, tales, letters, and informative literature, blossomed into essay, criticism, biography, travelogue, novel, and many other forms. In poetry, the current desire for social change brought into being in 1874 a new form called nazm—a compact poem with a central idea worked out in various stages. As against ghazal, this form laid stress on ideas of definite social significance, and the zest for reforms substituted both sensuous romance and poetic artistry. The range of marsiya was widened to include all sorts of personal elegies which could easily be turned into poetic essays on heroes and their exemplary qualities. A product of this wave was Altaf Husain Hali (1837-1914) whose elegies on Ghalib and long poem entitled Maddo-jazr-i-Islam set a tradition without which the great poetry of Iqbal would have been inconceivable. Hali’s works include Barkharut, Ummeed, and Insaaf, which represent a novel trend in Urdu poetry.

Urdu prose is associated with many a mastermind. Although Ghalib had to his credit letters written in simple lucid prose, Sir Syed Ahmad was undoubtedly the pioneer of modern Urdu prose. Besides being lucid, his prose was remarkable for its compactness. Hali, though primarily a poet, also wrote three important biographies in his inimitable style and dilated on important

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*Patron of Urdu literature, Emperor Bahadur Shah was himself a poet of considerable merit.*
problems of literary criticism, thus becoming the first significant Urdu critic. A Muslim rationalist by conviction, he wrote with a broad vision and sympathy. Of the notable prose writers after 1875, Shibli Numani (1857-1914), historian and essayist, wrote extensively. His biographies of many kings and caliphs, poets, and scholars set a new pattern of writing, Sirat-un-Nabi (Life of the Prophet) being his most significant contribution. He excelled as a literary historian in his Shir-ul-Ajam (History of Persian Literature) and as a literary critic in his Muqazina-i-Anis-o-Dabir. Nazir Ahmad wrote novels portraying the tension caused by the changed conditions of life and the consequent need for adaptation and compromise felt specially by the Muslim middle classes. He pleaded for education and trade as the main instruments of social emancipation and reform. His Taubat-un-Nasuh, Mirat-ul-Urus, Banat-un-Nash, Fasana-i-Mubtala, and Ibn-ul-Waqit are mirrors of social conditions of the period. A host of other important writers—Mohsinul Mulk, Vicarul Mulk, Chiragh Ali, and Syed Ali Bilgrami—enriched the prose style and also made significant contributions to various fields of knowledge.

In poetry, however, the old pattern prevailed for some time. Rampur and Hyderabad soon developed as important centres of traditional poetry. Mirza Dagh (1831-1905), Amir Minai (1828-1900), Zamin Ali Jalal (d. 1910), and Amirullah Taslim imparted to ghazal lucidity, sensuousness, and craftsmanship, though not greatness or sublimity. The situation created by the Western impact and symbolized by the emergence of new forms and growing emphasis on social reform and rationalism continued till 1914. There were attempts at writing blank verse by Mohammed Husain Azad (d. 1910), Sharar, and Ismail Muruthi (d. 1917). The main poetic achievement of the first few decades of the present century was embodied in the writings of Akbar (1846-1921), poet-philosopher Iqbal (1875-1937), and Brij Narain Chakbast (1882-1926). With a remarkable flair for extempore composition of piquant, satiric, and humorous verses, Akbar ridiculed in his own inimitable way the intellectual and cultural slavery to the West and pleaded for the re-discovery of our noble heritage. Chakbast, who wrote patriotic poetry, died young. His main contributions were the poems based on certain episodes in the Rāmāyaṇa as also the elegies written on the death of national leaders, which gave a new dimension to the genre.

Iqbal, Prem Chand, and Others

The appearance of Iqbal on the Urdu literary scene was an event of outstanding importance. Iqbal's poetry reflected the spirit of the age and shaped the course of Urdu literature till about the middle of the present century. He began with poems of patriotic overtones. Mention may, in this connexion, be made of his famous patriotic song Sarejahanse accha Hindustan hamara (The finest
country in the world is our India). He, however, soon outgrew the narrow allegiance to nationalism and preached a new gospel of internationalism and universal brotherhood. *Insan-al-Kamil* (Quest for the Perfect Man) contains the sum of Iqbal’s life and philosophy recorded in exquisite poetry. Contrary to the mystic overtones of Urdu and Persian poets, he opposed the annihilation of ‘Self’ and pleaded for its development and sublimation in communion with the ‘Social Ego’. His poetic genius transformed the niceties of his philosophy of Self into radiant, living poetry through which he aimed at harmonizing the vigour, ambition, and devotion to work as manifested in the materialistic culture of the West and the spiritualism and morality-oriented culture of the East. And yet he is no moralist or demagogue. His poetry aims at a synthesis of *ishq* (emotion) and *aql* (reason), and dreams of emergence of the ‘Superman’ who could combine in him the virtues of the East and the West. His greatest achievement was to lend a completely novel thought-structure to Urdu poetry and widen the significance of the various familiar symbols and allusions.

During the years between the two World Wars, India was ablaze with the political struggle for freedom. Urdu literature was one of the torch-bearers of this awakening. From the grand old days of the famous journal, the *Awadh Punch* of Lucknow, which was a great champion of nationalism, a host of writers including poets, novelists, dramatists, and journalists had been writing about this urge and had suffered for it. Among them were such prominent Urdu writers as Hasrat Mohani, Mohammed Ali, Zafar Ali Khan, Abul Kalam Azad, Lajpat Rai, and Prem Chand (1880-1936).

Urdu fiction after Nazir Ahmad took great strides towards maturity. Ratan Nath Sarshar’s (d. 1902) *Fasana-i-Azad* in four bulky volumes portrayed the life and characters of Lucknow against the background of a fading culture on a canvas compelling comparison with Balzac and Cervantes. His satirical characterization of Khoji remains to this day a masterpiece. Mirza Mohammed Hadi Ruswa’s *Umrao Jan Ada*, apparently the story of a fallen woman, introduces psychological conflict for the first time in Urdu fiction and through her split personality unfolds the ecstasy and agony of feudal Lucknow. Inspired by Scott, Abdul Halim Sharar (d. 1926) wrote dozen of popular historical novels, thus recreating the glorious past of the early Arab, Turkish, and West Asian Muslim rulers. *Malik Aziz Varjina* and *Mansur-Mohana* are two of his well-known Scott-inspired novels. The former is a tale of the Crusades, while the latter is written against the background of Sultan Mahmud’s conquests. His best work of this genre is *Firdaus-i-Barin*, which narrates a romantic episode against the backdrop of the medieval conspiracies of the Alqaramita and the Assassins in Iraq and Syria.

Prem Chand, who wrote first in Urdu and later in Hindi, introduced the theme of rural life and the exploited classes in the Urdu novel. Fired by the
idealism of Gandhi and later on inspired by Marxist thought, his ardent humanism and revolutionary zeal found expression in his novels which give a vivid portrayal of the anguish of the have-nots. The life of the rural people of his time has been depicted with sympathy and ardour in his masterpiece, Gaudan. His Maidan-e-Amal and Gosh-a-i-Afsiyat are two remarkable novels. Prem Chand also introduced the short story in Urdu literature, mainly on the pattern of Rabindranath Tagore and Sarat Chandra Chatterjee. In this respect, Prem Chand was particularly inspired by Tagore's literary style. His short stories proved gems of creative art and made a great impact on modern Urdu literature. The short story became very popular as a literary form in Urdu—so much so that it soon overshadowed the novel and drama, and has remained in that position of pre-eminence till recent times. A remarkable blend of art with life, Prem Chand's Kafan, one of his finest pieces, proved a turning point in the history of the Urdu short story.

The beginnings of Urdu drama can be traced to 1846, and by 1930 it had struck roots at the box office. It had, however, yet to get literary recognition. The Indar-sabha type of drama gained currency and soon after, Parsi Theatre Companies of Bombay staged Indar-sabha and a number of other Urdu plays specially written for them with high-sounding poetic diction and a generous sprinkling of dance sequences and songs. Shakespeare was translated and adapted to Indian conditions. Mythological tales were also remodelled, masnavis dramatized, and original plays written with conventional morality always in the background. Agha Hashr transformed the entire technique of script-writing, which necessitated a new style of acting and delivery of dialogue. With the advent of the cinema, the stage drama declined, but the published plays now manifested more freedom and variety. Realism with psychological conflict and political and social tensions found its way into Urdu drama, as reflected in the plays of Abid Husain and Mohammed Mujib. The best specimen of this type is Imtaz Ali Taj's Anarkali.

Urdu literature since the thirties of the century gained both in variety and richness. The influence of the Romantics, the Freudians, and the Marxists was particularly marked. Thanks to the influence of the Romantics, prose tended to be tender, ornate, and even sentimental. Women came to be the new goddess, and love the main theme. The 'progressive' writers' movement, started in 1936, brought about a change and shifted the emphasis to social realism. While the authors' approach to the problems of life generally became objective, many of them began writing with a purpose. This 'progressive' or modern attitude is reflected in poems, novels, short stories, and essays written till the early fifties. In the early stages of the 'progressive' writers' movement, iconoclasts as well as nihilists joined it. They experimented with new literary forms and techniques, wrote openly about sex in social life and revolution in the
political sphere, and introduced free and blank verse as media of poetic expression. Alongside this, the traditional ghazal developed in a novel way in the hands of Hasrat, Asghar, Fani, Jigar, Yagana, Firaq, and Faiz, each one of whom gave to the form a deeper significance and a wider orientation. There were some novelists of note who included Ismat Chughtai, Krishen Chander (d. 1977), Rajinder Singh Bedi, Hayatullah Ansari, Aziz Ahmad, Qurratul Ain Haidar, and Khwaja Ahmad Abbas. The first four also excelled in short stories. Among other short story writers of the period Saadat Hasan Manto and Balwant Singh deserve special mention. Their stories cover a wide field and represent variety in style and mode of depiction. In the sphere of critical writing stand out such names as Abdul Haq, Hamid Hasan Qadri, Niaz Fatehpuri, Firaq, Sajjad Zaheer, and Masud Husain Rizvi.

POST-INDEPENDENCE URDU LITERATURE

Urdu literature since Independence reflected nostalgia, protest, and disillusionment in quick succession. The first was a hangover of Partition and discernible during the period from 1947 to 1953. Haunted by the memories of the communal riots that came in the wake of Partition, yet unable to forget the past, Urdu writers were preoccupied with the theme of senseless killings and a passion for nostalgia portraying the days that were no more. Some of the writers captured in their stories and poems the diversity of Indian culture and the sad decline of its old values, while another group was sceptical about the genuineness of the independence. Protest and a yearning for revolution marked the writings of the authors of this group which was active for a decade. Their social commitments were obvious. Among them were the poets like Sardar Ali Jafari, Kaifi Azmi, Majaz, Jazbi, Parvez Sahidi, and Makhduum Mohiuddin, and the short story writers like Krishen Chander, Ismat Chughtai, Rajinder Singh Bedi, and Mahinder Nath. The important story writers chiefly dealt with communal riots, revolutionary movements, and nostalgic themes in their works during the first two literary phases after Independence. Krishen Chander’s *Hum Wahshi Hain* and *Mahalaksmi-ka Phul*, Ismat Chughtai’s *Jaren*, and Rajinder Singh Bedi’s *Lajwanti* may be mentioned in this connexion. Theirs was a literature directly addressed to the people and easily intelligible to the masses. A significant change in poetic technique was noticed in the use of ornamental blank verse for socially significant themes by Sardar Ali Jafari.

Around the sixties, it was clear to the committed writers that the revolution they had been looking forward to was no more on the horizon. Humanism now became their main theme. In his ghazals, Majrooh attempted to depict the plight of the people and the political conditions of the country, and at times succeeded in giving new dimensions to the age-old symbolism of this conventional form. Jigar’s ghazals of this period bore testimony to his broad sensibility and
deep humanism. Later, Parvez Shahidi, Jan Nisar Akhtar, Khurshid Ahmad Jami, Khalilur Rahman Azmi, Shahab, and others tried to weave philosophical thought into the subtle and tender tones of ghazal. When the hopes of revolution had been shattered, most writers took to romantic themes. Qurratul Ain Haidar’s Sita-haran and Hayatullah Ansari’s Shikasta Kangure are two examples of this kind of story-writing. The technique of the short story gradually underwent a change. The ‘stream of consciousness’ technique became popular and indirect description of events gained supremacy over other forms. Haidar employed the ‘stream of consciousness’ technique with some success in the two novels, Mere Bhi Sanam Khaney and Safina-e-Ghame Dil. Aag-ka Darya is a remarkable novel in which the writer treats ‘Time’ as the central character. Hayatullah Ansari’s Lahoo-ke Phul concerns itself chiefly with the historical perspective of the Indian Sub-continent. Qazi Abdus Sattar’s Shab Gudeeda is another significant novel in which the decline and fall of the feudal order have been depicted against the background of the changing rural life of Uttar Pradesh. His characters speak their own dialects.

In the field of drama some new attempts were made, noteworthy among them being Mohammed Mujib’s Azamaish and Habib Tanvir’s Agra Bazar. A number of full-length plays were published during the post-Independence period including Dude Charag-e-Mafal by Rafia Sultana, Ghalib by Manju Qamar Yadullahi, and Kohre-ka Chand by Mohammed Hasan. R. S. Sharma is a noted writer of one-act plays, whose Dushman appeared in book form during the period.

Satire and humour have been a forte of Urdu writers for quite a long time. During the last three decades some authors including Kanhaiyalal Kapur and Rashid Ahmad Siddiqi wrote a number of humorous articles and sketches. Among the other humorists Fikr Tonsvi, Yusuf Nazim, and Mujtuba Husain deserve mention. Some notable works of literary criticism belong to this period. Ehetesham Husain’s discourse on Ghalib, Mumtaz Husain’s analysis of classical literature, Firaq Gorakhpuri’s Andaze, and the works of Majnoon Gorakhpuri and Kaleemuddin Ahmad bear witness to the significant critical activity of the period. Rashid Ahmad Siddiqi’s critical essays also deserve notice.

The development in Urdu literature produced in Pakistan has been left out in the present survey. Urdu has not secured statutory recognition as a regional language in India. Nevertheless, its literature during the last thirty years has considerably enriched itself and kept pace to a certain extent with the realities of modern times. The Urdu literature of today presents a picture of hope. It also faces a challenge. The future of Urdu literature lies in the balance, for much depends upon whether it can succeed in fulfilling the requirements of the new age.
PART IV

ĀDIVĀSI AND FOLK LITERATURES OF INDIA
ĀDIVĀSİ LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES OF INDIA

Four racio-linguistic groups have met and flourished in India from time immemorial. These are known as the Sino-Tibetan (or Mongoloid), the Austric, the Dravidian, and the Aryan.\(^1\) Compared with the Aryan and Dravidian languages, those of the Sino-Tibetan (excepting Manipuri) and Austric groups prevalent in India were in a backward state for a long time, as the speakers of these were in a sort of primitive condition in their way of life. They had, however, a kind of village or folk culture. A slight modicum of folk-literature—of songs, tales, legends, and traditions—developed in these languages. But these were never written down as the languages lacked any system of writing, which the Aryan and Dravidian possessed from very early times.

A serious study of the backward Sino-Tibetan and Austric languages began only during the middle of the nineteenth century when European scholars took up the job in right earnest. European Christian missionaries of various denominations also began to study these languages and take in hand the preparation of a Christian literature (both of translations from the Bible and other sacred Christian literature, and of original compositions to a small extent) for the purpose of proselytization. These non-developed languages without any old literature, however, are now fast growing as the languages of groups of people who are becoming self-conscious. As a result, we have during the twentieth century the beginnings of a kind of literature in some of the more important Sino-Tibetan and Austric languages which so long had no literature to boast of. The purpose of this article is to present a brief survey of the literatures in the Sino-Tibetan and Austric languages of India as well as a short account of the Dravidian ādivāsi languages of this country.\(^2\)

SINO-TIBETAN FAMILY

The Sino-Tibetan or Mongoloid speech-family extends over a very wide field in Central, Southern, and Eastern Asia. The area of the spread of Sino-Tibetan speeches in India is also considerably vast. Covering the Himalayan slopes, it stretches all over the sub-Himalayan tracts (particularly including

\(^1\)It has been suggested by some that over and above these four groups, there might have been one or two more—there seems to be some evidence from linguistics for this idea. But nothing definitely has yet been established, and we are quite content to look upon these four groups as the basic ones in the Indian scene.

\(^2\)The literatures in the major Indian languages which developed through Aryan and Dravidian speeches have been dealt with in the three preceding parts of this volume.
North Bihar, North Bengal, parts of East Bengal, and Assam reaching up to its southernmost portions) and the north-easter frontiers of the country. Speakers of the Sino-Tibetan languages of Mongoloid origin are considered to have penetrated the Indian frontiers before the advent of the Aryans into India. They have been referred to in the oldest Sanskrit literature as Kīrātās. The original Sino-Tibetan speech had as its nidus, or area of characterization, the head-waters of the Hwang-Ho or Yellow River to the north-east of China. Here the original Sino-Tibetan speech, the ultimate source of Chinese (Ancient Chinese and its various modern forms), Tibetan, and Burmese, and possibly also Siamese, had taken its form at least 3,000 years before Christ. The languages, namely, Chinese, Burmese, Siamese, and Tibetan have advanced literatures. The first three definitely do not belong to India. Nor does Tibetan, strictly speaking. But a number of important numerically strong dialects of Tibetan like Den-jong-ke or Sikkimese, Lho-ke or Bhutanese (also Bhutani or Bhotia), Balti, Sherpa, Lahuli, and Ladakhi are current within the boundaries of India. Although these dialects are recent arrivals in India, they are none the less counted as languages of the country. There is, however, not much original literature in them (including even Den-jong-ke and Lho-ke, the most important of the group). The people speaking these dialects generally study Tibetan, particularly the classical form of it. The large number of Tibetan refugees who have come over to India after the Chinese take-over of Tibet also speak and study Tibetan. Although the influence of Buddhism in the evolution of Tibetan literature is quite properly within the purview of Indian studies, Tibetan literature as such cannot be considered as part of Indian literature.

The Sino-Tibetan family of languages is broadly divided into two main branches, Siamese-Chinese and Tibeto-Burman. With the exception of Ahom (now entirely extinct) and Khamti (represented by a very meagre number of speakers) of the Tai (or Thai) group of speech belonging to the Siamese-Chinese sub-family, all the languages spoken by Sino-Tibetans in India belong to the Tibeto-Burman branch. Ahom was current in Assam in the past. It used to be spoken by the Ahom conquerors of Assam. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century it had died out. The Ahoms have finally become Hindus, but some of the priests of their old religion have kept up some traces of the old pre-Hindu Ahom religion. The Ahoms brought their own system of writing from North Burma. This writing was ultimately of Indian origin, and

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*At present there is some diversity of opinion regarding the place of Siamese within this family. Some modern scholars think that Siamese is not really a member of this family, but a language of another family of speech known as the Kadai (this now includes a few insignificant dialects of South China and Hainan Island as well as Indo-China, and it appears to be connected with the Malayo-Pacifican speech of the Austro-Asiatic family) which has been most profoundly influenced by the Sino-Tibetan.*
there are manuscripts in the Ahom language in this alphabet. Old Ahom coins of Assam have legends in the Ahom language in this script. The Ahom people had a great historical sense. The Modern Assamese word for 'history' is burañji which is an Ahom word—the Sanskrit word itihāsa is not so current. Some of the Ahom burañjis have been published by the British Government, and one may particularly mention an important Ahom history of Assam printed in the Ahom character with an English translation by Rai Bahadur Golap Chandra Barua, published in 1903. Since the Ahom speech is now extinct, only some old men here and there keeping up a smattering knowledge of a few Ahom words and phrases, it has ceased to have any literary development.

Tibeto-Burman languages of India have been broadly divided into the following four groups, viz. Tibetan, Himalayan, North-East Frontier, and Assam-Burmese. The Tibetan group has already been discussed. In the 1961 Census, however, 'Bhotia' was preferred as a more acceptable nomenclature for the group of these speeches within Indian borders, as Tibetan refers more pointedly to the territory outside India. Speeches of the Himalayan group are spoken along the tracts to the south of the Himalayas from Himachal Pradesh in the west to the western borders of Bhutan in the east. They are further divided into two sub-groups, Pronominalized and non-Pronominalized. The speeches of the Pronominalized sub-group have shown evidence of Austroic contact and influence in their present structure. Most of the speeches of the Himalayan group are represented by a very small number of speakers within the Indian borders. Kanauri and Limbu belonging to the Pronominalized sub-group are numerically the more dominant languages of the Himalayan group. The North-East Frontier group (known also as the North Assam group) includes a number of languages prevalent in the north-eastern frontiers of the country. Some important languages of the group are Abor (Adi), Miri, Aka, Dafla, and Mishmi. The Assam-Burmese group is the most important of the four Tibeto-Burman groups of speeches of India, numerically as well as culturally. It has four main sub-groups, viz. Kuki-Chin, Mikir, Bodo, and Naga. Besides these, there are a few more found within the Indian borders, the speakers of which are, however, very small in number. They are, for instance, Singhpho of Assam and Mogh of Tripura. The former belongs to the Kachin group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family, a greater spread of which is found in Burma, and the latter is grouped under Arakanese included in the Burmese group of Tibeto-Burman sub-family. Except Manipuri, which belongs to the Kuki-Chin subgroup, none out of the quite large number of dialects of the Tibeto-Burman group has important literature. The other languages, until recently, possessed no written literature. They had only some songs and poems, religious and otherwise, and some folk-tales, stories, and legends in prose, all current orally. The modern literature which had started under European and Christian inspiration
is not as yet of any value. Beyond the boundaries of India, Newari of Nepal, however, presents an important Himalayan (Pure or non-Pronominalized) form of the Tibeto-Burman family of speeches. It shows a fairly old tradition of high literary development. Although primarily a spoken language of Nepal, a very meagre number of its speakers are also found in India—in Sikkim, West Bengal, Mahārāṣṭra, and Bihar. Let us now discuss a few important languages of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family current in India.

**KUKI-CHIN GROUP : MANIPURI (MEITHEI)**

Manipuri or Meithei is the official language of the State of Manipur. It is, according to the 1971 Census, spoken by more than seven lakh people. Manipuri is the most important of the Tibeto-Burman languages, and in literature certainly of much greater importance than Newari of Nepal. For quite a long time it has been recognized by the University of Calcutta and was given a place in the curriculum of the university from the Matriculation to the Degree level, Pass and Honours. The same recognition has been given to it by the University of Gauhati. This testifies to the important status of Manipuri as a language of study and culture. Manipuri is now written in the Bengali-Assamese script. It is virtually the Bengali script, with one letter recently taken over from Assamese—the letter for w. Manipuri had quite a separate alphabet of its own, which is found in old manuscripts, and it has also been put in type. But books are no longer printed in this old Manipuri script, the study of which has become a specialized subject for scholars and experts. From the time of King Gharib Newaz Singh (1709-48) of Manipur, the Manipuri people, through the influence of the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas of the Caitanya school from Navadvīpa and Sylhet, accepted for their language (c. 1740) the Bengali script which has now become fully established. This has enabled Manipuri to come in intimate touch with Bengali as well as Sanskrit literatures. There is an attempt on the part of a small number of Manipuri patriots to revive the use of the old Manipuri script. But as it is a rather complicated system of writing, it does not seem to receive much support from the people.

**EARLY MANIPURI LITERATURE**

The Manipuris, a Meithei people, became Hindus at least 2,000 years ago; and in Manipur chronicles, which are mostly preserved in the Old Manipuri language and in the older script, we have a fairly detailed history of the Manipuri kings and their Hindu background. But early Manipuri literature prior to the middle of the eighteenth century is more or less a sealed book to the Manipuri public. Only Manipuri scholars who specialize in the language know about this speech, the vocabulary of which is now quite archaic and different from Modern Manipuri. There are books like Numit-kāppā, narrating
some old Manipuri legends, and there is a rich literature of chronicles as well as works on the movements of the tribes in Manipur which are all preserved in the Old Manipuri language. The beginnings of this Old Manipuri literature may go back to 1,500 years or even 2,000 years from now. The late Yumajao Singh thought that Poireiton Khunthok, a prose work describing the settlement of some Meithei tribes, is the oldest work in Manipuri going back to the third century A.D. It is said that there is a copper-plate inscription of King Khongan-theke, invoking Sri Hari (i.e. Viṣṇu with Lakṣmī), Śiva, and Devī, dating from c. A.D. 790. But that is problematical, as the king is said to have ruled the Meitheis from A.D. 763 to 773. A rich literary tradition is said to have existed during the closing centuries of the first millennium of the Christian era. Geitharol Kumbābā is one of the oldest Manipuri court chronicles (Kumbābā—kum means 'year', now obsolete, and bābā or pābā means 'accounts'). This gives a traditional history of Manipur from the second century A.D. onwards.

This early Manipuri literature, although fairly extensive, has not yet been scientifically studied, and we are not sure about the dates when the individual works, as available now, were first written or compiled. But we know that the sixteenth century was a great period for the development of Manipuri prose literature of histories and chronicles. Nūgbān Pombi Luvādā narrates the legendary history of the hero, after whom the book is named, and of his beloved wife Koubru Namān. This legend relates the story of the restoration to life of Koubru, the gods being moved by the love of the husband for his departed wife. Leithak Leikhāron gives an account of the Manipuri story of Creation. This book deals with the history of the Meithei gods and goddesses, and the songs and dances connected with them. Certain portions of this distinctive work contain lists of the Pathan kings of Bengal, which show that it is rather late in origin. Kāinarol gives us a collection of some romantic and heroic stories of ancient Manipur. The 'National Romantic Legend of Manipur', the great love story of Prince Khambā and Princess Thoibi, which, after a happy union of the two lovers, ended in a tragedy, began to be treated in Old Meithei ballads from the middle of the twelfth century. The lovers lived about A.D. 1130 during the rule of King Loyāmba. These ballads used to be sung by wandering minstrels to the accompaniment of the one-stringed fiddle called the penā, and this old body of romantic ballads was later treated into the great epic romance, Khambā-Thoibi Seireng, of 34,000 lines by a modern Meithei poet, Hijom Anganghal Singh, about 1940. Nīng-

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4 The Manipuri Sahitya Parishad and some individual scholars are doing very valuable work in bringing out editions of these books in the current Bengali-Assamese script with translations or notes in Modern Manipuri.

5As a preliminary step, however, full lists of these books of early Manipuri are being prepared and published by Manipuri scholars.


thauron Lambubā is a historical work giving an account of the military expansions of the kings of Manipur. It is in a way a book which supplements Ceithārol Kumbābā. A most interesting work is the romantic tale of Prince Nōmpokningthau and Princess Pānthoibī, daughter of King Cīng Niṅgthau. They fell violently in love with each other, and although Pānthoibī was later on married to a chief named Khābā, her husband was frightened of her, and never dared approach her. The lovers met, but their career was cut short. This story has been sublimated as a religious myth. The hero was considered to be an incarnation of Śiva, and Pānthoibī was Pārvatī incarnate, and it was a case of para-kāyā love as between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā which is a very vital mystico-philosophical doctrine with the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism of Navadvīpa, which again is the accepted form of Vaiṣṇavism in Manipur. This work in Old Manipuri, of unknown date, has been published with translation in Modern Manipuri. There are similar other books in Manipuri which mostly go back to the times before the beginning of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava influence from Bengal and the influence from North India through the Rāmānandī sādhu missionaries, from the early eighteenth century.

A new period began in the history of Manipur as well as of Manipuri literature from the reign of Gharib Newaz when the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, the most popular and in a way the most important texts of Hinduism, began to be rendered into Manipuri. Manipuri adopted a version of the Rāmāyaṇa from the Bengali work of Kṛttivāsa. Portions of the Mahābhārata—Āḍī, Virāṭa, and Aśvamedhiṇa parvans—were also rendered into Manipuri. The older literary tradition suffered a set-back owing to an ill-conceived action of a Rāmānandī missionary, Šāntadāsa Gosāiṇī, whose vandalism in getting together and burning a number of Old Manipuri manuscripts appears to have received the support of Gharib Newaz; and this continued during the eighteenth century. But a few books in the old style were still written. One of these is a book known as Lāṅgan. It is of the nature of Niti literature in Sanskrit and has been recently published.

King Bhāgyacandra Siṅgh of Manipur (c. A.D. 1780) brought in a great Vaiṣṇava revival. One might say that the confluence of the Early and Modern periods of Manipuri literature took place during the second half of the eighteenth century. There were books in a new genre or style like travel books (e.g. the work describing the pilgrimage of King Bhāgyacandra), and genealogical works also came into being. King Bhāgyacandra with the help of his daughter Śīja Lāioibī, who was a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa (she has been called the 'Mīrābāī' of Manipur), raised the Manipuri folk-dance lāihārāobā, a dance of Creation, to an emotional and religious level and added to it an aspect of high artistic and spiritual beauty and merit. Treatises on Manipuri dance and music were compiled in both Sanskrit and Manipuri. There are also Old Manipuri
texts on medicine and medicinal herbs of Manipur as well as Tāntric works on the cure of diseases, besides works on astrology. These all show Brāhmanical inspiration and influence. There is a sort of a national archive for the most exalted families of Manipur, which is preserved in the court of the Maharaja of Manipur, Šaṅgāi Phamāng. This is regularly brought up to date. It is of great historical value for Manipur.

MODERN MANIPURI LITERATURE

The Modern period of Manipuri really came into existence with the beginning of the nineteenth century after English education had found a place among the Manipuri people. European officials and missionaries, who came to Manipur, and Bengali teachers helped the Manipuris to build a new literature in their language. Rev. W. Pettigrew, Wince, Babu Ramsundar Roy, and educated Manipuris like Makar Singh, Munal Singh, Jatiswar Singh, and Haodijam Chaitanya Singh came forward. Maharaja Churachand Singh (1891-1941) patronized this movement for facilitating the development of Manipuri literature. The first Manipuri book to be printed was a history of Manipur, entitled Manipurer Itihāsa, which came out in 1890 in the Bengali script, and at first the new literature in Manipur consisted only of textbooks in different subjects. Then, with the growth of a school-educated class, other types of literature came in. A special aspect of modern Manipuri literature is its wealth of translations, particularly from Sanskrit, Bengali, and English. The Manipuri Sahitya Parishad has published a list of Manipuri books printed from 1891 to 1969; the total number of titles comes to 1,078. It has been claimed that the list is yet incomplete and the actual number can easily come to 2,000. Apart from translations, there are numerous works in modern Manipuri literature on various important subjects which include history, geography, Hindu religion and philosophy, social sciences, grammar and linguistics, history of literature, and the art of dance and music. The creative branches of literature like poetry, fiction, biography, and literary criticism are also well represented in Manipuri. In discussing modern Manipuri literature one should first take into account the contributions of the great translators. It was they who transformed the mind and spirit of the Manipuris by extending the horizon of their literary experience, and made them familiar with some of the greatest things in Indian literature, ancient and modern. They brought the Manipuris in line with the rest of advanced India in their thought, ideas, and aspirations. The greatest name in the history of modern Manipuri literature, particularly in this line, is that of Panditaraja Phurailatpam Atombapu Sarma Sahityaratna (1878-1963). An outstanding scholar, he made translations into Manipuri of such religious texts in Sanskrit as the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, the Bhagavad-Gītā, the Gitagovinda, the Gopāla-sahasranāma, and the Caṇḍi. He translated portions of the Rg-Veda.
and the entire Sārasvata grammar of Sanskrit (with a Meithei commentary), besides rendering into Manipuri other religious and ritualistic texts. He also brought out interpretative editions of Old Manipuri texts on history, literature, and Manipuri culture. A religious teacher, educationist, and political leader, he led his people to the path of freedom from both British interference and Manipuri medievalism. His illustrious example was followed by other scholars like Chingangbam Kalachand Singh who brought out a Manipuri translation of the entire Sanskrit Mahābhārata (together with the Sanskrit text) in twenty-one volumes. His other works, included Vāsudevacarita, a long poem of 12,000 lines on the life of Kṛṣṇa. Haobam Ibo-yaima Singh translated all the writings of the Bengali poet Michael Madhusudan Dutt, besides some of the works of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, and a good many Sanskrit works. Apart from these three names, there are dozens of other scholars who made the most important Sanskrit and Bengali literary works available in Manipuri. One can read in Manipuri the Bengali philosophical classic of Vaiṣṇavism, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja’s Caitanya-caritāmṛta, as well as most of the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and a good many of those by Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and other famous writers of Bengali, Shakespeare and Ibsen, Tolstoy and Prem Chand, Vivekananda and Gandhi, Rabindranath and Kālidāsa can, at least in some of their important works, be read in Manipuri. It may be mentioned in this connexion that a fine translation, by a number of scholars and poets, of a representative selection of poems, songs, dramas, and stories from Rabindranath Tagore, Ravindra Nācom, has recently been published by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi.

An important figure in the field of creative literature of the Modern period is Lamabam Kamal Singh whose romantic-realistic social novel Mādhavī is a pioneering effort in this direction. It was published in the thirties of the present century. Hijom Anganghal Singh (1894-1940) wrote some fine novels, one of which, Jāherā, depicts a story of love between a Manipuri Hindu young man and a Muslim girl. He has also written a number of dramas of which Ibenmā deserves special mention. But he was particularly famous as a poet. Besides Khambā-Thoibi Šeireng (already referred to), he has several other volumes of poetry to his credit. R. K. Shitaljit Singh wrote some novels with a moral and religious purpose. His works include Thādokpā, Imā, and Rohini. Khwairakpam Chaoba Singh is the author of the popular historical novel, Lavaṅgalatā, which deals with the period 1597-1652. Among other fiction writers, the most notable are: Hijom Guno Singh (author of four popular novels), Takhellabam Thoibi Devi (Rādhā), K. Elengbam Rajanikanta Singh (Marup Ani), Sansenbam Nadiyachand Singh, and Khumantham Ibohal Singh.

The drama is a literary form particularly dear to the heart of the Manipuris. In Imphal city there are half a dozen regular playhouses where plays in Mani-
puri (original dramas, or translations or adaptations from Bengali and English) are regularly staged. The first plays were adapted from Bengali; and it was only in 1905 that the first original Manipuri drama, Pāgālinī, by a Bengali school teacher was staged. Afterwards Manipur has witnessed a host of eminent playwrights by whose efforts Manipuri drama has been established on a solid ground. Chief among them are: Sorokhaibam Lalit Singh, Mayanglambam Birmangal Singh (author of over a dozen plays including Pidonnu), Tongbram Gitchandra Singh (author of over two dozen plays including some translations from Shakespeare, Bernard Shaw, and Ibsen), Maibam Ramcharan Singh (author of about twenty plays), Haobam Tomba Singh, Laiuenmayum Ibungohal Singh, and Rajkumari Binodini Devi. The Manipuri drama is quite a convincing example of the high quality and attractiveness of the culture of Manipur.

In pure poetry, in literary and other essays, in historical studies, and in all other domains of literature, Manipuri has quite a rich harvest of books to show. Recently, Rajkumar Sri Surendrajit Singh brought out a very comprehensive work in Manipuri on prosody and metre (1969). It is only unfortunate that so far no English translations (or translations in other Indian languages) of at least some of the outstanding classics in Manipuri are available, although Manipuri scholars are not lagging behind in writing helpful books in English on the history and literature of their State and also on certain aspects of their local culture.

Manipuri literature is undoubtedly quite an advanced modern Indian literature, and cannot be described as a backward literature of the so-called ādivāsi or primitive people. The Manipuri writers are already in the front line of modern Indian writing and translation. The Kuki-Chin group, to which Manipuri belongs, consists of a number of other speeches also. Of them, Lushai (Mizo), Thado, Hmar, Paite, Lakher, Pawi, Halam, Kom, and Vaiphei are the more numerically strong languages. Lushai (Mizo) is recorded to possess a strength of more than two lakh speakers.

**BODO GROUP**

At one time Bodo or Boro group of speeches were current throughout the entire valley of the Brahmaputra, in North Bengal up to northern Bihar, and in East and South-East Bengal. This very extensive Bodo bloc is, however, broken up due to the intrusion of the Aryan Assamese and Bengali. The Assam-Bengal Bodo speeches are the Bodo, the Rajbangsi, the Koch, the Mech, the Rabha, the Dimasa, the Kachari, the Chutiya, the Garo, the Hajong, and the Tipra (or Tripuri) dialects. These are very close to each other, and are largely mutually intelligible. But, barring some folk-tales and songs, the native literature in these Bodo dialects has been very meagre so far.
The Bodo speakers of Assam are now falling in line with the Assamese-speaking Hindus of the Brahmaputra Valley, but are nevertheless trying to rehabilitate their language and create a literature in it. A half-yearly journal called the Alari or ‘Divine Light’, printed in the Assamese alphabet, is coming out from 1959 from the Bodo Literary and Cultural Society, Gauhati, with serious articles of the type found in Assamese and Bengali journals of repute. Scholar and ethnologist, musician and folklorist, poet and writer, the late Bishnu Rabha was a great exponent of Bodo culture. Assamese scholars of Bodo are also helping, and Bodo writers are coming up. But not much advance has so far been made, although Bodo (Kachari) is being taught in the primary schools in Assam.

The State of Tripura is seeking to create a literature in the Tipra form of Bodo, and broadcasts in Tipra are on the air several times a week. The ruling house of Tripura, Bodo (Tipra)-speaking to start with, became oriented towards Bengali and Sanskrit from the end of the fifteenth century, and eventually Bengali was made the official language of the State. Tipra is now spoken by a small minority, and it is split up into several dialects. Garo, another Bodo speech, has acquired some status as the language of a part of the new Meghalaya State, and has some interesting folk-tales as well as a Christian literature (though not very extensive) to boast of. Mikir, on grounds of strong Bodo affinities, is considered closer to the Bodo group. Current in the Mikir Hills in Nowgong and Sibsagar districts of Assam, it is represented by about two lakh speakers. Mikir has no literature as such, but has some folk-tales. The tale of a young man who had a god’s daughter as his bride is beautiful.

NAGA GROUP

Unlike the languages of the Bodo group, those of the Naga group are well known for their mutual unintelligibility. Chief among the languages included in the group are: Angami, Sema, Ao, Lotha, Mao, Konyak, Kabui, and Lepcha. ‘Lately’, writes R. C. Nigam, formerly Assistant Registrar General of India (Languages), ‘...since larger tracts of Nagaland were brought under administration, more information of Naga languages has been reported; but pending actual investigations and studies, these reports can be considered only tentative’.

Among the languages of the Naga group, Lepcha deserves some special reference. The Lepcha dialect is current in the State of Sikkim and Darjeeling District of West Bengal. Till recently, the immediate affinities of Lepcha were not definitely known, and it was believed to be a speech belonging to the Himalayan group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family. But now it has been connected

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by Robert Shafer, a great American authority on the Sino-Tibetan languages, with the Naga group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family. Lepcha had developed an alphabet of its own which is now falling into disuse. It is evidently inspired by the Tibetan script, but it is rather different from it. King Chakdor Namgye of Sikkim, born in 1686, is said to have created this alphabet out of a patriotic Lepcha feeling. The Lepchas were mainly Buddhists, although many of them have now become Christians. The Lepcha monks, in the Tibetan tradition, have a small but distinctive literature of Buddhist religious texts and law books. The Christian missionaries have also translated portions of the Bible, and they have sought to create a literature of Christian hymns, side by side with Buddhist hymns. In spite of the strong surrounding influences of either the Indo-Aryan Nepali or the Sino-Tibetan Sikkime, the Lepchas preserved their speech surprisingly intact. But the language is now dying out as its speakers are on the decline. They are merging with the Hindu Nepalis as well as other neighbouring peoples, and their literary life is at a standstill.

**AUSTRIC FAMILY**

Like the Sino-Tibetan, the Austric speech family also occupies quite a vast terrain spreading over substantial portions of South and South-Eastern Asia and extending right up to the eastern, northern, and southern extremities of the Pacific. It is also found in Madagascar on the African coast. The Austric family of languages falls into two main branches: Austro-Asiatic and Austro-Nesian. The Austric languages of India are included in the Austro-Asiatic sub-family, which are represented by the languages of the Munda or Kol (Kolian) group confined to the central, eastern, and north-eastern India and Khasi and Nicobarese of the Mon-Khmer group, spoken in Meghalaya and the Nicobar Islands respectively. The Austric speakers of India, erstwhile backward, are now very rapidly being integrated with the general mass of the Indian people and attaining to the same or similar cultural status with the rest of the people. The Austric languages were spoken in India in very ancient times, much earlier than the arrival of the Aryans. There are references to them in the oldest Sanskrit literature. The Austric people were spread all over the riverain plains of India, particularly the Gangetic and possibly also the Indus basins, and they built up the basic agricultural civilization of India. Many of their religious ideas, rituals, and ceremonies have continued down to our times, having been absorbed in a composite Aryan-non-Aryan culture which is the basis of Hinduism. They were known in ancient Sanskrit as Nišādas. Some of their tribes were also called Bhillas and Kollas (modern Indian Bhils and Kols), besides Pulindas, Mātaṅgas (modern Indian Mangs), Sāmanapalas (modern Indian Saontals or Santals), Munḍās (modern Indian Mundaris) and Puṇḍras (modern Indian Punds), etc. Their languages did not evolve any high literature, but remained
in a rather primitive state, although a good many words from the Niṣāda or Austric languages have found a place in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, Sanskrit and the various Prakrits, as well as in Dravidian and the present-day New Indo-Aryan speeches. Apart from these words, which are sometimes very difficult to identify because of their mutilation in form through the ages, we do not have any records of these Niṣāda languages. When the Aryans came, the Niṣāda-speakers living in the riverain plains of North India appear to have gradually merged into the general mass of the Aryan-speaking people and given up their ancient dialects, allied both to the present-day Kol (or Munda) and the Mon-Khmer speeches, in favour of the speech of a new and energetic Herrenvolk, the Aryans. In some areas they have become Dravidian-speakers also, and in the Himalayan regions as they came within the orbit of the Mongoloids, they took up Mongoloid dialects to a limited extent. But the more primitive groups among the Austrics, who lived mostly in out-of-the-way areas in the hills and jungles of central and eastern India, or who retired to these places before the Dravidians and the Aryans, have so far preserved their traditional languages. Present-day Austric languages in India are represented by them.

Adiavasi languages, both Austric and Mongoloid, began to be studied, as already mentioned, only during the nineteenth century when European scholars and Christian missionaries became interested in them. The objective of the Christian missionaries was, however, to render their scriptures and literature in these languages with a view to converting the primitive ādivāsīs to the Christian faith. But they did a great service in introducing a proper scientific study of those languages. At first, it was thought that the Austric languages and the Dravidian speeches belonged to the same family. But by 1860, Max Müller and others established their separate identity. All the Austric tribes in India had just a little oral literature, handed down from generation to generation, consisting of their mythological and semi-historical legends and traditions, and some folk-poetry, partly relating to their religious ceremonies, but mainly with regard to the life they used to live. This poetry as well as their oral legends have a unique literary value. A good deal of their mythology and ritual has been transformed and passed into the mass of Hindu Purāṇa legends. But the matter requires deeper and more detailed investigation. The recording of all this oral literature started from the fourth quarter of the last century. Earlier, the various Christian missionary bodies had tried to give to the Austric tribes some Christian literature—translations of the Gospels and other portions of the Bible, and some Christian hymns and other works. Although the Austric speakers in India represent only a small fraction of the total Indian population, their languages are of great interest to the students of linguistics and human culture. We may now discuss some of the important
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Austric (Austro-Asiatic) speeches of India, namely, Santali and Mundari of the Munda group and Khasi of the Mon-Khmer group.

SANTALI

Among the Austric languages of the present day, the most important is Santali. Spoken by about four million people, it represents the largest group in India speaking an ādīvāsī language. The original home of Santali was in the Chota Nagpur plateau in the Santal Parganas area and the surrounding contiguous tracts in Bihar, West Bengal, and North Orissa. They have also been taken as indentured labourers to the tea-gardens of Assam and North Bengal, where they now form a settled population, very slowly getting merged with the local Assamese and Bengali speakers. In Bengal, there is a sizable Santal population following its own traditional religion, which is in a way akin to Purānic Hinduism. Being within the orbit of Brāhmaṇism, the Santals have been very largely influenced by Hindu notions. Although they have retained their language, culturally and intellectually (and even spiritually) they are becoming just like other Bengali-speaking Hindus, adopting Bengali Hindu personal names, but retaining their Santal surnames. The same can be said to a lesser extent of the Santals in Bihar and Orissa.

The Santals never had a script of their own, and Santali was first written in the Bengali script, and to a small extent in the Oriya and Nägari scripts also in Orissa and Bihar respectively. Then through Christian missionary initiative, the Roman alphabet was adopted for Santali, and a rich literature of mythological tales, traditions, folk-tales as well as folk-songs came to be collected and published in the Roman script through both missionary and non-missionary enterprises. Some Bengali scholars also have taken an active interest in this.

Santali literature may be classified into two main types: (i) the earlier primitive literature based on oral tradition and (ii) the modern literature which is being created by educated Santals on the model of the literature in the Aryan languages, particularly Bengali and Oriya, and to some extent Hindi. The second type of literature does not have any special Santali character about it. Nevertheless, it is in the field now and is making good progress.

There are two great works in Santali containing collections of old traditions and legends. The first is Hor-ko-ren Mare Hapram-ko-reak’ Kathā or ‘The Traditions of the Ancestors of the Hor or Santal People’. The traditions contained in this work were given out by a Santal guru or preacher named Kolean (Kalyan). Rev. A. S. Skrefrsud, a Scandinavian missionary belonging to the Santal Mission from the Northern Churches at Benagaria near Dumka in the Santal Parganas, collected this oral narration and published it in the Roman
script as a book in 1887. This book was never translated into English, although it was used by many scholars. Only recently, about 1965, it was translated into Bengali by Baidyanath Hansdak under the auspices of the Government of India Census Commission. It is a great compilation of Santali stories and legends in their earliest forms. The second work is Kherwal-vaṃśa Dharam-puṭhi or 'The Sacred Book of the Kherwal Race' (kherwal being an old name for the Santals and other allied Kol people). It is a compilation as well as composition, but much more extensive in its content, made by Ramdas Majhi Tudu of Ghatasila in Singhbhum District (Bihar), who was very well informed about the traditions of his people and its religious and social culture. This book was published by him in the Bengali script from Calcutta about A.D. 1902 with a number of woodcut illustrations designed by him relating to Santali myths and social life. These two books are very important as they form a sort of source-material for Kol or Munda legends and antiquities as they have been preserved in Santali.

Next to these myths and religious traditions and usages, there is a long series of Santali folk-tales dealing mostly with Santali belief in the bongas or gods and godlings, and giving a very fine picture of the primitive life of the Santal people in their jungle villages. The best collections of such stories were made by the Scandinavian missionaries, particularly by P. O. Bodding, who was one of the greatest authorities on Santal folklore and tradition. The British missionary A. Campbell also made a collection. P. O. Bodding's collections of Santal folk-tales have been published in very convenient editions by the Institute for Comparative Folklore in Oslo (Norway), and also from Copenhagen, giving the Santali text in Roman script on one page and an English translation on the page opposite. C. O. Bompas made an English translation of some of these folk-tales in which we have quite a good nucleus of a native Santali prose literature of great value. The Christian missionaries made a translation of both the Old and the New Testament of the Bible and published also the translations of some Christian religious classics like The Pilgrim's Progress of John Bunyan. Besides these folk-tales in prose, there is a rich mass of Santali lyrics generally in couplets and sometimes in more than four to six lines. In these lyrics, we find thumb-nail sketches of Santali life. They have a beauty of their own. Collections of these have been made also by Bengali lovers of Santali lore. Special mention may be made of a fine collection of Santali poems published from Patna by the Government of Bihar in the Roman script.

*The original book has now become entirely out of print. However, a reprint was made under the auspices of the Manager of the Dhalbhum Raj State at Ghatasila, the late Bankim Chandra Chakrabarti, with a long introduction in Bengali by the present author. This book has now been brought out in a third reprint by Suhrid Kumar Bhaumik in 1971. A Bengali translation with the introduction has also been prepared.
under the editorship of W. G. Archer in 1935. Rabindranath Tagore also appreciated the poetic beauty of these Santali songs.

So long there was no literature of a modern type in Santali. Lately, however, genuine modern literature in Santali has been coming into existence through the creative efforts of educated Santals, particularly in Bengal. This is hardly forty years old. Already there are some Santal writers who have brought out volumes of short stories and general essays, published in the Bengali script or in the Roman. There are also poems on life and religion in the usual modern Indian style, which follow more or less the same pattern as Bengali literature. Some Santali translations from Tagore have appeared, and are regularly appearing. Versions of the Hindu Purāṇa tales also occasionally come out. A translation of the Isa Upaniṣad has been published. Literary journals have also made their advent. Mention may be made of the Ebhen (‘Light’), a quarterly literary journal, and Hariyar Sakam (‘Green Leaf’), a weekly. These are printed in Bengali characters. Already some educated Santals, with whom Bengali is almost their second mother-tongue, are writing good poetry in Santali. Among Santali writers of recent times, the following outstanding names may be mentioned: Nache Mangal Chandra Soren, Sarada Prasad Kisku, Balkishor Baske, Aditya Mitra Saontal, Babulal Murmu, Bhagavat Murmu, ‘Tade Sutam’, Raghunath Murmu, Rupnarayan Hembrom, Sridhar Kumar Murmu, Gomasta Prasad Soren, Chandranath Murmu, and Kaliram Soren*. Jugaldas Mandi, Ramchandra Murmu, Mandal Hembrom, Durgacharan Hembrom, Hopon Chandra Baske, Birlita Hembrom, Rabilal Mandi, and Stephen Murmu are mainly poets and essayists. Among the Santali writers of the previous generation, who are no more alive, mention may be made of Sadhu Ramchand Murmu Thakur (religious reformer and teacher of Santal philosophy of religion), Ramdas Majhi Tudu (author of Kherwal-vañña Dharam-puthi, as already mentioned), and Charu Chandra Sinha Soren (prose writer). There is a very great interest among the educated Santals in the development of their language and literature. On the basis of old Santali religious notions, and inspired by Hindu philosophy, a Santal philosophy of religion and life is also developing, as conceived by Ramdas Majhi Tudu and Sadhu Ramchand Murmu Thakur. These are among the very hopeful signs of the development of Santali literature and thought during the present age.

The Santali language, as said before, started to be written in the Bengali script, and then the Roman was adopted and established for it. Santals are now, however, required to know more than one script. In West Bengal, they must know the Bengali script; in Orissa, the Oriya script; in Bihar, the

*Kaliram Soren’s drama Sidhu Kānu on a Santal patriot has been staged, and is very popular. It is in its second edition.
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Nāgarī script, and in Assam, the Assamese script (which is the same as Bengali). For inter-State purposes, the Roman alphabet is admirably suitable. By far the largest and most significant mass of Santali literature has already been published in the Roman script, thanks mainly to the Scandinavian missionaries. Recently, a Santali gentleman came forward with a newly-created alphabet of his own, called the Ol script. This is conceived in the same spirit as the Roman, each vowel and consonant sound having a separate letter. But the shapes of the letters are very complicated, compared with the Roman. Some Santals are, however, advocating the use of this script for their language.

MUNDARI

Next in importance to Santali is the Mundari language spoken by nearly a million of Mundas, who, like the Santals, are spread over the four States of Bihar (Chota Nagpur), Orissa, Assam, and to some extent West Bengal. The literary life of the Mundas runs parallel to that of the Santals. Through Christian (Roman Catholic) missionary efforts mainly, Mundari myths and legends as well as folk-tales have been collected and published in the Roman script. Mundas living in the Chota Nagpur have generally to learn the Nāgarī script which is used side by side with the Roman in writing Mundari. The late Sarat Chandra Roy made a very detailed study of Mundari life and culture, and collected some beautiful Mundari songs or poems. W. G. Archer is also responsible for a very good collection of Mundari poems (Munda Durang), published by the Government of Bihar. The total output of literature in Mundari, both the native oral literature as well as modern writing, is not as extensive as in Santali. But Mundari songs, which are frequently longer than Santali songs, are quite distinctive, and here they have a better output than Santali. A Christian literature in the shape of translations of the Bible and some Christian texts has also grown up in Mundari.

The other Kol or Munda languages are not so very important, numerically or otherwise. They generally follow the pattern of Santali and Mundari. There is still more restricted literary endeavour in languages like Ho (or Larka-Kol), Bhumij, Asuri, Gadaba (or Patua), and Savara (or Sora) which is the southernmost Munda language spoken in Orissa and the Telugu country, besides Korku in the Berar tract in Madhya Pradesh. These languages do not have any literature worth mentioning, except for some songs and folk-tales which are current orally.

KHASI

Khasi is an important Austroic language spoken in the Khasi and Jayantia Hills of the New Hill State of Meghalaya in north-eastern India. The Khasi people number about four lakh and have two main groups—the Khasis proper
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in the west, and the Syntengs or Jaintias (or Jayantiyas) in the east. They are racially Mongoloids, but in very early times adopted—when and how nobody knows—the Austric Khasi language. They had their own religion and social life and customs, and their own distinctive socio-political organizations. They came under Hindu influence from Bengal through the Jayantiyas (ancestors of the present-day Syntengs) in the south and from the Assamese Hindus in the north and a good number of them became Hindus. But through the efforts of the Welsh Methodist missionaries, a very large percentage of the Khasis have now become Methodist Christians. Formerly, the Khasi language was written in the Bengali script. But now they have accepted the Roman script with Welsh values for some of the Roman letters. Barring a few traditional stories and folk-tales, and some songs, the Khasi did not have any literature worth mentioning. Through their contact with Christianity, a little literature of Christian inspiration has, however, grown up among them. Contact with Hinduism is, however, helping the Khasi to take a greater interest in their own traditional religion, culture, and institutions, and some cultured Khasis, who are not in all cases Christians, have written in Khasi as well as in English on various aspects of their culture and social usages. The work of the Khasi scholars like U. Rabon Singh, Sib Charan Roy, U. Jeebon Roy, B. K. Sarma Roy, Ondro Muney, and H. Lyngdoh has provided substantial material for building up a modern literature in the language. Two Salesian (Italian) missionaries, J. Bacchiarello and G. Costa, have also made some remarkable contributions in this line. There is a small series of illustrated books in Khasi published from Shillong by Theodore Cajee and others, giving short accounts of the present-day Khasi life and ways. Among the modern Khasi writers, Soso Tham, known as 'the Khasi Wordsworth', is an outstanding poet and prosateur who has been quite an innovator in the Khasi language. Essentially a writer on humanity as a whole, he is nevertheless a great admirer of the old life and ways of his people. P. Gatphoh, B. Thangkhien, and Victor Bareh are the most distinguished among the poets and song-writers in Khasi in recent times. Victor Bareh is also the author of a notable patriotic drama (1956) on the life of U Tirot Singh, a great Khasi freedom fighter who died in the English prison at Dacca. Mention may be made of F. M. Pugh’s Khasi translation of Shakespeare’s As You Like It, which is really a noteworthy work. Khasi literature shows striking record of progress in essays as well as journalism. From 1895 onwards, Khasi magazines began to come out. J. J. M. Nichols Roy’s political and socio-economic writings, B. M. Pugh’s books on agriculture, S. Blah’s pamphlets on the flora of the hills, and Hamlet Bareh’s book on the Freedom movement in the Jaintia Hills are important additions to modern Khasi literature. The Khasi, as an intelligent and advanced people, have got a number of highly cultivated edu-
cationists and men in public life, and there is a great possibility of further development of Khasi literature.

DRAVIDIAN ĀDIVĀŚI LANGUAGES

The ādivāśi or primitive languages of India belong mainly to the Sino-Tibetan and Austro-Afrian families. But there are several uncultivated Dravidian dialects spoken by various groups of backward tribes in central and eastern India. They are, to mention a few, Gondi scattered in Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, and Mahārāṣṭra; Oraon or Kurukh in Bihar, Orissa, and West Bengal; Mal-Pahariya in the Rajmahal Hills between Bihar and West Bengal; and Khond (or Kondh or Kandh) and Parji in Orissa.

At one time, the Gonds had a little kingdom of their own, with its centre in Chanda in Madhya Pradesh. They had Gond kings, and a sort of Gond art (sculpture in stone) of their own which was quite distinctive. But they are now scattered and broken up, and live among various Aryan-speaking people as well as among Telugus who have penetrated into, and settled within, the Gond territory. They do not cultivate their language (i.e. Gondi) to any appreciable extent. It looks as if they would merge with their Aryan or Telugu neighbours surrounding them. The Gondi language is now broken up into a number of dialects which are sometimes mutually unintelligible. The Oraon or Kurukh people mainly live in Chota Nagpur in the Santal Parganas. Their economic, social, and cultural life is just like that of their close Austro-Afrian neighbours, the Santals and the Mundas. Thousands of them have settled in Assam as well as in Orissa and West Bengal, and are slowly merging with the local Assamese, Oriyas, and Bengalis. Their language, Oraon, is quite distinctive. It is an independent Dravidian language, and there is just a little oral literature in it. A good collection of Oraon poems and songs made by W. G. Archer has been published in the Nāgarī script by the Government of Bihar from Patna. The Blue Grove, a fine book giving an English version of a series of beautiful traditional poems in Oraon, with notes and commentaries, was published by W. G. Archer from London in 1940. The Malers or Mal-Pahariyas are a small tribe of Dravidians. Their language very much resembles Oraon. But they are a small insignificant group, and do not have any literature worth mentioning—barring, naturally, a few songs and folk-tales. The Khond people in Orissa, who are also known as Kui or Kuvi, are fast becoming assimilated with the Oriyas. Parji current among the Parjis in Orissa has its own place in the Dravidian family. But there is not much literature in it excepting, as usual, some folk-tales. There is neither any literary cultivation of this language. The same may be said of a few other tribes speaking Dravidian in Orissa, West Bengal, Bihar, Mahārāṣṭra, and Madhya Pradesh.
BY folk-literature is meant the traditional literature of the unlettered mass living in one integrated social group. It is orally transmitted and can be claimed to be 'of the people, by the people, for the people'. It is, therefore, popular literature in the real sense of the term. Before writing was invented, it was the only form of literature that existed in society. It grows and develops with the formation and development of society, and as such it is integrated into it, as it were. It declines when any particular social function with which it is linked ceases to operate.

The existence of folk-literature as such was recognized for the first time in India more than two thousand years ago in the oldest available Tamil grammar entitled Tolkāppiyam composed by Tolkāppiyar. The author defined and classified some of the elements of folk-literature more or less elaborately, giving examples from oral sources, and it seems that its tradition had already been well established. Literacy has not spread in India among the masses even today as widely as it should have. Therefore, folk-literature is the only vehicle of thought for the vast majority of Indian people even to this day. Life throughout rural India is more or less uniform. It still depends mainly on agricultural work which has also a uniform character. Therefore, the way of life throughout the Sub-continent is more or less identical and the social functions performed are also not very different in various regions in spite of the fact that there are different languages and apparently different cultures. When we analyse the elements of folk-literature, we find that they are basically the same throughout India. Because the creative faculty of each individual living at the folk level is fundamentally the same, and as the way of life is almost identical everywhere, the themes on which folk-literature is based are also mostly not very different from one another. Therefore, in every language spoken in India we come across oral literature of about the same character. They are in the form of doggerel verses, folk-songs, folk-tales, riddles, proverbs, myths, legends, ballads, folk-dramas, etc. Even tribal societies have their own literature but they are seldom developed as folk-literature. They have a somewhat different character. In almost every country, folk-literature has been the basis of higher literature. But in India, the natural way of development from folk-literature to modern literature was interrupted since the beginning of the nineteenth century owing to the introduction of English education and the adoption of Western ideas and thoughts. During the
period of the Renaissance in Europe, the folk-literature of almost all the countries, except Russia and a few smaller States, met about the same fate owing to the revival of Classical Roman and Greek ideas in art and literature.

NURSERY RHYMES AND DOGGEREL

Cradle songs, game songs, nursery rhymes, and other doggerel verses are common all over India. Cradle songs induce babies to sleep. They are sung or recited in a musical tune by mothers or nurses while putting children to sleep. Such songs serve a practical purpose and are composed orally by the elderly women of the family. Sometimes they have a touch of poetic excellence. A cradle song of Gujarat is as follows:

The swing is so dear to my son,
I give it toys to play with,
Sleep, my baby sleep!
My little son is so wise,
It bathes sitting in a tub.
Sleep, my baby sleep.¹

An illustration from Madhya Pradesh can also be cited here:

Who would beat you baby?
Swing swing in your cradle.
I am going for water
I'll give you scented oil.
Swing swing in your cradle.
What widow's eye has caught you
That you cry so much?
Swing swing in your cradle.²

In this group also come the game songs of children. Little boys and girls recite game songs in the excitement of games. That is why they are more rhythmical than lyrical. They are integrated into the games themselves, and as a matter of fact, they are inseparable parts of games. Songs vary according to the character of the games, indoor and outdoor. There are mixed games of little boys and girls which have characters of their own. When the boys grow older they form separate groups, and the characters of their games also change. The games of small girls are naturally indoor and less vigorous, but those of boys are otherwise. In game songs, the emphasis is laid only on rhythm and not on any formulated thought or idea. They are nonsense verses in the real sense of the term. A game song from Upper


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Assam is cited below. The game concerned is known as question-and-answer game. It is indoor in character and played by children of both sexes together during their early years:

O crane, who has taken away your hand?
The mango, when I tried to pick it.
Where is that mango?—It fell into the wood.
What became of the wood?—The fire consumed it.
Where are the ashes?—The washerman carried them away.3

Similar game songs are also current in Bengal, Orissa, and Andhra Pradesh. With the introduction of Western games, the traditional ones are being forgotten and the songs based on them are also becoming obsolete. In most of the tribal societies of India there are no organized children's games and hence game songs are seldom met with there. There are certain game songs, specially those of little girls, which are not just nonsense verses; they sometimes express the deepest feeling of domestic and personal life. In the following game song from the Punjab, a little girl is thinking of her future marriage and of its natural consequences:

O pipal of my birthplace,
Your shade is cool;
Water in your pond is dirty,
The leaf-powder from its surface I set aside,
Lacchi and Banto went to husbands,
Whom shall I tell my story?
Without fire my bones are roasted,
On my spinning wheel I cannot make yarn,
I wish I could go back to father-in-law's
And confine myself within the house.4

Yet another type of doggerel verse can be commonly heard in the ceremonial worship performed by elderly women. The verses are not inspired by any intense spiritual feeling, being merely ritual songs and sometimes also magical in character. They are recited by the womenfolk only. In a ceremonial worship by the women of Bengal, the following prayer is offered to the popular goddess known as Senjuti:

Give me a palanquin to come and go,
Give me a golden mirror to see my face,
Let the palanquin of my father's house,
Come to my father-in-law's house,

3Prafulladatta Goswami, Folk-literature of Assam (Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam, Gauhati, 1954), pp. 42-43.
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On the way let the palanquin
Drink honey and clarified butter.  
There is a class of doggerel verses which can be characterized as magical. They have little or no literary merit and are sometimes no more than mere jugglery of obsolete words. They are recited by the exorcists to cure cases of snake-bite, to induce rainfall during a drought, to protect the ripe paddy in the fields from hailstorm, and for various other practical purposes. The following magical verse meant for the treatment of a case of snake-bite collected from the Santal Parganas in Bihar is an example:

Hunka says gadgadą, kalke says ashes,
The preceptor looks at the water of hunka
And says, thou art now free of poison.
O the poison of Netai, the washerwoman,
O the poison of Kālakūta,
Go off by the way of the wound,
At the grace of Mother Manasā.

They are nonsense verses in the real sense of the term. By such nonsense utterances the mystic character of the incantations is believed to be retained intact.

FOLK-SONGS

Folk-literature in India has been very much enriched by folk-songs. In every State of India, folk-songs exist in their widest variety. They cover the entire life of an individual, from the cradle to the grave, so to say. Within this wide canvas, nativity songs and funeral songs are the two milestones. Leopold Stokowski writes: "The most typical of all this music should be recorded, as should the folk-music all over the world. Such records will be a permanent monument of the individual culture of many lands." But no appreciable work has been done so far in this field as far as India is concerned. In one sense, the folk-songs of India have a basic unity inasmuch as most of their themes are drawn from the two great Indian epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, especially the Rāmāyaṇa which has been exercising very great influence on the minds of the Indian people at large over the centuries. It has a universal character because it has adopted the theme of the discipline of domestic or family life as its basis. Therefore, every child born in an Indian family is considered as Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, and every brother has his ideal in Lākṣmaṇa and Bharata, and so on.

The birth of a child in a family is celebrated, as if it were the birth of Rāma himself, by means of songs sung by the elderly women of the family. A song sung on this occasion by the womenfolk in rural Bengal is given below:

Ten days and ten months having been completed,
A child with all auspicious signs is born.
The navel-string has been cut by the nurse,
Auspicious sounds are made at Kauśalyā's palace,
Messenger carries the news to Daśaratha,
The king sees the face of his son with gems and pearls.⁸

According to the custom of the Oraon tribe in South Bihar, on the ninth day after the birth of a child, male or female, the mother takes the purificatory bath in a river or an embankment. The child is left behind at home. The accompanying women of the family sing the following song:

Guṇja flower is red,
Red is the skirt of the cloth,
O mother, whose baby is crying,
Crying alone on the river bank?
Take it, take in your arms.⁹

The next social function after birth is the sacred thread ceremony of the boys in a Brahmin family. Songs befitting the occasion are sung almost all over India by women on that occasion. Marriage is the most important social function and its rituals are as complicated as they are numerous. Each ritual is generally associated with a specific group of songs. The idea of marriage is associated with pleasure and happiness and whenever the mind betrays such a feeling, it gives expression to it by the usual marriage songs. The marriage songs are obviously non-ritualistic and secular in character. A Korku marriage song collected from Hoshangabad (in Mahārāṣṭra) is as follows:

A palanquin of gold they have kept ready for you,
O bridegroom, be seated,
They have brought a fine turban for you,
O boy, put it on.
Beads of gold they have brought for you,
O darling, adorn yourself,
Printed cloth, gold and red, is also here,
O bridegroom, be quickly dressed.¹⁰

The best specimens of marriage songs are the bridal farewell songs. They are sung mostly by the elderly women of the brides' families or even by the

⁸Asutosh Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p. 303.
¹⁰Durga Bhagat, 'Korku Marriage Song', Man in India, Vol. XXIII, p. 27.
brides themselves. The pain of separation underlines these songs with the deepest sentiment of real life. The following is a specimen from the region of western Bihar:

Father's tears bring tide in Gângâ,
Mother's tears reveal all the darkness,
Brother's tears make his dress wet down to his feet,
Only the brother's wife has no tear in her eyes.\(^{11}\)

A specimen of farewell songs sung by the brides themselves is given below. This is from Orissa:

O God, Thou art throwing off this unfortunate girl,
It is for me as hard as walking on the edge of a knife,
Without Thy kindness.
Having given me in marriage, O Father,
With a demon of Lânkâ,
Thou shalt be free from all anxieties.
It is as if a bull having served Śiva
Gets bunches of grass only to devour.
My case is also the same,
It is in vain that I have served my God.\(^{12}\)

Funeral and mourning songs mark the end of the wide span of the ritual songs. They are naturally sung on a different note. Painful memory with a touch of cynical feeling constitutes the theme of these songs. Funeral songs are sung generally by men while the body is carried to the funeral place for cremation and the mourning songs are sung by women at the time of, or after, the death. They are in a sense laments. From the following mourning song collected from Chingleput District in Tamil Nadu, it will be obvious that the mother mourns the loss of her son:

O the apple of my eye, my darling, my blissful paradise,
Apple of my eye, where have you hidden yourself?
My golden bead, my eyes,
My flower, where have you hidden yourself?
Gem-like apple of my eye, my blissful paradise,
I don't know how have you gone away?
Even as a capering deer leaps
You have jumped into the well,
Even as a capering deer
Have you jumped into the lake?\(^{13}\)

Songs which are sung during the various festivals throughout the year

\(^{13}\)E. Thurston, 'Songs of Mourning from Chingleput District', \textit{Man in India}, Vol. XXIII, p. 38.
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in different parts of India are popular and of a wide variety. There are, for example, the Bihu festival of Assam, the Gājan festival of Bengal, the Karma festival of Chota Nagpur in Bihar, and so on. These songs are sung according to the scheduled time of the calendar. Almost all festival songs are accompanied by dance, and in some places it is mixed dance also. Therefore, they are more rhythmic than lyrical. An example of a Bihu song of Assam is given below:

This yellow bird, lovely are its wings,
Once it flies up it cannot be caught,
This youth, if it goes away,
No more is to be got back.\(^{14}\)

Bāramāsīs are very well known and widespread folk-songs in India. They are commonly known as seasonal songs, because they express the sentiment of love against the background of the changing features of the twelve months of the year. The following is part of a Bāramāsī song collected from the Simla Hills in Himachal Pradesh:

The month of Jeṭh has come,
The sun burns me,
Now play your flute to me, my love.\(^{15}\)

Though the sentiment of love is expressed through various types of songs, a set of folk-songs can also be classified as love songs. In the more Hinduized societies from Gujarat to Assam, the hero and heroine of folk-songs are invariably Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, but in the less Hinduized and aboriginal societies, they are human beings having only genuine earthly feelings. It is also a fact that though the names of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā have been borrowed from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, their characters have been humanized to the greatest extent by the illiterate rural composers of folk-songs. Therefore, it has been possible to adopt them as characters of folk-songs. A love song of the Ao Nagas from the hills of Assam is as follows:

Countless suitors come to the house where I sleep,
But in this lover only, handsome as a flower,
Do mine eyes behold the ideal of my heart.
Many came to the house where I sleep
But the joy of my eyes was not among them.
My lover is like the finest bead
On the necks of all the men of all the world.
When my lover comes not where I sleep
Ugly and hateful to my eyes is my chamber.\(^{16}\)

\(^{14}\)Prafulladatta Goswami, op. cit., p. 18.
\(^{15}\)Devendra Satyarthi, 'Five Songs from Simla Hills', Man in India, Vol. XXIII, p. 35.
\(^{16}\)J. P. Mills, 'An Ao Naga Song', Man in India, Vol. XXIII, p. 4.
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There is a class of songs integrated with manual work known as work songs. They are generally group songs and sung by a group of workers while performing the same work together such as husking paddy, grinding pulses, reaping the harvest, rowing boats, and so on. The following Marathi grinding songs were collected from the State of Bombay: 17

1. Rise, my companions, for the dawn grinding,
   The star of Venus stands above our heads.

2. In the dawn one should fold one's hands in the courtyard,
   As one looks down, the sun rolls into the sky.

3. The rain falls, sister, the clouds thunder and thunder,
   The farmer like a king rejoicing begins to sow his land.

FOLK-TALES

Folk-tales have been the most important element of Indian folk-literature. They have been collected and studied since the middle of the nineteenth century specially due to the efforts of the British civilians interested in this subject and the Christian missionaries of various nationalities of Europe and America. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Maurice Bloomfield, W. N. Brown, Ruth Norton, M. B. Emeneau, and others examined and analysed their themes and also studied the aspect of their diffusion. But it is not long since the interest of Indian scholars was drawn to this most fascinating subject. Although there has been some random collection here and there, it is only recently that a scientific and systematic study has been undertaken by Indian scholars.

India has established a great tradition as far as folk-tales are concerned. Some Western scholars are of the opinion that the folk-tales of the world have been borrowed from India through different channels, because India has a very ancient record of folk-tales. Notable works like Guṇḍāgya's Byhakathā, stories of the birth of Buddha in the Jātaka, Dhammakahā of the Jains, Somadeva's Kathāsāra-sāgara, Daṇḍin's Daṇḍakumāra-carita, Viṣṇu Śarman's Pāñcanattra, and Nārāyaṇa's Hitopadesa have their root in traditional Indian folk-tales. Indian folk-tales have also travelled to such South-East Asian countries as Malaya, Cambodia, Thailand, and Indonesia through Buddhism and Hinduism. Even China and Japan, which adopted Buddhism, were not free from Indian influence so far as folk-tales are concerned. The reason behind this wide distribution of Indian folk-tales is perhaps that unlike any other form of oral literature, these have some universal elements in their motifs and are objective in nature.

The first publication of Indian folk-tales was made by Sir Richard C. Temple in 1866. Rev. S. Hislop, who had worked among the aboriginals of the Central Provinces, collected considerable information relating to the folklore

17 Mary Fuller, 'Sixteen Marathi Grinding Songs', Man in India, Vol. XXIII, p. 19.

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of the tribal people of the area. Sir Richard C. Temple edited and published this material, which contained some folk-tales along with their originals. This was the first attempt at the publication of Indian folk-tales. Unfortunately, the first attempt failed to attract workers into this field because it was marked by technical discussion and deep scholarship to which the Indian reader had not yet become accustomed. Two years later, a fascinating collection of Indian folk-tales was published by Mary Frere in her *Old Deccan Days* or *Hindoo Fairy Legends Current in Southern India* (London, 1868) which caught the imagination of Indian scholars. It was translated into several European languages within a short time. In 1872 *The Indian Antiquary* started publishing a series of folk-tales collected from Bengal by G. H. Damant and it was continued till his death in 1879. Since the first appearance of Damant’s collection, folk-tales drawn from all parts of India were published in *The Indian Antiquary* for a considerable period. In 1883 *Folk-tales of Bengal* was published by Rev. Lal Behari Dey from London. In the following year R. C. Temple published the first of his three volumes of *The Legends of the Punjab* in Bombay. In 1884 *Wide-awake Stories* was published jointly by R. C. Temple and Flora A. Steel in Bombay. In the same year, a valuable collection of folk-tales was published in *The Indian Antiquary* by Natesa Sastri. In 1890 William Crooke started the publication of his periodical *North Indian Notes and Queries* in which a number of folk-tales were published from his own and others’ collections. In the course of a few years, the Christian missionaries also started the collection and publication of folk-tales from different parts of India. Among those who made outstanding contribution in this field were Rev. A. Campbell and Rev. J. H. Knowles, who worked in the Santal Parganas (Bihar) and Kashmir respectively. The work was continued during the twentieth century. The first decade of the century was highly productive in this direction and saw the publication of the following titles: R. S. Mukherjee’s *Indian Folklore* (Calcutta, 1904), Mrs Dracott’s *Simla Village Tales* (London, 1906), Rev. C. Swynnerton’s *Romantic Tales from the Punjab* (London, 1908), and C. H. Bompas’s *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* (London, 1909). Each publication was remarkable in more than one respect. More collections followed including W. M. Cullock’s *Bengali Household Tales* (London and New York, 1912), Sobhana Devi’s *The Orient Pearls* (London, 1913), and P. O. Boddington’s *Santal Folk-tales* (Oslo, 1929). Verrier Elwin, a missionary and later on Deputy Director of Anthropological Survey of India, made a great contribution to the study of Indian folk-tales by his collection and analysis in *Folk-tales of Mahakoshal* (London, 1944).

The Swadeshi movement started in Bengal during the first decade of the present century gave an impetus to the revival of the traditional culture of the country. Due emphasis, therefore, was laid on the collection and study

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of oral literature, and a number of volumes were published on folk-tales. Rabindranath Tagore, who himself made a collection of doggerel verses, also inspired young scholars in the collection of folk-tales. This, no doubt, yielded good results. Since Independence, the study of folk-literature in general has gathered momentum. Many universities have adopted this subject for special study in post-graduate courses and almost all the States of India have already published collections of folk-tales in their respective languages. Not being satisfied with mere collection, Indian scholars have devoted themselves to the analysis of the material they have collected so far in the modern Western manner.

RIDDLES

Riddles are believed to be the earliest and most popular type of formulated thought. Accordingly, they are also considered to be an important element of folk-literature. The answer to the riddle is always disguised in allegorical language. Successful unfolding of the allegory leads to the discovery of its meaning. It is not only an amusement for youngsters, but has also a ritualistic function in the social life of many countries. Sometimes riddles are explained by the exercise of common sense. But only traditional answers to them are accepted and there is rarely more than one answer to a riddle. A riddle from Madhya Pradesh asks:

Touch the plate and the spring gushes out, what is it?\(^{19}\) The answer is ‘the eye’. The reply to the riddle is concealed here under two allegorical words, ‘plate’ and ‘spring’, which mean the ‘eye’ and ‘tears’ respectively. An example can be taken from Orissa also:

What is the creature that is born first
But grows its legs later?\(^{20}\)

The answer is ‘the frog’. The reply is given here not by unfolding any allegorical term, but only by the exercise of common sense based on observation of natural life. A riddle collected from Rajasthan reads:

From here to there
But not in this country
I shall eat a fruit
Without a skin.\(^{21}\)

The answer is ‘hailstone’. A riddle from Bihar says:

Legs up, head down.\(^{22}\)

\(^{20}\) Ibid., p. 277.
\(^{21}\) Ibid., p. 296.
\(^{22}\) Ibid., p. 303
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The reply is 'the bat'. There is also no allegory in it, but the reply is given from observation of natural life.

There are riddles associated with rituals, particularly marriage rituals. These riddles are put by the members of the bride's party to the members of the bridegroom's party when the latter enters the boundary of the former's village. They are also sometimes put directly to the bridegroom when he enters the bride's house for the purpose of marriage. The custom is still prevalent in many Indian aboriginal and Hindu societies of the eastern region of India. Here is an example from West Bengal:

Where have you come from?
O gentlemen, where is your home?
To which clump the bamboo belongs?
To which clump the arrow?
How do you cook and how do you eat?
How do you sleep and how do you go about?

The traditional reply is as follows:
We come from the East,
Haridi is the village we live in.
The bamboo belongs to the clump of Rāma,
The arrow belongs to the clump of Lakṣmana.
We cook and serve as the wives do
And eat like a man.
We sleep like a jackal
And we go about like a lion.

PROVERBS

An important aspect of Indian folk-literature can be found in its proverbs. They are the shortest expressions of long experience of practical life, and as the practical experience of a worldly man is the same almost everywhere, the proverbs have a uniform character both in form and ideas. Clothed in poetic language (sometimes in short prose sentences also), these are in most cases satirical and replete with puns. Although they embody experiences of day-to-day practical life, they are not without literary flavour.

The credit for the collection of proverbs in Indian languages goes to the Christian missionaries. In order to learn the languages of the soil, they made attempts to collect the proverbs of different regions and had been editing and publishing them in the forms of dictionaries from the beginning of the last century even before any other element of Indian folk-literature came out in print. As early as 1824 T. Rosebuck published in Calcutta

Ibid., p. 498.
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A Collection of Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases in the Persian and Hindusthani Languages. In 1832 Dristanā-vākya-saṅgraha, a collection of proverbs, Bengali and Sanskrit, with their translation and application in English, was published in Calcutta by Rev. W. Morton, senior missionary of the Incorporated Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It contained 803 Bengali and seventy-two Sanskrit proverbs. This is the first recorded compilation and publication of proverbs in an Indian language. The Christian missionaries continued to present similar collections from different parts of India and, as a result, a number of collections appeared in the course of half a century. The first collection of Tamil proverbs was made earlier than 1874, because the second edition of Tamil Proverbs by P. Percival was published in Madras in 1874. A collection of Punjabi proverbs was made for the first time by R. C. Temple in his article ‘Some Punjabi and other Proverbs’ published in Folklore, Vol. II (London, 1883). Telugu proverbs were compiled by M. W. Carr in his collection Telugu and Sanskrit Proverbs printed in London in 1868. A collection of proverbs from Kashmir was brought out for the first time in 1885 in Bombay by J. H. Knowles in his A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings. The first collection of Sindhi proverbs was made by an Indian, Rochiram Gajumal, in his A Handbook of Sindhi Proverbs published in Karachi in 1895. The book was issued in two parts; one contained about 500 Sindhi proverbs with their English equivalents, while the other contained about 250 Sindhi proverbs which had no English equivalents as such, but their translations were made by the compiler himself. A collection of Marathi proverbs was made by A. Manwaring in his Marathi Proverbs published in Oxford in 1899. It is, however, not known whether this was the first collection of Marathi proverbs.

It was only in the twentieth century that the attention of Indian scholars was drawn to the collection and preservation of proverbs in the regional languages, and due to their efforts the number of proverbs on record has increased in every State. About 13,000 proverbs have been collected in Bengali so far. The actual number of Hindi proverbs published may be much greater. The use of proverbs and idioms enriches the style of writing, but today it has become rare in most of the regional languages. Proverbs are now preserved only in the memory of illiterate womenfolk in general or in the pages of dictionaries.

LEGENDS

Legends are narrative songs based on the exploits or sacrifices of some heroic or noble characters of history or tradition. These may be classified as heroic and romantic according to the character and achievements of the hero or heroine. The heroic legends of the Punjab, Rajasthan, and Mahārāṣṭra are widely known. Through English translation the romantic ballads of Bengal and Assam have reached the foreign scholars in this field. The Bengali legend
of Prince Gopicandra, who was asked by his mother Maynāmati to give up worldly life and embrace asceticism for twelve years at the prime of his life, has spread far and wide in the country and even penetrated into Nepal and Tibet. The legend of Jayamati is very popular in the whole of Assam. Jayamati, a princess, was inhumanly tortured to death by an oppressive king because she would not reveal the whereabouts of her husband, a prince who had been a fugitive to save himself from the wrath of that tyrant on the throne. She is a historical character. Her husband Gadadhara Sinha became king in A.D. 1681. Her son Rudra Sinha, who succeeded his father in A.D. 1696, built a temple and excavated a big tank in her memory. The sufferings undergone, and the ultimate sacrifice made by the lady held as ransom, form the subject-matter of this legend. She is adored as a martyr to wisely devotion and her legend still inspires the poets and playwrights of Assam. The anniversary of her death is observed every year in the whole of Assam. Another legend which is very popular throughout the State is that of Maniram Dewan, the 1857 martyr. The Punjabi legend of Rasālu Kuār has been done into English by several translators from different oral sources. It was translated into English for the first time by General Abbot as early as 1854. Rasālu, according to the legend, was the son of King Sālivāhana of Sialkot, and scholars think that the story gives a hint of the true history of the Indo-Scythian hero who must have flourished between the first Arab invasions of Sind and Kabul and the rise of the Ghaznavid dynasty. Both valour and sacrifice for a noble cause are the basic ideas of the legend which is as follows:

Rasālu meets a princess by the side of a well. She has some attendants with her. Rasālu kills the attendants to talk freely with the princess, but falls into danger. He is about to be surrounded by people intending to kill him. He says to the princess:

Here is your mother's house,
But for me it is a foreign land.
For you I will lose my life
And who will send the news back to my home?

The princess replies:

I will make a pyre of sandal wood
By my brother Biram, I swear.
If you lose your life for my sake
I will leap into the flames.

Sentiments of love and sacrifice are predominant in the legends of the


Ibid., p. 21.
eastern region and the ideals of heroism and adventure are in those of the western.

BALLADS

Closely akin to legends, ballads are also narrative songs. They are shorter in form but more dramatic in character. In ballads the conflicts and problems of life of men and women are more pointed, crucial, direct and acute, and are insurmountable. Themes of ballads both in Western countries and in India end in tragedy. These are invariably based on real life and direct experience. There is no promise of life after death for the characters of the ballads. Losses and gains are limited to the visible world of reality alone. Folk-ballads must have one eventful story running from the very beginning to the end without pause, diversion, or any other episode in it. One theme only will carry the reader from the beginning to the end. The dramatic suspense is also maintained throughout.

Folk-ballads have been collected from every part of India. There are regional differences in their character and motifs, and most of them do not satisfy each and every point of the definition of ballad in the real sense of the term. The ballads of Assam have been divided into four groups according to their subject-matter—historical, magical, realistic, and satirical.27 The historical ballad Barphukanar Gita is the most important from both literary and historical points of view. It describes events which occurred during the early nineteenth century in the course of Badancandra Barphukan’s invitation to the Burmese invaders to occupy the territory of Assam. Badancandra was an Ahom viceroy of Lower Assam in Gauhati. Other historical ballads of Assam are: Bakharbarar Gita, Padum Kuvār Gita, Maqrāma Devānar Gita, Jayamati Kuvār Gita, and Ajan Fakirar Gita. Though each of them refers to one or two historical characters, the events and incidents described in them are not, strictly speaking, historical, because a lot of unhistorical and romantic elements have entered into them. In the ballads of magic, the emphasis is laid more on the magical than on the realistic activities of life. Three ballads of this type have so far been collected from oral tradition and published. They are Maṇikuvārar Gita, Phulkuvārar Gita, and Janaṅgābhārar Gita. The last is the Assamese version of the Bengali ballad Gopicandrer Gita. The realistic ballads deal with the affairs of day-to-day life. Sometimes they express deep sentiments of love and affection. Dubalār Sāntir Gita, Sāudar Gita, Kanyā Bāramāhi, and Pagalā Pārvatir Gita are a few ballads of the realistic group. These ballads are generally available in Lower Assam and Kamrup District. The satirical ballads of Assam are compositions of a class of village buffoons known as Bhāurā or Bahnā. Strictly speaking, they cannot be called ballads in view of the fact that they have no

27Prasfulladatta Goswami, Ballads and Tales of Assam (Gauhati University, 1960), pp. 17-56.
story in them. Bengal is particularly rich in ballads. A number of ballads have been published in English translation by the University of Calcutta. Western scholars were greatly impressed by them and bestowed on them their highest praise. These were mostly collected from the district of Mymensingh (now in Bangladesh) and they were published under the editorship of Dr Dinesh Chandra Sen with the title Mainamāsinha-gītikā by Calcutta University in 1923. Another volume was also brought out by the same editor under the title Puruvavanga-gītikā (Calcutta University, 1932); this contains a collection from the districts of Sylhet, Noakhali, and Chittagong, all now in Bangladesh. Selected ballads were also rendered into English by Dr Dinesh Chandra Sen and published under the title Eastern Bengal Ballads (Calcutta, 1926). Some of these are the finest specimens of Indian folk-ballads. They express the deepest sentiments of love and sacrifice based on the realities of human lives. Love is the motif of almost all the ballads collected from this area, and they have, therefore, a universal appeal. They have been justly classified as ‘love ballads’ by a European scholar. Though the basic sentiment of folk-ballads all over the world is love, it must be admitted that this sentiment predominates in the ballads from Mymensingh. They are also intensely lyrical in character. Of a ballad entitled Mahuvā it has been remarked by a foreign scholar that ‘lyrical points form the most characteristic feature of the ballad and, I do not hesitate to say, its most valuable artistic achievement. We could call it the art of poetic abbreviation’. The ballad describes the story of love and sacrifice of a gypsy girl and a boy of a high family. In the ballads from the Punjab, Rajasthan, and Kashmir, heroic sentiments predominate, but sentiments of love and sacrifice are not altogether lacking in them. Ballads of Andhra Pradesh are generally full of pathos. The episodes of Kamamma and Sanyasamma, who sacrificed their lives on the funeral pyre of their husbands, have been dealt with in these ballads. There are also ballads of Virā Rājamma, Laks̄mamma, and Pāl Thāṅgā, who had to undergo physical tortures by their mothers-in-law and to sacrifice their innocent lives just because of suspicion about their character by their husbands. The ballad of Bāla Nāgamma, who was tortured by her step-mother, is very famous and is full of pathos.

MYTH

Myth, which is also considered by Western folklorists as one of the aspects of folk-literature, has been defined by some as ‘a story, presented as having actually occurred in a previous age, explaining the cosmological and supernatural traditions of a people, their gods, heroes, cultural traits, religious

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Dusan Zbavitel, Bangali Folk-ballads from Mymensingh and the Problem of Their Authenticity (Calcutta University, 1963), p. 9.

Ibid., p. 38.
beliefs, etc. The purpose of myth is to explain... matters in the "science of a pre-scientific age". Man's eternal quest to know the basic truth of the natural phenomena led him to invent myths. This is universal in its core and India, being an ancient country with a long and continued traditional heritage and culture, has also inherited a rich storehouse of myths written and unwritten. There are, for instance, creation myths in which the origin of the world and mankind is described. An example from Madhya Pradesh is:

'When the world would not remain steady, Mother Earth caused birds to be born. The first birds had four legs. But after they were born Mother Earth took two legs from each and set them below the earth like the pillars of a house. Resting on the legs of crores of birds the world became steady.'

There are also myths about the origin of the sun, the moon, and the stars, which tell how these objects originated and were ultimately set into the sky permanently. There are animal and bird myths also in which the origin of various species of animals and birds has been described.

FOLK-DRAMA

Folk-drama is another element in folk-literate which can be found in some form or other in the various States of India. In Bengal this form of folk-literature attained a high level of maturity. The older type of folk-drama in Bengal is known as Kṛṣṇa-yātrā and the more modern type as only yātrā. In most cases yātrā plays used to be performed on the occasion of religious festivals as the themes themselves had always a religious appeal. Folk-drama in every part of the country used to adopt themes from the popular Indian epics and the Purāṇas. With the passing of time, folk-drama is gradually becoming more and more secular in character and spirit, and traditional subjects and techniques are being replaced by current social and political themes and modern stagecraft. In Madhya Pradesh folk-drama is known as mach, in Gujarat as bhāgyāmi, in Assam as aṅkiya, in Karṇāṭaka as bayalāṭā, in Tamil Nadu as terukkūṭtu, in Andhra as kuravaṇji, and in Mahārāṣṭra as tamāštā. In spite of linguistic differences, the folk-dramas of India have something in common which is found in their spirit.

Though modern civilization based on science and industry is posing a great threat to these unsophisticated forms of rural culture, the spirit of the simple rustic people still persists. The drive against illiteracy after Independence may have disturbed the continuity of the 'oral' tradition of this culture, but folk-literature remains an integral part of India's social life to this day.

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31 Verrier Elwin, Myths of Middle India (Oxford University Press, London, 1949), p. 34.
PART V

INDIAN LITERATURE ABROAD
NEPAL

INTRODUCTION

Nepal, an independent Hindu kingdom in the Himalayas, is regarded as the meeting place of the three of Asia's great civilizations, Indian, Tibetan, and Chinese. But culturally, traditionally as well as historically, Nepal is closest to India, its immediate southern neighbour. The valley of Nepal, as D. R. Regmi observes, 'was never regarded as outside India's sphere of influence'. It has, however, developed an independent culture of its own from a period earlier than that of Buddha. Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, two major divisions of Hinduism, and Buddhism have been prevalent in Nepal from the remote past. Śāktism found in Nepal is only Śaiva in character. They all have played very significant roles in the religious as well as the cultural history of the land without having even been factors of dissension and disunity. The earliest Indian reference to Nepal is found in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, where he speaks of two kinds of Nepalese blankets, Bhīṅgīsi and Apasāraka, being sold in Pāṭaliputra. Buddhism was carried to Nepal by the missionaries of Aśoka who himself visited this land accompanied by one of his daughters, Čarumati. The latter is traditionally believed to have settled down in Nepal. All the historical dynasties of Nepal—the Licchavis, the Thākuris, the Karnāṭakas, the Mallas, and the Shahs—were Hindus and emigrants from India. Nepal is the only kingdom in the world which has 'an unbroken tradition of Hindu kings following Hindu religion'. The valley was within the limits of the Maurya empire under Aśoka in the third century B.C. It is learnt from the Allahabad praśasti (verse 22) of Samudragupta that Nepal was 'an autonomous frontier state, paying tribute and yielding obedience to the paramount Gupta power'. According to Bāna's Harsacarita (Chapter III), King Harṣa 'exactd tribute from an inaccessible land of snowy mountains', which may be identified with Nepal. During the Pāla period India's cultural contacts with Nepal were maintained. It is said that Dhīmān and his son Vitapāla, two celebrated Indian artists belonging to

2 A.S., II. 11. 30.
3 Lokesh Chandra and others (Eds.), India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture (Madras, 1970), p. 373.
5 Vincent A. Smith, loc. cit.
the reign of Devapāla (A.D. 810-50), visited Nepal. The medieval art of Nepal is 'almost an offshoot of the Pāla style'. It appears from the Tibetan annals that Buddhist ācāryas like Śāntarakṣita, Padmasambhava, and Atiśa, who went to Tibet from India spent some time in Nepal. Mithilā, which acquired a traditional fame as a seat of learning and culture in the whole of India, has a fairly old history of close contact with Nepal. 'The relations of Nepal and Mithilā', as Dr Jayakanta Mishra writes, 'have been very intimate from remote times... It is said that for a number of years the direct route to plains from Nepal was through Mithilā alone. That is why under the stress of Musulman invaders, Maithila rulers could seek refuge in Nepal so easily... Maithilas gained decided ascendency in the Nepalese court and their mother-tongue was loved and respected in all distinguished quarters. We know of several eminent pundits from Mithilā who were invited to Nepalese courts... The result of all this intercourse was that Maithili became the most dignified of all languages in Nepal... The success of the lyrics of Vidyāpati and his contemporaries and the glorious achievements of Maithila musicians of the day gave an added interest to Maithili in Nepal'.

INDIAN LITERATURE IN NEPAL AND ITS INFLUENCE

The inroads of the Muslims into India forced men of arts and letters of the famous Indian centres of learning and culture such as Takṣaśīlā, Nālandā, Vārāṇasī, Mithilā, Vikramaśīlā, and Odantapuri to seek shelter in other lands. Nepal provided a secure and lasting refuge to the emigrants. Many Indian scholars, siddhas, ācāryas, and bhikṣus went over there with their valuable manuscripts. These manuscripts were written in the Gupta, Kuṭila, Nāgarī, Maithili, and Bengali scripts then prevailing in northern and eastern India. Other people from different parts of India also entered Nepal from time to time as conquerors, priests, or traders. They spoke their own languages, but learnt at the same time the local languages. Thus, the languages of the Rajput conquerors or conquerors from Karnāṭaka and Khasa-deśa (the Khasa tribe lived and still lives in the Himalayan regions) intermingled with those of the local people leading to the evolution of the Gorkhali language which ultimately came to be known as Nepali. Some of the remoter tribes had maintained their Tibeto-Burman language which was an earlier form of the present-day Newari. But this language became saturated with Sanskrit and other Aryan elements. The people of Nepal, as we have seen, had come within the orbit of Indian civilization and thought-world, both Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist, from the hoary past. They studied Sanskrit, Pali, and other Indian languages, and their great-

1 Lokesh Chandra, loc. cit.
3 For details about the Khasas, see D. R. Regmi, Medieval Nepal, Pt. I (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 710-35.
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est contribution to the culture of India is that they have preserved large masses of the Mahāyāna Buddhist literature in Sanskrit. The originals of these Mahāyāna texts, namely, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Gaṇḍavyūha, Dattabhūmīśvara, Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, etc. are lost in India. Besides the Buddhist texts, Nepal has preserved numerous ancient and medieval religious as well as secular texts in Sanskrit and other Indian languages, the originals of many of which are also not to be found in India. The Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Nepal include those of Vedic texts, the epics, Purāṇas, Tantras, Dharma-śāstras, Daršanas, Kāvyas, Vyākaranas, Kośas, Alankaśa-śāstras, Silpa-śāstras, Niti-śāstras, erotics, politics, and science. Thus, the valley of Nepal has served as a repository of ancient Indian cultural assets as well as a source of information regarding India’s ancient heritage and tradition. Besides the manuscripts of the original texts and texts copied in Nepal by local scribes, there are translations in Newari (which was the most advanced speech of Nepal all through but underwent a period of languishment for nearly 200 years since the arrival of the Gurkhas in a.d. 1768) as well as independent contributions in Sanskrit, Maithili, and Bengali by authors who were born and brought up in Nepal.

Brian Houghton Hodgson discovered and collected 423 volumes of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts in Nepal in 1824 and distributed them to different research organizations, libraries, and museums between 1827 and 1845. To the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta he presented ninety-four Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts; to the College of Fort William, sixty-six; to the Royal Asiatic Society, London, seventy-nine; to the India Office Library, London, thirty; to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, seven; and to the Institute of France and the Société Asiatique de Paris, 147. Each one of these collections, with the exception of the small one presented to Oxford, suffices for an encyclopaedic treatment of Northern Buddhism. The collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal supplied the material for Dr Rajendra Lala Mitra’s monumental work, The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature in Nepal. Regarding the Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal, Hodgson’s Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet may be read with profit. In spite of the dispersal of so many Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts from Nepal, scholars interested in ancient manuscripts of works on Northern Buddhism will find plenty of them, besides the manuscripts of many Hindu scriptures and classics, preserved in the National Archives of Nepal. Several volumes of catalogues of these manuscripts have been published by this institution. The National Library of Nepal has also published in three parts catalogues of the books preserved in the Library. Bhikshu Amritananda of Anandakuti Vidyapith, Swayambhū, has brought out in Nepali ten volumes of Buddhist history, literature, and philosophy from original Pali works found in Nepal. Several Indian scholars have studied a large number of manuscripts
found in Nepal and published their accounts. The contributions of Mahāma-
hopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri deserve special mention in this connexion.
Among his important works are: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manus-
scripts in the Government Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1917-57), A New
Manuscript of Buddha-carita (1909), Notes on the Newly-found Manuscript of Catuḥ-
śataka by Āryadeva (1911), Discovery of Abhisamayālaṁkāra by Maitreyanātha, Nepa-
lese MSS. (1910), and A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts
Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal (1905 and 1916). He has also contributed
valuable articles on the newly-found old Nepalese manuscripts (1893), the
recovery of a lost epic by Aśvaghōṣa, and the manuscript in Sanskrit relating to
Nepal (1909). The caryāpadas discovered in the Durbar Library of Nepal in 1907
are among his important finds. These are variously claimed as the earliest
literary specimens of Old Bengali, Old Assamese, Old Oriya, Old Maithili as
well as Old Hindi. Mm. Sastri did some original research in this direction
and opined that these songs were examples of Old Bengali.\textsuperscript{10} Dr Suniti Kumar
Chatterji analysed the linguistic and philological aspects of these songs com-
posed and sung by the various siddhācāryas and established that they were no
other than Old Bengali in their rudiments.\textsuperscript{11} These songs are sung to the
accompaniment of dance and music by the Newars under the guidance of
their vajrācāryas (priests) in the valley of Kathmandu during specific festivals
even now. The linguistic identity of the caryāpadas still remains a vexed question
among scholars, but the various claims certainly testify to the close kinship
of those languages to one another and confirms the presence of a common
culture in eastern India, embracing Mithilā, Bengal, Assam, Orissa, and
Nepal, of which Maithili was a main vehicle. Daniel Wright has furnished
a long list of Sanskrit manuscripts procured by him in Nepal.\textsuperscript{12} Although
the list consists mostly of Buddhist texts, there are also quite a few important
Brāhmaṇical Sanskrit texts such as the Bhagavad-Gītā, the Gitagovinda, the
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, the Śiva Purāṇa, parts of the Padma and Skanda Purāṇas,
and the Mahābhārata, besides the Amarakośa, Naiṣadha-carita, Hitopadeśa,
Raghuvaṁśa, etc. This corroborates the existence of a wide range of Indian
literature preserved in Nepal.

There were numerous Sanskrit inscriptions in Nepal even before the
period of King Anūśuvarman who ruled about A.D. 650. The inscriptions of
Anūśuvarman prove that he was a great devotee of Lord Śiva. In the Harigaon
inscription,\textsuperscript{13} for example, which is one of the earliest inscriptions of Anūśu-

\textsuperscript{10} Cf. Buddhā Gaṇa O Dohā (Calcutta, 1923 n.s.), Introduction.
\textsuperscript{12} Cf. History of Nepal (Calcutta, 1958), Appendix IX.
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varman’s reign, he calls himself bhāgavata-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-paśupati-pādānu-dhyāta. “The dynastic, social, and religious history of Nepal between the fifth and the eighth centuries A.D. rests on the solid foundation of hundreds of Sanskrit inscriptions written in beautiful Gupta-Brāhmī characters. In fact, Nepal has preserved more numerous Gupta-Brāhmī inscriptions than even India.”

The Malla kings of Nepal were patrons of learning. Some of them were poets of renown and others used to compose devotional songs or hymns. Although Newari was the language of the court till A.D. 1768, the production of literature in Maithili, Bengali, and Sanskrit was encouraged and patronized by the Malla kings. Bhūpatīndramalla’s (A.D. 1695-1722) Bhāṣā-gīta preserved in the Durbar Library is a remarkable collection of Maithili songs. They are on a variety of topics. There are devotional songs on Śiva, Gaurī, Hari, and Śakti. But the bulk of the songs (more than half) are on Śakti. Jagatprakāśamalla (A.D. 1655-76) and Raṇajitamalla (c. A.D. 1722-72) composed devotional songs in Maithili. While the songs of the former are on the ten avatāras, on Viṣṇu, and on Sadāśiva, most of the songs of the latter are on Śakti. He also wrote hymns wholly in Sanskrit. Many plays were also written in Nepal in Maithili, Bengali, and Sanskrit either by the Malla kings themselves or under their patronage, and they are preserved in the manuscript form. Dramatists generally took their stories from the Rāmāyyana, the Mahābhārata, the Harivamśa, the Purāṇas, and various popular Sanskrit classics. From the beginning of the seventeenth century to the second quarter of the eighteenth, Maithili drama flourished at its height in Nepal and the Sanskrit drama acted as the model framework for some time. The tradition of the Maithili school of music also influenced the course of this literary activity to a great extent. Among the Maithili dramas written in Nepal, mention may be made of Hara-Gaurī-vivāha (A.D. 1629) by Jagajjyotirmalla (A.D. 1617-33), Gīta-digambara (A.D. 1655) by Varśāmanī Jhā in the reign of Pratāpamalla (A.D. 1641-74), Prabhāvati-harana (c. A.D. 1656) by Jagatprakāśamalla, Bhrata-nāṭakam by Jitāmitramalla (A.D. 1682-95), and Andhakāśura-vadha-upākhyāna (A.D. 1768) written under the patronage of Raṇajitamalla. Varśāmanī’s Gīta-digambara is a very famous dramatic work written ‘in imitation of Jayadeva’s Gītagovinda. But it has a hymn to the united form of Hara and Pārvatī

14 Lokesh Chandra, op. cit., p. 212.
15 This manuscript of the Durbar Library is a find of Mr. Haraprasad Sasri and Dr P. C. Bagchi. It contains, according to Dr Bagchi, eighty-one songs only. But Dr Jayakanta Mishra has found another manuscript of this work in the Library of Rajaguru Hemaraja Sharma of Nepal, which contains 173 songs.
in Hindi which has a ring of Tulasīdāsa’. There are some dramas either in Bengali or in mixed Maithili-Bengali. For example, Gopicandra-nāṭakam (A.D. 1690) by Jitāmitramalla is in Bengali, whereas Kṛṣṇa-kailāsa-yātrā-upākhyāna, Rāmāyaṇa-nāṭakam, and Rāmacarita—all written under the patronage of Raṇajitamalla—and Gopicandra (c. A.D. 1712) under Bhūpatindramalla are mostly in Bengali. This intense dramatic activity in Maithili and Bengali in Nepal ended in A.D. 1768 when the valley of Nepal came under the Gurkhas and Gorkhali was introduced into the court. The earliest Sanskrit drama written in Nepal is probably Mahārāṇava-vadha-nāṭaka (A.D. 1337) by Jayata in the reign of Jayārimalla (A.D. 1320-44). Among other dramatic works in Sanskrit the following deserve mention: Madālasā-jātismaranā-nāṭaka by Rāmadāsa in the reign of Jayarāja Deva (A.D. 1347-61), Rāmāyaṇa-nāṭaka in four acts written by Dharmagupta in the reign of Jayasthitimalla (A.D. 1382-95), Bhairavāṇanda-nāṭaka by Manika, court poet of Jayasthitimalla, and Pāṇḍava-vijaya-nāṭaka by Jayaraṇāmalla (c. A.D. 1516-29). The majority of the Sanskrit plays were religious in tone, as they drew their plots from either the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata or the Purāṇas. A few dramas appear to be secular, for example, Bhairavāṇanda-nāṭaka, the hero of the piece being Bhairava and the heroine Madanāvatī, a celestial damsel cursed by a sage to take a human form. The form of Nepalese Sanskrit drama generally followed the pattern of the classical Sanskrit drama. Manuscripts by Nepalese authors covering original contributions in Sanskrit in various other fields are also found in abundance in Nepal. Some important works among these are mentioned according to the subjects dealt with: Astronomy—Siddha-sāra (A.D. 1412) by Jyotirmalla (A.D. 1409-29), Graha-darpaṇa (A.D. 1740) by Bālānanda during the reign of Raṇajitamalla, and Ganita-mañjari (A.D. 1766) by Raṇajitamalla; Purāṇa—Svayambhu Purāṇa probably written during the reign of Yakṣamalla (A.D. 1428-82), Paśupati Purāṇa (c. A.D. 1504), and Nepāla-mahātmya (c. A.D. 1583); Tantra—Kālikulārṇava Tantra (c. A.D. 1747); Kāvyā—Kṛṣṇa-carita by Vaṁśaṇi; Politics—Kuśopadeśa-tīkā (A.D. 1524) by Bāndhavasena; Erotics—Nāgara-sarvasva-tīkā by Jagajjyotirmalla; Āyurveda—Yogamañjari (A.D. 1726) by Vardhamāna; Music, Dance, and Histrionics—Sangita-candra by Jagajjyotirmalla, and Hastamanuktāvalī-tīkā (A.D. 1765) by Ghanāśyāma.

Many Sanskrit texts were translated into Newari. Of them the following deserve mention: the Nārada Smṛti, the Hitopadeśa, the Vētālā-pāncavīṁśati, the Amarakoṣa, the Madana-vinoda, the Cāṇakya-sāra-saṅgraha, the Śuva-saptati, and the Vaidyāṅga (a book on Āyurvedic medicine). Cāṇakya’s sayings were very popular in Nepal and it is even possible that the version mentioned was

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compiled there. There are, besides, some works written in the mixed Sanskrit-Newari language, namely, *Jyotiraja-karanasa (A.D. 1421)*, *Nepala-bhasa-cikitsa* (A.D. 1441), *Svarodaya-dasa* (A.D. 1462), etc. The first is a work on astronomy, the second on medicine, and the last on astrology. There was no written composition in Nepali prior to the early nineteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century a number of Sanskrit works, such as *Dasakumara-carita*, a part of the *Hitopadesa*, etc., had been translated into Nepali. The greatest figure in Nepali literature of the period, Bhanubhakta Acharya, wrote the story of the *Rama* based on the *Adhyatma Rama*ya. Nepali poets drew inspiration from Sanskrit for the purification or elevation of the language.

The Malla kings of Nepal had knowledge of the Vaiśnava poems also and very much liked those poems composed in Maithili and Bengali. Vidyāpati, renowned poet of Mithilā, was a special favourite with them. He was a 'great force' in Nepal. The Nepalese poets made experiments in writing according to the style and standard set by him. According to Dr Jayakanta Mishra, 'the Malla kings of Nepal themselves wrote after Vidyāpati and induced many poets and musicians to do the same'. The death of Kaṁsa-nāryaṇa (A.D. ? 1496-1527), last king of the Ainiwara dynasty, was followed by a lull in the literary activity in Mithilā for a number of years. The 'centre of gravity', therefore, shifted to Nepal where Maithili language and literature had already been under the patronage of the royal courts. This also led to Vidyāpati's successors, from about A.D. 1527 onwards, being mostly made up of Nepalese writers. A large number of manuscripts of Vidyāpati's *padas* have been preserved in the Bir Library as well as in the Library of Rajaguru Hemaraja Sharma of Nepal. The Nepalese poets used to compose poems also in Bhojpuri, Awadhī, and Brajabuli, besides Sanskrit and Maithili. In modern times, the great Newari poet Siddhidas (1867-1929) was greatly influenced by the literary and cultural renaissance in India. He came particularly under the influence of Swami Vivekananda, patriot-prophet of modern India, which was reflected in his life and works.

LANGUAGES AND SCRIPTS

Nepali and Newari are the two major languages of Nepal. Maithili is the language of the Terai portion of the territory. Nepali, official language of the kingdom, was called Gorkhali or Khaskura or Parbatiya in the past and Newari now goes by the name of 'Nepala-bhasā'. Both Nepali and Nepāla-bhāsa (Newari) have been influenced to a great extent by Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, and other Indian languages such as Maithili, Bengali, and Hindi. Many

words from Urdu as well as from the languages of South India have also found place in the major languages of Nepal. Nepali is a language belonging to the Indo-Aryan speech family, and closely allied to Hindi, Rajasthani, Awadhi, Maithili, Bengali, and the rest. So far as Newari is concerned, as much as fifty per cent of the vocabulary is derived from or related to Sanskrit.\textsuperscript{21} D. R. Regmi writes: 'The Newari language, the language of the valley of Nepal during the pre-Gurkha days, grew under the impact of varied influences emanating from Sanskrit and its literature. The Sanskrit influence had been felt in so many ways semantically and morphologically and this was most powerful in the later middle ages while the language was taking a definite shape through its own literary writing'.\textsuperscript{22} Because of the intimate connexion of the Nepalese scholars with the learned people of Vārānasī and Kurukṣetra, Sanskrit and Hindi have all through played a prominent part in the growth of the languages of Nepal. Urdu ghazals also found place in the valley. A fair number of words of Portuguese origin like aecar, almari, balti, chabi, kamra, etc. have since become common Nepali words through the influence of Hindi and Urdu.

In the matter of scripts also, Nepal has been profoundly influenced by India. The Newars took India’s scripts. The Devānāgarī script is now commonly used in the everyday life by the people of Nepal. There are instances of the use of the Bengali, Oriya, Maithili, Gurumukhi, Gujarati, Tamil, and Telugu scripts besides Sāradā here and there. Just a cursory glance at the scripts of Gomū, Bhujimul, Raṅjana, and Modern Newari will show how greatly they have been influenced by Indian scripts. The earlier written documents found in Nepal are in Sanskrit and in the Gupta and Kuṭila scripts. The Gupta script underwent various stages of modifications in Nepal, which led ultimately to the emergence of the Newari script. The latter bears close resemblance also to the Maithili and Bengali scripts. The extant manuscripts in Newari as well as in Sanskrit, dating from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, are mostly written in the Newari script. The Newari script, however, has never been cast in type for printing and all printing in Newari is done in Devānāgarī in which Nepali or Gorkhali is also written and printed. Ancient monuments, ruins, shrines, caityas, pillars, inscriptions, plates, manuscripts, etc. found in Nepal give us sufficient information and specimens of various Indian scripts in vogue from time to time. Sanskrit, which is the language of ancient Indian religious books, is called devabhāṣā (the language of the gods) also in Nepal. It is written and printed in the Devānāgarī script which has been recognized as the national script of Nepal.

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Medieval Nepal}, Pt. II, p. 825.
CENTRAL ASIA
(INCLUDING NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN)

INTRODUCTION

The central area of the mainland of Asia lies approximately between 60° East and 105° East Longitude and 35° North and 45° North Latitude. This region includes parts of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Khirgzia, and Tadzhikistan of the USSR; Sinkiang up to the Nan-shan in China; Mongolia below the Altai range; northern fringes of Tibet; northwestern borders of the Indian Sub-continent; and northern Afghanistan. But traditionally, Central Asia is considered to comprise the above-noted territories of the USSR and China alone. There is ample evidence to show that the Indian Sub-continent could communicate with Central Asia through the route connecting Kashmir with the Sinkiang region and through the roads running through the areas now in Afghanistan. India’s contact with Chinese Central Asia, particularly with Khotan, might have started in the centuries preceding the Christian era. The routes to Chinese and Soviet Central Asia and also to Bactria were for centuries very important in international trade, in which India was a participant. Archaeological discoveries since the second half of the nineteenth century and, in certain cases, known literary sources indicate Indian influences on the literature, religion, art, and society of several of the above-mentioned territories in the first millennium A.D. The most important of the areas of Indian influence were Shan-shan (Kroraina), Khotan, Kuchi (Kucha), and Agnideša (Yen-ch’i or Karashar) in Chinese Central Asia, Sogdiana on the Oxus in Soviet Central Asia, and Bactria in northern Afghanistan. In the case of certain areas like Khotan and the territories on the Oxus, contact with India might have begun long before the beginning of the Christian era.¹

Among the forces responsible for introducing Indian elements in Soviet and Chinese Central Asia were Indian emigrants, mostly missionaries and traders. The Indian participants in Central Asian trade, who might have settled in some of these regions, were among the greatest purveyors of Indian culture. In the Kušāna age, the establishment of a central authority over

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a vast area touching Merv, Tashkent, and Kashgarh as well as remote areas of the Indian Sub-continent drew Central Asia nearer to India. Moreover, the Kuṣāṇa empire had special relations with the Central Asian States of Kashgarh, Khotan, and Kucha. In the Kuṣāṇa period Buddhism was made popular in Chinese as well as Soviet Central Asia, where for centuries it remained the most dominant religion. With Buddhism, Indian thoughts, languages, and literatures, and their vehicles, Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī scripts, found their way to different territories of Central Asia and China. Sojourns of Indian and non-Indian Buddhist scholars in different localities of Central Asia, and visits of Central Asian and Chinese savants (coming through Central Asia) to India, made the Indian impact on Central Asia greatly felt in different periods of the first millennium A.D.

USE OF PRAKRIT IN KHAROŠṬHĪ SCRIPT

Kharoṣṭhī seems to have been introduced in Central Asia earlier than Brāhmī. Legends in Prakrit inscribed in the Kharoṣṭhī script (as well as in Chinese characters) can be noticed on the coins of a group of rulers (of Indo-Parthian origin?) struck in or near Khotan during the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. These rulers might have been responsible for the official use of the above language and script in a territory in Sinkiang. These might have been known in Khotan from a still earlier age, since a persistent local tradition speaks of an Indian contingent in the original population of that country. The continuation of the use of Prakrit and Kharoṣṭhī in Khotan in the third/fourth century A.D. is suggested by a record (No. 661) found at Endere, written in a dialect of Prakrit. This dialect is, however, different on certain points from that used in numerous inscriptions on wood, leather, silk, etc. discovered at Lou-lan, Niya, and Endere, which were within the limits of ancient Shan-shan. These documents, which deal with administrative, legal, and personal matters and, in some cases, also with religious or philosophical themes, indicate that in the third/fourth century a form of Prakrit was used by the officialdom and also by the Indianized or Indian Buddhist community of Shan-shan. In this connexion, we may refer to the Prakrit inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī characters of the second/third century A.D. found at Miran, which was in Shan-shan, and Lo-yang, which was a great centre of Buddhist studies in China. This form of Prakrit, which is now called by scholars as Gāndhārī Prakrit, agrees closely with the language of the post-Asokan Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the north-western part of the Indian Sub-

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continent (including Gandhāra). At the same time, it differs from other varieties of Prakrit according to the degree of modification in its inflectional system. It was subjected to two foreign influences, viz. Iranian and that of the native language of Kroraina. Loan-words from several non-Indian languages like Iranian (including Sogdian), Greek, Tibetan, etc. may be traced in Gāndhāri Prakrit. The pronunciation of Prakrit words also was affected by the phonetic structure of 'Krorainic'.

Several innovations were made in the Kharoṣṭhī script which was employed to write Gāndhāri Prakrit. Among them were a sign for expressing long vowels, which had not been used in Kharoṣṭhī of north-western India, and certain compound letters (like kma, lmy, etc.) and modified forms of several letters (ka, ga, ca, etc.) devised obviously to record local pronunciations.

Gāndhāri Prakrit had its own literature as evinced by the Prakrit recension of the Dhammapada, fragments of a manuscript of which were discovered in Khotan in 1892 and 1897. Written in Kharoṣṭhī in the first or second century a.D., it is the oldest surviving manuscript of an Indian text. The text itself is the only extensively known early Buddhist treatise in an Indian language other than Sanskrit or Pali. There are indications that Gāndhāri Prakrit had a fairly extensive literature. A few of the aforementioned Kharoṣṭhī records (Nos. 501, 510, and partly also 204) contain literary pieces which might have been composed in the Shan-shan area itself. In fact, one of the inscriptions (No. 514) includes among the subjects of study grammar, music, astronomy, the technique of writing poetry, etc. In the Shan-shan kingdom of the third/fourth century a.D., which was under strong cultural influence from India, local literary compositions should have included works in Gāndhāri Prakrit. Traces of the influence of Gāndhāri Prakrit have been discernible in Khotanese, Agnean, Kucheian, Tibetan, and also in the remains of Sogdian, Uighur-Turkish, Mongolian, and Manchu texts. It appears that texts in Prakrit (Gāndhāri Prakrit) took a leading role in disseminating Buddhism in Central Asia and China. A closely similar form of Prakrit and the Kharoṣṭhī script had been in use inter alia for recording donations to Buddhist establishments in the north-western parts of the Indian Sub-continent and in its borderlands prior to the introduction of Buddhism in China. The Sarvāstivādins were active


5 John Brough, op. cit., Introduction. Several Chinese translations of the Dhammapada are known to us. Of these Fa-k'iu-ching (Dhammapada-Sūtra, translated in a.D. 224) and Fa-k'iu-p'i-yu-ching (Dhammapadāvadāna-Sūtra, translated between A.D. 290 and 306) were probably based on a text similar to that of the Prakrit Dhammapada. Cf. P. C. Bagchi, India and Central Asia (ICA), Calcutta, 1955, p. 99.
in these areas in pre-Kuśāna and Kuśāna periods. Buddhist texts were written in this language during the Kuśāna age, as indicated by the Prakrit version of the pratitya-samutpāda formula mentioned in the Kurram inscription of the year 21 (probably of the Śaka era, equivalent to A.D. 99). So the Sarvāstivādins, who influenced the progress of Buddhism in Sinkiang, might have introduced there the Buddhist literature in Prakrit. This language was perhaps well known to many of the earliest translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese. There were among them, until A.D. 316, six Yūeh-chihs, four An-hsis (Parthians), three Sogdians, and six Indians. Many of them might have hailed from the Yūeh-chih (Kuśāna) territory or from regions once included in that empire, which incorporated large areas now in the Indian Sub-continent and Afghanistan and to which were annexed parts of An-hsi or Parthia and Sogdiana to the north of the Oxus. It is perhaps not without significance that Lo-yang (in China), where many of these early translators lived and worked, has yielded a Prakrit inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters, referring to Buddhist Sāṅgha. It has also been claimed that some Mahāyāna texts might have first reached China in a Prakrit form, although the versions available to us are highly Sanskritized but for a few verses which are in Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit. The earliest extant Chinese versions of the Sūkhāvatīvyūha (third century A.D. or earlier) show 'unmistakable influence of Gāndhārī'. Thus the importance of this language in Central Asia is quite out of proportion to the relatively small number of documents discovered so far. Transliterations of non-Chinese words in some old Chinese renderings of the Buddhist texts like the Dirghāgama point to their originals having been in Prakrit (Gāndhārī Prakrit). If the Dirghāgama, which was rendered into Chinese in A.D. 413, was translated from a Gāndhārī text, then Gāndhārī was known in China and Chinese Central Asia in the early fifth century A.D. Since Brāhmī became popular in Khotan between the periods of Sung Yun (early sixth century A.D.) and Hiuen Tsang (seventh century A.D.), the practice of writing Gāndhārī Prakrit in Kharoṣṭhī may be taken to have been in vogue in Khotan up to the sixth century A.D.

The earliest use of Prakrit in Soviet Central Asia is suggested by a Kharoṣṭhī inscription in Tadzhikistan, datable to c. first century B.C. Even if such a dating is questioned, there is perhaps no doubt that Prakrit and Kharoṣṭhī were two important media for spreading Buddhism in the territories now in Afghanistan and to the north of the Oxus during the Kuśāna period. In this connexion, we can refer to the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions found at Wardak and Qunduz (Afghanistan) and at Fayaz Tepe and Kara Tepe near Termez in Tadzhikistan (USSR). The use of the script and the language concerned for secular purposes

is indicated by the Dasht-e-Nawur record in Afghanistan, inscriptions on gold slabs discovered at Dalverzin Tepe in Uzbekistan, etc.\(^9\)

**USE OF BRĀHMĪ SCRIPT**

Brāhmī was the other Indian script used for writing Prakrit during the period from the second to the fourth century A.D. in localities now included in Soviet Central Asia. Brāhmī inscriptions of didactic as well as donative nature have been discovered at Kara Tepe.\(^8\) Of the two Indian languages, Prakrit and Sanskrit, known in Central Asia in the first millennium A.D., Sanskrit used to be written in Brāhmī. Its use for this purpose in Soviet Central Asia is indicated by the discovery, near the town of Merv, of parts of the text of Sanskrit Vinaya of the Sarvāstivāda school consisting of more than 200 leaves written in the Brāhmī of about the fifth century A.D. The use of Brāhmī is also corroborated by the find at Zang Tepe of fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts (dealing with Saṅgha, Dharma, bhikṣu, dāna, etc.) written in the Brāhmī of about the sixth/seventh century A.D. Even if such manuscripts are considered to have been imported in Soviet Central Asia from outside, their locations should suggest that Sanskrit and Brāhmī were read and understood there in the centuries to which they are datable. We may add here that Merv seems to be the westernmost locality known so far to have yielded a Sanskrit manuscript.\(^9\)

In Chinese Central Asia, Brāhmī was regularly used for writing not only Sanskrit, but also Kuchean (=Tokharian B, language of Kuchi or Kucha), Agnean (=Tokharian A, language of Agnideśa or the Karashar area), and Śaka-Khotanese.\(^10\) The greater part of the extant Śaka-Khotanese manuscripts has been found at Ch'ien-fo-tung, Tun-huang (Kansu, north-western China), etc. Agnean and Kuchean, which belong to the Indo-European group of languages, are represented by manuscripts found in the eastern part of the Tarim basin and in Tun-huang. Sanskrit manuscripts have been discovered in numerous areas including Tumshuq, the Kucha region (Qizil, Qumtura, Kirish, Achiy-Iläk, etc.), Shorchuq, the Turfan oasis (Xocho, Yarxoto, Murtuq,

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\(^8\) B. V. Stavitsky, *Novie Nahodki na Kara-Tepe v Stavom Termaze* (Moscow, 1975), p. 70. For an evidence of the use of Brāhmī in e. fifth century A.D. in the Dîlverdzhina area, situated in northern Afghanistan and not very far from Soviet Central Asia, see *Dreamiva Baktiriya* (1976), pp. 170-71.


\(^10\) One Śaka language or dialect called Hvatanau or Hvamano (<Hvātānaka=Khotanese) was spoken and written in the kingdom of Khotan from about the seventh to the tenth century A.D., and another of uncertain name (indicated in the word kūčaka of document No. 8 ?) was used in Tumshuq and Murtuq in the same period.
Sāngim, Bāzāklik, Toyooq, etc.), Tun-huang, Kashgarh, and the Khotan region. Sanskrit treatises are known to have been included in the famous Bower, Godfrey, Macartney, and Weber manuscripts recovered from the Kucha region.\textsuperscript{11}

Texts in the Brāhmī script written on birch-bark, palm-leaves, leather, and paper, and also block-prints of the same script have been unearthed in areas to the north and south of the Takla Makan desert. Among the manuscripts found in the localities on the northern route\textsuperscript{12} connecting China with countries on its west are those written in Brāhmī comparable with the Kuṣāṇa, Gupta, Śāradā, and Pāla varieties of Indian Brāhmī and also with the forms used in the Gilgit manuscripts. Many of the Sanskrit manuscripts found in Chinese Central Asia might have been imported from India. But several of them and all of the Kuchean, Agnean, and Sāka manuscripts were written in Chinese Central Asia.\textsuperscript{13} Tables of Brāhmī syllabary obviously meant for teaching the script to students have been discovered in fair numbers. Hiuen Tsang attested to the use of Brāhmī as a local script in different areas of Chinese Central Asia. He observed that in Agnidesa or Karashar, the ‘writing is taken from that of India with slight modifications’. In Kucha, he noticed that ‘writing was taken from India, but had been much altered’. In Kashgar, the pilgrim became aware of the fact that the local people had their writing ‘copied from that of India’, and that ‘although changes had been made, the substance was still preserved’. According to him, the writing in Chokkuka (Yarkand) ‘was like that of Khotan’, where ‘the system of writing had been taken from that of India, but the structure had been slightly altered by a sort of successive changes’. Thus, by the time of Hiuen Tsang’s travels in Central Asia in the first half of the seventh century A.D., Brāhmī had not only become a popular script there, but also showed local developments to meet local needs.\textsuperscript{14} Finds of manuscripts, datable to the second half of the first millennium A.D., substantiate Hiuen Tsang’s statements. The local Brāhmī to the north of the Takla Makan desert originated from a variety of Western (or North-western?) Gupta script. But, whereas the earlier Gupta has an upright dactylic, the North Central Asian type of script betrays a slanting style of writing. The basic consonants, as in Indian


\textsuperscript{12} On this route were, as indicated by Hou-han-shu, regions like Ku-shih anterior (Yar-Khoto not far from Turfan), Yen-chi (Agnideśa or Karashar), Kuei-tsu (Kutsi, Kuchi, or Kucha), Kuo-mo (Bharuka or Ksš), Wen-su (Uch-Turfan), and Su-lo (Kashgarh).


Brāhmī, have an inherent \( \ddot{a} \). But there are in this form of Brāhmī special signs which have an inherent \( \ddot{a} \). In Kucheian and Agnean, Sanskrit sounds like \( k, t, p, s, \ddot{s}, n, m, r, \) and \( l \) are somewhat attenuated and hence the corresponding Brāhmī signs are underlined in manuscripts. In writing Agnean and Kucheian, signs of Gupta Brāhmī, which had no corresponding sounds in these languages, were eliminated. On the other hand, some new signs were invented to represent peculiar indigenous sounds. The sporadic use of Brāhmī in southern Chinese Central Asia in the early centuries of the Christian era is indicated by a few archaeological data including a wooden board bearing, on one side, a Kharoṣṭhī inscription of the third/fourth century A.D. and, on the other, three lines in Brāhmī characters of the Kuṣāṇa period. Sung Yun in the early sixth century A.D. noticed that the spoken language of Chokkuka (Yarkand) was like that of Khotan, but ‘the written character’ was that ‘of the Brāhmaṇas’. Thus in the Yarkand area, Brāhmī was very much in use in the sixth century A.D. The evidence of Sung Yun implies that Brāhmī was not in regular use in Khotan about that period. The testimonies of Hiuen Tsang quoted above show that Brāhmī was the script of Khotan as well as of Yarkand during the first half of the seventh century A.D. So Brāhmī may be said to have become popular in Khotan in the sixth/seventh century A.D. Śaka (including Khotanese) manuscripts, written in Brāhmī, are datable to different periods from the seventh to the tenth century A.D. The Khotanese script developed from a variety of the Gupta script. According to one theory, we have here cursive and calligraphic types of writing. A close examination of several manuscripts would show Brāhmī letters of the area concerned were of ‘thick’ and ‘thin’ appearance. Simple thin letters developed into slanting, and then ornamental (sometimes roundish) characters. Simple thick letters showed a tendency towards developing into roundish (sometimes ornamental), and angular as well as slanting (sometimes ornamental) characters. The ductus of simple thin and thick letters, which perhaps indicates one of the earlier stages of Khotanese Brāhmī, betrays influence of the ductus to the Kharoṣṭhī script. Kharoṣṭhī and Prakrit were


used in Khotan, Shan-shan, etc., before Brāhmī became popular.\textsuperscript{17} The adaptation of the Gupta script to Khotanese probably took place in the eastern oases of Chinese Turkestan. The pronunciation of the Khotanese consonants was, however, somewhat different from the Indian.\textsuperscript{18}

In Chinese Central Asia Brāhmī, along with other scripts, was sometimes used on the same leaves of manuscripts. Some paper leaves from Khara-Khoto, Turfan, and Mazar Taqh bear Chinese or Uighur with interlinear Brāhmī writing. A block-printed text of a Buddhist charm discovered at Tun-huang, bears writings in Brāhmī as well as in the Chinese scripts. An extremely interesting case of the relationship of the Brāhmī script with the Chinese language is furnished by a manuscript containing a Buddhist Chinese text written in Brāhmī characters, similar to those used predominantly in Śaka-Khotanese documents.\textsuperscript{19}

**STUDY OF SANSKRIT**

Sanskrit was introduced into Central Asia by the Sarvāstivāda school of Hinayāna, which had its stronghold in Kashmir and the north-western parts of the Indian Sub-continent and its borderlands. The sacred literature of this school was (mainly ?) in Classical Sanskrit which was studied by Buddhist scholars of several kingdoms of Chinese Turkestan such as Agnideśa and Kucha. According to Hsiuen Tsang, all adherents of the Sarvāstivāda school in Agnideśa and Kucha studied their books of religion (including the Śāstra and the Vinaya) in the ‘language of India’, identifiable with Sanskrit.\textsuperscript{20} Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced into Khotan, Kashgar, and Kucha in the fourth century A.D. Its literature was also in Sanskrit.\textsuperscript{21} As a vehicle of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna forms of Buddhism, the most dominant religion of Central Asia in the first millennium A.D., Sanskrit occupied there a pre-eminent position. In a Tokharian manuscript, it was mentioned as Ārshi Kāntwa or the Ārshi (Central Asian

\textsuperscript{17} P. C. Bagchi, *ICA*, p. 93; D. Diringer, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

\textsuperscript{18} D. Diringer, *op. cit.*, p. 351. A recent study of Central Asian Brāhmī has divided it into Old Turkestanese, North Turkestanese (Types A and B), and South Turkestanese. It has been claimed in another study that the presence in Khotanese Brāhmī of the compound letter ज, which is not known to have been used in writing Brāhmī in India excepting in writing the names of Yosotika, the father, and Dāmysada, a grandson, of Śaka Caṣṭana of the first/second century A.D., indicates Caṣṭana’s connexion with Khotan and the beginning of the use of Khotanese Brāhmī in the second century A.D. S. Lévi drew attention of scholars to the occurrence of the compound ज in a certain mystic alphabet mentioned in Buddhist texts as Arapachana. Interestingly enough, Arapachana is also the name of a form of Manjuśri, Buddhist god of transcendental wisdom. According to a theory, the Khotanese variety of Brāhmī influenced the origin of the Tibetan alphabet.


\textsuperscript{21} P. C. Bagchi, *ICA*, p. 94. A Kharoṣṭhī inscription (No. 390) discovered by M. A. Stein in southern Sinkiang and datable to third/fourth century A.D. referred to Mahāyāna.
Prakrit arśa, Sanskrit ārya) language. The language called 'Wkw Kwys'n in the colophon of a Uighur-Turkish translation of the work called Dashkrapūda' awtanamal (= Daśakrmapathāvadānamāla) was probably the same as Sanskrit. It was called 'Wkw Kwys'n—Oku Kūsān (wkw=oku being a Turkish word for Kucheian vək or wək, possibly based on some such word as baka or baga, meaning 'Lord') perhaps to emphasize its role as the medium for writing the texts of the religion of the 'Lord' or 'God' (Buddha), and to distinguish it from Kūsān or Kucheian (Tokharian B), the local language of Kucha. A Uighur-Turkish colophon refers to Āryacandra as having composed the book Maitri-simit (Maitreyasamiti) out of the 'n' tk'k (or Ānātkak) tili or 'the Indian language'. Hiuen Tsang, as noted before, used the expression 'language of India' to denote Sanskrit. It has been suggested that Sanskrit was methodically taught in the monastic schools of Kucha. There were arrangements in some other Central Asian States also to teach Sanskrit so that the local students and scholars could study and translate Indian texts. We know of some bilingual documents containing Sanskrit texts and their Kucheian or Agnean or (Śaka)-Khotanese versions. These were meant apparently as handbooks for local Buddhists learning Sanskrit so that at least some of them could become good translators. Finds of manuscripts of dictionaries, such as a Sanskrit-Tokharian vocabulary (c. A.D. 700) in the Kucha area and a Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon prepared by a Kucheian scholar in the seventh century A.D., corroborate the extensive study of Sanskrit in Central Asia and the wide prevalence of the practice of translating Sanskrit texts into the languages of the region. Discoveries of several manuscripts of the Kātantra Vyākaraṇa suggest that Central Asian students had to study Sanskrit grammar according to the Kātantra system.

SANSKRIT BUDDHIST CANONICAL TEXTS

The statements of Hiuen Tsang about learning of the Sūtra teachings and the Vinaya regulations by the Sarvāstivādins of Agnideśa and Kucha, and also the fragments of a large number of Sanskrit manuscripts recovered from different sites of Central Asia indicate that once there was a complete Sanskrit Tripiṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school. It consisted of the Sūtra Piṭaka, Vinaya Piṭaka, and Abhidharma Piṭaka. The Sūtra Piṭaka included Āgamas corresponding to Nikāyas of the Pali Tripiṭaka. We have manuscripts of the Saṅgīti-Sūtra and Aṭānātiya-Sūtra of the Dirghāgama, the Upāli-Sūtra, and Śūka-Sūtra of the Ma-

dhyanāgama, and the Pravāraṇa-Sūtra, Candrapama-Sūtra, Śakti-Sūtra, Nidāna-Sūtra, Kokanada-Sūtra, Anātha-piṇḍada-Sūtra, Dīrghanakha-Sūtra, Śarabha-Sūtra, Parivṛjaka-stavira-Sūtra, and Brāhmaṇa-satyāṁśu-Sūtra of the Saññyuktāgama. The Vinaya Piṭaka is represented by a complete text of the Prātimokṣa-Sūtra (found at Duldur Aqur in Kucha), portions of Bhikṣuṇi-prātimokṣa (found also in Kucha), and other fragments of manuscripts. It is interesting to note that the text of the Prātimokṣa-Sūtra agrees closely with the Chinese translation made by Kumāraṇīva in A.D. 404. Fragments of texts of the Abhidharma Piṭaka have also been discovered. We may specially refer to Saṅgītijāryā, manuscripts of which have been found in the Turfan oases area and in a cave of Bamiyan (in Afghanistan). The Turfan area has also yielded manuscripts of the Civara-vastu, Karavācanā, and Vinayavibhaṅga of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. The Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra belonging to the same Vinaya is known from fragments recovered at Shorchuq near Turfan and Tumshuq near Maralbashi. Parallel texts have been found in the ruins of Kizil near Kucha. A considerable portion of this Vinaya literature was discovered by M.A. Stein in Gilgit in the extreme north-west of the Indian Sub-continent itself. Before these discoveries the Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya was known only from the Chinese and Tibetan translations and from the famous Buddhist treatise called Divyāvadāna. The Mūla-sarvāstivāda developed from the Sarvāstivāda school. The fragments of the Tripiṭaka literature of this school, discovered in Central Asia, show that the Chinese translation of the Tripiṭaka was based on the Tripiṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school and not on the Pali canon. Fragments of a few sūtras belonging to the Sūtra Piṭaka of Hinayāna (but not strictly belonging to any of the Āgamas) have been identified. Among them are the Saptabuddhakā, Mahāadāna-Sūtra, Daśabala-Sūtra, etc. From Chinese Central Asia Grünwedel and Pelliot recovered almost the complete text of Sanskrit Udāna-varga, while Stein collected only its fragments. This text is a collection akin to the Dhammapada, a Prakrit version of which had been recovered, as noted already, in the Khotan region. The authorship of the Udāna-varga is attributed to a Sarvāstivādin teacher called Dharmatrātā, a contemporary of Kaṇṭika I.

Texts of the Mahāyāna school have also been discovered in Central Asia. Among them we may mention the Vajracchedikā, Ratnasāri-Sūtra, Ratnadheva-Sūtra, Candragarbha-Sūtra, Candrapala-Sūtra, Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra, Saddharmapuṇḍarika-Sūtra, Daśabhūmika-Sūtra, Dharmasārīra-Sūtra, GANDAŚYUHA-Sūtra, Śataśāstrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra, and Śamādhīrāja-Sūtra. Texts on dhāraṇīs or magical formulas, belonging to later Mahāyāna, have come to our knowledge. Among them we can refer to the Mahāmāyāyūr-vidyārājī, Anantamukha-dhāraṇī, Suraṅgama-samādhi, Sitātaptra-dhāraṇī, Mahāpratyagānta-dhāraṇī, and Vajrāśiṣṭ-śrūvakamā-dhāraṇī. Prior to these discoveries, several of these Mahāyāna texts were known only from their translations in Chinese, Tibetan,
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Khotanese, etc. These discoveries also show that the Mahāyāna canon was seriously studied in Central Asia.24

NON-CANONICAL TEXTS

Central Asians not only studied the Sanskrit Buddhist canon, but also were conversant with other branches of Sanskrit literature. The Kucha area has yielded a palm-leaf manuscript, written in the Kuśāṇa Brāhmī characters. It contains fragments of three Sanskrit dramas. One of them deals with a theme concerning courtesans; another is an allegorical drama containing dialogues among three characters, namely, Buddhi (Wisdom or Prudence), Dhṛti (Steadfastness), and Kīrtti (Fame). The third is the Śāriputra-prakāraṇa by Aśvaghōsa, which deals with a theme concerning the admission of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana into the religious order. The manuscript is datable to the Kuśāṇa age as Aśvaghōsa was a contemporary of Kaṇiṣka I. It may be noted that this Sanskrit drama contains dialogues in Prakrit which is older in form than the dramatic Prakrit used in Classical Sanskrit plays. In fact, an analysis of the fragments of these three dramas shows that these are the earliest known Sanskrit plays conforming to the rules and techniques of Indian dramaturgy. The Śāriputra-prakāraṇa, of which another manuscript of somewhat later date has been discovered again in the Kucha region, is not known to have been found at any place outside Central Asia. Two manuscripts, one of the Buddha-carita and the other of the Saundarananda-kāvya, both by Aśvaghōsa, have been recovered from the ruins of Shorchuq.25 Another poetical work in Sanskrit, manuscripts of which have been recovered from Kucha and Turfan, agrees with the Chinese translation of Aśvaghōsa’s Śūrālāṭkūra done by Kumārajīva in the early fifth century. In the colophon of the work concerned, the name of the book is given as Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā or Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā-dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti and that of the author as Kumāralātā. H. Lüders thinks that the Chinese version wrongly attributed to Aśvaghōsa a work of Kumāralātā. The latter was a famous Buddhist scholar of the Sautrāntika school and founder of the Dārṣṭāntika branch. Also known as Kumāralabdha, he was a native of Takṣaśilā. His fame as an author and founder of a school was so great that he was taken by force to Kie-p’an-t’ē. According to Buddhist tradition, he was ‘the Sun shining in the North, while Aśvaghōsa illuminated the East, Nāgārjuna the West and Āryadeva the South’.26


Numerous manuscripts of hymns like Śatapāñcāsatikā-stotra, Varṇārha-varṇa-stotra (Varṇārha-varṇa Buddhastotre Catuḥṣatakam), Anāparāddha-stotra, etc. have been found in the areas of Tumshuq, Kucha, Shorchuq, Turfan, and Tun-huang. These are attributed to Mātrceṭa, who is either identical with Asvaghosa or one of his contemporaries. Judged by the number of manuscripts recovered so far, he seems to have been popular with the Sanskrit-lovers of Chinese Central Asia. Among other literary works, Ārya Śūra’s Jātakamalā is represented by manuscripts found at Murtuq, Toyoq, etc. The Chandovicitī, a work on metrics, is known to have been used in the northern area of Chinese Central Asia. In the same region, the grammatical work called Kātantra was studied. A similar work has been attributed to Kumāralāta. No doubt, most of these works, though read in Central Asia, had been composed outside its area. Kumāralāta may, however, be associated with a part of Chinese Central Asia. There are also indications that original Sanskrit works were composed in Central Asia. We can refer to Sanskrit literary compositions in the official donation-texts from Kucha and Agnidesa of about seventh/eighth century A.D. The Jātakastava, preserved in a Khotanese metrical translation done by Vidyāśila, was probably written, as indicated by the syntax, in Sanskrit. The Khotanese translation was done in the second half of the tenth century in the Sāmanyā monastery in Khotan.²⁷

A Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī inscription (No. 514), as already mentioned, includes grammar, the art of writing poetry, and astronomy among the subjects of study. We have enough evidence of the study of Sanskrit grammar and the composition of poetry or other literary works in that language by Central Asians. But so far no regular astronomical text has been discovered from the ruins of early Central Asian monuments. However, another Kharoṣṭhī inscription (No. 565) gives a list of the names of twelve nakṣatras named after twelve animals. E. Chavannes found the cycle of twelve animals mentioned in a portion of the Mahāsannipāta-Sūtra, translated in the second century A.D. S. Lévi was of the view that the text originated, at least partly, in Central Asia. Astrology was also not unknown in Chinese Central Asia. F. W. Thomas noticed a fragment of an astrological treatise written in a more or less barbarous Sanskrit.²⁸ Different Sanskrit medical texts have been found in the Kucha region. The Bower Manuscript includes a text dealing with the use of garlic. Another text contains medical formulas. In the Bower Manuscript there is another medical treatise called Nāvanitaka which contains an abstract of earlier medical literature. It refers to Agnivesa, Bheda, Harita, Jātukarṇa, Parāśara, Suśruta, and others. These texts and translations of Indian medical treatises like the Yogā-

šataka and a few others in Kuchean and those like the Siddha-sūra and Jīvatpa
pustaka in Śaka-Khotanese show that the system of Indian medicine was widely
practised in Central Asia in about the second half of the first millennium A.D. 29

TRANSLATIONS AND AMPLIFICATIONS

Translations indeed formed an important branch of regional literatures in
Central Asia. We know of Kuchean translations of the Pratītimokṣa, Udānavarga,
Uḍānakṣattra, Uḍānakṣaṁkara, Karmavibhanga, Suvarṇaprabhāṣā-Sūtra, etc. There are
Agnean versions of Puyavanta Jātaka, Saḍḍanta Jātaka, Arāṇemi Jātaka, Maitre-
ysamiti-nāṭaka, etc. We have, besides, (Śaka)-Khotanese renderings of the
Vajracchedikā, Aparimitayuh-Sūtra, Bhadracaryādesāṇā, Suvarṇaprabhāṣā-Sūtra (?),
Maitreysamiti-nāṭaka (?), etc.; and Sogdian translations of the Vessantara Jātaka,
Dirghanakah-Sūtra, Vimalakirtiti-nirdesa, Dhyāna-Sūtra, Dhūta-Sūtra, nilakaṇṭha-
dhāraṇi, Padmacintāmaṇi-dhāraṇi-Sūtra, etc. 30 Of these languages Khotanese
was used in the southern areas and Kuchean and Agnean in the northern
areas of Chinese Central Asia. Sogdian was the language of Sogdiana to the
north of the Oxus in Soviet Central Asia. But there were colonies of Sogdian
merchants in different parts of Chinese Central Asia. This helped the develop-
ment of Sogdian as a lingua franca in ancient Central Asia. The translations of
Sanskrit texts of Buddhist literature into the major local languages of Central
Asia testify to the abiding Indian influence on Central Asian literature. Some
of the translations of Sanskrit texts into Chinese, which must have been under-
stood and spoken in parts of Central Asia, were made by Central Asians
themselves. Until A.D. 316 there had been at least three Sogdian, two Kuchean,
and one Khotanese translators. Their number must have increased in later
periods. One of the most well-known translators of the fifth century A.D. was
the versatile scholar Kumārajiva of Kucha. A son of an Indian father and a
Kuchean mother, Kumārajiva learnt Buddhist literature and philosophy in
Kashmir, and then lived first in Kucha and later in China proper. Admiringly
suited to interpret Indian Buddhist thought, he translated a number of Sanskrit
works into Chinese.

29 Ibid (1893-1912). See also P. C. Bagchi, ICA, pp. 104-6. The name jūva appears in the Sanskrit
portion of a manuscript of medical treatise, written in a form of barbarous Sanskrit, and also in
Śaka-Khotanese. Fragments of this manuscript were found in 'the Caves of Thousand Buddhas'
near Tun-huang. On the folios known to us each phrase of words in Sanskrit is followed by a free
translation in Śaka-Khotanese. Some of the medical formulas, stated in this manuscript, are not
known from standard Sanskrit medical treatises. But some of the formulas can be traced in Indian
standard works. Neither the name of the author nor that of the text in question is known from the
surviving part of the manuscript (R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1917, pp. 415ff.).
Nevertheless, evidence of this manuscript indicates the existence of translations of Sanskrit medical
texts in Chinese Central Asia. It has been pointed out that there were Kuchean translations of Tāntric
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The zeal for learning the contents of Sanskrit Buddhist texts was so great in Central Asia that in about the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D. even second-hand translations of Sanskrit texts were produced in Chinese Central Asia. Tokharian translations of Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka, Suvarṇaprabhāsā-Sūtra, the Sūtra of Kalyāṇaṁkara and Pāpaṅkara, etc. were rendered into Uighur-Turkish. Colophons of three manuscripts, fragments of which have been discovered in the Turfan area, refer to a work (already mentioned) called Daśkrmapudā'awtanamāla (=Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā), which was first rendered from 'Wkw Kwys'n (=Sanskrit) into Toṣyari or Toḵari (=Tokharian =Kuchean), and from Toḵari into the Uighur-Turkish language. This text, which belongs to the Avadāna class of Sanskrit literature, might have been originally imported into Kucha or might have been composed in Kucha itself. It may be added that the surviving fragments of this text narrate a story about King Caṣṭana of western India (first/second century A.D.). Stories concerning Indian kings like Ajātasatru (mentioned in Uighur-Turkish source), Aśoka (mentioned in Khotanese documents), and Kaṇiṣka (referred to in Khotanese, Kuchean, Agnian, Sogdian, and Uighur-Turkish texts) were popular in different parts of Central Asia. A manuscript (No. Pelliot 2787), which contains two legends about Kaṇiṣka, begins with Buddhist Sanskrit and continues in Khotanese translation.

Indian texts were not only translated, but also amplified in Central Asia. According to Chinese evidence, manuscripts of the Mahāsaṃpāti-Sūtra, Avatamsaka-Sūtra, Vaipulya-Sūtra, Ratnakūṭa-Sūtra, Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra, Śāriputra-dhāraṇī, Mahāprajñāpāramitā, Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, etc. were preserved in the Chokkuka area. Analyses of the contents of Chinese translations of these texts of Indian origin have led scholars to believe that some of them were 'naturalized' in Chinese Central Asia. Contents of the Chinese versions of Candragarbha-Sūtra and Śūryagarbha-Sūtra, the Indian originals of which are lost, perhaps indicate that they were recast in Serindia. The Chinese story about the search by the Indian monk Dharmaraksā in Khotan for a full and complete text of Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra, even though he had already found the text consisting of ten chapters, has been interpreted as suggesting amplification of the text in that Central Asian kingdom. Texts were studied, translated, and amplified mainly in the monasteries which, as also Buddhist learning and literature, were patronized by local rulers (like those of Chokkuka, Khotan, Kucha, etc.) of Chinese Central Asia. The depth of Indian influence on them is clear from Indian names assumed by several kings of Khotan (Vijayakīrtti,
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Vijayasambhava, etc.), of Kucha (Haripuṣpa, Suvarṇapuṣpa, Suvarṇadeva, etc.), and of Agnideśa (Indrārjuna, Candrārjuna, etc.).34 People who embraced Buddhism, among whom there might have been Indian elements (in some areas), must have been familiar with Indian Buddhist terms and usages in their daily life. These affected and enriched their native languages. The origin of numerous words in Khotanese and a few other local languages may be traced to Sanskrit. For example, we can refer to Khotanese word jana (meditation), which was probably derived from the Sanskrit word dhyanā. It appears that Indian settlers, traders, and missionaires and local rulers were among those who made Buddhism an all-embracing force in Central Asia and made Indian scripts, languages, and literatures popular in several of the aforementioned territories. We have already referred to the role played by the Gāndhāri Prakrit language and its literature in the kingdoms of Khotan and Shan-shan and their importance in the early history of Buddhism in China as well as in the southern area of Chinese Central Asia. The influence of the Sanskrit language and literature was more comprehensive. Sanskrit became a universally respected language and, in about the second half of the first millennium A.D., it also influenced and inspired the growth of regional languages like Kučeian, Agnean, (Śaka)-Khotanese, etc. Brāhmī became the vehicle of all these three Central Asian languages. Indian influence was not so keenly felt in Soviet Central Asia. No doubt, the Prakrit language and the Kharoṣṭhī as well as Brāhmī script made Buddhism a popular religion in that area. Sanskrit was also understood and perhaps practised there to some extent, at least in certain periods. Sanskrit literature influenced Sogdian, language of the Oxus territories. We must, however, remember that Sogdian was also spoken in the colonies of Sogdians in Chinese Central Asia. The Sogdian language helped in disseminating Buddhist terms. It has been suggested that the word bodhisattva (Sogdian pwojst) ‘came into Middle Persian and Chinese through Sogdian’.35

Bactrian, which was the language of Bactria in northern Afghanistan, was sometimes used in the Oxus territories in the north and as far as in the extreme north-western parts of the Indian Sub-continent in the south. The Greek script was employed to write this language. It was used in the records of certain Buddhist monasteries. Lord Buddha is referred to as Boddo in the Bactrian legends on Kuṣāṇa coins and in the Bactrian inscriptions. A Bactrian inscription on a vessel, found in the ruins of a monument near Termez, reads in translation as: ‘He who makes no distinction between his own “I” and that

of others is on the proper road'. This utterance betrays the influence of some Indian philosophical or religious tenets. We have an early medieval instance of the use of Bactrian and Sanskrit in a record found in the Tochi valley of Pakistan. In Bactria proper, as indicated before, Prakrit was used in the early centuries of the Christian era. It was mainly employed in Buddhist donative records. The knowledge of Sanskrit in Bactria proper is perhaps indicated by the discovery of a fragment of the Sanskrit text of the Śaṅgītaparājōya in a cave at Bamiyan. Though the manuscript (written in the ‘north Turkestanean’ script of Chinese Central Asia) might have been imported there for the use of local monks, its evidence indicates that they knew Sanskrit. The knowledge of Sanskrit outside Bactria, but within Afghanistan, in the early part of the second half of the first millennium A.D. is indicated by Sanskrit inscriptions from Gardez and Tapa Skandar.

Parthian, which was used by the followers of Mani inhabiting inter alia a part of Central Asia, betrays the influence of Indian Buddhist literature. It has been claimed that even the earliest of Manichaean-Parthian texts contain certain Indian Buddhist terms. A Parthian amuletic text furnishes a list of yakṣas, which resembles similar lists in the Buddhist dhāraṇī texts. As in the Mahāmāyā-vidyārājñī, each of the yakṣas is referred to here as occupying a certain country. It is interesting to note that among such countries are Peshawar (Pushkavur), Kashmir, etc. belonging to the north-western part of the Indian Sub-continent. In employing meaningless enumerations of charms or parts of charm, the Manichaean followed the Buddhists. Parthian texts also borrowed such Buddhist terms as Sh'qmnl bwt---Śākyamuni Buddha, Shmn---sramaṇa, byxs---bhikṣu, mytrn---Maitreya, nybr'n---nīrāṇa, etc. It has been claimed that there is evidence revealing a strong influence of the literature of Northern Buddhism on Manichaean-Parthian literature.

Buddhism did not altogether disappear from Soviet Central Asia and northern Afghanistan immediately after the advent of Islam under the banner of the Arabs. It gradually waned. The Qarakhanids were mainly responsible for converting the Chinese Central Asians to Islam despite opposition from the Uighurs who were great patrons of Buddhism. Old oases, particularly

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27 P. C. Bagchi, *ICA*, p. 97; *East and West*, Vol. IX (1958), p. 276. Aōka seems to be the earliest of the Indian monarchs whose epigraphs are known to have been discovered in the territories now included in Afghanistan. The provenances of his edicts in question, written variously in 'Greek, Aramaic, and an old Indic language' (=Prakrit), indicate the rule of the Mauryas in Paropamisadae and Arachosia. The ideas of an Indian king became known in these territories in the third century B.C. (Year Book of the Asiatic Society of 1970, p. 187).
the areas having Buddhist centres, were destroyed or deserted. Their irrigation systems fell into disuse, and there was perhaps a general desiccation. Gradually, sand encroached upon and covered the pieces of evidence of Indian influence on the language and literature as well as the religion, art, and society of Central Asia. They lay hidden for a long time till the spades of treasure-hunters, explorers, and archaeologists began to unearth them in the second half of the nineteenth century. Since then it has been a continuous story of digging up the past to lay bare the areas of India's influence in early Central Asia.
THE spread of Indian literature in Tibet, Mongolia, and Siberia coincided with the dissemination of Buddhism in these regions. The process started in Tibet in the seventh century A.D. and continued for a long time, making a great impact on its cultural life. Large masses of Buddhist Sanskrit texts—canonical as well as other philosophical and Tantric texts—found their way to Tibet in the course of time and have been preserved there in literal and accurate translation. The translations were done by monk-scholars, of both Indian and Tibetan origin. As many of the original Sanskrit works are lost in India, the literature preserved in Tibetan has a very great value for Buddhist studies. Quite a good number of Indian secular works are also found in Tibetan translation. The influence of Indian literature came to be felt in Mongolia and Siberia later. The introduction of Indian thought and culture in these trans-Himalayan countries resulted in an intense literary activity which has been described by a German Orientalist thus: 'The waters of the Gaṅgā made fertile the arid steppes of Inner Asia'. This paper attempts a general survey of the spread of Indian literature in Tibet, Mongolia, and Siberia from the available material.

TIBET

The introduction of Buddhism into Tibet from India took place in the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. during the reign of King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po (A.D. 629-50), the greatest ruler of Tibet in ancient times. According to Tibetan chronicles, Tibetan had no alphabet of its own prior to this. The Tibetan alphabet was devised out of a North Indian script known as Kuṭīla during the middle of the seventh century A.D. byTHON-mi-sambhoṭa, minister of King Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po. THON-mi-sambhoṭa came to India to study Buddhist scriptures. He adopted the Indian alphabet and with a few modifications employed it for Tibetan. Indian literature came to be preserved in Tibet since the time of Thorn-mi-sambhoṭa who first translated into Tibetan Buddhist texts like the Ratnamegha-Sūtra, the Kāraṇḍavyuḥa, and the Abhiṣiṅcanīdhāraṇī under the patronage of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

1 It may be mentioned that a large number of Indian Sanskrit texts, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, were preserved in Tibet and formed a precious collection. Rahula Sankrityayana found numerous texts preserved in original Sanskrit in the Zhulu monastery during his visit there in 1930-31. He brought a number of them to Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

In this work he was assisted by three Indian scholars, Devavidyāśīha, Śaṅkara Brāhmaṇa, and Śilamaṇju. The work thus started by him culminated in the production of an enormous mass of literature comprising 4,566 texts in Tibetan translation. These texts were codified and preserved in two sacred Tibetan collections, namely, the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur (Buddha-vacana—Word of Buddha) and the Bstan-ḥgyur (Śāstra—Doctrinal Treatises). It may be mentioned that Buddhism was propagated in Tibet by the teachers and missionaries from India and their Tibetan disciples in the midst of tremendous opposition from the followers and priests of the old Tibetan Bon religion. In the course of this struggle, the Indian teachers had to exert, according to tradition, their magical and spiritual powers to win over the Bon-pa priests, and they had to perform many magical rites for invoking the terrible deities. Later on, Buddhism in Tibet developed into a mystic esotericism through dhāraṇī, mantra, yantra, maṇḍala, and mudrā, which were practised by the followers of the later Mahāyāna forms of Buddhism in India (i.e. cults like the Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna, Kālacakra, and Sahajayāna). Padmasambhava (c. A.D. 750-800) is said to have introduced the Vajrayāna Buddhism in Tibet and carried with him some Tāntric texts from India. Vajramantrābhisandhimūla Tantra, translated by Padmasambhava in collaboration with the Tibetan scholar Dpal-gyi-seṅge (Vairocana), was one of those texts.

**BKAḤ-ḤGYUR COLLECTION**

The authorship of all the texts preserved in the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur collection is attributed to Buddha, as they are said to be his commandments. This collection, containing 100 or 108 volumes, has three major divisions, viz. the Vinaya (Dul-ba), the Sūtra (Mdo or Mdo-sde), and the Tantra (Rgyud). The Vinaya section containing thirteen volumes consists of Prātimokṣa-Sūtra, Vinayavibhaṅga, Bhikṣuṇi-prātimokṣa-Sūtra, Bhikṣuṇi-vinayavibhaṅga, Vinaya-kṣudrakavastu, Vinayauttaragrantha. The Tibetan version of the Prātimokṣa corresponds to the Sanskrit Prātimokṣa found at Kucha in Central Asia. The Pali Pātimokkha is considerably smaller in size. The Sūtra section consists of the Prajñāpāramitā, Avataṃsaka,
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Ratnakūṭa, and Nirvāṇa or Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtras. The Prajñāpāramitā texts, numbering twenty-three in twenty-one volumes, are held in the highest esteem by the Tibetans. Available in six volumes, the Avataṁsaka texts describe the glorious activities of Buddha with his supernatural powers. It is interesting to note that the Chinese Tripiṭaka enumerates some of the sections of the Avataṁsaka-Sūtra under the heading Hua-yen. The Ratnakūṭa-Sūtra, consisting of about forty-nine texts in six volumes, speaks about the supra-mundane performances of the buddhas. The Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra has been translated by Tibetan scholars from time to time corresponding to its Chinese version. There are, moreover, a large number of texts including the Avadāna stories and moral and metaphysical doctrines of Buddha preserved in the Sūtra section and they form a separate group. Several Parītta texts in Pali have also been translated into Tibetan and preserved under the Sūtra section. It may be mentioned in this connexion that the fragments of the Sanskrit texts discovered in Central Asia sometimes do not differ much from those in Tibetan. The Tantra section, containing twenty-two volumes, has two broad subdivisions, inferior rituals and superior rituals. Each of these refers to four classes of Tantras, namely, Kriyā Tantra, Carya Tantra, Yoga Tantra, and Anuttarayoga Tantra. According to tradition, Buddha delivered his secret doctrine in the assemblies of the supernatural deities and buddhas in heaven in order to expel the evils and other undeserving elements. This section also includes 233 dhāraṇī texts which are commonly used for abhicāra-karma (rituals and spells).

BSTAN-ḤGYUR COLLECTION

The Bstan-ḥgyur collection or the collection of Śāstra works, comprises the commentaries and philosophical texts written by great Buddhist saint-scholars, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga, Dharmakīrtti, and their successors. Besides the canonical and exegetical texts of Buddhism, a large number of secular texts have also been translated and preserved in this collection. The Bstan-ḥgyur contains 225 volumes. Two more volumes, one containing stotras and the other an index, are also included in this collection. The secular texts translated into Tibetan number about 1000. About 500 texts are listed in the Bstan-ḥgyur collection, while a large number are preserved in Tibetan translation separately as the contribution of the Indian masters. The secular Indian texts which were translated into Tibetan relate to various branches of general Sanskrit literature, viz. Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Alāṅkāra, Vyākaraṇa, Jyotiṣa, Āyurveda, etc. The works translated include the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa, the Kāvyādāra of Daṇḍin, the Nāgānanda of Śrīharṣa, the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, the Kātantra Vyākaraṇa, the Nīti texts ascribed to Cāṇakya, Mayūrākṣa, and Vararuci, the Candra-
chando-ratnākara, the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya Samhītā, the Amarakośa with its Kāmadhenu commentary, the Vētāla-paṅcaviṃśati, and the Sarveśvara-rasāyana.6

TRANSLATION OF INDIAN TEXTS

The spread of Indian literature in Tibet, which was started by Thon-misam-bhoṭa under the patronage of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, languished for a few decades after the death of the latter in A.D. 650. But it took a significant turn during the reign of King Khri-sroṅ-Ide-btsan (A.D. 755-97), a descendant of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po. He brought a new vigour to the spread of Buddhism in Tibet by establishing the Sam-yê monastery where the Indian teachers Sāntaraksita and Padmasambhava preached the old Tantras and founded the Rniṅ-ma school. King Ral-pa-can (c. A.D. 824-36), grandson of Khri-sroṅ-Ide-btsan, was also a great patron of Buddhism. He invited a conference to standardize the technique of translating the Indian Buddhist texts into Tibetan, particularly in respect of corresponding Tibetan terminology, metrical composition, and syntactical rules. Among the participating Tibetan scholars were Ye-śes-sde, Dpal-brtsegs, 'Jam-dpal-go-cha, and Chos-kyi-skyon. The Indian teachers included Bodhimitra, Dānaśāla, Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Śilendraodhi, and Prajñāvarman. The eminent Tibetan scholar, Ye-śes-dbari-po, presided over the said conference. Nam-mkha'-sniṅ-po, Ye-śes-sde, and Dpal-brtsegs were entrusted with the task of classifying and codifying all the Buddhist texts which had been translated into Tibetan up to the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Among the important texts translated into Tibetan during this period, the following may be mentioned: Vinaya texts—Prātimokṣa and its commentary, Vinayavibhaṅga commentary by Vinitadeva, Vinaya-Sūtra commentary by Dharmanmitra, and Vinaya-praśna-kārikā of Kalyāṇamitra; Sūtra texts—Bhadrañāpikā-Sūtra, Dharmaśaṅgiti-Sūtra, Samādhisāra-Sūtra, Bhadracaryā-praṇidhāna and its commentary by Alāṅkabhadra, Ratnacandramaniprakṛti, and Ratnajāla-paripṛcchā; Prajñāpāramitā texts—Ṣatasmāsāhasrikā, Daśasāhasrikā, Saṁpātisamākritā commentary by Kamalaśila, Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya, and its commentary by Vimalamitra, and Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā; Philosophical texts—Hetucakrañḍamara of Diṅnāga, Abhidharmakośa with its commentary, Pratītyasamutpāda commentary, Daśabhūmika commentary by Vasubandhu, Hetubindi and Sambandha-pariprakāsa of Darmakirtti, Yaśomitra's commentary of Abhidharmakośa (Sphuṭārtha), Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā, Amāṣera-kārikā, and Yuktisāṣṭi-kārikā with its commentary by Candrakirtti, Vinitadeva's commentaries on Nyāyabindu and Hetubindi, Āryadeva's Skhalitapramardana, Buddhapālita's commentary of Mūlamadhyamaka, Asaṅga's

6 Details may be found in V. Sastri, Bhājopakāla (Calcutta, 1938); Rahula Sankritayana, Tibet na Baudhādharmā (Allahabad, 1940); Nalinakshita Dutt, The Gilgit Manuscripts (Srinagar/Calcutta, 1939-59); and S. K. Pathak, Indian Nitijāstras in Tibet (New Delhi, 1973).
Abhidharma-samuccaya, Mahāyāna-saṅgraha, and Sūtrālaṅkāra with its commentary, Śaṅtideva’s Śikṣā-samuccaya and Bodhicaryāvatāra, Sāntaraksita’s Madhyamakālaṅkāra and its commentary by Kamalaśīla; Tantra texts—Ḍākinījñāvājāla Tantra, Vajramantraśānigraha, and Vajrasattva-māyājīla-guhya-sarādārāśa Tantra.

Following the pattern of Sanskrit lexicons like the Amarakośa, Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionaries were compiled. The most important and the first authentic work in this category now extant is Bye-drag turtogs par byed pa (Mahāyuyutpatti). This work is generally assigned a date prior to A.D. 825. There were other secular books too. Mention may be made in this connexion of Siddhāśvara on medicine. The progress of Indian literature in Tibet was, however, handicapped when Buddhism had a setback in the land for a couple of centuries following the assassination (c. A.D. 836) of King Ral-pa-can, because of his devout faith in Buddhism. The renaissance in the field of Buddhism and Buddhist literature in Tibet was heralded by the advent of Dīpaṅkara (A.D. 982-1054), a distinguished teacher of the Vikramaśīla monastery of India.

In the history of Indo-Tibetan cultural contact, the visit of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna or Atiśa may be considered as a landmark. Dīpaṅkara went to Tibet around A.D. 1041 and stayed there till his death (A.D. 1054). This period synchronized with Muslim incursions into India forcing many Indian scholars to take shelter in Tibet. A number of Tibetan scholars like Rin-chen-bzan-po, 'Bro-gmi Šākya Ye-ses, Šākya’od, and Nima grag-pa flourished in Tibet during the eleventh century. Their mutual collaboration resulted in the translation of a good number of Sanskrit works into Tibetan. These were: Vinaya—Samādhi-sambara-parivarta and Bodhicittotpāda-sama-dānavid of Jetari; Sūtra—Samagaddhāvadāna; Prajñāpāramitā—Aṭṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā revised by Rin-chen-bzan-po and Indian pundit Subhāṣita; Philosophical texts—Āśvaghośa’s Paramārtha-bodhicittotpādānā, Āryadeva’s Hastabala-prakaraṇa, Mātrce-ta’s Caturvīṣaya-kathā, Haribhadra’s Abhisamyālāṅkāra-lāka, Asaṅga’s Mahāyāna-nottara Tantra commentary, Dīpaṅkara’s Bodhipatha-pradīpita, Bhavaviveka’s Madhyama-kṛdaya and his commentary of Nāgārjuna’s Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā, Jñānaśrīmitra’s Kāryakāraṇabhāvanāsiddhi, Vasubandhu’s Dharma-dharmatā-vibhāga, Prajñākaramati’s Abhisamayālāṅkāra-ṛtti, Dharmakīrtti’s Nyāyabindu and Pāramāṇa-viniścaya, Candrakīrtti’s Mūlamadhyamaka commentaries, Nāgārjuna’s Mahāyānavinśikā, Yuktisaṭi-kārikā, Dharmottara’s Apoḥapraṇakaraṇa, and Ratnakīrtti’s Apoḥasiddhi; Tantra texts—Kālačakra Tantra, Yogini Tantra, Hevaṭra Tantra, and Vajrālaka Tantra. The secular texts translated into Tibetan during this period include Vimala-prāḥottaramālārata, a Niti text ascribed to King Amoghavarṣa; Aṣṭāṅga-kṛdaya Samhitā, an Ayurvedic text ascribed to Vāgbhaṭa; Aśvāyurveda, a work on veterinary science by Śālihotra; and Subhāṣīta-ratna-karaṇḍa of Śrīharṣa.

The patronage of the Sa-skya monastery, founded in c. A.D. 1071, to the
leading Indian pundits like Alāṅkadeva, Dharmadhara, Kṛtticandra, Śākya-
śribhadra, Mitrayogī, Lakṣmīkara, and Sumanāśrī resulted in the production of
many important translations of Indian texts. Besides the Buddhist
texts like Ārya Śūra’s Jātakamālā and Dharmakīrtti’s Pramāṇavārttika-kārikā,
a large number of secular texts were also translated during the twelfth and
thirteenth centuries. Among the secular texts were Ātreya’s Pratimāmāna-
lakṣaṇa on iconography, Amarasiṃha’s lexicon Amarakoṣa with its commentary
Kāmadhenu, dramas like the Lokānanda of Candragomin and the Nāgānanda of
Śrīharṣa, Kālidāsa’s poetical composition Meghadūta, Daṇḍin’s work on poetics
Kāvyādāraṇa, and Durgāsiṃha’s commentary Kātantra-vṛtti on Kātantra Vyākaraṇa.

The spread of Indian literature in Tibet received a further stimulus towards
the end of the fourteenth century A.D. when the Dge-lugs-pa or Geluk-pa
(Yellow) sect was established by Tsong-kha-pa (A.D. 1357-1417). Owing to
the patronage extended by this sect, the period between the fourteenth and
seventeenth centuries witnessed remarkable literary activity in the country.
Important Buddhist texts like the Abhidharma-kōsa commentary by Sthiramati
and Nāgārjuna’s Itcara-karttytva-nīrūkaraṇa were translated together with many
Indian secular texts, which include Kālacakra-gaṇita, Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa, and
Mañjuśrī Sabdālakṣaṇa and its commentary ascribed to Bhavyakīrtti, king of
Kāliṅga. The rendering of Indian texts into Tibetan continued unabated
in the following centuries also.

In conclusion, it may be noted that a technique distinct from that in other
Asian countries was observed in the preservation of Indian literature in Tibet.
As Sanskrit was introduced in the original into South-East Asia, Indian texts
had been preserved there mostly in Sanskrit. Not much effort was, therefore,
made in preserving Indian texts in the South-East Asian languages. But Indian
texts, mostly belonging to the Mahāyāna Buddhism, are very largely pre-
served in translation in Chinese and Tibetan. The originals of these texts
are not found in India and many of them are also lost in China and Tibet.
The restoration of original texts from their foreign versions is evidently an
extremely difficult task. But owing to the unique policy adopted in the Tibetan
translations of the Indian texts, it has become easy for modern scholars to
restore almost the original Sanskrit words from them. Although the practice
of preserving the Indian texts through translation was introduced into China
prior to that in Tibet, such restoration is not possible in the case of Chinese
versions. The Tibetan translations were done more faithfully and the meaning
of the sermons of Buddha remained literal. For every translation from Sanskrit
(or Pali) into Tibetan one (or more) Tibetan scholar versed in Sanskrit had
to work with one (or more) Indian scholar versed in Tibetan. The object was
to make the translation accurate, literal, word-for-word, and in keeping with
the Tibetan syntax. The idiom and imagery of the Sanskrit original were to be

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fully reflected in the Tibetan diction and the two parties had to agree before a draft translation could be submitted for approval by the council of editors. The process was a stupendous one. But to produce the exact rendering, the Tibetan scholars had to undergo this and they did not spare any pains to probe the intricacies of Sanskrit grammar and to study the numerous homonyms and synonyms preserved in Sanskrit lexicons. In fact, a thorough acquaintance with these was a must for the work of translating Indian texts into Tibetan. The translators did not have the option of using words according to their choice and were advised to strictly confine themselves to the bilingual vocabularies compiled by Tibetan scholars in collaboration with Indian teachers. Such efforts resulted in very correct translations and, therefore, the Tibetan versions now available to us are close to the Sanskrit (or Pali) original.\(^7\)

**MONGOLIA**

Buddhism and its literature in Tibetan translations reached the regions now known as Inner and Outer Mongolia through Tibetan missionaries during the second half of the twelfth century A.D. when these areas were integral parts of the khanate of Chingiz Khan (c. A.D. 1162-1227). Even before the introduction of Buddhism into Mongolia, the Mongols were somewhat familiar with the Buddhist culture around the sixth century A.D. through the Uighur and Sogdian teachers.\(^8\) Mention may also be made in this connexion of the visit of two Indian Buddhist missionaries, Śākyavamśa and Narendrayaśas in the sixth-seventh centuries A.D. It is said that Kun-ga-rgyal-mtshan or Śākya Paṇḍita (A.D. 1182-1252) of Tibet instructed Godan, successor of Chingiz Khan, in the teachings of Buddha. 'Phags-pa Blo-dros-rgyal-mtshan (A.D. 1235-80), a nephew of Śākya Paṇḍita, could also impress Kublai Khan, successor of Godan. In A.D. 1253 Kublai sought religious instruction from a learned Tibetan lama who was honoured as the Imperial Preceptor. This was the early story of how the Tartar Mongols adopted the doctrine of Buddha. In the course of time a large number of the Tibetan versions of Indian texts were rendered into Mongolian. Some books like *Lalitavistara* were available in the original (Sanskrit) in Mongolia. Mongol monks also flocked to the Tibetan monasteries in quest of the knowledge brought from India, the land of Buddha.

A few Buddhist sūtras and *dhāraṇīs* of Bkaḥ-hgyur and some texts of Bstan-hgyur were translated into Mongolian during the time of Gulug Wu Tsung (A.D. 1308-11). The translations of the Tibetan Bkaḥ-hgyur was completed at the time of Legs-Idan-khutuktux Khagan of Cakhar (A.D. 1603-34).

\(^7\) See Nalinaksha Dutt (Ed.), *Prajñā* (Gangtok, 1961), Foreword.

The greater portion of the Tibetan canonical texts was translated, revised, and blockprinted in Mongolian during the time of the Chinese emperor Kʻang Hsi (A.D. 1662-1722). Subsequently, Lcan-skya Rolpa’i rdo-rje and Blobzaṅ btsan-pa’i-ṅimā were commissioned by the Chinese emperor Chien Lung to translate the texts of the Bstan-hgyur collection. During his reign forty-two sūtras ascribed to Mātaṅgakaśyapa, preserved in Chinese but lost in the original, were translated by a Mongolian scholar whose Sanskritized name was Prajñodayavyāsa.

Indic nomenclature, in pure Sanskrit or hybrid Mongol Sanskrit forms, was popular among monks and scholars as well as tribal chiefs. The translation of the Saptarṣinakṣatrita-Sūtra dates back to A.D. 1330 when Tub Temur Khan was on the throne. Mongolia had its own version of the Rāmāyaṇa and there were shadow plays based on it. There is also evidence of Indian rhetoric and medical treatises being studied in Mongolia. The Avadāna stories in Buddhist Sanskrit and the Jātaka stories in Pali were translated into Mongolian in two collections, namely, Uligarun Dalai (‘Ocean of Compassion’), and the Altangaral (‘Gold-lustre’), the latter corresponding to the Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra preserved in the Bkaḥ-hgyur collection. It is said that this book was translated during the time of Gusi Khan (c. A.D. 1581). A similar work, Cindamaṇi-kārikā (‘Wreath of Jewels of Wisdom’), was translated into Mongolian on the basis of the stories narrated by Dīpankara about the pious deeds of the ancient teachers. The interesting story of Devī Manoharī, presumably drawn from an Indian source, was rendered into Mongolian by Gusi with the title of Kunduṃbilika Arilgakī Manuhari under the patronage of Dsasaktu Hung-taiji by the end of the seventeenth century. A story named Sudhanāvadāna from the Divyāvadāna and the Avadāna-kalpalatā resembles that of Manoharī. Even a scene of Kālidāsa’s Vikramorvaśiya (Act IV) strikingly corresponds to this story. The Mongolian translation of Duṭṭhiniṣṭutpalitā was made with the title Arjī Borjii. The story mentions a King Krṣṇa of the city of Gokula on the bank of the Yamunā who succeeded King Bhoja. The Mongolian version was probably composed from a Tibetan translation which bore marks of the Buddhist tradition. The Pāñcatantra stories also came into Mongolia from some unknown source. It may be mentioned that a number of them are also available in Tibetan translations. Besides these, Indian Niti texts in verses went to Mongolia to teach practical wisdom and rules of conduct for laymen and royal officials. Oyun Tulkīgur (‘Key to Understanding’) is one such work available in Mongolian. A gāthā text, Toba-yin gacao-ü-logiji, consisting of verses with examples and similes from the life of Buddha, was composed from some unknown Indian source. In this regard, we may mention the Mongolian version of the Subhāṣita-
ratna-sangraha ('Collection of Elegant Sayings') ascribed to Śākya Paṇḍita of Tibet. The Mongol tradition of writing Nīti works may also be referred to in this connexion, which was a legacy of Indian impact. Thus, both religious and secular texts of India have been preserved in Mongolia since the fourteenth century A.D. The contributions of Mongolian lamas and scholars are remarkable in disseminating Indian literature and culture in the region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—a period which may be described as the 'Golden Era' in the cultural history of Mongolia.

SIBERIA

Buddhism spread among the people of the trans-Baikalian Siberia much later than in Mongolia. It was firmly established among the Siberian Buryats by the end of the seventeenth century. The Kalmyks, however, had embraced Buddhism through the Tibetans earlier. In A.D. 1725 Damba Dorje Sayait of Buryat Mongolia visited Tibet and studied Buddhist scriptures there. After his return to Buryat in A.D. 1740 with a large mass of scriptures and objects of worship, he was recognized as the chief among the Buddhists in Siberia. The teachings of Buddha thus went to Siberia through the Tibetan collections, Bkaḥ-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur, which preserved the verbatim translation of the Indian originals. The impact of Buddhism has exerted a tremendous influence on the development of the entire culture of the Buryats and Kalmyks in Siberia, who are today found in the Buryat ASSR (Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic), especially in the Aginsky National Area of Chita Autonomous Region and the Buryat National Area of the Irkutsk Region, and in the Kalmyk ASSR and the Tuva Autonomous Region.

Of the Kalmyk contributions in the field of translation of the canonical and non-canonical texts into Mongolian from Sanskrit, the translation of the Damamukhāna-Sūtra made in the seventeenth century may be mentioned. Siddhikūr, corresponding to the Vetāla-pañcaviṃśati, was another important specimen of the Kalmyk Mongolian translation from Sanskrit. The Tibetan version of the Vetāla stories is also available. The Rāmāyana story was known in Siberia and there is evidence of the epic having been translated in the Kalmyk language. Among the important seats of Buryat learning where Indian texts were preserved in Tibetan and Mongolian versions, the Aginsky monastery deserves special mention. It has been known to the world as the seat of Buddhist scholars like Zamicarano, Tshyibikov, and Baradin, who attained international reputation for their Sanskrit scholarship. The Aginsky monastery has two temples; the earlier one dates back to A.D. 1816 and the other was built in A.D. 1846. The library of the monastery with its own printing

18 Lokesh Chandra and others (Eds.), India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture (Madras, 1970), p. 631.
house has been a famous centre for Buddhist learning in Siberia. Bethlenflavy has thrown new light on the Indian texts, preserved and printed in the monastery, which had been carried to Siberia through Tibet and Mongolia about three hundred years ago. The catalogue written in Tibetan is a comprehensive bibliography of Mongolian and Tibetan texts which include a large number of Indian works preserved either in Tibetan or Mongolian. These may be classified on the basis of prints as follows: Long prints—(i) canonical texts from the Buddhist Sanskrit sources, (ii) treatises of the Buddhist teachers, (iii) commentaries and manuals for studying philosophy and mysticism, and (iv) texts on medicine, pharmacology, chemistry, etc. Medium size prints—119 texts consisting of indigenous Tibetan works. Short prints—fifty-four texts on Tantric rituals and practices. New Short prints—ninety-nine miscellaneous works by the native scholars. The texts collected in the first category contain the works of Indian masters like Nāgārjuna, Maitreya, and others, besides the Sūtra and the Vinaya texts like the Akṣayamati-nirdeśa-Sūtra and the Vinaya-Sūtra. A thorough study of the catalogue may provide new knowledge regarding Indo-Siberian cultural relations. Soviet scholars at Leningrad, Moscow, Ulan-Ude, and Chita are engaged in compiling exhaustive catalogues and reference media of this great literature of Buddhism in Northern Asia.

The library of the Ivolginsky monastery (constructed in 1944-45) preserves 100 volumes of Ganjur (Tibetan Kanjur or Bkaḥ-hgyur) and 220 volumes of Danjur (Tibetan Tanjur or Bstan-hgyur). It may be noted that this monastery has its own rare collection of the Navaratna Ganjur, based on the Tibetan Narthang edition and written in nine inks prepared from silver, mumin, coral, turquoise, gold, copper, pearl, iron, and conch. This tradition of scribing the teachings of Buddha with multicoloured ink had been imported from India.

Thousands of texts and compendia which are now available in Tibetan and Mongolian, including Buryat and Kalmyk, bear the legacy of India, especially traces of the way of life and thought which prevailed in ancient India. Due to the vicissitudes of history most of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts are lost in India and many are even unknown to us. But they are still carefully preserved in the Tibetan and Mongolian records. Furthermore, many traditions and practices have been lost and forgotten by the present generation in India, but these are still faithfully continued and meticulously preserved by the people of Tibet, Mongolia, and Eastern Siberia as the most precious heirlooms inherited from their ancestors.

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12 Regarding bibliographical works on Indian literature in Northern Asia where Tibetan was the medium of communication, publications from the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, are noteworthy. Mention may particularly be made of Lokesh Ghandria's *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature* (1963) and B. Rinchen's *Four Mongolian Historical Records* (1959).
INDIA and China had knowledge of each other from pre-Aśokan times,\(^1\) though active contacts between the two countries began during the first century A.D. with the introduction of Buddhism into China.\(^2\) The story that Buddha’s teachings reached China even as early as c. 217 B.C. has no historical basis and has been discarded as ‘a pious legend forged in later times when Buddhism had been well established in China’.\(^3\) Although the date of the advent of Buddhist texts and images in China can be definitely put in the year 2 B.C., Buddhist missionaries from India began their visits to China from A.D. 65. The first Indian missionaries to China were Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmaraksā, who translated a number of Buddhist works into Chinese. Gradually, Buddhism came to occupy an important place in Chinese life, and in the Wei period (A.D. 386-534) it became a State religion. The visit of Fa Hien to India and his stay in this country for about a decade (from A.D. 401 to 410) is a matter of great significance in the history of Sino-Indian cultural relations in general and the growth of Buddhist literature in China in particular. He was not only one of the first-known Chinese pilgrims to India,\(^4\) but also the first authentic translator of the Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya which he discovered in a monastery of Paṭaliputra and carried to China. He completed the translation round about A.D. 424. Sino-Indian cultural contacts reached their heyday during the T’ang period (A.D. 618-907) when Buddhism made its deepest impact on the Chinese mind. This period was the most fruitful one in the history of translation of Indian Buddhist texts into Chinese. Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing, famous Chinese pilgrims to India, who were themselves great Buddhist scholars and translators of outstanding calibre, belonged to this period. The Chinese version of the Tripiṭaka is in the main a translation

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\(^1\)The reference to China as ‘Cīna’ in the Mahābhārata can be accepted as one of the pointers to this belief.

\(^2\)The earliest contact between India and China, however, can be traced to a couple of centuries earlier. We are informed that India had trade connexions with south-western China as early as the time of Chang Kien, i.e. the second century B.C. Some Indian stories seem to have migrated to China from India directly or indirectly through some frontier people even during the pre-Christian era. They are traceable in the writings of Huainan Tseu, a Chinese author of the second century B.C.

\(^3\)P. C. Bagchi, India and China (New York, 1951), p. 6.

\(^4\)In his journey from China, Fa Hien was accompanied by four other Chinese monks, viz. Hui Ching, Tao Ching, Hui Ying, and Hui Wei. On their way to Central Asia they came across another party of Chinese pilgrims to India consisting of five monks—Che Yen, Hui Kien, Seng Shao, Pao Yun, and Seng Ching. Both the parties joined and made their journey to India.
from the Indian original. The translations were made by both the Chinese Buddhist scholars and Indian monks. The work of translating Indian Buddhist texts, which began as early as the first century A.D., continued throughout the first millennium of the Christian era. By means of translations and commentaries, the Chinese collection has preserved for the world today a good number of texts of the vast Sanskrit canon of Buddhism, while the originals in Sanskrit are lost in India.

SŪTRA, ŚĀSTRA, AND VĪNAYA

The Chinese Buddhist canon forms a huge collection. It follows the broad pattern of the usual Buddhist classification, viz. (1) the Sūtra or the Buddha-vacana or the Word of Buddha, (2) the Abhidharma or the Śāstra, and (3) the Vinaya or the Code of conduct and discipline that one has to follow in one’s cultivation of the Buddhist way. The entire canon again falls into two broad divisions—Hinayāna and Mahāyāna.

SŪTRA TEXTS

Of the sūtras of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, there are several classifications. The sūtras of Hinayāna consist chiefly of the āgamas (viz. Dirgha, Madhyama, Sānyukta, and Ekottara) which are the Sarvāstivādins’ collection of Buddha’s teachings. The āgamas form a small part in the Chinese collection. Some sūtras are also grouped together as pen-yuan-ching, a term which can be translated as jātakas or avadānas. They form a kind of mixed group of both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna texts. The Chinese Sūtra Piṭaka also includes at least three different translations of the Uddānavarga (the Dhammapada in Pali) made as early as the third and fourth centuries A.D. The sūtras of Hinayāna attracted but little attention in China. The major sūtras of Mahāyāna, on the other hand, have been from the very beginning the subject of very wide, serious, and sincere study. Practically, every important Buddhist school in China has come to base itself on one or the other of these sūtras. These sūtras of Mahāyāna are classified into certain groups, namely, Prajñāpāramitā, Saddharma-puṇḍarika, Nirvāṇa, and Vai-pulya.

In the Prajñāpāramitā group, the Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-Sūtra, the shortest and the most widely used text, has now six different translations in Chinese, while the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā has two. One of these is by Kumārajīva, famous Buddhist philosopher and scholar, who worked in China in the early fifth century. He translated most of the early Mādhyamika texts including the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, well-known commentary on the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, traditionally attributed to Nāgārjuna, famous Mādhyamika philosopher. The biggest in this group is the one translated by Hiuen Tsang. This is in two hundred chuans

*In the Chinese collection, the Abhidharma Piṭaka is known as the collection of Śāstras.
and corresponds roughly to the Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. The central theme of the Prajñāpāramitā-Sūtras is the undivided Being as the ultimate Reality, and this is expounded through śūnyatā. These Sūtras are overwhelmingly negative in their form, method, and approach.

The Saddharmapuṇḍarika, Avatāraṁsaka, and Nirvāṇa Sūtras, each of which is central to its own group, set forth and emphasize different aspects of the philosophy of Mahāyāna. Each of these Sūtras provides the basic inspiration as well as the ideological foundation to a specific school of Buddhism. The school that takes the Saddharmapuṇḍarika-Sūtra as its basis is called the T’ien-t’ai school, named after the mountain T’ien-t’ai where its activities were centred. It is also called the Saddharmapuṇḍarika school. To the T’ien-t’ai school the Nirvāṇa Sūtra is fundamental. It accepts the Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra as its basic Śāstra or expository text. We do not have the original Sanskrit version of the Nirvāṇa Sūtra. It was translated into Chinese by Dharmakṣema who worked in China in the fifth century. A Nirvāṇa-Sūtra translated slightly earlier with a shorter text was rejected later. The Avatāraṁsaka-Sūtra or Buddhāvatāraṁsaka-Sūtra, basic text of the Avatāraṁsaka group, has three different versions counted separately as large, medium, and short. One of the sections in the Avatāraṁsaka-Sūtra, the section on the ten bhūmis (levels), expounds the levels in the course of a bodhisattva’s wayfaring. This section was translated separately as an independent sūtra, the Daśabhūmika-Sūtra or Daśabhūmiśvara-Sūtra, the sūtra on the ten bhūmis. This Sūtra has a commentary by Vasubandhu, famous philosopher of Vijñānavāda. For some time, there prevailed a separate school of Buddhism in China called the school of the bhūmi text, which based itself on Vasubandhu’s commentary on this Sūtra. Later, it merged with the main stream of the Avatāraṁsaka school. The Togācāra-bhūmi-śāstra is an independent treatise expounding the different levels, counted as seventeen, in the course of a bodhisattva’s wayfaring. This work of great value was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang. While the Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra can be said to have provided the logical foundation for the philosophy of Mahāyāna, this work provides the psychological analysis and the details pertaining to the kinds and levels of wayfaring. But it also seems to have the additional ideological element of emphasizing citta or viśnu as the all-inclusive reality. Thus it assumes an idealistic trend and has been regarded as a basic text for Vijñānavāda.

The group called Vaipulya or the ‘Wide Collection’ contains sūtras of miscellaneous type; it is none the less quite important. Included in this group are the texts of what are sometimes called the ‘Collection of sūtras’ or the Sūtrasamuccaya and the ‘Great Collection’ or the Mahāsannipāta. The sūtras of the group called Ratnakūṭa, which itself may be counted separately, also form a part of the Vaipulya. Among the important sūtras of this group, mention may be made of the Vimalakīrtti-nirdeśa which is one of the foremost. It is an extremely
absorbing text, short in length but equal in profundity to the Prajnāpāramitā. This sūtra has been widely studied and deeply admired by all the schools of Mahāyāna in China, but it has a special affinity with the Ch’an (or the Dhyāna) school. Then there are in the Vaipulya group, the Laṅkāvatāra and the Sandhinirmocana Sūtras. These are basic to the Fa Hsiang (or the Dharmalakṣaṇa) school which in fact is the Vijñānavāda in China. This school played a very important role by providing considerable material and insight to the ideology not only of several Buddhist schools, but also of certain non-Buddhist schools of Chinese philosophy. Lastly, we may mention another sūtra in this group, viz. the Amitāyus-Sūtra (or the Amitābha-Sūtra), also called the Sukhavatīvyūha. This sūtra is put in the Ratnakūṭa group when it is counted as one of the sūtra groups. The principal text of the Ratnakūṭa group is the Mahāratnakūṭa-Sūtra, which is a collection of forty-nine different texts. In the Chinese collection, the Amitāyus-Sūtra has three different versions counted separately—large, medium, and short. The school that is based on this sūtra is called the ‘Pure Land’ school. It is one of the most popular schools of Buddhism in East Asia.

ŚĀSTRA OR ABHIDHARMA TEXTS

All the seven Śāstra or Abhidharmā texts (viz. Jñāna-prasthāna, Saṅgiti-paryāya, Prakaraṇapāda, Vijñānakāya, Dhātukāya, Dharmaskandha, and Prajñāpāti-sāraṇā) of the Sarvāstivāda school, one of the most important early schools of Buddhism, are preserved in Chinese translations. The term abhidharma means in this case the analysis, definition, and classification of elements as well as the laying bare of the various ways in which the elements function in order to bring about events that constitute the world of experience. The Abhidharma Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school is a vast philosophical literature of profound value. The Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra is a great commentary on the Jñānapratisthāna-śāstra which was the basic text of the Sarvāstivāda study of dharmas (entities). This was the main work and the other six were deemed supplementary to it, all now available only in their Chinese translations. The Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra is an extremely absorbing work expounding the basic philosophy of the Sarvāstivāda. This was rendered into Chinese by Huien Tsang, who translated also a number of very important Vijñānavāda works. This interesting combination of Sarvāstivāda-Abhidharma and Vijñānavāda is a feature that prevailed widely in India even during the time of Vasubandhu. His Abhidharma-kosa-śāstra is an exposition of the Sarvāstivāda doctrine of the Dharma, on which he himself wrote a commentary from the Sautrāntika standpoint criticizing the doctrine of the ultimacy of elements that was basic to the Sarvāstivāda. He later wrote the famous Viṃśikā and Triṃśikā expounding the basic philosophy of the Vijñānavāda. Abhidharma-kosa-śāstra in this case serves as a preliminary to the study and comprehension of the Vijñānavāda. The school of Buddhism
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that prevailed in China as the Koṣa school was later absorbed into the Fa Hsiang school. Another school based on the text Satyasiddhi-sāstra lasted for a while in China. This text was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva. It is believed that he translated this text in order to provide a kind of stepping-stone to the more complete criticism of the Sarvastivāda, and thus to the more mature philosophy of the Mādhyamika. The Satyasiddhi school soon got overshadowed by the Mādhyamika. The Mādhyamika school is known as the ‘School of the Three Treatises’, namely, the Mādhyamika-sāstra and the Dvādaśamukha-sāstra of Nāgārjuna, and the Śata-sāstra (or Catuḥśataka) of Āryadeva. Based on these texts along with the Prajñāpāramitā-sāstra, there came into being the ‘School of the Four Treatises’, which, in contrast with that of the ‘Three Treatises’, emphasized the positive side of the teaching of śānti. Later it was absorbed into the T’ien-t’ai school which accepted the śānti teaching as well as its positive import so well expounded in the Prajñāpāramitā-sāstra.

Among the Mahāyāna texts in the Śāstra class, the Prajñāpāramitā-sāstra and the Togācāra-bhūmi-sāstra are the most significant and outstanding. But in the Chinese collection, there are a large number of śāstras of Mahāyāna which are either expositions of special topics like logic, psychology, and metaphysics or brief introductions to different systems. Among them may be mentioned the Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda-sāstra, Mahāyāna-samparigraha-sāstra, and Vījnāptimātratā-siddhi-sāstra. All these are idealistic in their approach to, and in their presentation of, the nature of ultimate Reality. The Śraddhotpāda-sāstra is recognized even in the T’ien-t’ai and Hua-yen (Avatāraśaka) schools, while the Vījnāptimātratāsiddhi is a basic text of the Fa Hsiang school.

VINAYA TEXTS

The Vinaya class in the Chinese collection is usually rich and of enormous value. We have here the Vinaya texts of five different Buddhist schools, viz. the Mahāsāṃghikas, the Mahīśāsakas, the Dharmaguptakas, the Sarvāstivādins, and the Mūlasarvāstivādins. The Vinaya texts in the Chinese collection belonging to the first four of these schools were translated in the early fifth century. The texts of the last were brought to China and translated by I-ching in the eighth century. These texts are hardly available except in their Chinese versions. The introduction of the Vinaya literature into China was comparatively late. It was brought about in order to meet the growing need of regulating the community life of the Saṅgha and for discipline in the daily life of its members. In the early stages, this need was met by the Vinayas of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṃghikas. However, the Vinaya that eventually gained the appreciation of the Chinese was the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, also called the ‘Vinaya of the Four Sections’. It is with this as the basis that the Vinaya school came into being in China. There has been no Mahāyāna Vinaya as such. Some parts of the
Yogâcâra-bhûmi-śâstra and the Daśabhûmika-Sûtra are reckoned as the Vinaya, as they prescribe the course of training to be taken by a bodhisattva. The interesting thing is the way in which the ‘Vinaya of the Four Sections’ has been interpreted so as to be in tune with the basic philosophy of Mahâyâna, making use of the ālaya-vijñâna, a conception that is central to the Vijñãnavâda.

TANTRYÂNA OR MANTRAYÂNA SÛTRAS

There are in the Chinese collection also a number of sûtras that together form the source of the esoteric school of Buddhism known as Tantrayâna or Mantrayâna, which grew in India around the eighth century A.D. largely under the influence of Brâhmañical Tântricism. The basic philosophy of two groups of these sûtras, with the Mahâvairocana-Sûtra and the Vajraśekhara-Sûtra as their centres, is that of Mahâyâna. The mystic forms included in the Tantrayâna school are Vajrayâna, Kâlacakra-yâna, Sahajâyâna, etc. Of these, only the texts of the Vajrayâna variety are available in Chinese, while those of the other forms are not. Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghavajra, two Indian monks, carried the Vajrayâna works to China and translated about 150 of them into Chinese between A.D. 720 and 774. Śubhâkarasimha, another Indian monk and a teacher of Buddhist mystic doctrine, came to China in A.D. 716. Among the translations he attempted to undertake, the most notable was that of the Mahâvairocana-Sûtra. Two other Indian monks, Dharmadeva and Dânâpatâ (?), rendered into Chinese about 200 Vajrayâna texts towards the end of the tenth century A.D. Many of these Vajrayâna works are in the form of mantras, dhâranis, and sâdhanas relating to the deities of the Mahâyâna pantheon.

The vast literature preserved in Chinese consisting of translations from the original Indian Buddhist works in Sanskrit amply testify to the study of Sanskrit in China during the first millennium A.D. Chinese Buddhist scholars not only collaborated with the Indian missionaries in translating the Buddhist texts, but also translated the texts themselves. They used to learn Sanskrit under the tutorship of Indian missionaries. To facilitate the process, Chinese-Sanskrit dictionaries were compiled, some specimens of which are available to us. It may not be out of place to note that a variety or derivative of Brâhmî called Siddham or Siddhamâtrîkâ, used in North India during the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era, was introduced into China in the eighth century A.D. and became very popular there. Its popularity in China was due to its association with the Mantrayâna school. This script was used in China during the eighth and tenth centuries A.D. for writing Sanskrit mantras and dhâranis. Several manuscripts have dhâraṇî texts in Sanskrit and in the Siddham script together with their Chinese transliterations. In some cases, Siddham as well as Chinese was written vertically. A similar way of writing Siddham (vertically and from right to left) may be noticed in an inscription found at Hsuan-wu in the Loyang
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District of China. It contains a version of the Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī engraved on a stone tablet at Shao-lin in Honan (China). Bricks in certain temples in Yunnan (China) bear magical formulas in the Siddham script. It appears that Prakrit was also known in China in the early centuries of the Christian era and is supposed to have played an important role in the propagation of Buddhism in the country. The Prakrit inscription (second/third century A.D.) in the Kharoṣṭhī script referring to Buddhist Saṅgha, found at Lo-yan, is of great significance in this context. Some scholars believe that many of the early translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese were well versed in Prakrit and some early Buddhist texts (e.g. the Dirghāgama translated in A.D. 413) might have been translated into Chinese from Prakrit (Gāndhārī Prakrit) originals.

CHINA (B): SECULAR LITERATURE

The introduction of Buddhism into China, as already seen, marked a new epoch in the history of cultural exchange between India and China. This initial contact gradually deepened into closer relationship and learned monks as well as laymen marched along the routes that linked these two ancient centres of civilization. Moreover, the entire length of the trade routes that ran through Central Asia and connected India with China were dotted with flourishing Indian colonies which in various ways helped the spread of Indian culture in Central Asia and China. In the course of this close contact over a long period, the Chinese not only acquired intimate knowledge of Buddhism and translated hundreds of books on Buddhism, but also gained a first-hand knowledge of the other aspects of Indian culture such as music, painting, sculpture, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, astrology, etc. They also translated and summarized Indian books on different subjects, references to which are found in the official bibliographies compiled in China. When we study the lists of Indian books on secular subjects translated into Chinese, two facts stand out in sharp relief. Firstly, most of these books were translated by the Buddhists during the Sui (A.D. 581-618) and T'ang (A.D. 618-907) periods. Secondly, the majority of the Indian books translated dealt with astronomy and astrology. Indian mathematics was only appreciated as a useful tool to understand Indian astronomy. Even the books on medicine translated in the earlier period are comparatively few. Although Indian music, painting, and sculpture exerted great influence on the corresponding aspects of Chinese culture, no reference is now available to Indian books on music and Silpa-śāstra being translated into Chinese. The reason for the preference for Indian books on astronomy can be traced to the important position which astronomy enjoyed in Chinese culture as well as to the high state of development the Indians attained in this branch of science as early as the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. As for the importance of astronomy in Chinese culture during ancient and medieval times, we
have to take note of the ‘basic quality’ of Chinese astronomy, namely, its ‘official character’ and ‘intimate connexion with the government and the bureaucracy’. Thus the stage was perfectly set for Sino-Indian collaboration which resulted in the incorporation of Indian astronomical knowledge in the Chinese scientific tradition.

Astronomy: The annals of the Sui dynasty, completed by Wei Cheng in A.D. 636, contains in its bibliographical catalogue the following Indian astronomical works, almost all beginning with the words Po-lo-men (Brahmin): Po-lo-men-t’ien-wen-ching (‘The Brahmin Astronomical Manual’), Po-lo-men-chie-ch’ie hsien-jen-t’ien-wen-shuo (‘The Astronomical Theories of the Brahmin Sage Chie-ch’ie’), Po-lo-men-t’ien-ching (‘The Brahmin Sūtra on the Sky’), Mo-teng-chi-ching-huang-tu (‘A Map of the Sky in the Māraṇīya-Sūtra’), and Po-lo-men-yin-yang-suan-li (‘The Brahmin Calendrical Methods’). These works must have been circulating in China about A.D. 600. As all these works are now lost, it is difficult to say what their contents were and how far their theories were accepted by Chinese scholars. In the T’ang period, the influence of Indian astronomy was felt even more, and the number of Chinese books which were either translations of Indian books or based on Indian material increased. Lo, a member of the Gautama school,8 presented to Empress Wu in A.D. 684 a new calendar called Kuang-tse-li, ‘The Calendar of the Bright House’. This calendar was in use for three years.9 Between A.D. 718 and 729, Indian astronomer Siddhārtha (Hsi-ta), who was president of the Bureau of Astronomy at the Chinese capital and the most distinguished member of the Gautama school, produced K’ai-yuan-chan-ching, the greatest collection of the Chinese astronomical and astrological fragments from the fourth century onwards. Chapter CIV of this collection is virtually a translation from an Indian calendar, Nāvagraha-siddhānta.10 It is usually believed that this calendar was similar to the material contained in the Pañca-siddhāntikā of Varāhamihira.11 The Chiu-chih, as it is called in Chinese, introduced Greek astronomical terms adopted in Indian books. As A. Wylie12 has shown, li-to, a minute (Sanskrit lipta), is originally a Greek word. So also is the case with

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10There were three Indian astronomical schools at Ch’ang-ning during the seventh century, viz. Ch’ü’t’an (Gautama), Chiayeh (Kāśyapa), and Chūmolo (Kumāra).
12Ibid. See also R. C. Majumdar (Ed.), *Swami Vivekananda Centenary Memorial Volume* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 200, and Joseph Needham, *op. cit.*, p. 175. The translation by Hsi-ta was, however, not literal, and all the computations were recast for the latitude of Ch’ang-ning (Joseph Needham, *op. cit.*, p. 203, fn. ‘c’).
13Joseph Needham, *op. cit.*, p. 175, fn. ‘f’.
14Cf. his *Chinese Researches* (Shanghai, 1897), pp. 86ff.
Sanskrit horā, an hour, which appears to have been rendered in Chinese as huo-lo. The Kumāra school contributed a method of computation of solar eclipses to the Ta-yen-li or the Ta-yen Calendar (A.D. 728), the compilation of which was started by I-hsing, a Chinese Buddhist monk. I-hsing died in A.D. 727, and the work was completed by Chang Yüeh and Ch' en Hsüan Ching under the Imperial order. The influence of Indian astronomy on this calendar is evident from its introduction, in the Indian fashion, of nine planets, namely, the sun, the moon, the five planets, and Rāhu and Ketu. The Kumāra school produced an astrological manual in Chinese based on Indian tradition. Four Buddhist astronomical texts were translated into Chinese during the T'ang régime. These texts reached China through Serindian intermediaries, particularly the Sogdians. Although the names of the days of a week are given in these texts in their Sogdian forms (namely, mir, Sunday; max, Monday; wnw, Tuesday; tir, Wednesday; wzm, Thursday; maxid, Friday; and kew, Saturday), the titles of the texts in which they occur point to their Indian origin. The book entitled Fan-t'ien-huo-lo-chiu-yao ('The horā of the Brahma and the navagraha') was falsely attributed to I-hsing, but in reality it was not translated before A.D. 874. Ch'i-yao-hsing-ch' en-pieh-hsing-fa ('The Different Influences of the Seven Stars and Lunar Mansions') lists the lunar mansions and gives the number of stars in each one. The other two books are Ch'i-yao-jang-tswai-chiu ('Mantras for Averting the Evil Influences of the Seven Planets') and Wen-shu-li-p'u-sa-chi-chu-hsien-so-shuo-chi-hsiung-she-je-shan-ngo-su-yao-ching ('Śūtra Spoken by Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and the Sages on the Auspicious and Evil Days, and the Good and Evil Planets and Lunar Mansions'). The latter was translated by P' u K'ung or Amoghavajra. It was annotated by Yang Ching Feng, a Chinese disciple of Amoghavajra, in A.D. 764. Yang Ching Feng mentions the seven planets with their names in Sanskrit, Sogdian, and Persian and points out that these planets—the sun, the moon, and the five planets—control the destiny of man. It was the same Amoghavajra who translated another Buddhist astrological work named Hsiu-yao-ching in A.D. 759, which was also commented upon by his disciple. His commentary shows the great influence Indian astronomers and astronomy exerted on China. He wrote: 'Those who wish to know the position of the five planets adopt Indian calendrical methods. One can thus predict what hsiu (a planet will be traversing). So we have the three clans of Indian calendar

13Ch'en Hsüan Ching's joint declaration with Ch' ur'an Chuan in A.D. 733 that the Ta-yen Calendar was a plagiarism of the Chiu-chih Calendar as translated by Hsi-ta from an Indian original is also a pointer to this direction. Cf. Joseph Needham, op. cit., p. 203.
14P. C. Bagchi, op. cit., p. 171.
15Joseph Needham, op. cit., p. 176, f.n. 'b'.
16Ibid., p. 204.
experts, Chiayeh (Kāśyapa), Ch’ūt’an (Gautama), and Chūmolo (Kumāra) all of whom hold office at the Bureau of Astronomy. But now most use is made of the calendrical methods of Master Ch’ūt’an together with his “Great Art”, in the work which is carried out for the government. The ‘Great Art’ might refer to trigonometry which, as Yabuuchi points out, was the main contribution of the Po-lo-men books and the schools of the Indian astronomers to Chinese mathematics.

Mathematics: Due to the development of trigonometry, Indian astronomy was valued in China, and Indian works on mathematics were translated and incorporated in Chinese works. The Yin-te Index No. 10 mentions three books on mathematics, all beginning with Po-lo-men. These books were in circulation in the Sui period. Po-lo-men-suan-fa (‘The Brahmin Arithmetical Rules’) and Po-lo-men-suan-ching (‘The Brahmin Arithmetical Classics’) are the two Indian books on mathematics which find mention in the annals of the Sui dynasty. Shen Tso Che (c. twelfth century A.D.) says that in his days the children of China used to learn mathematics from printed Buddhist text books. He gives the name of such books as P’u-sa-suan-fa (‘Bodhisattva Calculation Methods’).

Medicine: Chinese Buddhist monks had felt interest in the Indian medical system even from the fifth century A.D. There is a work called Chih-ch’üan-ping-pi-yao-fang (‘The Method of Curing the Diseases Concerning Meditation’) by Ching Sheng, a Chinese noble converted to Buddhism. It treats of the ailments of the heart and nerves caused by shocks and distractions during meditation. Translated in A.D. 455, this is a compilation from different texts of Indian origin. Hsi-yrüning-yi-so-chih-yao-fang (‘The Best Prescriptions Collected by the Most Famous Physicians of the Western Countries’) listed in the bibliographical catalogue of the Sui annals might have contained prescriptions from India. The same bibliography also mentions a book called Po-lo-men-yao-fang (‘Brahmin Pharmacautics’). The Yin-te Index No. 10, however, mentions three Indian books on pharmacautics. The Chinese Buddhist collection includes a few other Indian medical texts, some of which are of purely Buddhist inspiration. The Sanskrit work, Rāvana-
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kumāra Tantra, which deals with the method of treatment of children's diseases by spell as well as fumigation, was translated into Chinese in the eleventh century A.D. Another Chinese text of the same century, which deals with the treatment of pregnant women's diseases, is probably a translation of a portion of the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā, a celebrated Ayurvedic compendium.28

II

KOREA AND JAPAN

Buddhism, which had its origin in India, was introduced into China by Indian Buddhist missionaries during the first century A.D. Gradually, a Chinese form of Buddhism with its own peculiar special features came into existence and thus a new sphere of Buddhist culture emerged in East Asia covering Korea and Japan with its centre in China. Although Buddhism thus disseminated was almost entirely Chinese in character, there were some Indian ācāryas who also played significant roles in spreading the religion of Buddha and its literature to these two countries directly from India.

KOREA

With the introduction of Buddhism two streams of civilization, Indian and Chinese, converged in ancient Korea. As Korea's knowledge of Indian Buddhist literature was coloured mainly by Chinese versions of Indian texts, a study of early Korean literature, therefore, enables one to have an 'indirect' idea of the spread and influence of Indian literature in Korea. Unfortunately, there was no growth of any literature in Korea in the early centuries of the Christian era, as it had no national script to express ideas in the Korean language. It could probably boast only of oral tales and folk-songs. The country was divided into three kingdoms, namely, Koguryo, Paikje, and Silla. They flourished side by side between A.D. 313 and 668. In A.D. 669 Silla unified them all and held sway over Korea till the beginning of the rule of the Koryo dynasty (A.D. 935-1392). Of the three kingdoms, Koguryo, which was nearest to China, had adopted Buddhism as early as A.D. 372. Its king Sosurim Wang allowed Buddhist priests to bring with them Buddhist literature, images, etc. from China, and schools and temples grew up. In A.D. 374 the first Indian monk Ahdo came to Korea, and in A.D. 384, first regnal year of King Chimryu Wang, the religion spread to Paikje. In this Matananda, second Indian monk to visit Korea, played a notable role. In A.D. 540, the then Chinese emperor of the Liang dynasty, at the request of the king of Paikje, sent not only the sacred scriptures of the Buddhists, but also many teachers. A local monk

28P. C. Bagchi, op. cit., p. 172.
named Kyumik brought from India sacred Buddhist texts relating to Vinaya and translated them into Chinese. A third Indian monk named Mukhoja visited in a.d. 417 (during the reign of King Nulchi Wang) the neighbouring kingdom of Silla which adopted the Buddhist religion in a.d. 528. Wuncheu (a.d. 613-96), leading scholar of Silla, was a great Sanskritist. His contribution in developing the tenets of the Vijñaptimātratā school is noteworthy. The commentaries of Wunhyo (a.d. 617-86), who was a master of the Avatāraśaka school in Korea, were held in great esteem in China. During the reign of King Chungsuk Wang (a.d. 1314-30) another Indian monk named Jigong came to Korea. I-chang, a Korean scholar who came to India in a.d. 673, stayed in Nālandā for about a decade and studied Buddhist scriptures. Then he travelled all over India and collected many Sanskrit texts. When he returned to Korea in a.d. 695, he brought with him as many as 400 Sanskrit texts. Several other Korean scholars also came to India and studied Buddhist scriptures here.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON THE FIRST KOREAN SCRIPT

The introduction of Buddhism necessitated the study of the Buddhist scriptures in Pali and Sanskrit, and also the writing of texts and annotations in native Korean. But the native language and literature were unequal to the task, for, as has already been said, it had no script. The Chinese system of writing, which obviously penetrated into Korea in the meantime, could not serve the purpose of a national script in Korea as Korean was different from Chinese in almost every respect. The experimentation was, however, made to adapt Chinese ideographs to Korean conditions. It took several centuries but ultimately bore no fruitful result. In a.d. 1446 King Sejong of the Yi dynasty (a.d. 1392-1910) developed a script for Korean called Hanggul. It was the first Korean system of writing, and many Buddhist scriptures were published in this script. Some scholars are of the opinion that the Hanggul script consisting of twenty-eight letters was adapted from Sanskrit. It may be mentioned here that the study of Sanskrit characters known as Siddham had also been introduced into Korea and the use of this script is still in vogue in the land for writing Sanskrit.

PUBLICATION OF BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

The printing of Daejang-gyung (Buddhist scriptures which were originally written in Sanskrit and translated into Chinese and Mongolian) was the greatest achievement of the Koryo dynasty. This corpus of scriptures was based

Later on, the number of letters was, however, reduced to twenty-four by merging the other four in letters of similar sounds.
on the Chinese edition brought to Korea by Mukhwa in A.D. 981. The printing was started during the reign of King Hyunjong (A.D. 1010-31). A Buddhist monk named Uichun brought from China in A.D. 1086 some 3,000 commentaries on the Buddhist scriptures and many more were collected from Liao and Japan. These were preserved in the Hungchunsa temple and 1,010 copies of 4,740 volumes were reprinted in A.D. 1096. These texts were reprinted thrice in order to seek divine intervention during Mongol incursions. In this way, nearly 6,000 Buddhist scriptures were printed, but the Mongol hordes destroyed in A.D. 1232 all the blocks for the printing of the scriptures. Only the lists of the subjects and a few of the printed volumes survived and were preserved in the Buinsa temple (near Taegu). The Daejang-gyung texts were reprinted under the guidance of Sugi, chief priest of the Kaetaesa temple, from the new Koryo capital in the islet of Ganghwa where the capital was transferred due to Mongol invasions. Here in A.D. 1236, after sixteen years of hard labour, 1,511 copies of 6,791 volumes of the sacred scriptures were printed from 81,658 wooden blocks. These blocks have come to be known as the ‘Eighty Thousand’, and are now preserved in the Hawinsa temple. Some Buddhist scriptures were also copied in gold and silver letters.

BUDDHIST INFLUENCE ON KOREAN LITERATURE

The earliest genre of Korean poems is known as hyangga. Only twenty-five specimens of these poems are available now, of which fourteen were composed between the reigns of Chinpyong (A.D. 579-632) and Hon’gang (A.D. 875-86), and the remaining eleven were composed in the early part of the reigns of the Koryo kings. Some of these poems show the influence of Buddhist philosophy and metaphysics, and it appears that they were composed by Buddhist monks. ‘Chankiparangka’ and ‘Mojukjirangka’, for example, have beautifully blended poetic excellence with Buddhist philosophy of life. But this Buddhism was of the Vajrayāna variety, because in one place vajra has been compared with śānta. The poems ‘Tosokka’ and ‘Chonsutaebika’ breathe the prayerful attitude of Buddhism. Towards the end of the Koryo rule, a literary style known as sijo came into vogue. Some think this to be an offshoot of the hyangga, others trace its origin to the Buddhist songs introduced from China. Although this literary style remained in vogue for nearly 700 years, only ten specimens have reached us. One of these refers to the reign of King Sejong of the Yi dynasty, who, on the death of a favourite queen, asked his son, Prince Su Yang, to

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30 Commenced in A.D. 718 during the T'ang rule, the work of the Chinese edition was completed during the reign of the first Sung emperor in A.D. 971.
31 Vide Tae Hung Ha, Korea—Forty-three Centuries (Seoul, 1962), pp. 67-68.
CHINA, KOREA, AND JAPAN

compose a biography of Buddha. The prince accordingly composed Sokpo Sangjol sometime before A.D. 1450. The king was exceedingly pleased with the work and himself composed many lyrical poems in praise of Buddha. During this time, many Buddhist texts were composed in the Hunmun language. In the fifteenth century an important work called Kumo Sinhwa was written by Kim Si Sup (A.D. 1435-93). It contains five independent stories of which one is entitled Manboksa Chap'o Ki (‘Game with Buddha’). The Buddhist ideal inspired also another work called Kun Mong, one of the best in Korean literature. Another great writer, Kim Manchung, discussed in his famous work The Cloud Dream of the Nine, written in A.D. 1689, the basic philosophies of the three great religious systems of the East, viz. Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. He placed Buddhism in the forefront. Buddhism thus played a significant role in the development of literature in Korea.

Indian tales and fables went to Korea and made a great impact there. Korean folk-songs were influenced by Indian tunes. In the evolution of the instrumental and vocal music of Korea as well as Korean dance, India made a considerable impact. Styles and principles of Indian art and architecture also exercised a great influence in Korea. In fact, Indian culture had its impact on every field of Korean culture and made notable contribution towards its enrichment.

JAPAN

It was through Buddhism that Indo-Japanese cultural contacts came to be established and Indian influence on Japanese literature came particularly to be felt. Buddhism was officially introduced into Japan from Korea in A.D. 552 during the reign of Emperor Kimmei (A.D. 539-71) when an image of Buddha and some copies of the Buddhist scriptures were brought to the Japanese court by a representative of the Korean king of Paikje or Kudara. The new faith, however, did not meet with immediate acceptance, but eventually its success was assured with the victory of the pro-Buddhist group in the royal court.

STUDY OF SANSKRIT BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

The study of Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures became quite extensive in Japan since the last decade of the sixth century A.D. and was an important feature of Japanese cultural life. The find of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts in old Brähmi characters preserved intact in Horyuji, the most ancient monastery extant in Japan, and some other old monasteries is a pertinent point in this connexion. In fact, these manuscripts are even much older than the oldest manuscripts found in India, as they date from the first half of the sixth century A.D.\(^{32}\) (It may be mentioned here that the earliest

\^{32}\text{Hajime Nakamura, Japan and Indian Asia (Calcutta, 1961), p. 3.}
manuscripts which India now possesses date back 1,000 years or so.)
All these manuscripts must have been brought from India to China via Central Asia, and from there to Japan. The patronage of Empress Suiko (A.D. 592-628) and Prince Shotoku (c. A.D. 622) to Buddhism was a factor of great significance so far as the spread of the Dharma and the study of Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures are concerned. When the Horyuji temple was constructed in A.D. 607, the prince often discoursed there on the Mahāyāna sūtras, particularly the Saddharmapūṇḍarika-Sūtra, the Mālādevī-sīrhanaḍa-sūtra, the Vimalakīrtti-nirdeśa-sūtra, etc. His commentaries are still extant. In a little over fifty years, Hetuvidyā or Buddhist logic was also introduced into Japan. It has been stated of Doshō (d. A.D. 700) that he went to China to study the Vyāptimātratā (i.e. Buddhist idealism) as well as the system of Buddhist logic under Hiuen Tsang. He returned to Japan in A.D. 661 and began to teach Buddhist logic from the Genkoji temple. In the Nara period (A.D. 710-94), the study of the subject received further impetus when Genbo went to China in A.D. 716 to study Buddhist logic under the guidance of Chih Chou, grandson of the founder of the Hosso sect which propagated the teachings of Buddhist idealism. On his return to Japan, he began to discourse on the subject from the Kofukuji temple. It constituted a subject for study by the adherents of the Hosso sect, whose major disciplines were the study of the Abhidharmakośa and Buddhist idealism. Hajime Nakamura has drawn our attention to the fact that in the bibliography entered at the end of Immyo-Zuigenki (‘The Origin of Buddhist Logic’) written by Hotan in the first half of the eighteenth century, eighty-four Japanese works have been listed on the subject and many of them were undoubtedly studied in earlier times. 83

The scope for studying Buddhist scriptures was expanded during the Nara period, as it included the study of the Vinaya as well as the Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu, the Satyasiddhi of Harivarman, the works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, besides works on Buddhist idealism like Dharmapāla’s Vidyāptimātratāsiddhi, and the Avatamsaka or Buddhavatamsaka (Gaṇḍavyūha)-Sūtra. These have been designated as the ‘Six Schools of the Ancient Capital’. The first three belong to the Hinayāna school of thought, while the others to the Mahāyāna. Of the texts current in ancient Japan, the Saddharmapūṇḍarika-Sūtra was the most important and popular, and it has often been referred to in Japanese literature. Bodhisena, a great Buddhist savant of India, who visited Japan in A.D. 736 on a special invitation from Emperor Shomu, used to teach Sanskrit and the Hua-yen (Gaṇḍavyūha-Sūtra) in different monasteries of Japan till his death in A.D. 760. His principal disciple Shuyeir wrote in A.D. 770 an eulogy on his

83 Ibid., p. 52.
death, mentioning therein how ‘the sage was reduced to eternal calm all too sudden, as charcoal is extinguished (as is set forth in the Saddharma-pundarika-Sūtra)’. Bodhisena acted as the officiating minister in the historic dedication ceremony of the statue of Vairocana Buddha held in the city of Nara, the then capital, in A.D. 746 in the presence of both Emperor Shomu and Empress Komyo and eminent Japanese monks. This as well as his appointment as an archbishop by Imperial order in A.D. 750 attests to the great honour accorded to an Indian monk by the Japanese royalty. Dharmabodhi is said to have visited Japan in the first half of the seventh century. He is recorded in Japanese history as the first Indian monk to have come to Japan. The visits of Dharmabodhi and Bodhisena throw a flood of light on Indo-Japanese cultural relations in the first millennium of the Christian era.

The Indian texts current in medieval Japan are not all well known. But if one is to judge from the writings of Jogan (A.D. 1632-1702) and Jinn, also known as Onkwo (A.D. 1718-1804), their range must have been considerable. Of the Buddhist texts studied in Japan in those days, the following deserve particular mention: the Sukhāvatīyāha-Sūtra, Bhadra-carināma Ārya-Samanta-bhadra-pranidhāna, Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-Sūtra, and Prajñāpāramitānāyā-Sūtra. The corpus of study included, in addition to such important Buddhist texts, many Sanskrit dhārasīs, stotras, gāthās, grammars, and lexicons. Sanskrit studies received great impetus in Japan from Jogan who was a great Sanskritist himself. He wrote a book called Shittan-samnitsu which is an authoritative text on the Sanskrit studies in the country. He also edited some Sanskrit dhāranīs. Jinn was a great Buddhist scholar and a prolific writer. Jussen-hogo is one of his important works, which contains his sermons to the royal family on the ten fundamental virtues of Buddhism. The tradition of Sanskrit studies, it may be mentioned, is still very much alive in Japan, and there are many students in different colleges and universities of the country who learn this sacred language of India.

**JAPANESE ALPHABET: INDIA’S CONTRIBUTION**

Japanese, like Korean, also suffered from the handicap of not having any national script for the first few centuries of the Christian era. The Chinese language and its written characters had obtained great vogue in the land, particularly among the official class. The extant chronicles of Japan of the ancient period covering A.D. 686 to A.D. 784, the Kojiki (A.D. 712) and the Nihonki (A.D. 720), and the first

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31Ibid., p. 48.
32Earl Miner in his *An Introduction to Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford, 1968) has classified the history of literature of ancient and medieval Japan under the following periods:

745

V—94
great anthology of Japanese poetry *Manyoshu* (A.D. 760) were written in Chinese or, what was worse, in a transliterated form of Chinese. But Chinese was unsuitable for the Japanese language, as the latter was phonetic, while the former was ideographic. The Japanese language, like Sanskrit, is inflectional. Its rules governing syntax, morphology, phonology, and semantic structure follow a pattern of its own. The forty-seven letters of the Japanese alphabet are said to have been devised by the Japanese Buddhist saint Kobo Daishi, also known as Kukai (A.D. 774-835), after the Sanskrit alphabet. The arrangement of the Japanese syllabary based on the Sanskrit system is also attributed to the influence of Bodhisena in Japan which, according to Riri Nakayama, 'will continue as long as the Japanese language continues to exist'.

It has been pointed out that the old Japanese song 'Iroha-uta', which contains all the forty-seven Japanese letters, is a liberal translation of a Sanskrit Buddhist hymn in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra*. The Indian script known as Siddhamātrkā or Siddham, called Hsi-t'an in Chinese and Shittan in Japanese, gained currency in Japan for writing Sanskrit from the eighth century. It was introduced by Kobo who was responsible for bringing Mantrayāna Buddhism from China to Japan. Even now, Sanskrit letters are sometimes used in Shinto rites, and mountaineers preparing to climb Mount Ontake sometimes paint or print the auspicious word 'Om' in Siddham on their scarves. Some details regarding the Siddham script have been preserved in *Bonji-shittanjimo-narabi-nishaku-gi*, a text written by Kobo. The title of the text signifies 'Sanskrit and Siddham scripts and the explanation of their designations'. It describes the origin of the Indian scripts, the explanation of different dhāraṇīs, etc. More important than Kobo's work was the text *Shittan-zo* ('Siddham Ratnākara'), written by An-nen in A.D. 880. The work narrates at the beginning what is known from original Chinese sources about Sanskrit and the Siddham script. The author then examines the transliteration of Sanskrit words in Chinese characters and compares the phonetic value of both. Lastly, he discusses

(i) Ancient period: A.D. 686-784;
(ii) Classical period (first phase): A.D. 784-1100;
(iii) Classical period (second phase): A.D. 1100-1241; and
(iv) Classical period (final phase): A.D. 1241-1500.

A somewhat different classification has been furnished by Donald Keene in his *Anthology of Japanese Literature* (New York, 1955). This classification is as follows:

(i) End of the Ancient period: A.D. 794;
(ii) The Heter period: A.D. 794-1183;
(iii) The Kamakura period: A.D. 1185-1333;
(iv) The Muromachi period: A.D. 1333-1600; and
(v) The Tokugawa period: A.D. 1600-1868.

We have followed Miner.


Ibid.
all the letters of the Siddham script and all their possible combinations. Each of the letters of this script is deemed to be a bija and identified with a deity.

INDIAN INFLUENCE ON JAPANESE STORIES

A considerable portion of the cosmogonical and mythological literature of Japan bears traces of Indian influence. Hajime Nakamura has observed: ‘Some stories of ancient India were very influential in shaping Japanese stories by providing them with materials. In the process of shaping, however, Indian materials were greatly modified and adapted in such a way as would appeal to the mentality of the common people of Japan in general.’ Post Wheeler has also said: ‘Many fragments of the Japanese myth-mass are unmistakably Indian.’ The original homeland of the first man and woman of Japanese mythology is said to have been in the Earth-Residence-Pillar, i.e. Mount Meru of Indian mythology. Wheeler thinks that the episodes concerning the eating of poisoned food in the Hades by the Food-god and the creation of crops and domesticated animals out of his various limbs have their parallels in Indian mythology. Similarly, the story of the growth of bamboo-shoots from the teeth of the comb thrown by the first man called He-Who-Invites in his flight from the nether world, to bar the path of the pursuit of the Ugly-Females-of-the-Land-of-Night, is believed to have been of Indian origin. The story has, however, also Persian parallels. Whatever one may think of the Indian origin of this episode, there is hardly any doubt about the origin of the story of the Buro-no Kami whose identity has been established with the deity called Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male. This Kami may be none other than the Indian deity Gavagriva, the Ox-head deity. The story recounts in the style of the jātakas how the deity punished the heartless rich brother and rewarded the kind-hearted poor brother. In India one of the names of the moon is Śaśānka (lit. having a rabbit in the lap) and there is an ancient Indian legend why it is so called. The belief prevalent in ancient Japan that there lived a rabbit in the moon was probably an outcome of the Indian influence. The story of the monkey and the crocodile mentioned in the Jātaka appears in a slightly modified form in Sasekishu, a medieval Japanese collection of popular stories. The story is referred to in a work by Nichiren (a.d. 1222-82) and also in Konjaku-monogatari. Among other episodes,

38Lokesh Chandra and others (Eds.), India’s Contribution to World Thought and Culture (Madras, 1970), p. 363.
40Ibid.
41Ibid.
42In the text called Gien-Engi, it has been stated: ‘There is a kingdom to the North of India named Kyūne. Its king is named Gozu-Tenno (Ox-Head-Heaven-King)....’
43Cf. Lokesh Chandra, loc. cit.
one may recall the Indian Purānic story of the sage Ṛṣyaśrutiga who had never seen the face of woman and was ultimately seduced by Śánta, daughter of King Lomapāda. The story is likely to have reached Japan in the trail of Buddhist legends. In the Japanese garb, the sage is designated Ikkaku Sennin, i.e. the Unicorn sage. A famous medieval Japanese drama Narukami has been based upon this story. These instances clearly illustrate the nature and extent of ‘Indian influences on Japanese stories’.

INdIAN INFLUENCE ON JAPANESE CLASSICAL WORKS

Japanese classical works also reveal ‘a great deal of Indian influence’, both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical.

The works of some important poets of the first phase of Japanese classical literature, extending from A.D. 784 to A.D. 1100, show considerable Buddhist influence. The nikki or diary of Murasaki Shikibu offers us an insight not only into the court and aristocratic life of contemporary Japan, but also furnishes sidelights on the impact of Buddhism on it. The greatest work of Japanese literature, indeed one of the dozen masterpieces of world literature, namely, The Tale of Genji, by the same author, is not immune from similar influences. The second phase of Japanese classical literature covers the period from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1241. Some of the works of this period also bear the marks of Buddhist thought. This was principally due to the immense effort made by various Buddhist sects to bring the religion closer to the common man. In this direction, the efforts of Shinram (A.D. 1175-1262) deserve particular mention. He wrote many articles like ‘Tannisho’ and ‘Kyo-gyo-shinsho’ in easy Japanese for the comprehension of his rustic followers, laying particular stress on the veneration of Amitābha Buddha. The work of Dogen (A.D. 1200-1253) was not the less important for the propagation of Buddhist teachings. He gave regular discourses to his disciples at the monastery of Eiheiji and these were posthumously published. Of these texts, the best-known is Sho-bo-gen-zo which is recognized as an authoritative text on the essence of the True Doctrine in Japan. Nichiren, who founded the Hokke sect in A.D. 1252, taught his disciples the Saddharmapundarika-Sūtra. It was the most sacred text of the Hokke sect and one of the principal works of the Tendai and Zen sects. It is also worth noting here that there are three complete translations of the Chinese Tripiṭaka including the

44Literally, the name means ‘the Antelope-horned’. As the sage had one horn on his head, he was also called ‘Ekāśrutiga’, i.e. ‘Unicorn’ or ‘Monoceros’.

45Hajime Nakamura, op. cit., p. 4. For the drama rendered into English, see Lokesha Chandra, op. cit., pp. 364-68.

46Lokesha Chandra, op. cit., p. 369.

47Ibid.
supplementary twenty-five volumes of the Taisho edition of the Tripitaka. Apart from religious and scholarly texts, some poems of this period also show distinct Buddhist influences. A moving description of the Buddhist philosophy of flux in the phenomenal world has been drawn up by Kamo-no Chomei (A.D. 1153-1216) in his work called An Account of My Hut: ‘The flow of the river is ceaseless and its water is never the same. The bubbles that float in the pools, now vanishing, now forming, are not of long duration: so in the world are man and his dwellings...Whence does he come, where does he go, man that is born and dies? We know not. For whose benefit does he torment himself in building houses that last but a moment, for what reason is his eye delighted by them? This too we do not know...I have installed an image of Amida (i.e. Amitābha). The light of the setting sun shines between its eyebrows. On the doors of the reliquary, I have hung pictures of Fugen (i.e. Samantabhadra) and Fudo (i.e. Acalanātha). Towards the end of this period was published Uji Shui Monogatari containing 194 tales which were probably compiled in the early part of the thirteenth century. Many of its tales breathe the Buddhist spirit of dedication and morality in right Jātaka style. The last phase of Japanese classical literature covers the period A.D. 1241 to A.D. 1500. A poetess of this age was Chikako (c. A.D. 1300), some of whose writings exhibit the influence of Zen Buddhism. In fact, other writings of this period also betray this impact in various degrees.

Japanese literature is also replete with instances of the influence of the Hindu theory of Karma and the transmigration of the soul. Although Buddhist deities like Buddha, Maitreya, Amitābha, Samantabhadra, and Vairocana predominate Japanese literature, Hindu deities like the Sea-god Varuṇa (Japanese Suiten), the king of gods Indra (Japanese Taishakuten), the god of success Gaṇeśa (Japanese Shoten), the god of wealth Vaiśravaṇa or Kuvera (Japanese Bishamon), the goddess of learning Sarasvatī (Japanese Benten or Benzaiten), the goddess of fortune Laxmi (Japanese Kichijoten), Mahākāla or Śiva (Japanese Daikoku), the divine architect Viṣvakarman (Japanese Bishukatsuma) are also quite well known. In the annals of the Todaiji temple, it has been stated that the worship of Sarasvatī and Laxmi was first introduced in Japan in A.D. 722 and continued down the centuries. In Bessom Zakki (‘Description of Gods’), written in the twelfth century in the Siddham

48B. Nanjio entered in his famous Catalogue as many as 1,662 texts classified into four divisions, namely: (i) the Sūtra Piṭaka, (ii) the Vinaya Piṭaka, (iii) the Abhidharma Piṭaka, and (iv) Miscellaneous. Hobgirin, in a still later Catalogue, includes 2,184 texts printed in fifty-five volumes of the Taisho edition. Supplementary texts written in Japan and China are included in another twenty-five volumes.

49Donald Keene, op. cit., pp. 197-207.

50For some of the stories see ibid., pp. 213 ff.
script, a corrupt Sanskrit mantra reads: Sarasvatī svāhā namo sarasvatīyai maha-
devai svāhā, namo bhagavati maha-devi sarasvatī sidhyatu mantrapadami svāhā. A
description of Sarasvatī occurs in the voluminous text Asabasho by Shōcho
(A.D. 1205-82) and the rituals connected with her worship have been recorded
by Ryōson (A.D. 1279-1349) in Chapter CXLIX of his Byaku-hokku-sho (‘The
White Jewel Oral Tradition’). The adoption of these Hindu deities into the
Buddhist and Shintoist pantheons of Japan indicates the influence of India on
Japanese religions as well as the syncretic character of the religious systems
of Japan.

The survey made above reveals the immense contribution of India to the
theology of Japanese Buddhism as well as to Japanese literature. The present
indications are that the texts utilized were written in Sanskrit, probably in the
Siddham script, and there was no intrusion of Pali, unlike in the Buddhist
countries of South-East Asia. The Buddhist religion, until the Meiji Restoration
of A.D. 1868, was the religion of the royalty, the aristocracy, and the
masses. Consequently, the Japanese literature has not been able to escape the
all-pervading sweep of this religion. The impact of Sanskrit rhetoric and pros-
sody is not discernible anywhere, but the vocabulary has received many words
of Sanskrit origin.

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81 It is preserved in the Ninnaji temple of Kyoto; images and their description occur in fifty-
seven scrolls.
82 Shintoism has been designated by some scholars as the Japanese version of Hinduism.—Cf.
CEYLON (SRI LANKA) AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

CEYLON

CULTURALLY, Ceylon has never been isolated from the Indian mainland since the dawn of history. The geographical proximity of the two countries contributed to the long history of their intimate contacts. Buddhism, which is ‘the greatest of all links between India and Ceylon’,\(^1\) was introduced into the island from India during the reign of Devānampiya Tissa (247-207 B.C.) by Aśoka’s son Mahinda and daughter Saṅghamittā. The earliest records of Ceylon are in the Brāhmi script of Aśoka’s time noticed specially in the inscriptions of Western and South India.\(^2\) As there was no alternative system of writing in Ceylon in the pre-Christian centuries, the earliest literary heritage of the country before the third century B.C. presumably belonged to the domain of unwritten folk-literature, in which the principal ingredients were cosmogonical stories, myths, legends, ballads, folk-songs, proverbs, and the like. The introduction of Buddhism gave the first great impetus to usher the writing age in Ceylon and the Brāhmi inscriptions bear testimony to this phenomenon.

Pali Literature

The sacred texts of Buddhism in Ceylon are in Pali which developed from a North Indian dialect known as Māgadhi.\(^3\) The Pali literature of Ceylon, which flourished in the island after the establishment of Buddhism, is vast in range and depth.\(^4\) There is hardly any doubt that the greater part of the canonical texts of the Theravāda school was fashioned in India and possibly given final approval in the Third Buddhist Council held at Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Aśoka, and then transmitted to Ceylon. For about two centuries thereafter the canon circulated orally, as in India in the early days of Buddhism, from teacher to pupil, as explained in the Mahāvamsa.\(^5\) Due to periodic visitations of famine and the consequent dispersal of monks, knowledge of the sacred canon grew dimmer. It was therefore decided to put down the sacred texts in writing, and this was done during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmāni in the first century B.C. Many non-canonical Pali texts were also written in the island and Pali commentaries on canonical texts were often translated

\(^{*}\)This article has been edited by Dr D. C. Sircar (DCS).
\(^1\) M. D. Raghavan, India in Ceylonese History, Society and Culture (New Delhi, 1964), p. 69.
\(^3\) For the origin of Pali, see p. 185 of this volume.
\(^5\) XXXIII. 100.
into Sinhalese. It seems reasonable to hold the view that the earliest canonical texts were brought to his country from India by Mahinda and Saṅghamittā, but the āṭṭhakathās (commentaries) thereon written in Old Sinhalese were gradually drawn up locally for exegetical needs and, whenever necessary, these were retranslated into Pali. It is usually believed that upon these āṭṭhakathās were based the two famous Pali chronicles of Ceylon, the Dīpanāsas and the Mahāvamsa, of which the former was composed at the close of the fourth century A.D. by an unknown author, while the latter, a more ornate text, was composed towards the end of the fifth century A.D. by Thera Mahānāma. The Cūlavamsa, a supplement to the Mahāvamsa, was composed by Dharmakitti in the thirteenth century. The style of these two texts reminds one of the Sanskrit kāvyas. A commentary on the Mahāvamsa called the Mahāvamsa-jīka was written in Ceylon between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1250, but it contains many extraneous matters.

The most outstanding author in the history of Pali literature is doubtless Buddhaghoṣa, an Indian Brahmin converted to Buddhism, who came to Anurādhapura in Ceylon during the reign of King Mahānāma (A.D. 409-31). One of his works, the Samantapāsādikā, a commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka, was translated into Chinese as early as A.D. 489. In his introduction to this work, he tells that he had translated the Sihala-āṭṭhakathās into Pali. Among his other important works mention may be made of the Visuddhimagga, Sumangalavilāsini, Pāpaṇcasūdani, Sārattha-pākāsini, and Manorathapūraṇi. His scholarly works in Pali established the language firmly in the Buddhist world. Buddhadatta, believed by many to be a contemporary of Buddhaghoṣa, was the author of a commentary on the Buddhavamsa called Madhurattha-vivāsini and of several works on the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma. Besides Buddhadatta, other commentators like Dhammapāla, Upasena, and Mahānāma made substantial contributions to the growth of Pali literature in Ceylon. A ninth century text seems to be the Khema-pakaranā, whose author Khema furnishes here an exposition of the Abhidhamma.

Pali as well as Sanskrit studies received great impetus during the Polunaruva-Dambadeniya period (ninth-thirteenth centuries), and there was a galaxy of brilliant writers in these languages. One of the earliest and best-known authors of the time was Moggallāna, whose Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa, a Pali grammar, was very popular and led to the growth of a new school of Pali grammar in the island. The most versatile scholar of the period was, however, Sāriputta whose work in the field of Sanskrit grammar and linguistics was matched by his compositions in the field of Pali literature. He is the author of the Vinayasāṅgaha which offers a summary of the Vinaya Piṭaka. Commentaries on the Aṅguttara Nikāya and the Majjhima Nikāya also came from his pen. His

*The Sinhalese commentaries translated by Buddhaghoṣa are not extant now.*
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magnum opus was, however, the Sāratthadāpīṇī, a sub-commentary on Buddhaghoṣa’s Samantapāśādīkā on the Vinaya Piṭaka. All his works in various degrees bear the imprint of his knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature. The Mahābodhiṇīsa or the Bodhiṇīsa by Upatissa, which seems to have been composed either in the last quarter of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh, bears the impact of Sanskrit. Its language may be termed as Sanskritized Pali. The language of the Dāthāvīṇa, written in five cantos by Dhammakitti in A.D. 1211, is also Sanskritized Pali. The Thāpavīṇa, available in both Pali and Sinhalese recensions, was probably composed in the thirteenth century by Vācissara. Kalyāṇiya’s poetical work Telakaṭāhagāthā, exhorting people to lead the good life, is assigned to this period. A commentary on the Mahāvīṇa called Vamsatthapakāsini may also have been written during this period.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Sanskrit inscriptions and the existence of a fairly extensive Sanskrit literature attest to the importance of Sanskrit in Ceylon’s cultural and religious life. One of the earliest extant Sanskrit texts written in the island in the fourth century A.D. is Sārārtha-saṅgṛaha by King Buddhadāsa. An outstanding composition in Sanskrit is the Jānaki-haraṇa by King Kumāradāsa (A.D. 513), who was himself a great Sanskrit scholar. Sanskrit grammars and lexicographical texts were introduced from India to facilitate the study of Sanskrit. These also sometimes served as models for texts written in Sinhalese. Not only was Candragomin’s grammar (Cāndra Vyākaraṇa) assiduously studied in Ceylon, but also used by Moggallāna as a model for his famous Pali grammar. Sāriputta of the Polunnaruva-Dambadeniya period composed a concise Sanskrit grammar called Pādāvatāra and also a commentary called Pañjikālāṅkāra on Ratnasrijñāna’s Pañjikā which again is a commentary on Cāndra Vyākaraṇa. In a mixed Sanskritic style, he also composed the Abhidharmārtha-saṅgṛaha-sannayā which gives a word-for-word explanation of the Pali text attributed to Ānanda. A great scholar of the time of King Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1153-86) was Dimbulāgala Mahākāśyapa who wrote the Sanskrit grammar Bālavabodhana. Even a glossary of synonyms like the Abhidhāna-pradīpikā was drawn up on the pattern of the famous Sanskrit lexicon, the Amarakoṣa. There were also Sanskrit treatises on Śilpa-śāstras, particularly on the statuary art, as for example, the Sāriputra. In about A.D. 1245, a Brahmin scholar from Gauḍa (Bengal) named Rāmacandra Kvibhārati came to Ceylon and was converted to Buddhism. He received the title of ‘Baudhāgama Cakravarti’, from King Parākramabāhu II (A.D. 1236-68) for writing a work entitled Bhakti-sataka in glorification of Buddha. It is ‘essentially a Hindu poem’ as far as its idea and treatment are concerned. Buddha is praised here in ‘precisely the same fashion as Rāma,'
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Krṣṇa or Śiva in Brāhmaṇical bhakti poems. The poem is comparable to the sarāṇa works in Sinhalese of almost the same period, such as But-saṅraṇa, Dahamsaraṇa, Saṅga-saraṇa, etc. The same author is also credited with the composition of the Vṛttā-ratnākara-panjikā, which is a commentary on the famous Indian Sanskrit text on prosody called Vṛttā-ratnākara by Kedāra Bhaṭṭa. Very often subject-matters have also been borrowed from famous Indian Sanskrit works or allusions have been made to them. There is hardly any doubt that Sinhalese monks of the Mahāyāna school used Sanskrit as the vehicle of their ideas and studied the language and its literature extensively. Outside literature proper, Sanskrit was used not only in inscriptions on votive tablets of Ceylon, but also in many of the dhārāṇīs or brief mystic forms of prayer or spells, dating mainly from the ninth century, in the eastern Indian script of the Pāla period.

SINHALESE LITERATURE: INDIA’S CONTRIBUTION

The linguistic and literary traditions of India made a great impact upon the Sinhalese language and literature. They fashioned their growth from the formative stage. Sinhalese emerged as an Indo-Aryan speech like Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, and Gujarati. The contributions of Sanskrit and Pali to the corpus of Sinhalese vocabulary as well as to the development of literary Sinhalese are indeed immense. The language was also influenced to a large extent by the Dravidian languages of South India, particularly Tamil. Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana says: ‘...while in regard to its word equipment, Sinhalese is the child of Pali and Sanskrit, it is, with regard to its physical structure, essentially the daughter of Tamil’. In the matter of script also, Ceylon has been profoundly influenced by India. The influence of the Grantha script of South India, which is a form of Brāhmī, can be noticed in the current script of Ceylon, and scholars believe that the latter is derived from the former. The earliest extant Sinhalese verses seem to be recorded in the three Brāhmī inscriptions of the third century B.C. Of the extant Sinhalese works, the oldest is Siyabasalaṅkāra, a text on poetics composed in the ninth century after the Kāvyādarsa of Daṇḍin. It is attributed to King Śena I (A.D. 831-51). Works of Kālidāsa were very popular in Ceylon. His masterpieces like the Abhijñāna-Śakuntala, Rāghuvanaḥsa, and Meghadūta were regarded as models of poetic composition and were an inspiration to Sinhalese writers and poets...

1M. Winternitz, op. cit., p. 379. Such mūhārma texts extolling the merciful bounties of Buddha were composed by the Mahāyānists. Other works of this nature are the Buddha-gaḍāya, the Anuruddha-śataka, etc.

2For their texts, see N. Mudiyanselage, Mahāyāna Monuments in Ceylon (Colombo, 1967), pp. 99-105.

3M. D. Raghavan, op. cit., p. 80.

4Ibid., pp. 85-87.

5Ibid., p. 86.


7M. D. Raghavan, op. cit., p. 41.
and Heranäsaka Vinisa, which are texts on monastic discipline based on the Vinaya, also belong to this period. There are also other texts of similar nature. A different trail has been left by the glossarial commentary called Dahampiyā-ātuvā-gaṭapadya which offers meanings for different words and phrases occurring in the Pali Dhammapada-attṭhakathā. Composed by King Abo Salamevan Kasub (tenth century), it indicates the role of the native language in the study of the sacred Pali literature. On this model were written Jātaka-ātuvā-gaṭapadya, Mahābodhivamśa-gaṭapadya as well as Vesaturudā-sanne. There were also other commentaries, specially designed to aid the study of the Pali commentaries on the Vinaya.

Although writers of the Polunnaruva period showed greater inclination to promote the study of Sanskrit and Pali, some important Sinhalese works were also composed during this period. Such works include Sasa-dāvata which is a versification of the Pali Sasa Jātaka. It was probably composed in A.D. 1197 during the reign of Queen Lilāvatī. Another poem of the period was Muva-deva-dāvata dealing with the theme of the Pali Makkhādeva Jātaka. The famous work called the Amāvatura is a sort of prose-poem in eighteen chapters written by Gurulugomi, dealing with the progress of Buddhism. The same author is also credited with the composition of Dharma-pradīpikāvā, a Sinhalese commentary on the Pali Mahābodhivamsa. Both the texts were probably composed towards the close of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth. King Parākramabāhu II composed a Sinhalese paraphrase of Buddhaghośa’s Visuddhimagga. Another work written during his reign is Pājāvaliya. It is a devotional work written by Buddhaputta, extolling the idea of Bodhisattvahood. It refers to the story of Sumedha and many other Jātaka tales. The Sinhalese epic Kavisilumina, also called Kusa-dāvata, deals with the theme of the Pali Kusa Jātaka. It was composed by the court poet of the king. A glossary to the Jātaka-attṭhakathā, written by Rājamurāri, and Karma-vibhāgaya have also been assigned to this period. The most important prose text of the succeeding Dambadeniya period is Saddharma-ratnāvaliya based on the Dhammapada-attṭhakathā of the fifth century A.D. It includes much new material not found in the original Pali text. Composed by Dhammasena, it is a vast collection of Buddhist ethical stories. An important work of the Kurunegala-Gampola-Kotte period (fourteenth-sixteenth centuries) is Pansiyapanas-jātaka-pota by Virasirīha Pathirāja and Parākrama. It is a translation of the Pali jātakas. There are other works also translated from, or based on, Pali works. Subāsitaya by Alagiyaavanna Mohottala (seventeenth century) is a didactic poem based on the Sanskrit Hitopadesa. Besides, there are innumerable references to, and quotations from, Buddhist Sanskrit texts in Sinhalese literature.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{14}Vide C. E. Godakumbura, Sinhalese Literature (Colombo, 1955), pp. 43-45 and University of Ceylon Review, I, No. 1, pp. 86-93.
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A novel feature in the late medieval Sinhalese literature was the introduction of the *sandēsa-kāya*s after Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. But in the Sinhalese counterparts, the message is not that of an anguished lover for his beloved, cruelly separated from each other, but that of a dutiful subject who sends a bird to a temple, praying for some blessings for the king or a member of the royal family. The reign of Parākramabāhu V (A.D. 1348-60) witnessed the appearance of the first *sandēsa-kāya* in Sinhalese, *Tisara-sandesaya*. *Mayūrasandesaya* is another work composed during the reign of Bhūvanekabāhu V (A.D. 1360-91). Seven such texts are known to be extant now and two of them, *Selalihini-sandesaya* and *Parevi-sandesaya*, are by Toṭagamuve Śrī Rāhula (fifteenth century).

The foregoing survey makes it abundantly clear that the Pali and Sanskrit literatures not only inspired Sinhalese scholars and writers to compose excellent works in these languages, but also led to the growth of a fairly extensive literature in the language of the land which shone with multi-faceted brilliance. The contribution of the Dravidian languages of South India, particularly of Tamil, in the evolution of the Sinhalese language has also been indicated.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

The countries of South-East Asia formed a stronghold of Indian culture from the early centuries of the Christian era. The extent of Indian influence in the field of languages and literatures of this vast area is particularly remarkable. Scholars have detected that the languages spoken in the various parts of South-East Asia not only often adopted, without losing their basic character, Sanskrit abstract and material terms, but also were influenced in many cases by Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody, and sometimes even by grammatical rules of euphony, compounds, etc. Some idea can be formed from the fact that in the Cham lexicon, the number of Sanskrit words is about 700 out of a total of 9,350, and in Siamese, the number of Sanskrit and Pali words would be 1,362 in a total of 40,000. In the Malay dictionary compiled in the early part of the sixteenth century, some Sanskrit words have been listed. Words of Sanskrit extraction have also penetrated the vocabulary of the Buginese, Busang, and Bari languages in Celebes. Even the remote Tagalog language of the Philippines has admitted some Sanskrit words. But the largest influx has occurred in Old Javanese. In a well-known Old Javanese dictionary, Sanskrit words number no less than 6,790; and the ratio of Sanskrit to Old Javanese in some Old Javanese texts would be as high as 4 to 9, while the proportion in the *kakavins* (poetical

13M. D. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
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compositions) is often 1 to 4 or 2 to 7. As early as A.D. 515, a Malayan king wrote to the Chinese emperor that ‘the precious Sanskrit’ was known in his kingdom. But whereas a vast Sanskrit literature in manuscript form has come down to us from the Hindu-Javanese period, preserved mainly in Bali, hardly anything of the same period has reached us from Kambuja, Campâ, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, or Sumatra. Sanskrit inscriptions numbering several hundred, discovered in most of these countries, however, indicate that Sanskrit was widely studied there. The inscriptions, usually written in flawless kāvya style, may be treated as specimens of Sanskrit literature. Another great result of the Indian impact was the gift of the Indian script. The languages of South-East Asia are mostly written in scripts derived from the old Brāhmī alphabet of India.

I. KAMBUJA (CAMBODIA)

In Kambuja (earlier Fu-nan), some inscriptions have over 200 verses written in various ornate metres, besides the śloka or anusṭubh and the upajāti-indrarāupendravajrā group. They also exhibit different forms of alankāra including upamā, ślesa, etc. Some of the inscriptions are written in the gauḍī style, using exaggeration, alliteration, and long compounds. Many of the rulers as well as queens and princesses of Kambuja were accomplished Sanskrit scholars, and some of them have left specimens of their composition. We may mention in particular the names of King Sûryavarman II (A.D. 1116), Prince Sûrya-kumāra (A.D. 1186), and Queen Indradevi. A number of Kambuja rulers were adepts in Vedic learning. Thus King Sûryavarman I (A.D. 1002-50) has been described as proficient in the Vedāṅgas. The Vedas as well as the Vedānta and Vedāṅga were studied by the Brāhmaṇas. A Śaiva Brāhmaṇa called Śakrasvāmin figures in an inscription of A.D. 713 as being well versed in the Vedānta and the Taśtrīrya. All these studies proliferated in the Angkorian period (c. A.D. 800-1150) and continued at least up to the reign of King Śrīndravarman (A.D. 1307). The study of the grammar of Pāṇini, Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, the Purāṇas, the Dharma-sūstras, etc. was also pursued vigorously. King Yaśovarman (A.D. 889-900) is said to have composed a commentary on the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. There are quotations from Pāṇini (I. 4. 58-59 and

18J. Gonda, op. cit., pp. 119-20.
19W.P. Groeneveeld, Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca (Bataia, 1876), pp. 10-11.
20V. Raghavan in Proceedings of the XXVIIth International Congress of Orientalists, IV, pp. 52ff.
23Ibid., No. 177.
24Ibid., No. 182.
26R. C. Majumdar, op. cit., No. 190.
27Ibid., No. 62.
80). A Brāhmaṇa named Vidyāvīśeṣa is said to have mastered, besides grammar, the Vaiśeṣika system of Kaṇāda, the Nyāya system of Gautama (Aksapāda), the Saṁkhya system of Kapila, and the texts on Buddhism. The Horā-śāstra (astrology) and Siddhānta-śāstra (astronomy) were also studied. Several inscriptions not only refer to Manu’s code, but actually quote from it, while kings, ministers, and others are often described as ‘proficient in the Dharmā-śastras’. Chapters VIII-IX of the Manu Sanhitā, with some modifications, still constitute the basis of the legal system of modern Cambodia. The Dhanurveda (archery), Āyurveda (medicine), Gāndharvavidyā (music), and Kāma-śāstra (erotics) were also studied.

A record of the sixth century tells us that a Brāhmaṇa called Somaśarman, who was a brother-in-law of King Bhavavarman I, dedicated a copy of the Rāmāyana, a complete copy of the Mahābhārata, and also a copy of a Purāṇa for daily recitation before the deity named Tribhuvanēśvara. In the following century, a manuscript of the sambhava section of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata was deposited in the temple of Bhavajñāna. Scholars proficient in the recitation of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata as well as ‘numerous Purāṇas… without omitting any one’ have been referred to in Cambodian inscriptions. Allusions to many stories from the epics and the Harivaṃśa are found in the inscriptions. Among the scholars specially proficient in the study or recitation of the epics were Śivasoma, Vāgīśvarapāṇḍita, and Kavindrapāṇḍita. The last-named is credited with having explained a ‘developed’ (vistāra) text of the Mahābhārata.

As the royal house worshipped the Devarāja-liṅga for many centuries, the deities of the Śaiva-Tāntric pantheon were especially honoured in Kambuja. The Sdok Kak Thom inscription of Udayādityavarman II speaks of the study of some Tāntric texts during the reign of King Jayavarman II (A.D. 802-50). Inscriptions also refer to the teaching of the doctrines of the Śaivite sect of the Pāṣupatas and of the Vaiṣṇavite sect of the Pāncarātras by competent instructors. Among other treatises, the Śiva Sanhitā, the Śaivite Yoga manuals, Śivadharma, and Guhyā-tīkā have been mentioned in local inscriptions. It is

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28Ibid., Nos. 74, 152, 180, etc. 29Ibid., Nos. 66-68.
32Ibid., No. 41.
33Ibid., Nos. 13, 41, 97, 173, and 149A.
35R. C. Majumdar, op. cit., No. 66.
36Ibid., No. 102.
37A. Barth and A. Bergaigne, Inscriptions sanskrètes du Campā et du Cambodge, No. 17B, Verses 6, 130.

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interesting to observe in this connexion that the reputation of many Indian authors travelled to Kambuja. The inscriptions of Vaṣṇavarman make particular reference to such authors as Vātsyāyana, Guṇādhyāya, Bhāravi, and Mayūra. Although Kālidāsa's name does not occur in the available inscriptions, it appears from some of the inscriptions that their authors were well acquainted with his style and works. There are some folk-tales of Kambuja which closely resemble those of India in structure and details.

Buddhist texts were also studied in ancient Kambuja. Mention has been made in epigraphic records of the Pratyṛṭāpādana, Brāhmaṇaghoṣa, and Saddharmar-śabha. A commentary on the Tattra-saṅgraha and the texts called Madhyavibhāga and Pārami Tantra have also been referred to. Yajñavarāha, guru of King Jayavarman V, has been described in an inscription as 'proficient in the doctrines of Buddha'. Some Pali inscriptions also attest to the growing popularity of Hinayāna Buddhism during the last days of Kambuja's greatness.

II. CAMPĀ (SOUTH ANNAM)

The inscriptions of Campā number over one hundred and they exhibit their authors' knowledge of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody and their ability to use various alankāras and metres with consummate artistry. There are references to rulers who studied the Vedas and were proficient in the six branches of Hindu philosophy, Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyi, the Kāśikā-vyākhyā, and the Uttarakaṇḍa of the Śaivas as well as the Dharma-śāstras. The inscriptions attest to the great popularity of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas in Campā. We learn from an inscription of King Prakāśadharmar (c. A.D. 653-79) that an image of Vālmiki was installed at Tra Kian. An eleventh century record refers to an unknown Sanskrit text called Purāṇārtha, described as a 'mine of information'. The Buddhist sacred texts also seem to have been studied well, since the Chinese general Liu Fang is said to have sacked the capital city of Campā in A.D. 605 and taken away 1,350 Buddhist texts. In his Mison stelae inscription dated A.D. 1170, King Jaya Indravarman IV claims to have been

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40Ibid., No. 64.
41V. Raghavan, op. cit., pp. 48-49.
42Bijan Raj Chatterjee, Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia (Calcutta, 1928), pp. 245ff.
44R. C. Majumdar, op. cit., No. 102.
45The earliest epigraphic record of Campā is the Vo-canāh rock inscription which is possibly of the fourth century A.D. and contains some verses in the Śikharinī, Vasantatilaka, and Śārvatūrākāśī metres. See D. C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1942), pp. 471ff.—DCS.
versed not only in grammar, astrology, and philosophy, but also in the doctrines of the Mahāyāna.

III. BURMA

The earliest records of Burma, found in the vicinity of Prome and belonging to the fifth century A.D., quote parts of the Buddhist canon in Pali. The Mūlasarvāstivādins, who used Sanskrit texts, have left their traces in the relics of the seventh and later centuries. Archaeological and inscriptional evidences prove that Buddhism was introduced into Lower Burma before the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. and it remained a flourishing religion in the area till the middle of the eleventh century with Thaton, capital of the Talaing country, as one of its most important centres. The conversion of King Anoratha (Aniruddha, Anuruddha) of Pagan in Upper Burma, by a Talaing monk named Shin Arahan in A.D. 1057, had a tremendous impact on the fortunes of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma. On the refusal of King Makuṭa of Thaton to surrender the Tripiṭaka and other sacred texts, Anoratha marched on Thaton and carried away to Pagan not only the king as a prisoner, but also many artisans and priests with a huge load of sacred texts. This dissemination of Buddhism and the Pali canon was sustained by the patronage of King Anoratha and his successors and by a close religious contact with Ceylon and Kānci, strongholds of Theravāda Buddhism.

PALI LITERATURE

The earliest specimens of literary effort in Burma are in inscriptional Pali in East Indian characters referring mainly to religious themes. But they have little literary merit. Paleographically speaking, the oldest of them was composed before the eleventh century A.D. Dr Mabel Haynes Bode observes that a safe starting point for the history of Pali literature in Burma would be the eleventh century. The Pali literature of Burma includes commentaries on Buddhist canonical and other sacred texts as well as works on metaphysics, grammar, prosody, rhetoric, and law. The Burmese wrote, in addition, Nīti treatises, folk-tales, particularly the jātaka stories, etc. The pilgrimages of Uttarajiva and his famous disciple Capanāja to Ceylon in the latter part of the twelfth century proved to be events of great significance in the progress of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma. It was due to their efforts, particularly of Capanāja, that Sinhalese Buddhism came to predominate in Burma. The Sinhalese recension of the

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49 The reference seems to be to the Maunggun gold-plate inscriptions (Epigraphia Indica, V, p. 101; D. C. Sircar, op. cit., pp. 462ff.)—DCS.

48 The name Makuṭa was formerly read as 'Manuha' (Journal of the Burma Research Society, XXXII, 1948, p. 89).

Tripiṭaka in its Pali version naturally occupies a place of honour in Burma. Cāpaṭa made a substantial contribution to the Pali literature of Burma. He wrote the Vinayagūihatthadīpāni which explains difficult passages in the Vinaya Piṭaka. He is credited with several other works also. Ariyavāṁsa, a monk of the Cāpaṭa sect, who had settled at Ava during the reign of Narapati (A.D. 1442-68), wrote the Manisāramāṇjūsā, which is a commentary on the Abhidhammatthabhāvanī. He has also other works to his credit including Jātakavisodhana, a study on the jātakas. Among the seventeenth century monks of Saggaiṅ, a Thera named Tilokaguru wrote a āṭīkā on the Paṭṭhāna, the most important book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, while another monk wrote the Visuddhimagga-ganthipadatta and the Gūhatthadīpāni. The latter explains difficult passages in the books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Commentary literature developed in Pegu, and the tradition was kept alive in other centres like Amarapura near Mandalay down to the nineteenth century. The Gandhavaṇīsa, written in the seventeenth century by Nandapaṇṇā, gives us the history of the Pali canon. In writing grammatical works, scholars of Burma were the equals of those of Kambuja and Indonesia. Aggavaṇīsa wrote the Saddanīti, a grammar of the Tipiṭaka, in A.D. 1154. In the Dhātumālā, second part of this work, the author furnishes the Sanskrit equivalents of the Pali forms, thus showing his mastery over both Sanskrit and Pali. Cāpaṭa, mentioned above, was the author of the famous Suttaniddesa or Kaccāyanasuttaniḍdesa which explains the suttas of Kaccāyana, the great Pali grammarian. Saddhhammasiri’s Saddatthabhedacintā is based partly on Kaccāyana’s Pali aphorisms and partly on Sanskrit authorities. There are several famous commentaries on it. King Kyaśwa (A.D. 1234-50) wrote two grammatical works, Saddabindu and Paramatthabindu. During the time of the Shan king Sīhasūra or Thihattu (A.D. 1312-24), Sirimaṅgala wrote commentaries explaining the grammatical base of the Samantapāśādkikā of Buddhaghoṣa, which was itself a commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka. Another work on Pali grammar is the Saddasāratthajālinī by Nagitā, written under the same king’s patronage. Saddhhammakitti compiled the famous vocabulary Ekakkharaṇa. The Vācakopadesa of Vijitāvi of about the end of the sixteenth century holds its ground in Burma till now on account of its logical exposition of grammatical science. The Kavisāra, a treatise on metre, was composed by Dhamma-buddha of Pegu in the fourteenth century. Saddhhammaṇaṇā wrote the Chandosāratthavikāsini, a commentary on the Vuttodaya which is a Pali work on metre, and the Chapaccayadīpāni, a work on prosody. He is also said to have rendered the Kātantra Vyākaraṇa into Pali. After King Anoratha’s invasion in the eleventh century, traces of literary activity in the Thaton-Pegu region of the Talaing country are revealed by the Sāsanavaṇīsa, the famous Pali chronicle of Burma, written in 1861. The Talaing monk Sāriputta Dhammavilāsa wrote the juridical text entitled Dhammavilāsa Dhammasattha about A.D. 1174 when
Narapatisithu (A.D. 1173-1210) was the ruler of Pagan. In the thirteenth century, the Shan king Wagaru or Wareru compiled the Wagaru Dhammasattha in Talaing, following Dhammajīśā, which exhibits the influence of the codes of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Nārada. King Alaungpaya (A.D. 1752-60) also ordered the compilation of law books, and some Hindu legal codes ascribed to Manu were translated into Pali and Burmese, under orders from King Hsinbyushin (A.D. 1763-76), with the assistance of Brāhmaṇas brought from Vārāṇasī. The king also appointed scholars to translate a number of Sanskrit works on grammar, astrology, and medicine into Burmese. Bode observes: 'In the legal texts, we notice the use of the Pali language (1) to preserve a Hindu tradition derived from the Talaings and (2) to consecrate Burmese customary law which could, we may suppose, be codified equally well in the Burmese idiom. The classic literary language naturally chosen in such cases as the attribute of awe and majesty befitting the written code is here also the reminder of the debt that Burmese custom and law owe to Buddhism.'

IMPACT OF PALI ON BURMESE

The impact of Pali on Burmese was profound. The former contributed in a massive way to the evolution of a Burmese vernacular literature by the fourteenth century. Burmese was an agglutinative language and Pali lent it terseness, delicacy, and volition, especially in its nominal and verbal inflections as well as in the formation of large compounds. Literary specimens of the vernacular anterior to the second half of the fifteenth century have not survived and those that are extant include tales on the previous lives of Buddha based on the Jātaka stories and translations of important Buddhist texts. This trend continued in the centuries that followed.

STUDY OF SANSKRIT

The Brāhmaṇas attached to the royal courts of Burma as soothsayers and counsellors exerted their influence on the royal patrons and thus preserved and promoted Sanskrit culture and learning. Some of their writings have been preserved in the Nāgari, Bengali, or proto-Bengali scripts. There are inscriptions in Sanskrit or in mixed Pali-Sanskrit, which also testify to the study of Sanskrit in the country in earlier days. In the days of King Anoratha, there were scholars in Pagan who were well versed in the Vedas, particularly the Atharva-Veda. In the Kalyāṇi inscription dated A.D. 1442, we come across the names of some Sanskrit texts, which cover the grammar of the Kātantra school, the Kāśikā,
lexicography, Niti texts, etc. Shin Arahan is said to have been proficient in the four Vedas, while two monks of Ava are said to have been 'learned in the Vedic texts, but deficient in the study of the Canon...'. However, by 'Veda' the Burmese scholars of the seventeenth century may have meant Brähmanical texts on astrology, astronomy, medicine (Āurveda), and sciences in general, texts on magic, manuals on love and sex, and so on. As late as 1852, the chief queen of a Burmese king is said to have been versed not only in the canonical texts of Buddhism, but also in the Vedas. The Hitopadeśa fables also attained wide currency in Burma. Sometimes, the kings took active steps to propagate Sanskrit learning in the country, especially by way of translation of Sanskrit texts like Vopadeva's Muddha-bodha, besides works on astrology, palmistry, medicine, erotics, and so on.

**IV. THAILAND AND LAOS**

The earliest written records in Thailand are some archaic Mon inscriptions in South Indian characters of the sixth or seventh century A.D. These inscriptions contain some Sanskrit and Pali words. Thai literature, properly so called, did not develop before the fourteenth century. With the establishment of Ayutthaya as the capital of the Thai kingdom, poetic compositions like the curse upon the flood waters or the prayers addressed by the court to divine beings and spirits before the commencement of a trial by ordeal, all of non-Buddhist texture, were made or inspired by the Brāhmaṇas who inherited the traditions of Angkor. The Burmese law code called Wagaru Dhammasattha, which largely drew upon the Manu Sāhitā, was introduced into Thailand. Ritualistic poems are said to have been composed by the court Brāhmaṇas brought from Kamboja after her defeat in the thirteenth century. In A.D. 1345 Lu Thai, grandson of the famous Rāma Khambaeng, composed the Traibhūmikathā ('Story of the Three Worlds'), a voluminous text on Buddhist cosmology, and it has come down to us in a Siamese translation. The range of subjects studied by Lu Thai included, as an inscription tells us, the Vinaya and Abhidhamma, the Veda, law, and maxims as well as treatises on astronomy and the calendar. A poem entitled Lilit Yuen P’ay, which is full of Sanskrit words, was composed during the reign of King Paramatrailokanātha (A.D. 1448-95). A session of the Great

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87Ibid., pp. 101ff.
88Sāsamanaṃsā, pp. 68, 110, 117.
89Mabel Haynes Bode, op. cit., p. 51.
90Sāsamanaṃsā, p. 154.
91Among the early epigraphic records of Thailand, mention should be made of a number of Buddhist clay seals bearing small texts in East Indian characters of about the ninth-tenth centuries A.D. The seals resemble those discovered at Indian sites like Nālandā. See Journal of Ancient Indian History, V, pp. 366 ff., Plates XI-XIII.—DCS.
Council was held at Chieng Mai in A.D. 1475 to revise the Pali scriptures. The tempo was caught by a band of royal scholars who composed the poem Mahājati, based on the Vessantara Jātaka, in A.D. 1482. Sinhalese monks settled in Thailand and Laos also contributed to the dissemination of knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures in Pali. The fillip thus imparted led to the production of the two notable works, the Maṅgaladispani and Dhammapada-atthakathā. The latter was translated into Modern Siamese during the reign of King Rama III (A.D. 1824-51). King Nārāyaṇa (A.D. 1657-88), who was a patron of poets, is said to have written several poetical works, two of which refer respectively to Bālin’s instructions to Sugriva and Daśaratha’s advice to Rāma, both based upon the Rāmāyaṇa. The first-known Siamese version of the Rāmāyaṇa called Rāmakien (Rāmakirtti), composed by King P’raya Chakri between A.D. 1770 and 1780, is incomplete. The first complete version is assigned to the reign of King Rama I (A.D. 1782-1809).84 Rāmakien has been utilized by many later Thai writers. The dramatic literature of Thailand owes its origin to, and was influenced by, the Rāma saga of India, although its affiliation is to certain floating Rāma legends including the story of the Daśaratha Jātaka.85 Eighteenth century Thai literature included fourteen plays, the themes of which were borrowed from the Jātaka stories.

The literature of Laos is but a dialectical variation of Thai literature. Among its important productions are some edifying religious works of which the best-known are the apocryphal ‘Fifty Jātaka Stories’ and the Laotian version of the Paṅcatantra consisting of four collections of stories. The Laotian work, entitled Maṅgalasutta, by Sirimaṅgala enjoyed a great reputation.

V. MALAYSIA

The ancient Malay inscriptions, which belong to the last part of the seventh century A.D., contain some Sanskrit words pertaining mainly to the calendar and religion, and some abstract terms.86 The Trengganu (A.D. 1326-27 or A.D. 1386-87) and Pasai (A.D. 1380) stone inscriptions contain many Sanskrit words.87 The artificial world created by Malaysian folk-tales is linked with the folk-world of India. The story of the tress of a lady’s hair floating in a golden bowl reminds us of a well-known Bengali folk-tale. While some stories are


85Prince Dhani Nivata, Selected Articles, II (The Siam Society, The Fiftieth Annual Commemoration Volume, Bangkok), pp. 177-78.

86The earliest inscription discovered in Malaysia contains Buddhist tracts engraved on a pillar by Mahāṅāvaka Buddhagupta of Raktamārttikā in West Bengal. It is written in the fifth century characters of South India, which must have been prevalent in the Kedah area during the age. See D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 465—DCS.

influenced by the Rāmāyaṇa, many have been traced in the Kathāsaratī-sāgara, and a large number have their counterparts in the Jātaka stories, the Pañcatantra, and the Kathā literature. The Malay romances have episodes often speaking of merchants, princes, and ascetics from India, while Hindu fairies, spirits, sages, gods, and goddesses jostle in them with Islamic fairies, sages, and heroes. In a general way, a.d.1350-1450 may be taken to be the period when the Islamic matrix of Malay literature was laid; but it had not yet shed the traits of its earlier Indian character.

The Malay Rāmāyaṇa, known as Hikayat Seri Rāma, has two versions in which the flotsam and jetsam from the east, west, and south-west of India were gathered to produce the prototype of the Malay texts. Some of these Indian elements arrived in Malaya in the twelfth century and might have been woven into the texture of Hikayat Seri Rāma between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. Some works of the fifteenth century, such as Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain and Hikayat Amir Hamzah, also betray the influence of the Rāmāyaṇa as well as the Mahābhārata through its Javanese version known as Bhārata-yuddha. The Javanese Bhārata-yuddha is represented in Malaya by Hikayat Perang (Pāṇḍava-jaya). Hikayat Rājarāja Pasa in prose contains a tag translated from the Tamil Mānimelai. Sejarah Melayu ("The Malay Annals") shows familiarity with Sanskrit and Tamil as well as with the Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhagavad-Gītā. Hikayat Merang Mahāvaṁsa ("The Kedah Annals"), based on local folklore, bears the stamp of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Jātaka stories. The shadow plays of Malaysia drew their themes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and they were presented by invoking the deities of the Hindu pantheon like Śiva and Gaṇeśa as well as important figures of the two great Indian epics like Rāma, Rāvana, Vibhiṣāṇa, Indrajit, and Arjuna.

VI. INDONESIA

The earliest records of Java, such as the inscriptions of King Pūrṇavarman (fifth century A.D.) of West Java, of Tuk Mas, of Canggal (A.D. 732), and of the Šailendrā rulers, are all written in Sanskrit. No Old Javanese text is available prior to the ninth century. The earliest inscriptions in Old Javanese reveal the growing infiltration of Sanskrit words into the vocabulary of the former. The Indo-Javanese language took literary shape in the period between

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68Ibid., XXXI (1958), pp. 20ff.
69Ibid., p. 35.
70Ibid., p. 37.
72H. B. Sarkar, Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java, I (Calcutta, 1971), Nos. 1-3, 5-6, and 10; J. G. De Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia, I & II (Bandung).
73H. B. Sarkar, Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java, No. 7.
A.D. 650 and 850 when Sanskrit-Old Javanese dictionaries and simple grammars appear to have been written. The lexicon Amaramāla, which refers to King Jitendra of the Sailendra dynasty, and the Vajrayāna text Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan, a part of which is called Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya, belong to a period prior to the beginning of the tenth century to which the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa is usually assigned. Indo-Javanese literature began to flower in Central Java; but it developed its golden age at the courts of the east Javanese kings from about A.D. 925 to 1400. The literary output of this period of about five centuries may be reviewed under the following heads: (i) the Vedas (as known under the name in Bali) and the Purāṇas; (ii) the Āgamas, Dharmasastras, Niti-sāhitya, and Śāsana; (iii) Kāṇḍa (grammar, rhetoric, prosody, astrology, etc.); (iv) Itihāsa including prose parvans and kakavins (poems in Sanskrit metres); and (v) Miscellaneous including kidungs (ballads in native metres), tantrī (fables of Sanskrit or native origin), babad (historical works), etc.

VEDAS AND PURĀNAS

The Vedas were studied in Java, as in Indo-China, in the ancient period; but what now pass under this name are mantras and stutis meant for the different deities of the Hindu and Buddhist pantheons. It is worth noting that no complete mantra, as given in these texts, has been found in India. What has been preserved in Bali are called Rk, Yajus, and Śāmavedasiras, which are sung, not recited, on the first day of the bright half of the month and on full-moon nights. Other mantras include the Veda-parikrama-sāra-saṅhitā-kirāṇa containing many subsidiary mantras which are to be accompanied by various mudrās and by prāṇāyāma, nyāsa, kumbhaka, etc. In fact, no Vedic mantra has been found anywhere in Indonesia, except a fragment of the gāyatri which also occurs in post-Vedic and post-epic Indian literature. Besides a number of Buddhist hymns, many hymns dedicated to Sūrya, Śrī, Vāyu, Pṛthivī, Yama, Vāsukī, and others have been discovered in Bali. The spiritual tenor of the mantras and stutis is doubtless Indian, but no full text of the hymns has yet been traced in India. Of the Purāṇas, only Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa has been discovered in Java. It has a prose and a versified recension. According to Gonda, the prose recension may be dated in the tenth or eleventh century.

The subject-matter of this work has been borrowed for the most part directly from a Sanskrit recension, though in certain respects the text tallies better with relevant portions of the Vāyu, Matsya, and Varāha Purāṇas. The versified recension, called Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa-kakavin or Pṛthu-vijaya, was composed by Aṣṭagūṇa in eighteen cantos probably in the twelfth century. Many works written in the Purānic style and of a

cosmogonical nature have been discovered in Bali. Most of the Old Javanese works contain anuṣṭubh stanzas in Sanskrit with Old Javanese elucidation. Tantu Panggelaran, which is a veritable repository of cosmogony, mythology, and church-history, was composed between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Another work of a Purānic nature is Agastyaparva containing some Sanskrit stanzas and Agastyā’s answers to the questions of his son Drghāśya. Tattva Savang Sūvung and Ādi Purāṇa deal with cosmology and allied topics. Manik Maya, a later work, is also written in the Purānic style.

AGAMAS AND DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS

Among the works which constitute the Āgamas and Dharma-śāstras, Bhuvanakoṣa and Bhuvanaśaṅkṣepa of the Śaiva Tāntric school contain some Sanskrit stanzas. Tattva Sang Hyang Mahājñāna expounds the implications of liṅga worship and Vṛhaspatitattvā (also perhaps called Śivatattvā) contains many Sanskrit verses, and discusses various doctrines of Śaiva theology. Gaṇapatiśūkta in which Śiva replies to Gaṇapati’s queries is another Old Javanese text on Śaiva philosophical speculation composed in anuṣṭubh stanzas with Old Javanese exegesis. Among the works of the Niti class Kuṇjarakarna, an Old Javanese text composed between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, recounts how the yākṣa Kuṇjarakarṇa sought the advice of Vairocana for gaining rebirth as a higher being. The story of the previous births of the two yākṣas, Kuṇjarakarṇa and his friend Pūrṇavijaya, is narrated in the Old Javanese text Bhuvanatattva-paricaya. Sāra-samuccaya, another text of the Niti class, has about 517 Sanskrit ślokas, of which 321 have already been traced in the Mahābhārata, Pañcatantra, and Hitopadesa. It was so important that an Old Javanese legal text called Purvādhigama (also called Śivaśāsana) refers to it among the texts which a prāgivivāk (prāgivivāka, judge) must study. Vrattīśāsana (c. thirteenth century) and Ślokāntara have thirty-seven and eighty-three Sanskrit ślokas respectively, each having an ethical base. Of the books on statecraft and allied matters, mention should be made of the Rājapatiśuddala of King Bhatati or Kṛtanagara, Rāja Kapa Kapa, and Navaṇatya. Ethical matters mixed with statecraft form the subject of the Nitiśāstra-kakavin (second half of the fifteenth century) and Kāṃdakā Rājaniti which can be considered either as a fragment of the Sanskrit Kāṃdakiya Nitiśāra or as part of an anthology.75 In the Old Javanese text called Nītripraya, Sage Vyāsa plays a leading role. A large number of Old Javanese texts, such as Kuṭāramānava, Svarajambu, Aṣṭādaśa-ayavahāra, and Ādagama, belonging to the Śāsana or Smṛti literature of Java and Bali, are based upon the Manu Saṁhitā. Kuṭāramānava claims to have been promulgated by Bhrgu in the tretā yuga. Purvādhigama, which has been already referred to, contains Sanskrit ślokas.

Svaravyaṅjana, Ādivara, Kṛtavasa, Sukuṣavasa, and Kāraka-saṅgraha are works on grammar. The references to Pāṇini and Kātantra Vyākaraṇa in Kāraka-saṅgraha and to Cāṇḍera Vyākaraṇa in the inscriptions of ancient Java seem to be indicative of the tradition of the study of Sanskrit grammatical literature in Java.\[^{16}\] There were besides, Sanskrit-Old Javanese lexicons such as the Amaramālā, already referred to, and the Cāṇḍakaraṇa. Of the works on prosody, the most outstanding is the Vṛttasaṅcaya, written by Mpu Tanakung probably in the twelfth century. It deals with more than a hundred Sanskrit metres and refers to Piṅgala and the Piṅgala-chandaḥ-sūtra. The impact of Sanskrit rhetoric on the Old Javanese kakavins is considerable. These remind one of the Buddha-carita, Raghuvamśa, Kumārasambhava, Śītupāla-vadha, etc. Some works dealing with medicine, astrology, and astronomy have been found in Java, which contain many words of Sanskrit origin.

### Itiḥāsa or Epic Works

We shall now turn to the epic literature of Java and Bali. The Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, the first and perhaps the best of the kakavins, was probably composed about the first quarter of the tenth century by Yogīvara, whose real name, according to Balinese tradition, seems to be Rājakusuma or Kusumavicitra. The text contains 2,774 stanzas, divided into twenty-six cantos and written in various Sanskrit metres. The major part of the text is a translation of the Bhaṭṭikāvyā. The story broadly follows Vālmiki’s Rāmāyaṇa, but ends with the return of Rāma, Śiṭā, Lakṣmana, and their entourage to Ayodhyā. The Old Javanese Uttarakāṇḍa is not part of Yogīvara’s Rāmāyaṇa, but constitutes an independent work. There are also later recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa, such as Rāma Kling, Serat Kaṇḍa, Rāmāyaṇa Sasak, Rāma Kidung Bali, Rāma Tambang, and many others of lesser importance. Indeed, it has been said that there are about 1,200 versions of the Rāma story prevalent in East Java alone.\[^{17}\] The Rāmāyaṇa stories furnished the themes of local shadow plays, and were depicted on temple reliefs. They also inspired a cycle of stories in Old Javanese, such as Sumanasāntaka, Arjuna-vijaya, and Harīśraya. Sumanasāntaka, which means ‘death by flower’, depicts the love affair of Aja and Indumati. Arjuna-vijaya, written by Mpu Tantular after A.D. 1365, handles the theme of Arjunasahasrabha’s fight with Rāvaṇa. The story of Harīśraya is based upon the Old Javanese Uttarakāṇḍa and discusses how the gods, being threatened by Mālyavān and other demons, turned for succour to Viṣṇu who killed the demons.

No less popular was the Old Javanese Mahābhārata, of which the Ādi, Viṣṇa, Udyoga, and Bhīma parvams were composed under orders of King Dharmavarmśa.

\[^{17}\] J. Kats, Het Rāmāyaṇa op Javaansche tempel-reliefs, p. 17.
CEYLON (SRI LANKA) AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Anantavikrama (A.D. 991-1007), some other portions having been composed as late as the fourteenth century. Bhārata-yuddha-kakavin, dealing with the middle section of the Mahābhārata, was composed by Mpu Sedah, preceptor of King Jayabhaya of Kadiri, but was completed by the Buddhist author Mpu Panuluh in A.D. 1157. The text has fifty-two cantos, with 731 stanzas and is written in various Sanskrit metres. It concludes with the death of Śalya and the consequent self-immolation of his beloved wife Devi Satyavati, the submission of his crown-jewel by Āśvatthāma, and the wise rule of Yudhiṣṭhira. The Harivamśa has an Old Javanese recension by Panuluh, which narrates in an original way a fight between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha over Rukmiṇī. The same theme is handled by Mpu Trigunā in Kṛṣṇayana composed in the beginning of the twelfth century. The Old Javanese Bhagavad-Gītā, which contains many Sanskrit ślokas, is an abridged version of the original. Of the many kakavins belonging to the Mahābhārata cycle of stories, Arjuna-vīvaha was composed in thirty-six cantos by Mpu Kanva during the reign of King Airlangga (A.D. 1019-42). Hari-vijaya describes some episodes from the Aḍīparanu, such as the churning of the milk ocean etc., while the duel between Sunda and Upasunda forms the theme of the Old Javanese kakavin, Ratna-vijaya. Ghaṭotkacārāya or Ghaṭotkacātaraṇy describes the fight between Abhimanyu and Lakṣmanaṇakumāra over the beautiful maiden Ksitisundari, and relates how Ghaṭotkaca assists Abhimanyu to win the girl. Indra-vijaya handles the themes of the assassination of Triśiras, Indra’s loss of paradise, and the rule and downfall of Nahuṣa, while the Old Javanese prose text called Koravārama describes the story of the resurrection of the heroes of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war, their spiritual adventures, and other episodes. Another Old Javanese poem Kṛṣṇāntaka deals with some of the themes of the last few parvans of the Mahābhārata excluding the Śvargaḥanaparvan. Navaruci, probably of the fifteenth century, describes Bhīma’s adventures in his search for the elixir of life.

Smaraṭahana, written in the twelfth century by Mpu Dharmaja in forty cantos, describes the burning of Kāma by Śiva’s wrath. Sutasoma, which is also called Puruṣādaśānta, narrates how Puruṣāda, who had conquered all the kings of Bhāratavarṣa (India), was ultimately subdued by Sutasoma, an incarnation of Bodhisattva. Kālayavanāntaka, also known as Kṛṣṇa-vijaya, deals with the fight between Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa, while Rāma-vijaya describes, in sixty-three cantos, the fight between Jamadagni and Āṅgāraparṇa. Bhomakāya, written perhaps in the fourteenth century by Mpu Bradah, relates the fight between Kṛṣṇa and Bhoma or Bhauma (Narakāsura). The story supplied material for shadow plays of the entire Malayo-Indonesian world. Tanakung’s Lubdhaka is an interesting kakavin. It tells how on a pitch-dark night a hunter, trembling with fear, was hiding in a vilva tree and accidentally caused a leaf from the tree to fall on a Śivalīṅga below, which ultimately led to his salvation. The outline of the
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story has presumably been taken from some Indian Purānic source. The Indian epics and Purānas supplied many themes for the shadow plays of Indonesia. These plays, which have kept alive the Indian epic and Purānic stories even in Islamic Indonesia, were popular as early as the beginning of the eleventh century.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

There are some works of the nature partly of chronicles and partly of historical romances, called kidungs. Among such works, the following deserve special mention: Kidung Sunda, Rangga Lawe, and Harsa-vijaya. In the field of tantri or fables, the most important text is Tantri Kāmandaka, which is principally based upon the Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa. Some of the stories occurring in this work are depicted in the temple panels at various places. Allied to the tantri group are some folk-tales which have found place in other groups of stories, such as the story of the deer and the crow, of the porcupine and the hill, of the cat and the turtle-dove, which find their parallels in the Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa as well as the Jātaka and Kathā literatures. There are many legends in Indonesia which also point to her close cultural link with India. Reference may be made in this connexion to the celebrated Javanese work, Aji Śalila, which records a tradition of the art of writing having been introduced in Java by a Brähmaṇa called Tritresta. It is, however, difficult to say how far this is based on facts, but we cannot ignore that the order of alphabet in Devanāgarī has been imitated in Sumatra and Celebes. Although the order is different in Javanese, it appears that the Indian arrangement was not unknown to the people of Java. Among the historical works, the most famous are Nāgarakṛtāgama and the Pararaton. Nāgarakṛtāgama (A.D. 1365) by Prapañca has been composed in various Indian metres. It contains some descriptions which strikingly remind one of their parallels in Sanskrit literature. The other, Pararaton (written between c. A.D. 1278 and 1478), is a prose text. It also bears the stamp of Indian influence in that the first part of the book, for instance, opens with the well-known Indian formula, Om avighnam astu namas siddham.

After the downfall of the Hinduized State of Majapahit around A.D. 1500, Javanese literature became divided into two streams, the main one in Bali laying there the matrix of the Middle Javanese literature as an offshoot of Old Javanese and distinct from Old Balinese. The other stream continued

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78H. B. Sarkar, Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali, p. 317.
79Ibid., p. 290.
81H. B. Sarkar, Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali, pp. 15-16.
82Ibid., pp. 385 ff.
83Ibid., p. 388.
in Java under stagnant conditions. The preservation of much of the rich Indian legacy was owing to the fact that when Majapahit was destroyed, the princes, the elite, the priestly community, and others fled to Bali, taking with them their earthly possessions including books. The date which marked the end of the Middle Javanese literature and the beginning of the New Javanese may be taken as c. A.D. 1628. Indonesian literature of the Middle Javanese and New Javanese periods has been greatly influenced by the penetration of Islamic theology and literary ideals and they have been responsible for creating a hybrid composition of a very peculiar type. Adam, Sulaiman, Mohammed, and Hamza have appeared along with the heroes of the Rāmāyāṇa and the Mahābhārata.

It has been mentioned earlier that the order of the Devanāgarī alphabet was followed in the Sumatran and Celebes languages. The impact of Indian influence was also felt in the domain of loan-words in these areas. Moreover, there are reasons to believe that in the pre-Islamic period there existed a rich Indian and Indianized literature in Sumatra.84

VII. THE PHILIPPINES

It is only recently that the subject of Indian influence on the Philippine language and literature, script, art, and other matters has received increasing attention from scholars.85 Indications are that such influence reached the Philippines when the same was at its zenith in the zones intermediate between India and the Philippines during the twelfth-fourteenth centuries. The Islamization of the Malayo-Indonesian world since the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries gradually halted this process of Indianization. It is true that in the field of language and literature, the native languages of the Philippines did not, as in the case of South-East Asia in general, undergo syntactical or grammatical modifications on account of the intrusion of the Sanskrit language and literature, but there is no doubt that they helped to enrich the vocabularies as in the case of other South-East Asian languages. Besides, the Rāma saga had its impact on the Maranaw version of the story, but the predominant influence on it was from the Malayan version. Further study of Indian influence on the Philippine language and literature only can determine the extent and depth of its percolation.


85 Vide in this connexion the following publications by J. R. Francisco:
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The foregoing survey would convince any one of the appropriateness of the remarks of S. Lévi, quoted approvingly by G. Coedès: 'Mother of wisdom, India gave her mythology to her neighbours who went to teach it to the whole world. Mother of law and philosophy, she gave to three quarters of Asia a god, a religion, a doctrine, an art. She carried her sacred language, her literature, her institutions into Indonesia, to the limits of the known world, and from there they spread back to Madagascar and perhaps to the coast of Africa, where the present flow of Indian immigrants seems to follow the faint traces of the past."

"The Indianized States of South-East Asia (Honolulu, 1968), p. xvi."
WESTERN COUNTRIES

INDIA'S contact with the outside world, especially with West Asia and parts of Africa and Europe, was established in remote antiquity and developed through successive ages. Trade and maritime enterprises marked the beginning of this contact which was further strengthened by cultural relations. This intercourse resulted in a wide range of Indian literature—religious, philosophical, scientific, fictional, etc.—finding its way to the regions referred to and making a great impact there in the course of time. An attempt has been made in the following survey to consider the extent of the spread and influence of Indian literature in the Western countries.

WEST ASIA

Religious Literature: Some of the Vedic gods were worshipped in West Asia as early as the fourteenth century B.C. This has convincingly been proved by the Boghaz Koi inscriptions.1 In subsequent centuries, some forms of Brähmanical religion prevailed in different parts of West Asia. According to the Syrian writer Zenob, there was an Indian colony in the canton of Taron on the Upper Euphrates, to the west of Lake Van, in the second century B.C. The Indians built there two temples containing images of gods about 18 and 22 ft. high. When in c. A.D. 304 St. Gregory came to destroy these temples, he was strongly opposed by the Indians.2 It is reasonable to presume that the Indians carried to this area their sacred literature with them. Buddhism spread in West Asia during the days of Asoka (c. 273-232 B.C.). Alberuni (c. A.D. 1030) says that in former times Khorasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul, and the countries up to the frontier of Syria were Buddhist. The influence of Buddhist and other forms of Indian religious literature upon West Asian religious systems was by no means insignificant. Traces of Buddhist influence are unmistakable in the doctrines of Mani, a Persian saint, who flourished during the reign of the Sassanian king Shapur I (A.D. 241-72). A Manichaean treatise written in the form of a Buddhist sūtra speaks of Mani as Tathāgata and mentions Buddha and Bodhisattva.3 Buddhist legends were popular in the Arab world. The story

1JRAS (1909), pp. 1094-109. These records contain the names of the following Vedic deities: Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas.
2R. C. Majumdar (Ed.), The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II (Bombay, 1968), pp. 633-34.
3Ibid., p. 633. See also Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India (Calcutta, 1958), p. 521.
of the Great Renunciation of Buddha occurs in a book called *Kitab Bilawhar wa Yudasaf*. From Arabic it was rendered into Georgian and then into other European languages including Greek and Latin. A Manichaean version of this legend was discovered by Le Cog from Turfan on the basis of which P. Alfaric proved that Indian Buddhist legends reached Europe about the third century A.D. through the Manichaees.\(^4\)

The Islamic world, while extending its borders to India, became interested in things Indian, and Arab writers like Sulaiman (A.D. 851), Ibn Khuradadba (A.D. 912), Abu Jwaid (A.D. 916), Alitkhari (A.D. 951), Masudi (A.D. 956), and others wrote treatises on India. Their knowledge about India was superficial, but there were many Arab scholars interested in Indian wisdom. It was through their efforts that several Indian scientific treatises were translated into Arabic. As a result, there was a renewed interest about India among the Arab scholars, the foremost among them being Alberuni who came to India to have a first-hand knowledge of the country. His celebrated work on India is popularly known as *Kitabul Hind* which contains an interesting account of the prevailing Hindu thought and way of life. He learnt Sanskrit and translated a good number of Sanskrit treatises. The subjects of his interest were varied. From his own writings it appears that he had a basic idea of the contents of the four Vedas, though he did not read them directly. He knew about the existence of eighteen Purāṇas, but read only the *Matsya, Ādiyā, Vāyu*, and *Viṣṇudharmanotara*. He had a thorough acquaintance with the *Mahābhārata* and the institutes of Manu. He was well versed in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and was in fact the first to introduce it into the Islamic world. Under the patronage of several Muslim rulers of India many Sanskrit texts were translated into Persian as a result of which these had easy access to the West Asian countries. Zain-ul 'Abidin, ruler of Kashmir, got the *Mahābhārata* translated into Persian in the fourteenth century. A number of scholars of Akbar's court were commissioned to translate into Persian the *Atharva-Veda*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Harivamśa*, *Bhagavad-Gītā*, *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, etc. Such Persian translations of Sanskrit religious literature were produced under the Muslim rulers in other parts of India also. Among the works translated, the following deserve special mention: the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, *Adhyāta Rāmāyaṇa*, *Vraja-māhātmya*, *Gayā-māhātmya*, and *Kāśi-khaṇḍa*. Dara Shikoh translated fifty Upaniṣads in his *Sir-i-Akbar*.

Philosophical Literature: Indian philosophical treatises were directly introduced into the Islamic world by Alberuni who had a thorough knowledge of the writings of Gauḍapāda, the ancient Sāṁkhya texts (especially the *Sāṁkhya-kārikā* of Śīvakṣaṇa), the *Yoga-Sūtra* of Patañjali (he had used a different version which has not yet been discovered), the *Nyāya-Sūtra* of Gautama and *Nyāya-bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana, the *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtra* of Jaimini, the *Agastya-mata* (a Nyāya text),

etc. How thoroughly he understood the intricacies of Indian philosophical systems is proved by the way in which he presented them in his celebrated dissertation on India.

**Scientific Literature—Medicine:** The Sassanian king of Iran, Khusru Anushirwan (a.d. 531-79), was interested in Indian medicine. Interest was similarly shown by the Abbasid Caliphs of Arabia by whose order a number of standard Hindu treatises on medicine were translated into Arabic. Harun Alrashid (a.d. 786-809) established a translation bureau (*baitul hikmat*), where learned scholars were employed to render books on scientific subjects into Arabic. Among the translators were two well-known Indian scholars, namely, Mankh and Ibn-i-Dahan (Dhan or Doban). Khalid, a minister of Caliph Almansur (a.d. 754-75), took great care to get Sanskrit medical, pharmacological, and toxicological texts translated into Arabic. The medical texts included such famous works as the *Caraka* (*Sirak*), the *Suśruta* (*Sasrad*), the *Nidāna* (*Yedan*), and the *Āṣṭāṅga* of Vāgbhaṭa. The *Caraka* was translated by Abdullah, while the name of the translator of the *Suśruta* was Mankh (Mānikiya or Mānika), referred to above, who cured Harun Alrashid of a severe illness and was appointed head of the royal hospital by the grateful Caliph. A tenth century Sanskrit text on snake-bite by one Rai was also translated. An Indian lady doctor, Roosa, and her works were also known in Arabia. Among the Indian visitors to Abbasid Baghdad, mention may be made of Sabeh, a physician; Dhan, translator of Indian sciences into Arabic; Shanuk (Cāṇakya?), author of a number of scientific treatises on poison, astrology and astronomy, morals, and veterinary science; and Kan-kah, writer of four books on ‘age’, ‘secret of birth’, ‘cycles of the year’, and ‘beginning of the year’. Alrazi or Rhazes of the ninth-tenth centuries a.d. incorporated Indian medical science in his *Kitab-al-hawi* known to medieval Europe as *Liber Continens* through the Latin translation by Moses Farachi.

**Mathematics and Astronomy:** About a.d. 771, an Indian traveller, who came to Baghdad as a member of a political mission, introduced a treatise on astronomy which was translated by Ibn Ibrahim Alfażari. This is mentioned by Alberuni who also refers to the visit to Baghdad of another group of Indian scientists in a.d. 778 led by a ‘well-known Hindu scholar’ who communicated to Ya’kub Ibn Tarik the Hindu traditions regarding the distance of the stars. Subsequently, Ya’kub Ibn Tarik incorporated in his *Tarikh-al-Aflak* principles of Indian astronomy. These scholars brought such works on mathematics as the *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta* and the *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* of Brahmagupta, which

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were translated into Arabic. It was thus that the Arabs first became acquainted with a scientific system of astronomy. Al-khwarizmi (A.D. 859) based his widely-known astronomical tables (zij) on Alfazari’s translation mentioned above. He made an abridgement and translation of the Brahma-sphuta-siddhānta (popularly known as Sind-Hind in Arabia) of Brahmagupta. Al-khwarizmi was the first exponent of the use of numerals, including the zero, in preference to letters. These numerals he called hindi, indicating their Indian origin. His work on the Hindu method of calculation was translated into Latin (De Numero Indico) which has survived while the Arabic original has been lost.10 Mahāvīra, in his Gaṇita-sāra-saṅgraha, and other Indian scholars like Āryabhaṭa II and Śrīdhara dealt with operations using zero and the summation of n terms of a geometrical progression. These were borrowed by the Arabs, and John of Seville and Abraham Ibn Ezra utilized them from the Arabic system. Other mathematical ideas, including the sula theorem, solutions to indeterminate equations as found by Brahmagupta and Bhāskara II, and the introduction of sine and cosine functions in trigonometry were of Indian origin, which went to Europe through Arabia. Ibn-i-Jabahir Albattani studied the Indian use of ratios and introduced it among the Arabs. Alberuni’s Qanun-al-Mas’udi was largely based upon Indian astronomical ideas. He also translated the Sūrya-siddhānta of Varāhamihira. The Arabic division of the ecliptic into twenty-eight parts was evidently borrowed from the Indian.11 Thus, Indian astronomy exerted great influence upon the astronomical thinking of the Arabs. Indian conceptions of lunar-zodiac, cosmic cycles, liberatory motions, equinoctial and solstitial points, estimation of the precession of equinoxes, etc. were strikingly original and these became the basis of modern astronomy.

Fictions and Fables: In the domain of myths and legends, there were many features common to India and West Asia. The flood legends of West Asia, especially the one found in the epic of Gilgamesh, have some resemblance to similar legends described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Purāṇas. Reference should also be made in this connexion to the cosmogonic myths, and earth and corn myths. Myths and legends about the mysteries of creation, life and death, the stages of life from the cradle to the grave, and the domains of theogony and apotheosis entered West Asia from different sources including India and were echoed in Rabbinic and re-echoed in Islamic mythology, altered and adapted so as to suit the spirit of monotheism.12 Rabbinic myths and tales have, on the one hand, entered Islamic literature, and Mohammed and his commentators have largely drawn from Jewish sources. On the other hand,

12Lokesh Chandra and others (Eds.), India’s Contribution to World Thought and Culture (Madras, 1970), pp. 574-75.
many legends of the Talmud and Midrash were directly or indirectly adopted from Indian sources. In the Quran,\textsuperscript{13} we have the cosmographic conception of seven firmaments and seven underworlds reminding us of the same Hebrew conceptions which are quite similar, if not identical, to Brāhmanical, Buddhist, and Jaina speculations.\textsuperscript{14} The myth of Shemhazi and Azael, a tale of Jewish origin, which in Islamic literature is told of Harut and Marut, resembles strikingly the story of Sunda and Upasunda in the Mahābhārata.

Indian fictions and fables at first translated into Persian were later rendered into other languages of West Asia. The most prominent example is the Pañcatantra, the famous book of fables in Sanskrit, which was first translated into Pehlavi by Barzoi in collaboration with an Indian scholar at the command of Khusru Anushirwan (A.D. 531-79). This translation is lost, but it was the source of the first Syriac translation by Bud in A.D. 570. The Pehlavi version was translated into Arabic about the middle of the eighth century A.D. by Ibn-i-Maqulla. From the Arabic version there arose several others in West Asia, namely, a later Syriac version (c. A.D. 1000), a later Persian version (c. A.D. 1130), and a Hebrew version (c. A.D. 1250). A number of Buddhist jātakas were also translated into Arabic. Āśvaghoṣa’s Buddha-carita was edited and modified by Arab writers. The Sukasaptati, another famous Indian book of fables in Sanskrit, underwent more than one translation into Persian. At the beginning of the fourteenth century there was already extant a rather crude version which was replaced by a finer one under the title Tūtinama by Nachshabi, a contemporary of Hafiz, in A.D. 1330. Through this version, which included a part of the Vettāla-paṇcaviṃśati, many Indian fables found their way to Europe.\textsuperscript{16} According to P. K. Hitti, the basis of the famous Arabian book of fables, Thousand and One Nights, was a Persian work containing several stories of Indian origin.\textsuperscript{18}

AFRICA

The fundamentals of ancient Egyptian culture were known even to the Vedic Indians. This is proved by a Upaniṣadic reference to mumification.\textsuperscript{17} Aśoka is known to have sent missionaries to Egypt. The presence of Indians in Egyptian Alexandria has been recorded by Dio Chrysostom and Ptolemy. There is evidence of the existence of Brāhmaṇa philosophers at Alexandria.

\textsuperscript{13}XLI. 8ff.
\textsuperscript{14}N. N. Bhattacharyya, ‘Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain Cosmography’, Journal of Indian History, Vol. XLVII, pp. 43-64.
\textsuperscript{15}A. B. Keith, HISL, p. 359.
\textsuperscript{16}P. K. Hitti, op. cit., p. 404. See also Cosquin, Études Folkloriques, pp. 265ff. and A. B. Keith, op. cit., p. 361.
\textsuperscript{17}Cf. Chā. U., VIII.8.5. In Indian tradition people living in countries from Iran westwards were known as Asuras. See R. C. Majumdar, op. cit., Vol. I (1971), pp. 222-28.
during the Kuśāṇa period. A Brāhmī inscription of the third century A.D. has been discovered in Egypt. We have to remember, however, that India’s historical and cultural relations with Egypt did not bring the former into direct contact with genuine African culture and civilization, as Egypt during the time of Aśoka was Hellenized and thereafter it was successively dominated by the Jewish, Persian, and Arabic powers. But, India’s relation with occupied Egypt was a deeply ingrained one. Not only Sanskrit and Sanskritic culture, but also regional languages, especially those from South India, were able to create some impression in the minds of the Egyptian Greeks. Reference may be made in this connexion to a few lines in a Greek drama found in a fragmentary form on the papyrus remains of the second century A.D. from Oxyrhynchus in North Egypt, in which is depicted a scene of an Indian court where the king and his courtiers speak in a foreign language. E. Hultzsch examined the extant specimens of that language, as preserved in the aforesaid work, and came to the conclusion that those were ancient forms of the Kannada language.

Apart from Egypt, the only African country with which India’s cultural contact is known to us is Ethiopia. A hoard of Kuśāṇa gold coins of Kings Kadphises II, Kaṇiṣka I, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva has been discovered near the monastery of Debra Demmo in northern Ethiopia. Possibly by 250 B.C. the Indians came to know about Kuśadvipa, land of the Kuśa people—Ethiopia or Nubia—from the Persians. The commercial contact between India and Ethiopia, which is amply testified by the evidence of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (c. A.D. 78), led to the adoption of a small but significant group of loanwords from Indian languages into Ethiopian. There are reasons to believe that the Indian systems of writing influenced the Ethiopian script. The vowel marks to the basic consonantal letters for example, were introduced into the Ethiopian script from Brāhmī and Kaḥroṣṭhī owing perhaps to the influence of the Indian merchants and residents at Adulis and Aksum in the third and fourth centuries A.D. A Brāhmī seal belonging to the early Christian era has been discovered in the Adulis area. The coins of Kadphises II in the Debra Demmo hoard have legends in Indian Prakrit in the Kaḥroṣṭhī script. Not only the Indian principle, but the actual signs and their order were also adopted in many cases in the old Ethiopian script. As Professor Chaim Rabin observes: ‘In older Semitic writing, consonants alone are to be found and no vowels are indicated. This is a shortcoming in the writing of the Semites which they did not succeed in overcoming by themselves. The Greeks solved it by using some Semitic consonants to indicate vowels. The Indians, on the other hand, invented

18Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, pp. 124ff.
21Ibid.
special letters for the vowels, and originated the idea of two written forms for each vowel, one at the beginning and one for the middle of the word, which is attached to the consonant as in modern Indian writings. This happened in India quite early. In about A.D. 300 we find in Ethiopia, a country also influenced by India in other respects, the same system of adding vowels as little circles and strokes to the consonant letters, as the Ethiopians do till today. They must have learnt this from India, as it is also proved by the fact that they recite the vowels in approximately the same order as is customary in Sanskrit.23

EUROPE

Philosophical and Religious Literature: Greece was presumably the first European country to come into close cultural contact with India. Scholars are of the opinion that Greek philosophy was deeply influenced by the Indian.24 The philosophy of Pythagoras, who lived in the sixth century B.C., was probably derived from the Sāmkhya system of India.25 According to a Greek tradition preserved by Eusebius, Aristozenus (a disciple of Aristotle) knew the summary of a conversation held between Socrates (fifth century B.C.) and an Indian philosopher. Alexander’s invasion (327-325 B.C.) placed the East-West cultural contact on a firm basis. Alexander was himself interested in Indian philosophy. It is stated that an Indian philosopher named Kalanos went with him from India.26 H. G. Rawlinson cites examples from Plato’s Republic which have very close bearing on the Indian doctrines of Karma, Māya, etc.27 Parallelisms between some doctrines of the Upaniṣads and those of the Eleatics are sometimes too striking to be ignored. R. Garbe, who made a detailed analysis of the Indian influence on Greek philosophy, pointed out that some of the fundamental ideas of Anaximander, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Epicurus can definitely be traced to the Sāmkhya system.28 The distant regions to which Aśoka sent Buddhist missionaries included Macedonia and Epirus (or Corinth) in Greece. Aśoka claims that these missionaries achieved a definite success in preaching Buddhism in these areas.29 The neo-Platonist philosophy, which came into existence in the first century A.D., was presumably influenced by the Sāmkhya system.30 Plotinus (A.D. 204-69), chief of the neo-

23Ibid., p. 55.
26J. W. McCrindle, Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature (Westminster, 1901), pp. 69-74.
30A. A. Macdonell, op. cit., pp. 422-23.
Platonists, depended upon the Indian Yoga system for his philosophic doctrines.30 There is reference to Appolonius and Plotinus as looking towards India as the home of wisdom.31 The Christian doctrine of Gnosticism, which flourished in the second and third centuries A.D., owed much to Indian philosophy, particularly to the Saṁkhya system.32 The conception of many heavens propounded by the Gnostics is drawn from ‘the fantastic cosmogony of later Buddhism’.33

M. Eliade has shown that Christian mythology and mysticism were influenced by Indian ideas and that Indian beliefs and practices are referred to in Western literature.34 Buddhist Jātaka stories influenced the Christian gospels and parables. On this point more than fifty parallels have been suggested by eminent authorities. Buddhist legends were familiar to the Western world. The most remarkable example is Barlaam and Josaphat (eighth century A.D.) written in Greek by John of Damascus, which is a Christianized version of Buddha’s renunciation. The Buddhist background of this story was first discovered by E. R. Labuli in 1859 and it was emphasized by F. Liebrecht in 1860. The Indian epics, particularly the Mahābhārata, were well known to the Greeks at least in the first century A.D. as it is evident from the statement of the Greek rhetorician Dio Chrysostom (A.D. 50-117).35

Scientific Literature: Greek and Indian medical theories are strikingly similar. The idea of breath, pneuma in Greek and prāṇa in Sanskrit, as the source and producer of all movements and changes, is emphasized in three treatises of Hippocrates as well as in classical Ayurvedic texts. Something similar to the Ayurvedic conception of tridōṣa or tridhātu is found in Plato’s Timaeus. We have also references in the Hippocratic collection to the borrowing of some Indian drugs and medical formulas in Greece. J. Filliozat says: ‘India may very well have influenced the Hippocratic collection and Timaeus particularly, since Plato failed to mention his sources and since, moreover, his doctrine is closer to the Indian than to that of any contemporary Greek school. The influence of Indian ideas on certain aspects of Greek medicine during Plato’s time is further supported by the mention of Indian medicaments, including pepper, in the Diseases of Women, part of the Hippocratic collection. Indian medical knowledge must have sipped through the Persian empire, then the overlord of parts of India and Greece alike along the trade routes described by Strabo and Pliny.36 Indian medical science also made its way to Rome where Indian herbals were one of the principal imports. Lithotomy, which was one of the

30Ibid., p. 423.
31J. W. McCrindle, op. cit., pp. 183-84.
32A. A. Macdonell, op. cit., p. 423.
33Ibid., p. 424.
35A. A. Macdonell, op. cit., p. 414.

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outstanding feats of ancient Indian surgery, was praised by the Roman Celsus as a typical Indian practice followed by other nations in his compendium. Galen of Pergamum, who belonged to the second century A.D., openly admitted that Roman physicians administered Indian drugs to their patients. Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭa I, composed in four sections, one on mathematics and others on astronomy, was translated into Latin by an Italian mathematician in the thirteenth century A.D.

Legends and Fables: The Vedic myths have parallels in the Indo-European speaking areas of Europe which are probably due to their common origin. Of Indian origin may be the story of King Solomon and Asmodeus which was taken over and brought to Europe where it appeared first in Gesta Romanorum. Other Indian legends also reached Europe, and can be traced in Gesta Romanorum and in the stories of Boccacio, Straparala, Chaucer, and La Fontaine. The Pañcatantra was introduced into Europe through its Arabic version made about A.D. 750 by Ibn-i-Maqqaffa, and exercised very great influence in shaping the literature of the middle ages in Europe. Among the earliest European versions, the following deserve mention: the Greek version (c. A.D. 1180), the Spanish version (c. A.D. 1251), the Latin version (translated in c. A.D. 1270 from the Hebrew version and printed in A.D. 1480), the German version (translated from the Latin version in about A.D. 1411 and first printed in c. A.D. 1481), the Italian version (translated from Latin in A.D. 1552), and, finally, the English version (translated in A.D. 1570 from the Italian). 'In the whole field of world literature', says Dr V. Raghavan, 'there has been no work more remarkable than the Sanskrit Pañcatantra of which 200 versions arose in more than fifty languages, three-fourths of which are non-Indian'.

Interest in Indological Studies: The first Englishman to learn Sanskrit was Charles Wilkins who published in 1785 an English translation of the Bhagavad-Gītā. This was followed by the English version of the Hitopadesa in 1787, and of the Śakuntalā episode of the Mahābhārata in 1795. His Sanskrit Grammar appeared in 1808. He was also the first to translate some of the Indian inscriptions into English. Sir William Jones, founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, made a deep study of Sanskrit literature and translated some celebrated Sanskrit works like the Abhijñāna Śākuntalā (1780), Rūpamānāra (1792), and Manu Smṛti (1794). His English version of the Abhijñāna Śākuntalā was rendered into German by G. Forster in 1791 and was highly admired by Goethe. This German translation created a great impression on Goethe, so much so that while writing the prologue of his famous drama Faust he modelled it on that of Kālidāsa's work. H.T. Colebrooke edited the Amarakoṣa, Aṣṭādhyāyi, Hitopadesa, and Kirātārjunīya, and translated a number of inscriptions also. The German poet Friedrich

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Schlegel translated some passages from the Rāmāyaṇa, Manu Smṛti, Bhagavad-Gītā, and Abhijñāna-Śakuntala. These were the first direct translations from Sanskrit into German. August Wilhelm Schlegel brought out in 1823 the first volume of Indische Bibliothek. In the same year, he published a good edition of the Bhagavad-Gītā with a Latin translation. Friedrich Rosen and F. Max Müller laid the foundations of Vedic studies in Europe with their individual editions of the Ṛg-Veda. It was in this way that Sanskrit was introduced into Europe. The study of Indian literature in Sanskrit as well as in Pali, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa gained momentum in the European countries as they gradually came into more direct and intimate contact with India from the nineteenth century onwards. The Vedas, the epics, the Bhagavad-Gītā, the Upaniṣads, the Mahāvaṃśa, the Dhammapada, the Jātaka, the Vinaya Piṭaka, etc., and the sacred literature of the Jains came to be studied, edited, translated, and published in various European languages. The principal centres of Indological studies were no doubt in England, France, and Germany. But the growing interest in the sacred and secular literature of India was also noticed in Italy, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Belgium, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Hungary, and Russia, where a large number of Indian texts have been translated and published and centres established for deep and systematic studies.\(^{38}\)

In the United States of America, Sanskrit studies were introduced by Salisbury and Whitney in the middle of the nineteenth century. The latter was the celebrated translator of the Atharva-Veda. Emerson (1803-82) and Thoreau (1817-62), however, prepared the ground for the American interest in Indology. The American Oriental Society, which was founded in 1842, made notable contribution to Sanskrit studies in this continent. C. R. Lanman, M. Bloomfield, E. W. Hopkins, A. V. W. Jackson, F. Edgerton, W. Norman Brown, M. B. Emeneau, and D. H. H. Ingalls are some of the celebrated American Sanskritists who deserve particular mention. In Mexico and Latin America Sanskrit has been recently introduced.

\(^{38}\)For further details, see ibid., pp. 149 ff. and V. Raghavan, Sanskrit and Allied Indological Studies in Europe (Madras, 1956).
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