THE
CULTURAL HERITAGE
OF INDIA

VOLUME V
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

VOLUME V
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

EDITOR
SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A., D.LITT
National Professor of India in Humanities

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

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 testimony 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 Prabhat Rao, Mr S. R. Gurnani, and Mr S. B. Joshi for their help with reference material and advice. We also place on record our appreciation 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 Executive, 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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a stands for अ and sounds like o in come
ä ,, अउ ,, a ,, far
i ,, इ ,, i ,, bit
i ,, इई ,, ee ,, feel
u ,, उ ,, u ,, full
ü ,, ऊ ,, oo ,, cool
r ,, र ,, may be pronounced like ri ,, ring
e ,, ए ,, sounds like a ,, cake
ai ,, आई ,, i ,, mite
o ,, ओ ,, o ,, note
au ,, आउ ,, ou ,, count
m ,, आ ,, (anusvāra) and sounds like m ,, some
h ,, (apostrophe) stands for s (elided झ).
ñ stands for झ, ञ for झ, and ण for झ; the first is to be pronounced like English ng in sing, or न in bank; the second like the n in English sing (a palatal n); and the third, the cerebral ण, 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
t ,, त ,, t ,, curt
th ,, ठ ,, th ,, port-hole
d ,, ड ,, d ,, bird
dh ,, ढ ,, dh ,, bird-house
t ,, त ,, t ,, pat (Italian t)
th ,, ठ ,, th ,, hit-hard
d ,, ड ,, d ,, had (Italian d)
dh ,, ढ ,, dh ,, mad-house
v ,, व ,, v or w ,, levy, water
ś ,, श ,, sh ,, ship
ś ,, झ ,, sh ,, should
l ,, ल ,, the cerebral l, made with the tongue-tip up-turned and touching the dome of the palate.

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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, ahiṁsā, 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.
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<tr>
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<th>Full Form</th>
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<td>Ādiparvan</td>
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<td>Ait. Br.</td>
<td>Aitareya Brāhmaṇa</td>
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<td>A. Ś.</td>
<td>Arthaśāstra</td>
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<td>ASS</td>
<td>Anandashrama Sanskrit Series, Poona</td>
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<td>A. V.</td>
<td>Atharva-Veda</td>
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<td>B. G.</td>
<td>Bhagavad-Gītā</td>
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<td>Bhav.</td>
<td>Bhaṭṭisya Purāṇa</td>
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<td>BI</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Indica</td>
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<td>BORI</td>
<td>Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona</td>
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<td>Cultural Heritage of India</td>
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<td>Gaut. Dh. S.</td>
<td>Gautama Dharma-Sūtra</td>
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<td>Gaekwad Oriental Series, Bāvada</td>
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<td>H. Dh.</td>
<td>History of Dharma-sūtra by P. V. Kane</td>
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<td>HIL</td>
<td>History of Indian Literature by M. Winternitz</td>
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<td>HIP</td>
<td>History of Indian Philosophy by S. N. Dasgupta</td>
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<td>HOS</td>
<td>Harvard Oriental Series, Cambridge (Mass.)</td>
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<td>HSL</td>
<td>History of Sanskrit Literature</td>
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<td>IHQ</td>
<td>Indian Historical Quarterly</td>
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<td>Jai. S.</td>
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<td>JASB</td>
<td>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</td>
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<td>JBBRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</td>
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<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</td>
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<td>Ke. U.</td>
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<td>Kūr.</td>
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<td>Liṅga Purāṇa</td>
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<td>Mai. S.</td>
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<td>Manu</td>
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<td>Mat.</td>
<td>Matsya Purāṇa</td>
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<td>Mbh.</td>
<td>Mahābhārata</td>
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<td>Mm.</td>
<td>Mahāmahopādhyāya</td>
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<td>Mu. U.</td>
<td>Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad</td>
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<td>Nä.</td>
<td>Nāradiya Purāṇa</td>
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<td>Nār. Smr.</td>
<td>Nārada Śmṛti</td>
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<td>Pān.</td>
<td>Pāṇini (Āṣṭādhyāyī)</td>
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<td>Parāśara</td>
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<td>Rām.</td>
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<td>Śat. Br.</td>
<td>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</td>
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<td>Tāj.</td>
<td>Tājāvalkya Śmṛti</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 content and the spirit of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas, with the Upaniṣads and Dharma-śāstras 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, Kannada, 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


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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 Dharma-śāstras, and the poezy 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 (Sufiyya 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 Dharma-śāstras, 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.
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 Austric. 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 Austric, can also be labelled respectively as Ārya, Dravīḍa or Dravīḍa, Kirāta, and Niśāda. 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 Austric 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 t, d, r, n, and l; 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-Māgadhi, then Buddhist and Jaina Sanskrit and after that the various Prakrits and Abhramśas, 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-Malay 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-Malay 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 Austro-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 Pāli among the Buddhists (of the Hinayāna school) and Ardha-Māgadhī among the Jains. The literature produced in these languages particularly in Pāli (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 Apabhraṃśa stage.
Further modification of the regional Apabhramṣas 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 Brāhmi 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 Meithei 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 speeches with their overwhelming numbers and their prestige. Speakers of Austric in all the walks of life (they are mostly either farmers, or farm and
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.

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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 Indo-Europeans, form the earliest available document of the Indo-Aryans.

These hymns, as used in the religious ceremonies of the Vedic Aryans, were intoned with meticulous regard for the proper pronunciation of the words in words 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 the Śrotṛiyas, 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 brāhma-carya (continence and chastity) and mastering the luminous mass of hymns with proper accent and intonation.

The tenth and last book (maṇḍala) of the Rg-Veda and a considerable part 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 Āraṇyakas, and the Upaniṣads relating to each Veda, is 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 later phase, the Classical Sanskrit.

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

Classical Sanskrit received its first serious study and formulation with Pāṇini (fifth century B.C.). Before him, the Aryan language was in a fluid state,
like any other spoken language. Panini’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-sūtras, 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.

Panini’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 EFLORESCENCE 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 Kṛṣṇa 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 Vāyu, the Matsya, and perhaps the Viṣṇu and the Mārkandeya, were composed or revised during the Gupta age. The study of the Dharma-sūtras (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 kāyas (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, Meghadūta, and Šakuntalā 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 Brāhmaṇical (and even Buddhist and Jaina) religious ritual, but it was established also as the language of the elite (śīṭa) 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, APABHRAMSAS, AND BHĀŚĀS

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 Prāktat-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 Śandesārasaka, as well as dohās (distichs) by Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist, and Jaina writers, have come to us in Apabhramśa. Its regional varieties are seen in the rāsas 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 ‘Bhāśās’) to Apabhramśa. The evolution followed a pattern of its own. The dialects—desabhās 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
dhāsas 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
Brāhmaṇical or Sanskrit influence and learning through sages, writers, and
grammarians like Agastya and Tolkāppiyam. A song by Kāri-kizhār addressed
to an early Pāṇḍiyan 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 Nāyamārs and the Ālvars, 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 Rāmāyaṇa 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 Kautilya 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 Pārvatī, or Viṣṇu (especially in his incarnations of Rāma
and Kṛṣṇa), or in some of the other gods like Ganeśa, Sūrya, and Kumāra.
Later, bhakti also permeated Buddhism and Jainism.

Mainly through bhakti, the great religious leaders played a notable part in
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the development of the regional languages. Among them we may mention: Jñānēśvara, Nāmadeva, Basava, Nārsī Mehta, Guru Nānak, Mīrābāī, 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, Navadvīpa, and Amṛtsar became centres of this new Indo-Aryan bhakti literature. From the fourteenth century onwards we have poets by the score.

Tulasidāsa’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. Sūradāsa and Mīrābāī 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 Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit 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 Varanasi (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 Gupta (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
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existence in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries as the medium of communica­
tion 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 (particular 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 per­
sonal, social, and religious life according to the Āṣtras, 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 date 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 BRÄHMANISM IN SANSKRIT

THE Brähmanic 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 Brähmanism begins with the Vedas. We should note, last 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 apauruseya, 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 apauruseya has naturally given rise to another claim, that of veda-pramāṇya. 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 apauruseyatva 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 Samhita, the Brähmana, 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 Dvāda-Pṛthvi (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 Āgna 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 ṛṣis composed mantras relating to both these types of religion.
LITERATURE OF BRAHMANISM IN SANSKRIT

THE Rg-VEDA SAMHITĀ

The Rg-Veda Saṁhitā which has come down to us belongs to the branch known as the Śākala Śākhā. It consists of 1,028 sūktas (hymns) including eleven vālakhilya (additional) hymns. These hymns, which are made up of a varying number of mantras in the form of ṛks (metrical stanzas), are distributed in ten books called maṇḍalas. The formation of the maṇḍalas 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 Rg-Veda maṇḍalas two to seven is formed of six such family books, which are respectively ascribed to the families of Grīṣamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, and Vaśiṣṭha. The eighth maṇḍala largely belongs to the Kanvas. The ninth maṇḍala is governed by the principle of the homogeneity not of authorship but of subject-matter, for all the sūktas in this maṇḍala relate to soma (an intoxicating juice). The first and the tenth maṇḍalas, each of which has 191 hymns, are miscellaneous collections of long and short sūktas.

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

The Rg-Veda has also been arranged by another method. In this the whole collection is divided into eight aṣṭakas (books). Each aṣṭaka is subdivided into eight adhyāyas (chapters), and each adhyāya 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 sūkta one should know four essential items about it: rṣi, authorship; devatā, subject-matter; chandas, metre; and viniyoga, ritualistic application. The poets of the Rg-Veda show themselves to have been conscious artists and they sometimes employed various stylistic and rhetorical devices. The majority of the sūktas in the Rg-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 sūktas of

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2 This last item is evidently an after-thought. The maṇḍala arrangement of the Rg-Veda clearly indicates that this Samhitā 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 \textit{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 \textit{Hiranyagarbha-sūkta} (X. 121), the
\textit{Puruṣa-sūkta} (X. 90), and the \textit{Nāṣadiya-sūkta} (X. 129).

\textbf{THE ATHARVA-VEDA SANHITĀ}

In contrast to the \textit{Rg-Veda}, the \textit{Atharva-Veda} is essentially a heterogeneous
collection of \textit{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 emo-
tions and relations. Truly, there is an aura of mystery and unexpectedness about
it. The interest of the \textit{Atharva-Veda} is varied and its impact is irresistible.

A distinctive feature of the \textit{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 \textit{Atharvaṅgīraśāḥ} (an abbreviated form of this, \textit{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 Aṅgirasas. The substitution of Bhṛgu for Atharvan in the name
\textit{Bhṛgoṅīraśāḥ} 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 \textit{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 \textit{mantras} and practices of the \textit{Atharva-Veda}. Thus
it was that this Veda also came to be called the \textit{Purohitā-Veda}. It was also called
the \textit{Kṣatia-Veda}, because it included within its scope many practices specifically
relating to the Kṣatriya rulers.

The \textit{Atharva-Veda} consisted of \textit{brahmanas} (magically potent \textit{mantras}) and was
therefore, according to one view, called the \textit{Brahma-Veda}. But there is another
reason why it is called the \textit{Brahma-Veda}, which is far more significant. On
account of the peculiar character of the contents of the \textit{Atharva-Veda}, it was,
for a long time, not regarded as being on a par with the other three Vedas,
called \textit{trayī}. 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 \textit{Rg-Veda}, the \textit{Tajur-Veda}, and the \textit{Sāma-Veda} were essentially
limited in scope and that \textit{brahman} alone was truly limitless. The sponsors of the
\textit{Atharva-Veda} claimed that this \textit{brahman} was adequately embodied in their Veda,
and that the \textit{Atharva-Veda} was therefore the \textit{Brahma-Veda}.
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 Sanhiti* 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) *sakhas* of the *Atharva-Veda* are traditionally known, but the *Sanhitas* of only two *sakhas*, the *Saunaka* and the *Paippalada*, have been preserved. It was once believed that the *Paippalada* *Sakhā* was restricted to Kashmir and it was therefore called, though erroneously, the Kashmirian *Atharva-Veda*. It has now been established, however, that that *sakhā* of the *Atharva-Veda* had also spread in eastern India (Orissa and south-west Bengal) and in Gujarat. The entire *Paippalada* 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 *Saunaka Sanhita* of the *Atharva-Veda* has been more commonly current. It consists of 730 *suktas* divided into twenty *kandas* (books). About five-sixths of the *suktas*, which are called *artha-suktas*, contain metrical stanzas, whereas the remaining *suktas*, which are called *paryaya-suktas*, contain *avasanas* (prose-units). Unlike the *Rg-Veda Sanhita*, the arrangement of the *Atharva-Veda Sanhita* 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 *Rg-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, *bhaiṣajyāṇi*. The *Atharva-Veda* presents perhaps the most complete account of primitive medicine. There are also prayers for health and long life, *āyusyāṇi*; for happiness and prosperity, *pauṣṭikāṇi*. There are also spells pertaining to the various kinds of relationship with women, *strikārmāṇi*. Another significant section of this Veda contains hymns which concern themselves with affairs involving the king, *rājakārmāṇi*, and others which are intended for securing harmony in domestic, social, and political spheres, *sāhīmanasyāṇi*.

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*LITERATURE OF BRAHMANISM IN SANSKRIT*

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

As for black magic, the Atharva-Veda abounds in formulas for sorcery and imprecation, for exorcism and counter-exorcism, ābhicārikaṇi and kṣudgoyini-haraṇāmi. 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 Śāma-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 Samhitā period but are of the Brāhmaṇa period.

THE ŚĀMA-VEDA SAMHĪTA

The Śāma-Veda Samhitā is a collection of mantras prescribed for chanting at various soma sacrifices by the udgātṛ (singer-priest) and his assistants: thus this Veda serves an avowedly ritualistic purpose. Though called Śāma-Veda, it is not strictly speaking a collection of sāmans (chants). The Śāma-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 Śāma-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 Śāma-Veda is actually a collection of such sāmayoni-mantras. The collection is in two main parts: the Pūrvaśīkā and the Uttarāśīkā. The Pūrvaśīkā 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 Uttarāśīkā consists of 1,225 verses grouped into 400 units of connected verses which are mostly trças (strophes consisting of three verses). The total number of mantras in the Śāma-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 mandalas (books).

It is, however, not in the form in which they occur in the Śāma-Veda Samhitā that these mantras are employed by the 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 Śāma-Veda, are collected in four books: the
Grāmageya-gāṇa, the Āranyagāṇa, the Uha-gāṇa, and the Uhya-gāṇa. Of course, these gāṇa collections are quite distinct from the Sāma-Veda Sanhitā. Normally, each gāṇa in these collections is given some technical name, for example, Brhat, Rathantara, 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, Kātyāpāya Bāṛhiṣa, and another Gotamasya Parka, have evolved out of the first mantra in the Sāma-Veda Sanhitā. Consequently, the number of Sāma-gāṇas is much larger than the number of sāmayoni-mantras. The number of gāṇas in the Jaiminīya 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. Patañjali, in his Mahābhāṣya, speaks of the Sāma-Veda having a thousand ‘paths’, sahasravartma sāmoedha. 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 Bhagavad-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 SAMHITA

Like the Sāma-Veda, the Yajur-Veda is essentially ritualistic in character. This is clearly indicated by Yāśka’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 ādāvaryu (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 Sūkla 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 Sūkla Yajur-Veda contains the mantras and yajus only, reserving the corresponding ritualistic explanation and discussion for the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa which belongs to that Veda.
From among the many schools of the *Kṣuṇa Vajur-Veda* the Samhitās of only four schools are available today, either entirely or in fragments. These four schools are: the Taittiriya, the Kāśṭaka, the Maitrāyaṇi, and the Kapisthala-kāṭha. The Taittiriya school is traditionally divided into two branches, the Āukhya and the Khaṇḍīkeya. The Khaṇḍīkeya is further subdivided into five branches: the Āpastamba, the Baudhāyana, the Satyāṣāḍha, the Hiranyakesin, and the Bhāravāja. The Taittiriya school has preserved its literature perhaps most fully amongst all the Vedic schools, maintaining its continuity from the Samhitā period, through the Brāhmaṇa, the Āranyaka, and the Upaniṣad periods, to the Sūtra period. It is presumably on account of this fact that the Taittiriya school is often equated with the whole of the *Kṣuṇa Vajur-Veda*.

The name Taittiriya is variously explained. There is, for instance, the legend which narrates how Yājñavalkya, who had developed differences with his teacher Vaisampāyana, vomited the Veda which he had learned from his teacher; how, at the instance of Vaisampāyana, his other pupils, assuming the form of *tittiri* birds, consumed the vomited Veda; how, consequently, the Veda so recovered by the *tittiri* birds was called the *Taittirīya-Veda*; and how, finally, Yājñavalkya secured from the Sun-god another Veda which came to be known as the *Śukla* or bright *Vajur-Veda*. It is also suggested that, on account of the interspersion in it of the mantras and the brahmana portion, the *Kṣuṇa Vajur-Veda* appears variegated like a *tittiri* bird, and is therefore called the *Taittirīya 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 Āranyaka of the Taittirīya school form one single unit, and together cover the entire Vedic ritual. The *Taittirīya Samhitā* is divided into 7 kāṇḍas (parts), 44 prāṇas or ṭrṇātihakas (chapters), 651 anvūdakas (sections), and 2,198 kāṇḍikās (sub-sections). The principal sacrifices described in it include the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices and the agniṣṭoma, the vājapeya, the rājasuya, the sautrāmaṇi, the agnyādheya, the agnihoīra, the paśubandha, and the agnicayana. These are supplemented by the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* which deals with the asvamedha, the puruṣamedha, the nakṣatra sacrifices, and others, and also by the *Taittirīya Āranyaka* which deals with the sarvamedha, the pīṭhemeda, the pravargya, and others.

It may be observed that in the *Taittirīya* 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-ṭīṭha* 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. 1, pp. 234-63.*
The other Samhitas of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda agree substantially with the Tafttīrīya Saṁhitā in the matter of content and arrangement, and even verbally. The nucleus of the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā consists of three kāṇḍas, called Iṣṭikā, Mādhyanikā, 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 Saṁhitā occupies a position intermediate between the Tafttīrīya Saṁhitā and the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā. 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 Kāḷāpaka in every village’.6

The Saṁhitā of the Maitrāyaṇī school (the school that is closely related to that of the Māṇavas) may be said to be more systematic in its arrangement than either the Tafttīrīya Saṁhitā or the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā. Its nucleus is made up of three kāṇḍas, but there are also a fourth kāṇḍa, of the nature of an appendix, khaṇḍa, and a fifth kāṇḍa, which constitutes the Maitrī Upanisad. The Kāpiṣṭhala-kāṭha Saṁhitā 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 Saṁhitā shows but little divergence from that of the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā.

A significant feature of the Śukla Yajur-Veda Saṁhitā, which is also known as the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, is that the entire Saṁhitā and its Brāhmaṇa, called the Śaṭapatha Brāhmaṇa, have come down in two distinct versions, the Mādhayandina 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 -d occurring between two vowels as -l.

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 Saṁhitā is called Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā 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 vājasanī may even mean ‘the obtaining of food or strength’, which is, after all, the principal purpose of a sacrifice.

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

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constitutes what is popularly known as the *Isa Upaniṣad*. The *Kāṇva 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 Yajur-Veda Saṃhitā*. The sixteenth *adhyāya* of the *Mādhyandina Saṃhitā*, which forms the famous *Śatarūḍhīya* (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 *āsvamedha* contains historically significant allusions to Ambā, Ambikā, and Ambālikā, and also to Subhadrā of the city of Kāmpilya in the Pāñcāla country. It is also noteworthy that the *Mādhyandina Saṃhitā* uses the word *ārjuna* and the *Kāṇva 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 Pāñcālas and their country.

**VEDIC RITUAL: SACRIFICE AND INTERPRETATION**

The *Sāma-Veda Saṃhitā* and, more particularly, the *Yajur-Veda Saṃhitā* already reflect the stage in the evolution of the Brāhmaṇic 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 *prākṛti* 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 *prākṛti*), and also the *niṣya* (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, udgātr*, 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 *Ṛg-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.
Broadly speaking, a Brahmana text consists of two main parts, the *vidhi* and the *arthavāda*. 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 *dakṣiṇa* (sacrificial fee or gift), and the expiation rites. The corresponding *arthavāda* 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 Brahmanas 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 *arthavāda* sometimes lays stress on what is technically called the *rupa-samṛddhi* (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 potence. 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 *rupa-samṛddhi* of the sacrificial rite.

But perhaps the most common device employed in the *arthavāda* 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 BRAHMANAS**

Many Vedic texts are traditionally called Brahmanas, but the more important among them are the *Aitareya* and the *Kauṭiṭaki* belonging to the *Ṛg-Veda*; the *Taṭṭirīya* belonging to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda*; the *Satapatha* belonging to the *Sukla Yajur-Veda*; the *Jaiminiya* and *Tāṇḍya* belonging to the *Sāma-Veda*; and the *Gopatha* belonging to the *Atharva-Veda*.

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

The Kaśitaki Brāhmaṇa, also known as the Śāṅkhāyana 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 Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa is merely a continuation of the Taittirīya Śāńhitā. Its three kāṇḍas either supplement the discussion of the ritual in the Śāṁhitā 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 Mādhyandīna version of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa consists of 14 kāṇḍas (each with a separate name derived from its contents), 68 prapāṭhakas or 100 adhyāyas (from which the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa presumably gets its name as ‘the Brāhmaṇa with a hundred paths or sections’), 498 brāhmaṇas, and 7,624 kandikās. 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 Mādhyandīna-Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which seem to represent the older portion, fully correspond with the first eighteen adhyāyas of the Vājasaneyi Śāṁhitā, and thus cover the basic sacrificial ritual. The tenth kāṇḍa, called Agnirahasya speaks of the mystical significance of the various aspects of the sacred fires; while the eleventh, called Aṣṭādhyāyi, recapitulates the entire sacrificial ritual. The twelfth kāṇḍa is called Madhyama, 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 Śaśṭipatha (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 asvamedha sacrifice and also, rather briefly, with the purusamedha 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 Brhadāraṇyaka 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 Purūravas and Urvasī; and the contest between Kadrū and Vinatā. Another important feature is that, while some portions of this Brahmana are intimately connected with the Kuru-Pāncalas, others have their provenance in Kośala-Videha. This fact clearly indicates that the Satapatha 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 Śāndilya in kāṇḍas VI-X.

The Sāma-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 pariśṭas (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 sāmaṇgās (the priests who chant or recite the Sāma-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 Sāma-Veda is the Tāṇḍya 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 satras (sacrificial sessions) organized on the banks of the Drśadvatī and the Sarasvatī, and its treatment of the vṛāya-stomas (hymns of praise). Like the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, the Sāma-Veda has a Śadvimśa 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 prapāṭhakas. The Caranāsasyūha, which is one of the pariśṭas 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 Atharvanic 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 ARANYAKAS

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, āraṇya. 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 samhitā-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 Mahāorata.

The Kaṇṭakiti 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 Kaṇṭakiti Upaniṣad.

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

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

THE UPANIṢADS

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 upaniśa and thus made to mean something like cause or connection. In his bhāṣya (commentary) on the Taittiriya 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 Vedāṇta, because they represent the concluding portion of the apauruseya Veda or Śruti, 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 prasthāṇas (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 Kṛṣṭopaniṣad and the Ālopaniṣad. 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 stākhā or the other, and several of them actually form part of a larger literary complex.
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

THE EARLIEST AND THE MOST IMPORTANT UPA NiSADS

The Isa Upanisad belongs to the Sukla Yajur-Veda and is included in the Vājasaney Sāṁhitā as its last adhyāya, that is, the fortieth. This Upanisad, 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 amṛtatva (immortality).

The Kena Upanisad, 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 Isvara, aparā-vidyā (lower knowledge), and krama-mukti (gradual liberation). This Upanisad contains the famous legend of Umā Haimavati.

One of the better-known Upanisads is the Kaṭha or Kāṭhaka Upanisad, which belongs to the Kṛṣṇa 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 Upanisad is that it has many passages in common with the Bhagavad-Gītā.

The Prasna Upanisad, the Muṇḍa or Muṇḍaka Upanisad, and the Māṇḍūkya Upanisad belong to the Atharva-Veda. The Prasna Upanisad, as its name suggests, deals, in its six sections, with six questions, prasnas, 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 Upanisad discusses samyāsa (renunciation) and parā-vidyā as against saṁsāra (the world) and aparā-vidyā. Incidentally, India’s national motto satyam eva jayate (truth alone triumphs) is taken from this Upanisad (III. 1. 6). The Māṇḍūkya Upanisad 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 Gauḍāpāda, Śaṅkara’s predecessor, wrote a commentary on this Upanisad, his famous Māṇḍūkya-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 Taittirīya Upanisad is a part of the larger literature complex of the Taittirīya school of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda. As has been pointed out, the seventh, eighth, and ninth books of the Taittirīya Aranyaka constitute the Taittirīya Upanisad, the tenth and last being the Mahā-nārāyaṇa Upanisad. The Taittirīya Upanisad is divided into three sections called vallis: the Śiksā-valli, the Brahmānanda-valli and the Bhrigu-valli. The Aitareya Upanisad of the Rg-Veda is equivalent to the Aitareya Aranyaka (II. 4–6).
The most important of the Upanisads are the Čhandogya and the Brhadāranyaka. The Čhandogya Brāhmaṇa, belonging to the Kauthuma Śākhā of the Sāma-Veda, consists of ten chapters. The first two chapters, which comprise the Mantra Brāhmaṇa, deal with ritualistic subjects, while the last eight chapters constitute the Čhandogya Upaniṣad. Some of the topics of particular philosophical interest in this Upaniṣad are the Sāṇḍilya-vidyā (the technique taught by the sage Sāṇḍilya); the saṃvarga-vidyā (the technique relating to the all-consuming cosmic wind), the vaśvānara-vidyā (the technique relating to the all-consuming cosmic fire), and the teachings imparted by Prajāpati to Indra, by Ghora Āngirasa to Kṛṣṇa Devakiputra, by Uddālaka Aruṇi to Śvetaketu, and by Sanatkumāra to Nārada.

The Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, which belongs to the Śukla Yajur-Veda, is the biggest and perhaps the oldest of the Upaniṣads. In the Madhyandina recension this Upaniṣad corresponds with Chapters IV–VIII of the fourteenth kāṇḍa and Chapter VI of the tenth kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the same recension. The Kāṇḍa Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad (which, incidentally, Śaṅkara chose for his commentary) is analogous to the last six chapters of the sixteenth kāṇḍa of the Kāṇḍa Śatapatha 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 Brhadāranyaka 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 Śvetāsvatara and the Maitri, or Maitreyani, both of which belong to the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda, and the Kauṭāṅkiki which belongs to the Rg-Veda.

The Śvetāsvatara 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 Maitreyani 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 Kauṭāṅkiki Upaniṣad, though also called Kauṭāṅkiki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, is not connected with the Kauṭāṅkiki (or Sāṁkhya) Brāhmaṇa. As we have already
seen, this Upaniṣad is the third chapter of the Śāṅkhāyana Āryaṇyaka. Among other topics, it deals with the progressive definition of the Brahman, the course to Brahmaloka (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 Sāmānyya-Vedānta, Yoga, Sannyāsa, Śaiva, Vaishnava, 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-Buddhist. 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 apauruseya. 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: śikṣā (phonetics); kalpa (socio-religious practice and ritual); vyākaraṇa (grammar); nīruktā (etymology, exegesis, and mythology); chandas (metrics); and jyotisā (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 Grhya-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 Taittiriya Śākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Tājur-Veda. This
Kalpa-Sūtra consists of thirty prānas (literally questions, chapters), the first twenty-three of which constitute the Śrauta-Sūtra. The twenty-fourth prāna is called the paribhāṣā-prāna and contains the paribhāṣā (general rules and definitions) connected with the ritual. In view of its character as ‘introduction’, this prāna 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-prāna also comprises the pravara (the series of ancestors) and the hautra (the duties of the hotṛ). The twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth prānas give the mantras to be employed for the various grhya rites, while the twenty-seventh prāna makes up the Āpastamba Grhya-Sūtra proper. The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth prānas contain the Dharma-Sūtra, and the thirtieth prāna is the Sulva-Sūtra. To these thirty prānas is sometimes added a thirty-first prāna which constitutes the Pitrmedha-Sūtra.

Among such complete Kalpa-Sūtras which are available today may be mentioned those belonging to the Baudhāyana, the Hiranyakesin, and the Vaikhānasa schools of the Taṅtirīya 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 Sulva-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 gṛhaṇā, 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 udgātṛ, and their assistants. According to the traditional enumeration, the śrauta sacrifices include the seven havīrajña-sansthā sacrifices (with clarified butter), namely, agnyādheya, agnihotra, dārśapūrṇamāsa, āgrayaṇa, cūṭurmāya, nīruḍhapāsabandha, and sautrāmaṇi; and also the seven soma-jñā-saṁsthā sacrifices (with soma juice), namely, agnissoma, atyagnissoma, ukthya, sūdaṣi, vajapeya, aitrātra, and āpioryāma.
The śrauta sacrifices are also classified in three groups: (i) īśīś (corn sacrifices, with oblations of butter, fruits, and so on) of which the darsapūrṇamāsa sacrifice is the norm; (ii) the pāśu (animal) sacrifices, of which the niśīḍha-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 adhvaryu plays the most active role in the śrauta ritual, and the Yajur-Veda is essentially the Veda for the adhvaryu.

The Baudhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra belongs to the Taittirīya Śākhā 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 Dvaidha and the Karmanta; the former critically records the views on ritualistic practices held by the various ācāryas of the Taittirīya Śākhā.

The other Śrauta-Sūtras which belong to the Taittirīya Śākhā are the Bhāradvāja, the Āpastamba, the Satyāsādha-Hrīanyakesi, the Vaikhamasa, and the Vādhūla. The Bhāradvāja Śrauta-Sūtra consists of fifteen prāṇas, the Paitṛmedhī Śpruta, and the Pariṣesha-Sūtra. It does not give any hauṭra at all. The Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtra is the best known of the Śrauta-Sūtras. A Hauṭrapānitiṣṭa ascribed to Āpastamba is also available. There is considerable similarity between the Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtra and the Satyāśādha-Hrīanyakesi Śrauta-Sūtra so far as their ritual is concerned. A noteworthy feature of the Vaikhamasa Śrauta-Sūtra is that, unlike the other Śrauta-Sūtras belonging to the Yajur-Veda (which begin with the description of the Darsapūrṇamāsa sacrifice) it begins with the agnyādheya 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 Śākhā, the Māṇava and the Vārāha, the former is closely connected with the Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtra, while a pariṣṭa 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 Kāṭhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra is the only Śrauta-Sūtra of the Śukla Yajur-Veda. It does not contain the hauṭra, but it has as many as ten pariṣṭas. The two Śrauta-Sūtras of the Rg-Veda, the Āśvalāyana and the Śāṅkhāyana, deal mainly with the hauṭra. 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 pājallas (chapters), but only the first fifteen of them have been published so far. The Gobhila Śrāuta-Sūtra deals with the piṇḍa-piṭṛ-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-piṭṛ-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, Puṣa, Māgha, and Phālguna. The Vaitāna-Sūtra of the Atharva-Veda is a short text concerning the duties of the brahman and his assistants, and also of the sacrificer. The Kauśīka-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-prāyaṣcittāni may also be mentioned. It deals with expiation rites and the forty-fifth pariśīśa of the Atharva-Veda, which is called Agnihotra-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-sanāthās: aupāśana homa, vaiśvadeva, pārvanā, aṣṭakā, māśirṛddha, sarpabali, and itiānabali; and also the rites connected with the various samākāras (sacraments). Some rites, like the āgrayaṇa, the madhuparka, and the obsequies are common to both the Śrāuta-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 Śrāuta-Sūtra. It is, however, difficult to say whether the Śrāuta-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 Śrāuta-Sūtras, the Gṛhya-Sūtras show, to a certain extent, the influence of the specific Vedic schools to which they belong. The Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra, which belongs to the Śāṅkhāyana school of the Rg-Veda and which is based on the Bāskala 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 Suyajña Śāṅkhāyana. The Kauśīka Gṛhya-Sūtra, which is attributed to Sāmbavaya, has five chapters and is almost a replica of the original Śāṅkhāyana 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 Gṛhya-Sūtras of the Rg-Veda, such as the Śaunaka, the Bhāraviya, the Sākalya, the Pāṇigi, and the Parāyana, are referred to in other texts.

Of the two Gṛhya-Sūtras of the Sukla Yajur-Veda, one is published. This is the Pāraskara Gṛhya-Sūtra, which is also known as the Kāṭiya Gṛhya-Sūtra or the Vājasaneyya Gṛhya-Sūtra. The other one, the Bajāvāpa Gṛhya-Sūtra, is known only through references to it in other works. The Pāraskara Gṛhya-Sūtra is connected with the Mādhyanandina Śākhā.

The largest number of published Gṛhya-Sūtras belong to the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda. The Baudhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra (with four praṇas), the Bhāradvāja Gṛhya-Sūtra (with three praṇas), the Āpastamba Gṛhya-Sūtra (with three praṇas, of which two give only the mantras for gṛhya rites while the third gives the injunctions regarding the performance of these rites), and the Satyāsāha-Htanranyakesi Gṛhya-Sūtra (with two praṇas) are included in the Kalpa-Sūtra corpuses of their respective Vedic schools. The Vaikhānasā Gṛhya-Sūtra, which also belongs to the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda, presupposes (like the Āpastamba Gṛhya-Sūtra) a collection of mantras to which it refers only by pratikas (symbols). The Agnivesāya Gṛhya-Sūtra is ascribed to Agnivesa who is said to have founded the Agnivesa school which forms a subdivision of the Vadhūla school of the Taittirīya Śākhā. However, in the matter of both style and content this Gṛhya-Sūtra differs substantially from the other Gṛhya-Sūtras of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda.

It appears to have been largely influenced by the religious practices of a comparatively late date. The Maitrāyanī Śākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda has two Gṛhya-Sūtras, the Mānava Gṛhya-Sūtra and the Vārāha Gṛhya-Sūtra. The Mānava Gṛhya-Sūtra is divided into two main sections, called puruṣas. Among the topics which seem to be peculiar to this Gṛhya-Sūtra, mention may be made of the worship of the four Vināyakas, the ṣaṭṭikalpa, vratacaryā, and sandhyā, and the several dikṣās. The Vārāha Gṛhya-Sūtra has quite a large number of sūtras in common with the Mānava Gṛhya-Sūtra and the Kāṭhaka Gṛhya-Sūtra. The Kāṭhaka Gṛhya-Sūtra belongs to the Kāṭhaka Śākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda and, because it has five principal parts, it is known as Gṛhya-paṇcikā. It is also called the Laugāksi Gṛhya-Sūtra.

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

Compared with Śrauta-Sūtras and Gṛhya-Sūtras which are available, the Dharma-Sūtras 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-Sūtras are now completely lost. There is another significant point about the Dharma-Sūtras. This is that although the different Dharma-Sūtras 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 śrāuta and gṛhya 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-Sūtras, had in general become common to the entire Vedic-Aryan community. Understandably, the connection between a Dharma-Sūtra and any particular Vedic school was often tenuous. Within a Kalpa corpus the Dharma-Sūtra usually follows the Gṛhya-Sūtra. It may also be noted that many topics, such as the āśrama-dharmas (special duties of each period of life), are common to the Gṛhya-Sūtra and the Dharma-Sūtra.

The arrangement of the subject-matter in the Dharma-Sūtras is not at all orderly. In the light of the classification of topics in some of the later metrical Smṛtis, however, it is possible to classify the topics of the Dharma-Sūtras under three main heads: āśāra (conduct), vyavahāra (dealings), including rājadharma (a king’s duty), and prāyaścitta (expiation). As for the literary form of the Dharma-Sūtras, they contain sūtras interspersed with metrical passages; two exceptions to this are the Gautama Dharma-Sūtra and the Vaikhānasa Dharma-Sūtra.

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

The Baudhāyana Dharma-Sūtra, which has four praśnas, forms part of the Baudhāyana Kalpa-Sūtra. It is doubtful, however, whether Baudhāyana is person-
ally the author of this Sutra, for in it he is referred to in the third person and also as Bhagavân Baudhāyana. The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth prāṇas of the Āpastamba Kalpa-Sūtra form the Dharma-Sūtra of that school. There are many indications to show that the Gṛhya-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-seventieth prāṇas 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 Vāśishtha 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. Vāśishtha, who is presumably the author of this Sūtra, is referred to in the Manu Śmrī and the Tājñāvalkya Śmrī 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 prāṇas VIII—X of the Vaikhānasa Smārta-Sūtra, deals, more or less exclusively, with the varnāśrama-dharmas (the special duties of each caste and of each period of life). It is closely related to the Manu Śmrī, 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 Viṣṇu Śmrī which, in the colophons of some of its manuscripts, is also called the Viṣṇu Dharma-śāstra. The Viṣṇu Śmrī has 100 chapters, and, as its name suggests, it claims divine authorship. Many of its verses are found also in the Manu Śmrī. It has been suggested that this work originally belonged to the Kāṭhaka Sākhā 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-śāstra, produced in the period of transition from the Dharma-Sūtras to the metrical Śmrīs.

Dharma-Sūtras and Dharma-Śastras

Broadly speaking, the Dharma-śastras or metrical Śmrīs represent a later stage than the Dharma-Sūtras in the evolution of the literature on Dharmashāstra. But it cannot be assumed on this account that every Śmrī had as its basis a Dharma-Sūtra, or that every Dharma-Sūtra developed in course of time into a metrical Śmrī. This point has special relevance in connection with the problem relating to the Manu Śmrī and the Mānava Dharma-Sūtra. It was suggested that the extant Manu Śmrī was a metrical redaction of the Mānava Dharma-Sūtra which belonged to the Maitrāyaṇī Sākhā of the Kṛṣṇa Tajur-Veda.
But no *Manava 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 *Manava 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 *apauruṣeya* and *pauruṣeya*, 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 *Brāhmaṇism*, 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 counteracting 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

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*The topics discussed in this section are dealt with more elaborately in the next three articles of this Part.*
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 lokasati-graha (social solidarity) acquired as much importance as the Upanishadic 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 pariṣṭās, the prayogas, and the paddhatis, all of which, of course, belong to a fairly late date. The Vaikānasā-Sūtras, for instance, which claim to belong to a school of the Tājur-Veda, are actually related to a Vaiṣṇava school in South India. Similarly, the Baudhāyana Gṛhya-paṇiṣṭā-sūtra deals with some aspects of Viṣṇu-pūjā. Such texts, though ostensibly Vedic, have taken over many non-Vedic beliefs and practices.

THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ 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 Jāya, 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 parvans. Some typical religious sections are: the Sūrya-nāma-stotra (Āranyakaparvan), the Śanai-sujātiya (Udyogaparvan), the Bhagavad-Gītā and the Vāsudeva-stuti (Bhīṣmaparvan), the Śatarudriya (Dronaparvan), the Jāpakopākhyāna, the Nārāyanīya, and the Unchauśītyapākhyāna (Śanīparvan), the Śiva-sahasranāma-stotra, the Gaṅgā-stava, and the Viṣṇusahasranāma-stotra (Anuśūsanaparvan), the Īsvara-stuti and the Anu-Gītā (Āśvamedhikaparvan). There is also the Harivamsa which is traditionally regarded as a khilaparvan of the great epic.

If the Mahābhārata (with the Harivamsa) glorifies the Kṛṣṇa incarnation, the other epic, the Rāmāyaṇa, gives an account of the Rāma incarnation. This incarnation is traditionally believed to have been earlier than the Kṛṣṇa incarnation; composition of the Rāmāyaṇa, 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 Rāmāyaṇa 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 Rāmāyaṇa presents a more unitary structure; it is not too overloaded with extraneous sautic (bardic) material and is distinguished by several features of classical Sanskrit poetry. It has seven kāṇḍas—the entire seventh kāṇḍa evidently is a later interpolation. It contains several sections of religious significance, such as the Sūrya-stava (which is also called Ādiyā-hṛdaya-
stotra) by Agastya and the Rāma-stuti by Brahmapī (both in the Yuddha-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 Purānas 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 itiḥāsa-purāṇa tradition. It is customary to divide the itiḥāsa-purāṇa literature into three broad classes: itiḥāsa or epic history, represented by the Mahābhārata; kāvyā 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 vaṁśāvānca (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 pāṇca-laksāna. Nor do they adhere even to the five additional topics, altogether forming the dasa-laksāna (ten topics). The five additional topics are: vṛtti (means of livelihood), rakṣa (incarnations of gods), muktī (final emancipation), hetu (living beings), and apakāya (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), vrata (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 Vaiṣṇava, the Bhāgavata, the Nārādiya, the Mārkandeya, the Agni, the Bhaṭṭiya, the Brahma-vaiśvarita, the Varāha, the Liṅga, the Skanda, the Vāmana, the Kūrma, the Matsya, the Garuḍa, and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas. They are classified either as sattvika, tamasa, and rajas (as in the Padma Purāṇa), or in accordance with the divinity (such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmapī, Devī) which they glorify (as in the Skanda Purāṇa).

Tradition also speaks of eighteen Upapurāṇas, upa meaning ‘secondary’. These are: the Sanatkumāra, the Nārasiṁha, the Nanda, the Śivadharma, the Dvārakās, the Nārādiya, the Kāpiya, the Vāmana, the Uti, the Vāruṇa, the Kāli, the Mahēśvara, the Śamba, the Saura, the Pārāśara, the Mārica, and the Bhāgavata 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 Vaiṣṇavism.

Among other significant works may be mentioned the Bhṛhat Saṅhitā 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 bhākṭi are: the Bhakti-Sūtras of Nārada (tenth century); the Bhakti-Sūtras of Śaṅkara (earlier than the tenth century); the Bhakti-ratnāvali (A.D. 1400), an anthology compiled by Viṣṇu Puri containing passages relating to bhākṛ taken from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa; and Vallabha’s Bhakti-vibhāhini. Several imitations of the Bhagavad-Gītā were attempted. Among them the better known ones are the Viṣṇu-Gītā which occurs in the Kurma Purāṇa and is itself a Pāṇḍita (Śaivite) redaction of a Vaiṣṇava work, and the Avadhūta-Gītā which is regarded as one of the Sannyāsa Upaniṣads.

THE DHARMA-SAŚTRAS

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 Saṁhitā, 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 prāyasthānas 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-cintamani by Hemadhri
(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 Śūtras, the expository works on
the Śūtras, 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 Stotras.

THE TANTRAS OR AGAMA 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 Kāmakāgama7 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 Brāhma­nic
Hinduism. But their distinctive feature is their religious practices which include
mantra (sacred formula addressed to a deity); bija (mystical letter or syllable

7 Tanat yajñāṁ arthaṁ tattva mantra samādirityān;
Trāṅga kuruṁ yasmāṁ tantram ity abhidhyate.
(Kāmakāgama)
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); maṇḍala (mystical diagram without bija letters); yāga (sacrifice); yoga (meditation) and upāsanā (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 vidyā or jñāna (soteriological theology); kṛyā (practices of the cult); cāryā (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 Śakti. The Tāntric texts belonging to these sects are called respectively: the Āgamas, the Samhitās, and the Tantras. It is generally believed that the Āgamas originated in Kashmir, the Samhitās 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 Sabda-kalpadruma8 (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 Vasudeva (Viśnu).’

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, Aṇiśūmat, and Suprabheda. Five of them came from the aghora mouth (the mouth of the benign aspect). These are: Viśaya, Nītrīvāsa, Śvāyāmbhuva, Anāla, and Vīra. Five of them came from the tatpuruṣa mouth (the mouth of the aspect of the supreme Person or Consciousness). These are: Raurava, Mākuṭa, Vīnala, Candrajñāna, and Bimba. Eight of them came from the tśāna mouth (the mouth of the aspect of the supreme Lord or supreme Power). These are: Pradgīta, Lalīta, Siddha, Sāntāna, Sarvokta, Pārameśvara, Kṛṣṇa, 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

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8 Āgatah pātavakātīt tu gatahaṃ gurujānomb; Matalaṃ vāsudeva-sya tamād āgamaṃ vigata. (Sabda-kalpadruma)
These works were produced by such teachers as Aghora-sīvā-cārya 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 gurukkals 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 Tantric 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 Bṛhaspati, respectively. Traditionally, 108 Sāṁhitās 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 Sāṁhitās are given various names such as Ekāyana-Veda, Mūla-Veda, Mūla-Śrutī, Pāñcama-Veda, and Mahopaniṣad, and some of them are specially honoured. For instance, three Sāṁhitās, the Sāttiṣa, the Pauṣkara, and the Jāyākṣa Sāṁhitā, are said to constitute the ratna-trayi (jewel-triad). The Ahirbuddhnya Sāṁhitā is, however, better known since it was the first to have received critical treatment in modern times. This Sāṁhitā is believed to have originated in Kashmir early in the fifth century A.D. The major part of it is devoted to discussions of kriya 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-trayi is presumably older than the Ahirbuddhnya Sāṁhitā, the oldest work being perhaps the Sāttiṣa (third century). Among other well-known Sāṁhitās are the following: The Īśvara is perhaps one of the earlier ones produced in South India; it is quoted by Yāmuna, Rāmānuja’s teacher. The Pānuṣkara and the Pauṣkara are quoted by Rāmānuja. The Brhadbrahma is believed to belong to what is known as the Nārada Pāñcarātra; it contains prophecies regarding Rāmānuja and must therefore be later than the twelfth century. The Jñānāmya-sāra 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 Kāyapa, the Pārameśvara and the Lakṣmī Sāṁhitās.

Side by side with the Pāñcarātra there also developed the Tāntric Vaiṣṇava cult known as the Vaikhanāsas. The Viṣṇava temples in South India, and to a certain extent in Rajasthan and Orissa, are governed either by the Pāñcarātra canons or by the Vaikhanāsa canons. For instance, the religious rites at the Varadarāja temple at Kanchipuram and at the Śrīraṅganātha temple at Srirangam are performed according to the Pāñcarātra; while those at the
Venkatesvara temple at Tirupati are performed according to the Vaikhanasa (though, curiously enough, at the temple of Padmavati, Venkatesvara’s consort, the rites are performed according to the Pāñcarātra). Similarly, some specific Saṅhitās are regarded as authoritative at specific temples, as for instance, the Pauṣkara and the Pārameśvara at the Śrīraṅganātha temple; the Jayākhya and the Pādma at the Varadarāja temple; and the Sāttvata and the Iśvara at Melkote, though the Pādma Saṅhitā is seen generally to govern the Vaiṣnava pūjā.

Though the Śaṅkta 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 Mahānirvāṇa 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 Śaṅkta 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: pāṇca-tattva (the five principles); pāṇca-makāra, the five m’s: matsya (fish), mudrā ( parched grains used in tantrika worship), mādyā (liquor), māṁsa (meat), maithuna (coition); cakra-pūjā (worship in a circle); and symbolic meditation on Śakti. Its metaphysics is not different from the Śāṇkhya and the Vedānta, and its dharma (social ethics) seems to have been adopted from the Manu Smṛti.

The Kulāṛṇava 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-cūḍāmaṇi serves as a popular manual on Tantric ritual; the Prapaṇca-sūtra discusses the ‘essence of the universe’; the Jñānāṇaraṇa concerns kumārī-puṇya (worship of a maiden as the goddess), which it regards as the highest sacrifice; the Śrāadā-tilaka expounds the esoteric significance of mantras and yantras; the Togini includes the māhātmya (the peculiar efficacy or virtue) of the Kāmākhya temple; and the Gandharva speaks of images.

Other important Śaṅkta texts are the Śrīcakra-saṁbhāra, the Kāmakalā-vilāsa, the Advaita-bhāvopanisad, and the Saṭcakra-nirūpana. The Devī-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 Śaṅkta pūjā. The Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa (A.D. 1100) is a Śaṅkta counterpart of the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Adbhuta-
Ramayana is obviously a late work designed to introduce the Śakti cult into Vaiṣṇavism 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 Viśṇu (Kālidāsa, Raghuvamsa, X); the hymn to Brahmā (Kālidāsa, Kumārasambhava, II); the hymn to Mahādeva (Bhāravi, Kirātārjunīya closing canto); the hymn to Kṛṣṇa (Māgha, Śīśupālavadha, XIV); and the hymn to Caṇḍi (Ratnākara, Haravijaya, XLVII).

In a sense, the nāndi 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: Bhārā-stotra-muktāhara, the two Bhārā-stotra-ratnakaras, the Bhārā-stava-kavaca-malla, and some of the guchchakas of the Kāśya-malla.

The major stotras usually relate to one of the five divinities: Gaṇapati, Śūrya, Śiva, Śakti, and Viśṇu, 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 Viśṇu, either individually or collectively. Again, a substantial number of stotras are addressed to what may be called localized divinities, such as Veṅkatesa of Tirupati, Miṅkṣi of Madurai, Viśvanātha of Vārānasi, and Śrīrāṅganātha of Śrīrāṅgam. Minor divinities like Śaṅkī, Śītā, 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 Bāṇa (seventh century), is the Caṇḍī-śataka. It is in praise of Maḥiṣāsura-mardini (the goddess who slew the buffalo demon) and has one hundred and two verses, mostly in sragdhara metre. The Śūrya-śataka by Bāṇa’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-lahari (twenty verses in śikharinī metre); the Sauḍārya-lahari in praise of Śakti (one hundred...
and three in śikharini, the last verse being in vasanta-nilaka metre); the Mohamud-gara which is also known as the Duḍāśa-pañjārikā; the Bhaja-govinda which is also known as the Carpaṭa-pañjari; the Harimīde; and the Śivaparādhaka-śamā-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-sūtaka of Ānandavardhana (A.D. 850); it seems to have been planned more as an essay in alamkāra than as a religious hymn. The hymnal literature produced by the Kashmiri poets includes: the Stava-cintāmaṇi of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa (ninth century); the Śiva-stotrāvali of Utpaladeva (tenth century); the Bhānopahāra of Cakrapāṇinātha (eleventh century); and the Ardhanārīśvarastotra of Kalhaṇa (twelfth century). The Śamba-pañcāśikā, which is a hymn to the Sun-god, and which is traditionally attributed to Kṛṣṇa’s son Śamba, 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 Śotra-ratna of Yāmunācārya (eleventh century), the Gadya-traya of Rāmānuja (eleventh-twelfth century), and Nyāsa-dāśaka and Aṣṭābhujajāṭaka 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, Karuṇā, and Lakṣmi laharis. Nilakanṭha Dīkṣita of about the same period wrote a hymn to Mīnākṣi, called Ānanda-sāgara-stava; while his pupil Rāmabhādra wrote three poems in praise of Rāma’s various weapons, and the Varṇamālā-stotra which is an alphabetically arranged eulogy of Rāma. Hymnal literature was also produced in connection with the Caitanya movement, such as the Śikṣāśataka by Caitanya himself (fifteenth century), the Śtava-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-karnāmṛta of Lilāsuka, 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 āśvāsas (sections) of over a hundred verses each; while the Bengal recension has only one āśvāsa 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 rāsakṛiḍā (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 padāvalīs (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. Vallabhačārya’s son, Viṭṭhalaśvara (fifteenth century), wrote the Śṛṅgāra-rasa-mandana. It contains songs modelled on Jayadeva’s compositions. Another work, the Kṛṣṇalilā-taraṅgini by Nārāyaṇatirtha (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 Ramayana and the Mahabharata represent both the ethos and the epos of ancient India. The Ramayana, 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 Vālmiki 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 Ramayana, is called the ādikavi, the first poet of the classical period of Sanskrit literature. Ānandavardhana (ninth century A.D.), the famous rhetorician, analysing Vālmiki’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 rasa1 in poetry. The origin of the Mahabharata, according to tradition, is that it was penned by the elephant-headed deity Ganesa 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 kuśālavas (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 Mahabharata had attained its present form by about the fourth century A.D. The Ramayana probably assumed its present shape a century or two earlier.

THE RAMAYANA*

Tradition places the Ramayana earlier than the Mahabharata. The nucleus of the Mahabharata may have been older than that of the Ramayana, 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 ‘saveur’, 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 Adhyatma-Ramayana and the Yogavasishtha-Ramayana are philosophical works and are, there-
their present forms the Rāmāyana appears to be the earlier work. The Rāmāyana is more ornate than the Mahābhārata, more refined and sophisticated; the ballad style of the Mahābhārata is not present here. The Rāmāyana 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 Rāmāyana is briefly this: Daśaratha, king of Ayodhya, is about to install his eldest son, Rāma, on the throne. Kaikēyi, 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, Rāvana, abducts Sītā. Rāma, determined to rescue Sītā, wages a dour war against Rāvana who is ultimately vanquished and killed. Rāma comes back to Ayodhya 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 Ayodhya speak ill of Rāma for taking back Sītā from Rāvana'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 Rāmāyana is not substantiated by reliable evidence. Two allusions in the Rāmāyana to Yavanas (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.’

Some scholars, notably Weber, think that the epic was based on an ancient Buddhist legend of Rāma, the Daśaratha Jātaka. Winternitz, Bülcke, and others,
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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 Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, the Rg-Veda, the Atharva-Veda, and some of the Grhya-Sūtras, some zealous mythologists regard these as bearing the first germs of the story of the Rāmāyana.

LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS

In the Rāmāyana, 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; Laksmana'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 Lankā, 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 him decree without a word of protest, taking it as a decree of her own destiny. Kaikeyī, 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 Rāmāyana 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 Rāmāyana 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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5 Of Ibid., p. 510.
6 Of Monier Williams, Indian Wisdom, p. 348 n. 1 and p. 362 n. See also A. A. Macdonell, A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 262, and HIL, pp. 515-16.
7 Rām., II. 34 3.
grove, Hanūmān catches a glimpse of the emaciated Sītā. 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 Rāvana, Sītā 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 Rāmāyaṇa, unlike the Mahābhārata, 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 Rāmāyaṇa. In the Mahābhārata, 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 Rāmāyaṇa creates an idyll out of nature and produces a lyrical effect. The sad prospect of Rāma’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 Ayodhyā reeks like an ocean agitated (II. 41).

The description of the rainy season in the Rāmāyaṇa (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 Rāma like the tears shed by Sītā. As Rāma watches streaks of lightning, again his thoughts turn to Sītā. The lightning tries to pierce the dark clouds and shines through them, but its dazzling brightness is dimmed by them as Sītā, in Rāvana’s captivity, is emaciated and bereft of all her lustre as she struggles to escape. 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. 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. Vālmiki’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.

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8 Ibid., IV. 28. 7.
9 Ibid., IV. 28. 11-12.
10 Ibid., IV. 28. 20.
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. Daśaratha broken down by the separation from his dearest son, Rāma; the city of Ayodhyā 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 mahākāvyā, as defined in poetics. It is thus a precursor of the vast and varied classical kāvyā literature in Sanskrit. The epic is a kāvyā of the romantic type, the element of romance being most marked in the Sundara-kāṇḍa. 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 anuṣṭubh, 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 Rāvana 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 Rāvana 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 Rāvana, 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 Lakṣmana. But Lakṣmana could not see Him, because Sītā stood between them. Lakṣmana may be compared to the Jīva, and Sītā to Māyā. Man cannot see God on account of the barrier of Māyā.' Vide Gospel of Śri Rāmakṛṣṇa (tr) by Swami Nikhilananda, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras, p. 101.

Swami Vivekananda said in the course of a conversation that Śri Rāma was the Paramātman
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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 *summum bonum* of life, *mokṣa*. Verses 14-31 of the *Ayodhya-kānda* (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 *kāvya* 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 Lāṅkā (Ceylon). The Jīvātman which was enclosed in the body, or captured in the island of Lāṅkā, was always desired to be in affinity with the Paramātman, or Śrī Rāma. But the Rāxsasas would not allow it, and Rāxsasas represented certain traits of character. For instance, Vībhīṣana represented *sattva guna*; Rāvana, *rajas*; and Kumbhakarna, *tamas*. *Satva guna* means goodness; *rajas* means lust and passions, and *tamas* darkness, stupor, avarice, malice, and its concomitants. These *gunas* keep back Sītā, or Jīvatman, from joining Paramātman, or Rāma. Sītā was imprisoned and trying to unite with her Lord, receives a visit from Hanumān, the *guru* or divine teacher, who shows her the Lord’s ring, which is *Brahma-Brāhma-jīva*, 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 Jīvātman 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.*

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whole range of Sanskrit literature, there are very few poems more charming
than this one by the ādikavi. ‘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.’

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

The kernel of the Mahābhārata story is briefly this: The Pāṇḍavas, headed
by Yudhiṣṭhira, and the Kauravas, headed by Duryodhana, descended
from common ancestors. Duryodhana becomes jealous and, coveting the crown
invites Yudhiṣṭhira to a game of dice. As the result of a rash wager,
Yudhiṣṭhira loses his kingdom to Duryodhana and is then forced to go into
exile, together with his brothers and Draupadī, 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 Yudhiṣṭhira, 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’, a ‘reper­
tory of the whole of the old bard poetry of ancient India’. 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
edifying and testify to the great literary skill of the author. This may be seen,
for example, in the legends of Nala and Damayantī, 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. Yudhiṣṭhira, 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

15 Monier Williams, op. cit.
18 Cf. HIL, Vol. I, p. 327. In the epic itself, it is described as Itiḥāsa (I. 2. 237), Artha-śāstra,
Dharma-śāstra, and Mokṣa-śāstra (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).

55
in his devotion to dharma, he has an unshaken faith that dharma must ultimately triumph. Arjuna is the warrior par excellence. Bhima, 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 state-craft and also in the art of warfare. Materialistic in outlook, he is concerned mainly with artha (wealth) and kama (desire), and does not bother himself about dharma. He thus serves as an excellent foil to Yudhishthira. Karṇa, 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 Draupadi, the wife of the five Pāṇḍavas. Her speech18 to spur the quiet Yudhishthira to action is fiery and imbued with the high Kṣatriya spirit. Gāndhārī, the mother of the Kauravas and wife of the blind Dṛḍtarāṣṭra, is similarly forthright. She condemns Dṛḍtarāṣṭra 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 Sāvitri 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 Dṛḍtarāṣṭra. 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 sāntarasa (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 Draupadi (I. 176-79), and many other such scenes

\[18\text{ Mbh., III. 28, 29, 31 and 33,}\]

\[19\text{ Iḍd., XI,}\]
are all equally graphic. The description of Dvaitavana (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 Pāṇḍavas on their way to Mount Gandhamādāna: the reader vividly sees the ravages caused by the storm as the rivers swell with the heavy rain.

In general, the style is effortless. Unlike the writers of Sanskrit poems of the post-Kālidāsa period, particularly of 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-kūṭas 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 anustubh, 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 Yudhīśthira with his brothers gathered, immediately reminds the poet of a huge mountain surrounded by leviathan elephants. Even in the philosophical Bhagavad-Gītā there are flashes of good imagery. Kṛṣṇa’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. Again, the heroes of the world rushing into his flaming jaws are seen as so many currents of rivers flowing to merge into the
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The effulgence of Viṣvarūpa (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 Ádiparvan (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 Dadhícā (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 Duṣyanta’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 Citrāṅgadā 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 Kunti 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, Kunti 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 (Kṛṣṇā) the dark earth possessed by five successive seasons. At times the seasons lose

\[\text{References:}\]

Ibid., 28.
Ibid., 12.
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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 Yudhisṭhira and Karṇa, the exhortation of the hero-mother Vidyā to her cowardly son Sanjaya 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,

like the *Rg-Veda* and the *Upaniṣads*, 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 *Rāmāyana* 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 *Rāmāyana* in its original form. The language of the *Rāmāyana* 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 *Rāmāyana*. For instance, in the *Rāmāyana*, 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 Draupadī. The characters of Kaushalyā and Kaikeyī, in the *Rāmāyana*, 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 *Rāmāyana*, 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,

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18 Vide HIL, Vol. I, pp 460-61
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 Vanaprastha (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. There is also the possibility that both the epics borrowed this portion from a common source. It may be mentioned here that the Nalopakhyāna 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.’ 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. 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). 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.

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[83] Cf. Ibid.
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 Rāvana and Virādha, and Draupadi by Jayadratha and Jaṭāsura. Again, both Sītā and Draupadi 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 Draupadi are born miraculously.

CONCLUSION

Both the epics are essentially didactic and ethical in spirit. Hence they are regarded as Dharma-śāstras and Niti-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...
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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.38

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. Vide Swami Vivekananda, The Complete Works, Vol. IV, pp. 100-101.—Ed.

38 For a detailed study of the influence of the epics on the life and literature of India and abroad Vide CHI, Vol. II, Part I
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-Śūtras 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 purāṇa means that which lives from of old,1 or that which is always new though it is old.2 Works like Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Chāndogya Upaniṣad refer to itihāsa and purāṇa. But probably these two terms relate to the stories and parables contained in the Vedas themselves. The references in the Dharma-Śūtras, the Rāmāyan, the Mahābhārata, and Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra are, however, to the Purāṇas proper. The tradition is that sage Vyāsa compiled the Purāṇas and taught them to Lomaharṣana 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,

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2 Śankarācārīya’s commentary on the Bhagavad-Gī ṭa, II. 20.
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 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) 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 Amarakośa, it is said that a Purāṇa should have five characteristics: sarga (primary creation), pratisarga (dissolution), vaṁśa (genealogies of gods, demons, patriarchs, sages, and kings), manvantaras (periods of different Manus), and vaṁśāvānapatīta (histories of royal dynasties). This is affirmed in the Kṛṣṇa 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 (suhṛt-sammita), and this is amply confirmed by the contents and delivery of these two classes of Brāhmaṇic literature. The five lakṣaṇas (characteristics) are found fully in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, and fully or partly in the other Purāṇas. It may be mentioned here that these five lakṣaṇas or characteristics are amplified in the Bhāgavata and the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas into ten. But the classification into five lakṣaṇas by Amarasiṁha 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 maṅgavatā; and the kalpa 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.

LIII. 8-10.
1 58; see also Mat. LIII. 3.
A famous Sanskrit lexicon (c. sixth century A.D.).
XII. 7. 9-10.
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 lilās (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,8 Viṣṇu teaches Mārkandeya 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 Lākṣmī with Śiva and Gaurī 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, Nāradīya, Mārkandeya, Agni, Bhavisya, Brahma vaivarta Līṅga, Varāha, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuḍa and Brahmaṇḍa. Some

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8 LVI 69-71.
9 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 (Śvayambhuva Manu), his wife Satārūpā and the Prajāpatis or patriarchs. The successive manvantaras are also described. The Purāṇa then speaks of the various continents (dīpās) of the earth and also the nether regions (pālāla) 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 Satā and the birth and marriage of Umā. There is also a description of Puri of Jagannāth. The Purāṇa then proceeds to describe Viṣṇu’s teaching to Markandeya 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.13 Then follow the yugas (ages) and the pralaya (dissolution) of the world, the nature of Yoga and Sāṁkhya (systems of philosophy), and muktī (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 Sāṁkhya 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 Manus. 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 (jaṅgama tīrthas, i.e. the parents and the gurus)

13 The observance of a fortnightly devotional vow.
and the sacred shrines (stūvara tirthaḥ, i.e. places of pilgrimage) at Mahākāla, Prabhāśa, Kurukṣetra, etc. The third or svarga-khaṇḍa tells of the upper spheres inhabited by the gods, in the course of King Bharata’s ascent to Vaikuṇṭha (abode of Viṣṇu) beyond Dhruva-māṇḍala (the sphere of the Pole Star). It then describes the four varṇas (castes) and the four āśramas (stages of life) and their duties as well as karma-yoga and jñāna-yoga. The fourth or pātāla-khaṇḍa 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 Purāṇas. The last part of the Purāṇa is the uttara-khaṇḍa, which deals with the story of Jālandhara. It also narrates the exploits of the kings of the solar dynasty. The Bhāgavata is extolled in this part as the last and the best of the Purāṇas. The last part of the Purāṇa is the uttara-khaṇḍa, which deals with the story of Jālandhara. It praises the mantra (hymn), ‘Om Lakṣmi-nārāyanīḥ bhūti namaiḥ’ as the greatest of all mantras, and says that it can be taught to all classes including the Śūdras 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 ekādaśī. It also discusses kriya-yoga, which deals with practical devotion as distinct from dhyāna-yoga or the path of contemplation.

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa 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 Paramātmā, 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 (krpa) and is His sport (īlā). Then follow accounts of the avatāra (incarnation) of Lord Viṣṇu as varāha (boar), of the Svēyambhuva-manvantara, 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-māṇḍala. 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 Brahma vaivarta Purāṇa in four parts gives a detailed description of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā whose supreme abode is in Goloka. Śrī Kṛṣṇa is stated to be the supreme divine Principle from whom have come Prakṛti, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. The first part (Brahma-khaṇḍa) presents an account of Nārāyana (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
The cowherds and milkmaids of Vrndavana.

The cowherds and milkmaids of Vrndavana 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 Sāṃkhya school of thought, but affirms that it is under the control of Iśvara and is his sakti (power). Sakti has five aspects: Rādhā, Durgā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, and Sāvitrī. 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-jana-maṭā-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 upraising 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 upabrahmana theory of Manu: they illustrate and amplify the Vedic truths. The other is the pañca-laksana 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 Vrndāvana.
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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-stotrāṣṭaka in the Śkanda

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17 S. K. De, Aspects of Sanskrit Literature, p. 113.
THE PURĀNAS

*Purāṇa,* the hymns addressed to Śiva by Asita and Himālaya in the *Brahma­vaivarta 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 pre­historic ages; commentators have considered them as an inexhaustible treasure­house; 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 CONCEPT OF DHARMA

The Dharma-sastras 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-sastras 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-sastras 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 (abhyanayah) 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-sastras 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-sastras is presented. For a detailed study on the subject please refer to the second volume of this series (CHI), The Dharma-sastras, Part IV, pp. 301-446.

2 ‘dāhenād dharmam iyāhur dharman dhārayati prajāḥ’—Mbh., Karpaparvan (49. 50). Cf. also ‘dharmo vālsaya pratiṣṭhaḥ’—Mahānārāyaṇa Upanisad, 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 varna 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 Mīmāṁsā.8

The Mīmāṁsā 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. Manu10 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 Mīmāṁsā 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 apauruṣeya,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 'Codandikṣaṃ'v tho dharmā—Jai. S., 1.1.2. See also Sabarabhāṣya on it.
9 See for discussion present author's article entitled Incarnation of Law from Mīmāṁsā Standpoint, published in Charudev Shastri Felicitation Volume, New Delhi, 1974, p. 334, ff. See also The Hindu Conception of Law, Calcutta Review, November, 1938.
10 I. 21: Sarveṣāṁ tu sa nāmāṁ karmāṇi ca pūthak pūthak, Vedādabhiṣaya evadu pūthakamānithālo nirmame.
11 Jai. S., I. 1. 27-32.

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personal being. In other words, it is immune from the influence of any kind whatsoever, whether of God or man. Its other name is śrutī signifying that it was heard by the sages in the supernormal stage of their inspiration. Observance of the duty of maintaining rta or 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 Mīmāṃsā, 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 veda viññaya dharmaśāstraṁ tu vai smṛtiḥ. 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.’

15 Cf. Manu., II. 7 Sa sarvabhiketo Veda....
16 Manu., II. 10.
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ORIGIN OF THE DHARMA-SŪTRAS AND THE DHARMA-SĀSTRAS

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, Gṛhya, 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 Gṛhya-Sūtra. The content of the Gṛhya-Sūtra is large enough. It furnishes instructions chiefly on matters of sacrifices and ceremonies called samskāras 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 Gṛhya-Sūtras are more intimately connected with the third section of the Kalpa-Sūtra, called Dharma-Sūtras; for the Gṛhya and the Dharma-Sūtras are smārta sūtras (based on recollected traditions), while the Śrauta-Sūtras are directly based on the Śruti. The Dharma-Sūtras appear to have been evolved as an extension of the Gṛhya-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 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 triṣṭubh 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 (sāṁskāras) occupy an important place as a topic of the Dharma-śāstras. 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-śāstras 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 sloka as distinguished from a ṛk, gives us the clue to the pre-existence of works dealing with the content of dharma in the sloka 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-śāstras even before 600 b.c.

A brief outline of the contents of the Dharma-Sūtras which also fall within the class of the Dharma-śāstras is indicated below. These include the sources of dharma, the rights and duties of the four varṇas and four āśramas, various sāṁskāras 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, āśauca (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, HII, Vol. I, Sec. I (1972), pp 271 ff.  
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 "ātthāpyudāharanti" and also other verses not so introduced are in upajāti, indra-vājra or upendra-vājra 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 anuṣṭubh. But some verses are in the classical indra-vajra 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-sāstra 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 sīttrakāras set on ‘welfare hereafter’ the highest prize of life. The doctrines preached by

88 Vat. Dh. S., XXV-XXVIII.
89 Ibid., I. 38, X. 20; VI. 9, 25; X. 17; XVI. 36.
90 Ibid., IV. 5-8.
94 Viṣṇu. Dh. S., 23. 61; also 59. 30.
Dharma-Sastras

them are rather eudaemonistic and utilitarian. Gautama\(^30\) characteristically says: 'People devoted to the practice of their respective duties of varña 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 expiablility is an attribute of mature law,\(^34\) and in the treatises of Dharma-sastras, 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 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 brahmacārin, grhaṣṭha, 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: dharmaśāna-samayā pramāṇam (I.1.2). Vasiṣṭha agrees with Baudhāyana that in the absence of the Śruti and the Smṛti, the practice of the śiṣṭas is authoritative: iad alābhe śiṣṭācārah 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. Custom

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\(^{31}\) Athātāh putrāṇāḥ eyastāthām dharmaśīṣṭāḥ, I. 1.

\(^{32}\) Vas Dh. S., I. 3.

\(^{33}\) Na hi karma kṛṣṇāh sti kuryād iṣṭāpāram puṇāstomenśtaḥ, 19. 6-7

\(^{34}\) See for discussion Prof. Cahn, Sense of Injustice, p. 158.

\(^{35}\) 28. 46-48.

\(^{36}\) 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: devadharma-jātadharma-kuladharmān...rājā caturv arṣa svadharme śtuḥ-payet.’ Let him punish those who go astray from these.

The Dharma-śāstras 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 danda from damanat, 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-SĀTRAS

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-śāstras represent the next phase of development in the history of Indian law. Law is no longer kept confined to the grooves of the Vedic sūtrarāja 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 Śruti-samhitas 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.
The śloka metre or anuṣṭubh became the usual metre of the verses of the Smṛti-samhitā. Of the metrical Smṛtis, the Manu Śāhītā 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 kiṃcana manuravadat tad bhaveṣajam. 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 SMṚṬI AND ITS OUTLOOK

The Manu Śmrtyś itself attributes its origin to Brahman whence it is said to have been revealed to men through Manu and Bharu. The Nārada Smṛti refers to a tradition of successive redactions of the Samhitā and also alludes to Viḍhmanu and Bhavanmanu. The present text possibly took its shape during the Brāhmānic 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 kāmaṇām 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: Akāmaṣya kriyā kācid deṣyate neha kahricit.

The world holds immense possibility of delight.
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: Śāriyena samaṁ nāśanī sarvam anyad hi gacchati.\(^{63}\)

But that does not mean that India's attitude towards worldly success would be wholly negative. There are clear suggestions in the Dharmaśāstras 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, daṇḍa.\(^{64}\) 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 Dharmaśāstra and we have enough provisions of the same in the Manu Saṁhitā (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 Dharmaśāstras 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

\(^{63}\) Ibid., VIII. 17. \(^{64}\) Ibid., VII. 22.
DHARMA-SĀSTRAS

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-sāstras 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-sāstras, the four human ends, dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa, and the four stages of the discipline of life, āśramas, have so marvellously been adjusted. Varnāśrama 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, Medhatithi, is the writer of an extensive commentary called bhāṣya. He made a profitable use of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā 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-SĀSTRAS

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), vyavāhāra (dealings) and prāyaścītta (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.

57 Nirnayasaṅgraha Press Edn. See for discussion the present writer's paper An Inquiry into Idealism in Hindu Marriage, Calcutta Review, April, 1941.
The eighteen topics of law (vyavahāra) as mentioned in Manu are discussed in Yajnavalkya 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 Yajnavalkya are more advanced in comparison with those in Manu. Manu does not refer to documents as evidence. But in Yajnavalkya, the law of evidence attaches substantial importance to documents (II. 86-96). Evidence by ordeals receives detailed treatment in this Smṛti. Legal definitions are conspicuous by their absence in Manu, while these are frequently presented in Yajnavalkya. Manu is silent about the widow's right to estate, but Yajnavalkya. (II. 138) mentions her first in the list of the heirs of a man without a son. Yajnavalkya deals with grahaśānti (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, Yajnavalkya'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 Yajnavalkya (I. 4–5) the well-known list of twenty writers of Dharma-śāstra, viz., Manu, Atri, Viśṇu, Hārīta, Yajnavalkya, Uśanas, Aṅgiras, Yama, Āpastamba, Śaṁvarta, Kātyāyana, Brhaspati, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Śaṅkha, Likhita, Dakṣa, Gautama, Śatātapa and Vasiṣṭha.

Yajnavalkya has a large number of commentaries. The best known is the Mitākṣarā by Vijnāneśvara (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 Aparākara.

The extant Parāśara Smṛti 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 upendravajra (IX. 33) and another in indravajia (IX. 48) the work is in anustubh. It is said to be an authority for the kali age. It admits the adjustability of dharma to keep pace with the changing age (I. 21). It permits widow remarriage and also praises the practice of

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84 Ibid., II. 95-113.
85 Ibid., I. 271-308.
86 Ibid., II. 75-108.
92 Ibid., III. 226. Sec also, Mitākṣarā.
93 Parāśara, I. 23: Kañca pātrāvajra śṛṣṭaḥ.
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, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana regarding procedural law show remarkable features of advancement. Nārada’s discourse on the principles of judicial procedure (vyavahāra-mātyāka), 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 Bṛhaspati 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. Bṛhaspati, like Nārada, stresses the importance of reasoning in a legal decision. He says, Kevalam iastram asntya na kartayyo hi Mrnayah, Yuktihīne vīcāre tu dharmaṇiḥ praśāyate. 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 Bṛhaspati as an authority. Bṛhaspati 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 Bṛhaspati as his model, but expounds and elaborates their dicta in greater details. Kātyāyana’s treatment of strīdhana in its definitions and assessment about kinds, grades and legal impact has attained recognition as highly authoritative. Kane has rightly said that Nārada, Bṛhaspati 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 indus-

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55 Ibid., IV. 28.
56 Cited by Aparākṣa on Tāḍ. II. 1.
57 H. Dh., Vol. I., p. 213.
trialism or the parliamentary organization of freedom and self-styled democracy characteristic of the bourgeois or Vaisya 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-sāstra 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-SĀSTRAS

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 Mīmāṃsā 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-sāstra, 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-tīlaka and Nirṇayāṁṛta are cited by later authorities. His Sambandha-viveka and Prāyatna-prakaraṇa are important works on the subject.

Jimūtavāhana is one of the three leading exponents of the Bengal school of Dharma-sāstra. His Dāyabhāga forms a part of the Dharma-ratna. The Kāla-viveka and Vyavahāra-māṅkā 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 Mitāṅkāra.

Ballāla Sena, the famous king of Bengal, seems to have patronized the compilations of the great works, Ācāra-sāgara, Dāna-sāgara, Pratiṣṭhā-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 Ācārādārśa, Pūrṇabhakti, and Śrāddhākalpa. Caṇḍeśvara is another prominent Nibandha writer of Mithilā. He is the author of the Ratnākara series (seven in number), e.g. Viśāda-ratnākara. Vācaspati Miśra (fifteenth century) is the leading Nibandha writer of Mithilā. His works bear the title Cintāmaṇi. The Donḍa-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-śāstra. 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 Mīmāṃsā dialectics. Raṅghunandana is the last great writer of Bengal on Dharma-śāstra. 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 Āśāvāhāna’s Dāyabhāga. Raṅghunandana and Śrī Caitanya were pupils of the same teacher, Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, at Navadvīpa. 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-mayūkha etc. of Nilakaṇṭha, Vīra-mitra-dāya of Mitra Miśra (seventeenth century) and Smṛti-kaustubha of Anantadeva. The Viśādārṇa-nāsa-setu of Jagannātha Tarkapaṇi-cānana 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-śāstra 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-śāstras. As a result, the Dharma-śāstras\(^70\) have

\(^70\) On the different aspects of the Dharma-śāstra, reference may be made to the following important works: P. V. Kane, History of Dharma-śāstra in several volumes; K. P. Jayaswal, Manu and Tāntavalkya; P. N. Sen, The General Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence (1918); D. M. Derret, Religion, Law and the State in India (London, 1968); L. Sternbach, Judicial Studies in Ancient Indian Law (Parts I-II), Delhi, 1965-67; K. G. Govami, 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-sástras 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.71 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.

Saivism as a cult goes back to pre-Vedic times. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro have revealed the existence of a proto-Saiva 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 Pāśupata cult, one of the earliest schools of Saivism—a school with a literature of its own. Among the other finds were also figures resembling the īñga, 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 hymns describe Rudra as the destroyer of disease and the protector of man and cattle. In the Sāmāvdiḥāna Sanhitā of the Sāma-Veda, there is a

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

1We can compare this Indus valley seal with a coin of Huviska (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 Tāntic texts who, according to P. C. Bagchi, was no other than Śiva himself. In the Mahābhārata (I. 216. 22-28 and XIII. 141. 5ff.) 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, Vaishnavism, Saivism 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 Yajur-Veda, we find the full unfoldment of the auspicious aspect of Śiva as the pāti (Lord) of pāsus (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 Vāj asaneyi Saṁhitā, XVI and the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, IV. 5) marks the first beginnings of this form of prayer in the later literature.7 In the Vāj asaneyi (XVI. 51), and also in some other Saṁhitās8 the ritualistic visualization of Śiva holding his bow called pīnāka is noticed. In the Maitrīya Saṁhitā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur-Veda, Mahādeva-Śiva is described as the great Puruṣa or the supreme Deity governing the cosmos. In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, Śiva or Rudra is described as the Lord of the Soma plant,7 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 Ṣāna, by which Rudra was known in later times. There is also a reference to the Vṛāyas who were probably the prototypes of the adherents of the later Kāpālikā 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 BRAHMAŃAS AND THE UPANIŚADS

In the Brāhmańas, the concept of Rudra gives place to Prajāpati and Paśupati. This change is found in the Śatapatha Brāhmańa and more significantly, in the Aitareya and Kautilāya Brāhmańas. 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 Iśavasya Upaniśad gives the most poetic description of Iśa, the Lord, which may also be applicable to Śiva. But it is the Śvetāśvatara Upaniśad which explicitly declares the identity of Śiva with the highest Brahman (III. 2). This Upaniśad is, therefore, sometimes called a Śaiva Upaniśad or an Agamic Upaniśad. In this, we may see the seeds of the thought that ultimately matured into the literature of Śaivism. The Maitri Upaniśad refers to the trimūrti conception: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva (IV. 5). These three forms are respectively represented as embodiments of the three guṇas: rajas, satvā and tāmas (V. 2). This marks the parting of ways among the deities. Viṣṇu

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2Vide Tai. S., IV. 5.10.4; Mai. S., II. 9.9; etc.
3Tai. S., IV. 5.10.
and Śiva (with Śakti) emerge foremost in the Hindu pantheon. They also inspire separate texts and literature.

**THE AGAMAS**

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 jhāna 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, Nandikesvara; 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 Śaivāgamas, which are believed to have emanated from the five faces of Śiva, are: Kāmika, Yogaja, Cintya, Kāraṇa, Ajita, Dipta, Śūkṣma, Sahasra, Anīṣumati, Suprabheda, Vījaya, Niḥsvāsa, Suśayambhava, Āgneya, Vīraṣhadra, Raurava, Mākuta, Vimala, Candrajñāna, Mukhabimba, Prodhitā, Lalita, Siddha, Sattāna, Sarvokta, Pārameśvara, Kriṇa, and Vātula.

Mention of the Āgamas occurs in the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas. They were familiar at the time of Ācārya Śaṅkara. Madhava's Sarva-darśana-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

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8Gf. Sanskritāḥ prakṛtair vākyair nātesa śayānurūgatāḥ;
Deśabhikṛtadhyāyaścita bodhitvā sat guruḥ api vāpi.
Śivadharmottara—(Grantha Edn. by Marajmana Desikar, 1938).

9Many 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 Mrgendṛāgama, 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), kala (finite experience), niyati (principle of determination of karma), and māyā (substratum of cosmos). The same can be said of the Pauskara, Mataṅga and other Upāgamas. The Sarvaśānottara, another Upāgama, contains Śiva’s discourse to his son, Kumāra, wherein Śiva, the ultimate Reality, is postulated as pati (lord), paśu (finite self) and pāta (bondage).

The ritual portion of the Āgamas has been in daily use in temples and mathās (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, Matsya, 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 Pārvati, Ganeśa, and Skanda and the marriages of Pārvati, Devakūṇjari, and Vallī. Skanda’s representation as Śiva’s manifestation is highly successful in this Purāṇa. The Matsya Purāṇa gives a detailed account of Śiva’s destruction of Andhaka-sura.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

10 A mythological demon born of Diti by Kāśyapa. 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 mandara 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 altercations with him. Ultimately Śiva killed him.
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in which Śiva is accorded a prominent place in spite of their central figures being Viṣṇu or Brahmā, for example, Bhaviṣya, Mārkandeya, Vorāha, Vāmana, and Brahmanda. Some of the saṁhitās of the Śaiva Purāṇas are classic pieces of Śaiva literature, e.g. the Śūta Saṁhitā of the Skanda Purāṇa, the Vāyaviya Saṁhitā 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, Śevadharmā, and Śaiva philosophy. The Vāyaviya Saṁhitā is the most important from the philosophical point of view. Śūta Saṁhitā 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: Śivadharmā, Saura, Parāśara, Vasistha-latīga, and Śiva-rahasya. Śiva-rahasya is said to have been taught by Śiva to Umā in Kailāsa and later transmitted by Skanda to sage Jaigisavya in Skandagiri. It is a revelation of the upāsanā and jñāna-kānda. It has twelve aṃsas and it speaks of Śivadharmā, 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...
no part of Śaiva literature, have much to say about Śiva. For instance, the Anuśānaṇaparvan (chapters XIV ff.) of the Mahābhārata gives a glowing account of Mahādeva whom Kṛṣṇa and others propitiated by austere penances. In the Sāntiparvan (chapter CCLXXXIV) there is an attempt to minimize the distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu as the supreme Lord. Both Arjuna (Vana-parvan, XXXVIII-XL) and Aśvatthāma (Saupikaparvan, 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 dikṣā (initiation). We see here a reflection of the transition from the Purva Mimamsaka rituals to the Āgamic worship and yogic discipline. In the Vanaparvan (chapters LXXXII-XC), we have information about several tīrthas (places of pilgrimage) sacred to Śiva.

In the Rāmacarita, we have a few pointed references to Śiva. Bālakāṇḍa (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 Sītā by breaking Hara-dāhana (Śiva’s bow) which was given to Janaṅka is a delightful episode. While coming back to Ayodhya, Śrī Rāma told Sītā that on the seashore at Setubandha (Rāmāyaṇam) Lord Mahādeva had blessed him (Tudhakāṇḍa, chapter CXXXIII). Rāvaṇa is depicted as a great devotee of Śiva. In the Uttarākāṇḍa (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.14 Incidentally, we have in Kālidāsa

14 Vide Abhijñāna-Sacadāna: Benedictory verse; Meghadūta: Pūrvamegha, verse 34; Raghuvamśa I, VI. 34, VII. 33, and XVIII. 24, and so on.
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Sidelights of the Pāṣupata cult which was in vogue then. Kālidāsa also alludes to different forms of Śaiva worship, anuṣṭhānas and vrataś.

Bhāravi’s (c. sixth century) Kīrātārjuniya, Ratnākara’s (ninth century) Haravijaya, and Mañjha’s (c. twelfth century) Śrīkanṭha-carita also deserve mention. In Kīrātārjuniya, Śiva, in the guise of a kīrata (hunter), fought with Arjuna and finally blessed him with his divine weapon, the pāṣupata astra. The other two works depict Śiva’s heroism. It is evident from Harṣacarita and Kāḍāṃbārī 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 Mālaṭi-Māḍava and Mahendravikrama Varman (seventh century) in his Mattavilāsa-praḥasana mention Kāpālikas. Śiva has been adored in the introductory verses of Kāṭhasarasvāgara by Somadeva (eleventh century). Śiva’s sandhyā-ñṛtya (evening dance), his astamurti and ardhanārīśvara forms, etc. have been described there in mellifluous poetry. There are also references to Śivakṣetraś like Nandi-ksetra, Amara Parvata, etc. Bharata in his Nāṭya-sāstra mentions that Śiva and Pārvatī invented tāṇḍava and lāśya forms of dance. In fact, Śiva’s influence, directly or indirectly, on kāvyā literature, can never be overestimated.

STOTRA LITERATURE

The stotra literature established itself as kāvyā 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 Puṣpadanta (tenth century) written in śikhariṇī metre. Prātasmaraṇa-stotras, the morning hymns (in vasantatilaka metre) in praise of Śiva, Caṇḍi, and Gageśa, are included in Saddharmā Cintāmaṇi. Similarly there are pāḍādi-keśa-varṇamāṇ-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 Upamanya in viyogīnī 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. Kālhaṇa’s (c. A.D. 1149) Ardhanārīśvara-stotra in tāḍālavikṛḍaṁ metre is, however, of a high standard.

We have a parallel of the Kṛṣṇa-gopi mystical erotic poetry in Bhikṣāṇa-kāvya of Śivabhaktadāsa (fourteenth century), which describes the attraction of apsarās (nymphs) for the beautiful mendicant Śiva. Vījayamādhava’s Pārvatī-Rukmiṇiśya is a vicītra 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 Rukmiṇī and Kṛṣṇa.
The beautiful Śiva-stotras of Ācārya Śaṅkara must be specially mentioned here, although the authorship of some of them is disputed. The Dakṣiṇāmūrti-aṣṭaka, Saundaryalohari 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 Dikṣita (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, Nyāyarakṣāmani. Appaya’s commitment to Advaita did not deter him from making four weighty contributions to Śaiva theistic literature. His Śikhariṇi-mālā consists of sixty ślokas in praise of Śiva, giving arguments for establishing his supremacy. His Śiva-tattva-viveka is an elaborate commentary on them. His Śivamahima-kālīkā-stuti is another work on the supremacy of Śiva. His Śivakalpadruma is an authoritative Śaiva theological work. Appaya’s important Śaiva devotional works are: Arunacakalavara-stava, Gaṅgādharāṣṭaka, Śivakarnāmṛta, Śivānanda-lahari, Śivāravā-candrikā, Harīhara-stuti, etc. The next important author after Appaya was Nilakānta Dikṣita who belongs to the next century and whose Śivalilāmara and Gaṅgāvaitaraṇā 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 bhasya 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 Saccidananda, whose feet are the giver of the highest gain or siddhi.’

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

Śripati 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 Āgamas and the Mīmāṃsās, establishing the Viraśaiva doctrine which is variously called Śivādvaita and Śaktiśiṣṭādvaita. Śripati’s

15 Om namo'ham padarthaya lokānām svayam vidhūhete ca

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commentary on the sūtra, Jīvanamukhyaprāyaṅgāt . . . (Brahma-Sūtra, I. 4.17) interprets it as referring to the Viṣṇuśaiva Liṅgayata cult. Śrīpati refers to a bṛāṣya called Agastyā-vṛtti which is not available now.

As important as the Brahma-Sūtra or Yoga-Sūtra is Bhoja's (A.D. 1018-63) Tattva-prakāśa. This work is based on the Āgamas and the Yoga-Sūtra, and is frequently quoted by later writers. Another important text is Nandikesvara-kāśikā. Fourteen sūtras known as Māheśvara-Sūtras are supposed to have emanated from the sounding of the drum (damaruka) in Śiva’s hand. These sūtras are found at the commencement of Pāṇini’s Astādhyāyī. 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 (ślokas).

Although Ācārya Śaṅkara is strictly monistic in his bṛāṣya 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 Śaiva philosophy in his commentary on sūtras II.2.35-38. This indicates that Bādarāyaṇa, author of the Brahma-Sūtra, was aware of the Śaiva system and its antiquity. In his commentary on sūtras II.2.37 et seq., Śaṅkara refutes the crucial and distinctive doctrine of the Śaiva system that Brahman is the instrumental cause (nimitta-kārana) and not the material cause (upādāna-kārana) of the universe.

Vācaspati Miśra (A.D. 840), commenting on the bṛāṣya of Śaṅkara, refers to the Śaiva 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 Śaivism, viz. the Kāpālikas, the Kālāmukhas, the Pāṣupatas, and the Śaivas. He is said to be a junior contemporary of Śrikanṭha (some, however, hold that Śrikanṭha was anterior even to Śaṅkara), and some of the passages in their two bṛāṣyas are verbally similar, although they differ in their doctrines. Haradatta Śivācārya (A.D. 879) was the author of Śruti-sūkti-mālā, Caturveda-tālpatrasya-sangraha, and Hari-Hara-tāratamya, which are polemical works to establish the Śiva-pratima (Śiva as the supreme Reality). Śruti-sūkti-mālā is an oft-quoted work. Although Haradatta did not write any Śaiva commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra, he is believed to have influenced Śrikanṭha and Śrīpati Paṇḍita. His Gaṇa-kārikā is an exegetic of the Pāṣupata-Sūtra. Mādhavācārya (fourteenth century) in his Sarva-darśana-sangraha formulates the philosophical doctrines found in the Śaiva 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 Śiva Purāṇa. The Pāṣupata-Sūtra, the sacred book of the Pāṣupatas, might have been in vogue earlier than the sixth
century and it came to be termed āmnāya (having Vedic authority). The Sūtra has a bhāṣya called the Pañcarthabhāṣya by Kaundinya. This is probably the same as the Rāśikabhaṣya referred to by Mādhava in his Saṅga-dāśana-saṅgraha. The Vāyāyiya Saṃhitā also mentions the Pāṣupata-Sūtra as Pañcarthā-vidyā (Knowledge with Five Ends). It is believed that Kaundinya, 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. Kaundinya's bhāṣya on the Sūtra is in an archaic style and does not contain any reference to earlier commentaries. Gaṇa-kārikā of Haradatta Śivācārya, as already said, is an expository text on the Pāṣupata-Sūtra, and is really a summary of the system. The Mrgendrāgama is said to be the original basic text of the Pāṣupata 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 vīmasśini (critical comment). The Vimarśini of Kṣemarāja (eleventh century), the famous commentator, is held in high esteem.

The system owes its name ‘Trika’ (triad) to the fact that it deals with Śiva, Śakti, and Nara. The literature of the Trika falls into three divisions: Āgama-śāstra, Spanda-śāstra, and Pratyabhijñā-śāstra. 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-śāstras are sometimes called manana- or vičāra-śāstras. 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 Īṣvara-pratyabhijñā or the Pratyabhijñā-Sūtra by Utpala, a pupil of Somānanda. Commentaries on it are: Vṛtti by Utpala himself, Vimarśini (laghu vṛtti) and Vimarśini (bhari vṛtti) by Abhinavagupta (eleventh century). Abhinavagupta’s Paramārtha-śāstra is another important work. It is said to be based on an old treatise called Adhāra-kārikā which is not available now. There are also commentaries from the Trika point of view on some of the Āgamas like Śvacchanda, Netra, Vijnāna-bhairava, and Matanga. Kṣemarāja’s commentary Uddyota on Śvacchanda Āgama is an important work.

The Spanda-śāstras 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 Kallāta (eighth or ninth century) are called Spanda-sarvasva. There are,
besides, four commentaries on the *Spanda-Sūtra*, namely, *Vivṛti* by Rāmakanṭha, *Pradīpika* by Utpala, and *Spanda-sandoha* and *Spanda-nirṇaya* by Kṣemarāja.

The *Tantrāloka* 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, Kallāta, and Somānanda, all of them belonging to the eighth-ninth centuries. Somānanda employs logical reasoning extensively in his work, while Kallāta 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 Jayarātha (twelfth century) in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka*, and by Śivopādhyāya in his *Vijñāna-bhairava*.

Kṣemarāja’s Śaiva works are astounding in their volume. The notable extant ones, besides *Śiva-sūtra-vimarśini*, *Spanda-sandoha*, *Spanda-nirṇaya*, and *Saucchanda-udyota*, are: *Pratyabhijñā-ārdaya*, *Netra-udyota*, *Vijñāna-bhairava-udyota*, *Śiva-sūtra-vṛtti*, *Śiva-cintāmaṇi-śīkā*, *Utpala-stotrāvalī-śīkā*, *Para-pravēśkā*, and *Tattva-sandoha*. While Kṣemarāja is the leading exponent of the Pratyabhijñā system, Utpala’s thoughts were in a more compact form.

Mahēśvarānanda († twelfth century), who lived in Cidambaram, has written two Pratyabhijñā works, viz. *Mahārtha-maṇḍari* 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 *Stotrāvalī* 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.¹⁸

**VIRAŚAIVISM OR LINGĀYATA SCHOOL**

This school traces its origin to the Āgamas. The *pañcadāryas*¹⁷ (five teachers of Viraśaivism) are traditionally believed to have sprung from the five faces of Śiva referred to in the *Suprabheda* and *Śvāyambhuva Āgamas*. The *Mrgendragama* 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 *Śaṅkara-vijaya* has reference to the *liṅga* worn on the body. Hari-bhadra (date ranging between eighth and tenth centuries) in his *Saddarśana-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 *Anandachalakā saktih sṛṣṭiyātmaṇām ātmānām.*

¹⁷ They are Revaṇārādhya, Maruḷārādhya, Ekorāmārādhya, Panditārādhya, and Viḷvārādhya.
Kāmika indicate later developments of this cult. The Vīrāsaivāgama, an Upāgama, mentions the four pithas or pontifical seats of this sect, viz. yogapitha, mahāpitha, jñānapitha, and somapitha (paṭala VIII).

The first comprehensive treatise of this school is, however, Siddhānta-śikhāmaṇḍi of Reṇukācārya (thirteenth century). It is in the form of a dialogue between Agastya and Revaṇasiddha, and reveals the secret of Vīraśaivism. It is in simple anustubh metre except for the comments which follow at the end of each chapter (pariccheda). Most of the paricchedas have cūrṇikās (purport) prefixed, explanatory of the topic dealt with in the chapters concerned. The first chapter gives an account of the paṭcācāryas, while chapters II to IV enumerate the tenets of Vīraśaivism. The rest of the chapters expound the saṭ-sthala, the process of evolution of the soul (āṅga) 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 Śivādvaita Vīraśaiva theology. The basis of this work was obviously the discourses of Allama Prabhu, the teacher of Basava, who revived Vīraśaivism as a cult in the twelfth century and infused new blood into it. He was regarded as an incarnation of Śiva himself. Basava requested Allama Prabhu to give his discourses in the anubhavamāṇḍapa 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 Vīraśaivism 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 Viṣeṣṭhāta-prakāśikā. Anubhava-Sūtra deals with guru-paramparā, sthala, liṅgasthala, āṅgasthala, liṅga-saṁyogavidhi, liṅgāpaṇa-sadbhaṅga, sarvāṅga-liṅga-sāhitya, and kriyā-viśrānti. The Sūtra gives a completely different definition of bhakti or adorative action which abolishes duality between āṅga and liṅga. The language of the Sūtra (in Śaiva theological literature slokas are frequently called sūtras) is beautiful.

Panditārādhya-carita is a voluminous work by Gururāja (fifteenth century). Śivādvaita-darpaṇa and Śivādvaita-maṇjarī are other important works on Vīraśaivism. Some minor works are: Vīramaheśvaracāra-saṅgraha, Vīraśaiva-pradīpikā, Anādīvīrādvaita-saṁa-saṅgraha, and Vīraśaiva-sudhānidhi. They are obviously much later works.

Basava Puraṇa is a work of considerable length giving the life and teachings of Basava and also of the sixty-three Śaivate saints or Nāyānārs, as they are called in Tamil, who are regarded as purāṇa puruṣas. It is considered as part of the Bhaviṣya Puraṇa. It is said to have been written in Sanskrit by Śaṅkarārādhya (fourteenth century) of Kāṇcī. It is also called Nandikesvara-viṣaya or Viṣabhendra-

Although Basava was a historical figure, the narration is in mythical style. This Purāṇa must have become famous after the time of Śripati Paṇḍita, a commentator on the Brahma-Sūtra, who considered the Purāṇas as authoritative literature.

Līṅga-dhāraṇā-candrikā by Nandikesvara is an important book on the Līṅga-yata cult. The author appears to be well versed in the Vedas, Āgamas, Upa-niṣads, 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-līlā, believed to be a part of the Vīraśaivāgama, is a symbolic epic, complete in twenty-five gātis 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 Vīra-śaivism. Prabhu-līṅga-līlā, 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 Śīvāgama to refer also to the Vedas is proper.’¹⁹ 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’²⁰ (verse 109).

¹⁹ Vayath tu vedāsāgamaṃyo bhedaṁ na paśyānaḥ
Vedaḥ pramanā nityaḥ, Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya’s bhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtra (II.2.38).
²⁰ Vedāḥ prāmaṇam eva tāhām sarvām eva
Dīvyam tāvāgaman avaiti janaḥ prāmaṇam.
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

The Southern school acknowledges the authority of the Vedas, but relies only on the Agamas and the Shaiva Upanisads 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 Śūtras. In common with Vaiṣṇavism, it accepted the authority of some Purāṇas and also the divine utterances of contemporary saints. When Śaṅkara wrote his bhāsyas on the Prasthāna-t taya, some of the Shaiva saints and their utterances were well known. Śaṅkara has referred to Jñānasambandhar and Kaṭṭappar in his stotra works (e.g. Śivānanda-lahāri, verse 63).

Next to the Vedas and Agamas and the theistic Upanisads, the Sanskrit source for Southern Saivism is the Shaiva Purāṇas and their samhitā portions. The Southern school in general accepts Śrīkaṇṭha’s bhāsyā, although its interpretation of Ekamevādevityam (One without a second) is different. Its preoccupation was not with interpretation of texts but with broadbasing Śiva-bhakti on the basis of the fourfold path of caryā, kriyā, yoga, and jñāna. This was done for understanding the pentad aspects of Śiva’s grace, viz. sṛṣṭi (creation), sthitī (sustenance), saṁkhāra (destruction), tirobhāva (obscuration), and anugraha (grace).

The devotional poetry in Tamil of the four great Shaiva sāmayācāryas 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, Tirunāvukkarasar (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 Itihasas. The Devāram, the Tiruvācakam, many other padigams (hymns), the Tirumandiram of Tirumūlar which is an Agamic book, and the Tiruttotndar Purāṇam, the last, a book of hagiology, are arranged as the twelve canonical books of Southern Saivism called the Tiru-murai. They are regarded as the Tamil Vedas. The very name is significant, because it implies both daiva or apauruṣeya (tīrū) and āgama 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 Śenthiṇāthayyar. Parallel passages in the Bhagavad-Gītā (claimed to have been written under Āgamic influence) and the Pāramśvara Āgama have been listed by the Viśaiva scholar, M. R. Sakhare. Both the Vedas and the

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81 The Tiruttotndar Purāṇam or the Periy Purāṇam in which the lives of sixty-three Tamil Shaiva saints were originally depicted by Śekkizhār (twelfth century) has a parallel Sanskrit version called Bhaktavidāsa by Upamanyu which is believed to be part of a samhitā 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-bhakta-vīdāsa 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.
Agamas are accepted by Southern Saivism, but the Tamil Tiru-murais, which were compiled by Nambi Āṇḍār 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 Pāṣa-vimocana-paṭala 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 Śivāgrayogin); but there are slight deviations from the original Tamil and even subtle doctrinal variations. Śivāgrayogin (sixteenth century) of the Sūryanārkoil

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 Śaiva acaryas 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 lope and metaphysical content. The whole text is, therefore, given below for the convenience of those who cannot make use of the Tamil original.

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Śrīyaṁśaṁpaṁsukaśādētāt jāgatah kāryadarśanāt
Aṣṭi kartaḥ sa hṛtvāśāt srutayasmāt prabhurharṣaḥ
Anyāḥ sammāyātīḥ naṁyaḥ kartā karmānuśārastah
Korvi śarīrātīmaṁ puṁsaṁ aśvatā samaṣṭaśyāṁ.
Neto mamātakrād ākṣopaṁsadākṣataḥ
Svāja nirbhogoto bodhe boddhatāt astavyanustanau
Ātmāntaṣaṁkāraṇānām śrīyaṁśaṁ prabhurhaṁ
Acaśāntakarakaṁśaṁ kartā prabhurharṣaṁ
Vindantarākāśaṁ puṁsaṁ vṛdhaṁ na śvaghaṁ naśāṁ sa bhutāṁ
Tadāṁśaṁ prabhurharṣaṁ na śvaghaṁ naśāṁ sa bhutāṁ
Netō yaṁ kartā karṇāṁ prabhurharṣaṁ
Muktvāṁ samākhyāṁ na śvaghaṁ naśāṁ sa bhutāṁ

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The monastery has written a voluminous bhasya on Śiva-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 Agama texts for every adhikaraṇa of the Tamil sūtras, and thus establishes a very important link between them. Another Sanskrit work by Śivāgrayogin is Śaiva-paribhāṣā, a manual in five sections on the categories of Śaiva Siddhānta. His Śivāgra-Paddhati is a manual on rituals, and Kriyā-dīpikā, a book on Śaiva sanātana sacrament.

We have already said that Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya’s bhasya on the Brahma-Sūtra is a supporting work for Śaiva Siddhānta, although it has monistic leanings. Śrīkaṇṭha’s work was further carried on by Nīlakanṭha Śivācārya (c. A.D. 1400) whose Kriyā-sāra is a metrical composition on Śrīkaṇṭha-bhāṣya. It sought to bridge the gap between Śivādvaita and Vīraśaivism. Śataratna-saṅgrahā of Umāpati Śivācārya (early fourteenth century), the famous commentator of the Pauskarāgama, is a valuable collection of Agama texts expounding the Śaiva Siddhānta doctrine. The hundred texts collected are of immense importance to the students of Śaiva Siddhānta. Siddhānta-sāravāti of Trilocana Śambhu (c. A.D. 1350) is one of the illuminating exegetics of Śaiva Siddhānta. It deals with the four paths, cāryā, 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. Sadyojoyoti Śivācārya (fifteenth century) wrote commentaries on some Agamas like the Raurava and the Svāyambhuva. He is also known as Kheṭapāla or Kheṭakanandana.

The jñānapāda of Śaiva Āgamas, on which Śaiva Siddhānta is based, has been condensed into eight treatises called aṣṭaprakāraṇas: Tatvā-saṅgrahā, Tatvā-nirṇaya, Bhoga-kārikā, Mokṣa-kārikā, and Paramokṣa-nirāśa by Sadyojoyoti Śivācārya; Tatvā-prakāśa by Bhoja; Ratnā-traya by Śrīkaṇṭha; and Nīda-kārikā by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakanṭha. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakanṭha has written a bṛhati ikā and Aghora Śivācārya a laghu ikā on Tatvā-saṅgrahā of Sadyojoyoti. Aghora Śivācārya (fifteenth century) has written commentaries on all of them excepting

Cidākṣāntaṁ dṛṣṭaṁ tu kṛtaṁ vṛttāntaranteīkān
darśitaḥ śīvopadesaḥyānāṁ dṛṣṭaṁ pratyakṣaṁ sarvāṅgāṁ
śīvamāhām gacchaḥ śīvaḥ tadbhavavanti saktikaḥ
malaṁyādya sansāsyaṁ praṇam trīyatvā tadbhavānmaṁ.

Dṛṣṭaṁ tadbhāvaṁ tasya dṛṣṭaṁ svaṁ dṛṣṭaṁ

Tāmāmsaṁ parāṁ bhaktiṁ kuryāṁ śīvopakāraṁ.

Mukhyā prāpya, svastasyaṁ bharati kṣaṇaṁ śīvam āhāṁ,

Evaṁ viṣṇuṁ śīvajñānabodhaṁ śāśvāntamārjanam.

The best commentary on Śiva-jñāna-bodham is, however, Śiva-jñāna-sīlayīr in Tamil by Arupandi Śivācārya (c. A.D. 1250). Another authoritative and voluminous commentary is Śivajñāna Śvāmigaś Śiva-jñāna-mārṣṭiyām in Tamil.
**ŚAIWA LITERATURE**

Sadyojyoti Śivācārya’s last two works of which Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇḍa happens to be the commentator.

Sakalāgama-saṅgraha is a selection from eighteen principal Āgamas, five Upāgamas, ten Tantras, and twenty-three Śāstras like Somasambhu-Paddhati and Jñāna-ratnāvali. This deals with the rituals and daily discipline of the Siddhāntins. In this connexion, it may be mentioned that Nījaguṇa Sivayogin and Sambhu Deva in their respective works Viveka-cintāmaṇi and Śaiva-siddhānta-dipikā have given an estimate of the verses in the various Āgamas. Siddhānta-sekhara is a voluminous omnibus of texts dealing with Śiva-liṅga-pratि�ṣṭhā-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 Śivadharmottara and Sarvajñānottara, which contain beautiful poetry as well as philosophy in the uttara (dialogue) form.

**ŚAIWA 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 paddhati. 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 Mīmāṃsaka rituals. The Praṇa-putra of Śaṅkarācārya is said to have served a similar purpose. The paddhatis were all written by Śivācāryas (Śaiva teachers) who must have been Āgamic pundits or heads of mathas. These paddhatis are different from the Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati of the Nātha Siddha cult of North India.

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85 Śivadharmottara is usually regarded as a Śaiva Upapurāṇa. Vide Dr R. C. Hazra’s list of the Śaiva Upapurāṇas in CHI, Vol. II, p 282.

86 A list of some paddhatis is given below:

- Siddhānta-Paddhati (by Iśānātiva—c. A.D. 800);
- Varna-Paddhati, Mṛgendra-Paddhati, Brahma-sambhu-Paddhati, Rāma-nātha-Paddhati, Nārāyaṇa-Paddhati (c. A.D. 1000-1300);
- Utturā-Paddhati (c. A.D. 1400); Bhoja-Paddhati (c. A.D. 1400); Guha-Paddhati (authors unknown—c. A.D. 1400); Siddhānta-Paddhati (c. A.D. 1475); Aghoraśīva-Paddhati (c. A.D. 1500); Somasambhu-Paddhati (c. A.D. 1500); Śudgna-Paddhati and Śiva-sannyāsa-paddhati (by Śivāgrayogin—c. A.D. 1600); Amṛṭhā-pūjī-paddhati (by Marajjānā Deśika—c. A.D. 1600);
- Dīkṣāṅgula-Paddhati and Śādana-Paddhati (by Gana-pati Bhaṭṭa—c. A.D. 1600); and Vidyākṣema-Paddhati (c. A.D. 1600).
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 bhāyas on Prasthana-traya. The most important are Soma-sambhu-Paddhati and Aghoraśiva-Paddhati (also called Kriyā-krama-dipikā). The latter consists of three parts, pūrva, aparā, and śoḍāṣa-prakāśikā. It has a gloss called Prabhā.

ŚAIVA STHALĀ-PURĀṆAS

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 dvādaśāṇṭa-sthāla. 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 (Bhuvanesvara) in Orissa. There are many other Sthala-Purāṇas relating to other sacred places like Cidambaram, Rāmeśvaram, Kāḍi, etc. Besides independent works like these, there are numerous descriptions in praise of tithas sacred to Śiva in the principal Purāṇas.*

27 Dr R. C. Hazra has included the Ekāmra Purāṇa in the list of Śaiva Upapurāṇas, Vide CIII, 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.
VAISHNAVA LITERATURE

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.

VIṢṆU 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 Brāhmaṇa, Viṣṇu became the most important god and the symbol of sacrificial worship (yajña). In the Kaṭha 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 Taittiriya 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 Vāsudevakā and not Vaishnava (Āṣṭāadhyaḥ, IV. 3.98). This cult was also known by the names Sātvata, Aikāntika, Pāṇcaratrika, and Bhāgavata. Sātvata points to the family in which Vāsudeva was born; Aikāntika denotes ekānta-bhakti or absolute devotion to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa; Pāṇcaratra centres round Vāsudeva and the members of his family, and the worshippers of Vāsudeva are termed as Bhāgavatas. The term vaismava is of rather late origin, and occurs for the first time in the last parvan 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 VI. 13.
7 XIII. 3.4.1; VIII. 6.1.1; II.12.
8 I.31.
There are some Upaniṣads which are generally known as Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads. These are, however, of much later origin. To this group of Upaniṣads belong the Avyaktopaniṣad or Avyakta-nṛsiṁhapaniṣad, Kṛṣṇopaniṣad, Garudopaniṣad, Gopāla-tāṇḍā Upaniṣad, Gopāloṭṭottara-tāpani Upaniṣad, Tārāsāropaniṣad, Tripād-vibhūti-mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, Dattāreyopaniṣad, Nārāyaṇopaniṣad, Nṛsiṁha-tāpiṇī Upaniṣad, Nṛsiṁhottra-tāpiṇī Upaniṣad, Rāma-tāpiṇī Upaniṣad, Rāmottavottara-tāpiṇī Upaniṣad, Rāma-rahasya Upaniṣad, and Vāsudevoṇiṣad.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.

Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās

The Pāñcarātra* sect of the Vaiṣṇavas is very old and is associated with the Puruṣa-sūkta of the Rg-Veda. The Nārāyaṇiya section of the Mahābhārata gives an account of the Pāñcarātra doctrine. Yāmuna, in his Āgama-prāmāṇya, tries to show that the Pāñcarātra 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 Pāñcarātras. They worshipped pāñcarātras,11 Vāsudeva and four other members of his family. According to them, Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha constituted the vyūha 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 pāñcarātra came from the central dogma of

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

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

11 The 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 Vṛṣṇis 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 (bhagavatāṭa pāñcarātras) of the Vṛṣṇis 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, Anāthapiṇḍa, Śrīraṇa, and Viḍūratha on the basis of the Jaina sources. But J. N. Banerjea with the help of a passage in the Vṛṣṇi Purāṇa identifies them as Baladeva, Vāsudeva, Śrīma, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha.—Suvira Jaiswal, The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism (Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1967), pp. 68-69.
the *pañcarātra sattrā* of Nārāyaṇa, which speaks of fivefold manifestation of God representing His *para* (transcendent), *vyūha* (emanatory), *vibhāṣia* (incarnatory), *antaryāmin* (immanent), and *arca* (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 *avatarās*. In the Nārāyaṇiya section we have the following account of the ten *avatarās*: 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 Bhṛgu’s race, then as Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, then as Kṛṣṇa, the scion of the Sātvata race, and lastly as Kalki.18

In later works, the number of *avatarās* is given as twelve, eighteen, and even twenty-four. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *avatarās* of Viṣṇu cannot be limited in number; they are innumerable just as countless streams spring forth from the unending waters of a lake.14 Archaeological evidences, however, show that the doctrine became a popular one in the time of the Guptas. The introduction of Sakti 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.15

13 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 (*muktriprada*), of devotion (*bhaktiprada*), of Yoga (*yogika*), and pertaining to the senses (*manasika*). But, as pointed out, few of the extant Samhitās conform to this scheme of the topics outlined, and the apocryphal nature of the text renders its evidence highly untrustworthy. According to the Isāra Samhitā, the religion that was taught by the god to five sages, Śāṇḍilya, Aupagāyana, Mauṣūjāyana, Kauśika, and Bhāradvāja, in five successive days and nights came to be known among the people as Pañcarātra. The Śrī-Praṇa Samhitā states that *ratri* means nescience (*ajñāna*), and *pātra* derived from the root *pac* means that which cooks or destroys; hence Pañcarātra is the system which destroys ignorance. According to the Pedma Tantra, the system is so named because just as the sun dispels the night, the Pañcarātra dispels the other five systems, which are the Yoga, Śāṁkhya, Buddhism, Jainism, and Pāṇḍvata. A passage mentioned in the Agni Purāṇa states that the five elements (*pāṭhābhūtas*) which form the body of Brahman are known as *pañcaratras*. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa states that the *pañcarātra sattrā* of Nārāyaṇa was the *puruṣamedha* which lasted for five days; the duration of the sacrifice being counted from the previous night, the word *rātra* is used. In the Vaiṣṇava-Purāṇa 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. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-44.

18 *Mbh.*, XII. 340. 100.

14 *Bhāgavata*, III. 26-27.

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 *anuvāha* verse called the *mantrarāja* 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. *Vide* J. N. Farquhar, *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 Sātvata Saṁhitā is the most important Pāñcarātra text. It is stated in this Saṁhitā that the Lord created the Pāñcarātra literature at the request of Saṁkarśana. The Sātvata Saṁhitā consists of twenty-five chapters which describe in detail the mode of worshipping Nārāyaṇa in all his four vyūha manifestations. The Sātvata, Pauskara, Parama, Ṣvara, and Jayākhya are the earliest Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās of high authority. Of the many treatises on the Pāñcarātra doctrine, the Pāñcarātra-rakṣa-saṅgraha by Gopālasūri is the most important.

The Mārkaṇḍeya Saṁhitā consists of thirty-two chapters. It speaks of 108 Saṁhitās. The Viṣṇukṣena 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, Aḥīrbudhṇya Saṁhitā, Viṣṇu Saṁhitā, and Pauskara Saṁhitā, however, have some philosophical elements in them. Of these, the first two are the most important. The Jñānāsya-sūtra Saṁhitā, also entitled the Nārada Pāṭacāṇḍa, seems to have been written about the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is, a little before Vallabhaścīrya. 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 Bhīṣmaparvan is the most esteemed book not only with the Bhāgavatas, but with the whole Hindu community. The Nārāyaṇya section of the Sāntiparvan is another sacred text for the Bhāgavatas. It emphasizes that the grace of Nārāyaṇa can be attained only through bhakti or devotion. The Anuśasanaparvan (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 Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is identified with Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu. The Harivamsa, in 16,374 verses, forms a supplement to the Mahābhārata, and is an important source of the myths and legends current about Vāsudeva-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. 589.
of Viṣṇu. They are: Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Nārādiya, Gauḍa, Padma, and Varāha. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa is held in the highest esteem by the worshippers of Viṣṇu and is recognized even by Rāmānuja 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 Vaiṣṇavites. 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 Vaiṣṇavas; the Śaivite portions were added later. The Brahma, Brahmavivarta, Vāmana, Kūrma, and Agni also give considerable importance to Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, or Nārāyaṇa.

A large number of māhātyas glorifying Vaiṣṇava tīrthas (places of pilgrimage) are found in the Purāṇas. Mention may be made of Gayā-māhātya (Gauḍa Purāṇa), Mathurā-māhātya (Varāha Purāṇa), Puruṣottama-kṣetra-māhātya (Bṛhma Purāṇa), and Vṛndāvana-māhātya (Brahmavivarta Purāṇa).

Of the Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas, the most important ones are: the Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudharmottara, Nṛsiṁha, Bṛhannāradiya, and Kriyā-yoga-sāra. Scholars think that they were written between A.D. 400 and 900. The first four of these Upapurāṇas are Pañcarātra works and the last belongs to the Bhāgavatas. The other Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas, not so important, are: the Puruṣottama, Dharma, Bhārgava, Adi, and Kalki. 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 Paumacariya. The Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra and the Antakṛddāśaka are among the important Jain sources containing legends about the Viṣṇis. Buddhist works like the Milindapañha, the Avadānaśāstra, and the Saddharmapuṇḍarika also contain references to Vaiṣṇavite 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 Vaiṣṇava 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 Vaiṣṇavism. The influence of the Mahābhārata and Harivamsa is seen in some of the pages of
the *Viṣṇu Sūtṛi* (third century A.D.). The *Vaikhānasa Śārta-Sūtra* discusses the details of Vaiṣṇava rituals.

Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* provides valuable information on the cult of Vaiṣṇavism by way of examples and citations. The *Nāṭya-sāstra* of Bharata refers to the worship of the implements of Viṣṇu, which is an indication of how much popular Vaiṣṇavism had become. The *Gūḍha-saṃkta* 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 *Bālāsautī* 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 Samhita* and *Svāruṭa Samhita*, recommend the recitation of some magical formulas mentioning the names of Vaiṣṇavite deities as a cure for some diseases. The *Amarakośa*, famous lexicon of Amaraśīṃha, gives synonyms of Vaiṣṇavite gods and goddesses, and refers to various legends connected with them.

**BHĀGAVATA VAIṢṆAVISM**

The earliest reference to the Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇavism is found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 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 bhaṅgaṭa*, championed 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 Traikūṭa dynasty. It dominated the scene in Bengal only much later.

**BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM**

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 *Bhaṅgavat-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-
VAIŚNAVA LITERATURE

dualism. About the twelfth century A.D., the Vaishnavas 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 Puranas eulogizing different deities were composed. The Bhāgavata exercised great influence on the Vaishnava movement of this period. Two other important texts of the Vaishnavas which preach the supremacy of Viṣṇu are the Harivaiśṇava and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. These two works describe the whole life of Kṛṣṇa but the Bhāgavata depicts Kṛṣṇa as a vigorous youth and as an object of passionate love of the gopīs. Rādha figures as his partner only in much later texts.

PRE-CAITANYA VAISHNAVA 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, Laksmana Sena happened to be a Vaishnava. 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 Vaishnavas through the ages. There are some verses in the Sadukti-kārnāṁṛta describing the divine sport of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. These verses are attributed to Laksmana 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 Brahmaśaivarta Purāṇa, also has a hand in popularizing it. Śrīdhara Dāsa, author of the Sadukti-kārnāṁṛta, was a devout Vaishnava of this period. Two other scholars, Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa and Hālāyudha Bhaṭṭa, are said to have written the Bhāgavata-tattva-maṇḍari and Vaishnava-tantras 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 Vaishnava Paddavali literature.

As was stated earlier, Bengal Vaishnavism is closely linked with the name of Caitanya. Caitanya himself was probably brought up on the Mādhva tradition. His predecessors, too, were all Mādhvas, followers of Madhva. As a monk, Caitanya belonged to Śaṅkara’s dāsanāṁ tradition. Interestingly, Śrīdharaśvāmin, in writing his commentaries on the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the Bhagavad-Gītā and the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, reconciled devotional mysticism with Śaṅkara’s Advaita philosophy. MādhHAVendra Purī and his disciple Īśvara Purī, Caitanya’s guru, followed in the steps of Śrīdharaśvāmin. The Rāsa-paṭākādhīyya section of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata was also a source of inspiration to Bengal Vaishnavas. Īśvara

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

POST-CAITANYA VAISHNAVA 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 Caritā 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 kāvyā. Svarūpa Dāmodara, an associate of Caitanya at Puri, is also known to have written a biography known as Caritā. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kaviṣā in his Caitanya Caritāmṛta has utilized this Caritā to depict the later years of Caitanya’s life. Next comes the Caitanya Caritāmṛta-mahākāvyā, in twenty cantos, written by Paramānandasena. The author is better known as Kavi Karṇapūra. 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, Ananda-vṛndāvana-campū and Alaṅkāra-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 kāvyā in six cantos, the Kṛṣṇāhnikā-kauṃudī, is also attributed to him. Of the biographies of Caitanya in Bengali the most important are Vṛndāvana Dāsa’s Caitanya-Bhāgavata, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kaviṣā’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 Sīkṣāstaka, Caitanya never wrote any work to propagate his devotional philosophy. The six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana, viz. Rūpa, Sanātana, Raghunātha Dāsa, Raghunātha Bhāṭa, Gopāla Bhāṭa 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: Bhad-bhāgavatāmṛta (with an auto-commentary called Dig-darśanī), Hari-bhakti-vilāsa and Vaiṣṇavatoṣani, a commentary on the tenth skandha of the Bhāgavata. Rūpa’s works include: Uddhava-sandēṣa-kāvyā, the two works of Bhaktirasa-sāstra, viz. Bhakti-
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 Vaiṣṇava Vedānta. After studying at Vārānasi, he settled at Vṛndāvana and was a great help to Rūpa in writing the Bhaktirasāmṛta-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 Śatsandarbha. It consists of six treatises (sandarbhas) on Vaiṣṇava philosophy and theology. These are Tatvā, Bhagavat, Paramātma, Kṛṣṇa, Bhakti, and Priti-sandarbhas. The Tatvā-sandarbha discusses the pramāṇas, means of knowledge, and the prameyas. 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-tattva. 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 Jīva. Paramātman is the partial manifestation of Bhagavān. Bhagavān as possessed of jīva-ākārta and māyā-ākārta is called Paramātman. Jīva-ākārta is responsible for the existence of individual soul and māyā-ākārta 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 avatāra but the very source of all avatāras. In the Bhakti-sandarbha Jiva speaks of devotion as the only means of salvation. True knowledge (tattva-jñāna) is the secondary effect of bhakti and bhakti is itself mukti. One is ahaṁkṛta bhakti, i.e. not prompted by any desire worldly or other-worldly (phalāntaraṇām anusāndhānaráhita), 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-samvādini 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-
Sanhita and on the Gopala-Upanishad. An anonymous Krsnarcanadipika, apparently on the modes of Krsna worship is attributed to him. His two other commentaries, Durgama-sangamani and Locana-rocani are respectively commentaries on Rupa's Bhakti-rasamrta-sindhu and Ujjvala-nilamani.

Jiva was also a great grammarian of his time. His unique work on Sanskrit grammar is Harinamamrta-vyakarana. In this work Jiva has used the names of Krsna, Radha 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 Gopala-campu, a work in mixed prose and verse extending to seventy chapters. It describes the lilas of Krsna in Vrndavana, Mathurā and Dwārakā. Jiva himself informs us that in this kavya his Krsna-sandarbha has been presented in a literary form. Jiva's Mādhava-mahotsava, a kavya in nine cantos and 1164 verses, describes the consecration of Radhā by Krsna as the queen of Vrndavana. His Saṅkalpa-kalpadruma is a philosophico-poetical work, dealing with Krsna-lila in Vrndavana. This work, a product of Jiva's advanced age, consists of four parts: Janmādīlītā, Nityālītā, Sarrisvālītā and Phalā-nilātītā. Jiva's Gopala-birudāvali is a biruda-kavya (a type of literary composition in prose and verse) dedicated to the prayer of the deity.

OTHER GOSVAMINS

The Haribhakti-vilāsa is attributed to Gopala Bhaṭṭa. Raghunātha Dāsa's Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru, Vraja-vilāsa-stava, and Dāna-keli-cintāmaṇi are hymns in praise of either Caitanya or Kṛṣṇalīlā. His Muktā-carita is a Sanskrit kavya with Kṛṣṇa's early life in Vrndavana as its theme. Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa wrote nothing. But the other five Gosvāmins of Vrndavana covered the major part of the religio-philosophical literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Viśvanātha Cakrabartī (c. A.D. 1754) wrote a commentary called Ananda-candrika (or Ujjvala-nilamani-kiranā) on Ujjvala-nilamani of Rūpa Gosvāmin. His other commentary is on Bhakti-rasamrta-sindhu called Sindhu-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 Oriissa.

Madhusūdāna 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.

VAISHNAVISM 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-
VAISNAVA LITERATURE

Gîtâ and the Bhâgavata Purâṇa. The latter, it may be noted, comprises the quintessence of Vedânta and is described as 'the sun' among the Purâṇas. 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, Kîr̄tana, opens with his obeisance to God whom he describes as Sanatana Brahman. God, according to him, assumes a form and is the cause of all incarnations (avatâras).

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

The bhakti cult as propounded in the different Śåstras finds its expression in the Bhâkty-ratnâkara written by Śaṅkara Deva in Sanskrit. Most of his works are, however, in Kâmarûpi, the spoken dialect of the people of Assam. He translated a large part of the Bhâgavata into simple Kâmarûpi verse. Among his other works (in Kâmarûpi) are: Bhâkty-pradîpa in verse (on the bhakti cult as propounded in the Garuda Purâṇa); Kîr̄tana, in simple verse suited to music (the subject being the life-story of Śrî Kṛṣṇa as depicted in the Bhâgavata); and Guṇamâlā (synopsis of the Bhâgavata, so far as the life-story of Śrî Kṛṣṇa is concerned). These apart, Śaṅkara Deva wrote six one-act plays—five of them based on the life of Śrî Kṛṣṇa, and the sixth on the marriage of Sîtā with Râma. He composed a large number of songs also. After Śaṅkara Deva, various groups or schools emerged in course of time, and different Vaiṣṇava institutions also were set up. All schools of thought, however, accept the philosophical interpretations given by Śaṅkara Deva. The Kîr̄tana of Śaṅkara Deva and the Nâma-ghoṣâ of Mâdhava Deva are their important works. The chief difference between the groups consists in the observance of rites and ceremonies.

VAIŚNAVA SAINTS OF MEDIEVAL INDIA

Râmânanda, a follower of Râmânuja, was responsible for spreading the Vaiṣṇava movement in the north. To Râmânanda Śrî Râma was the chosen deity. A host of devoted followers like Kabîr 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 Vaiṣṇavism is associated with two great names, Nâmâdeva and Tukârâma. Nâmâdeva, a contemporary of Jñâna-deva (author
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.

Śūradāsa (c. A.D. 1483-1563) was another great Vaiṣṇava poet of the Kṛṣṇa cult who wrote in Braja-bhāṣā. The songs of Mirābāī, a poetess of the bhakti school, were originally written in Rajasthani. Tulasīdāsa’s Rāma-carita-mānas, 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, Andhras 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 SANGAM AGE AND THE ĀLVĀRS

For the ancient Tamils, Viṣṇu was Māyon, the dark-hued; and many of the poems in the Saṅgam anthology Paripādal (second century A.D.) are dedicated to Māyon. The genre known as Paripādal was originally meant for love poetry. During the Saṅgam age it was transformed into poetry inspired by love for God. The poems of Paripādal 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.

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 Saṅgам 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 Āḷvārs18 (devotees immersed in god-consciousness) have sung of Viṣṇu as the supreme Lord of the universe, depicting him in a variety of attitudes.19

THE ĀĆĀRyAS

The age of Vaiṣṇava revival by the Āḷvārs was followed by the age of consolidation by the Vaiṣṇava ĀĆāryas.20 A new dimension was added to Vedic Vaiṣṇavism by giving equal importance to the Tamil Veda in matters of theology. While the Āḷvārs scored by appealing to the heart, the ĀĆāryas 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 ĀĆāryas 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 ĀĆārya of Ubhaya-Vedānta,21 made arrangements for the recital of the Divya Prabandham in temples. He wrote Nyāya-tattva, Yoga-rahasya and Puruṣa-nirṇaya.

Nāthamuni’s grandson was Yāmunācārya (c. A.D. 918-1038), the first Viśiṣṭādvaitin to controvert non-dualism by dialectics in Ātmavidhi. This work, in mixed prose and verse along with Īṭvara-siddhi and Saṁvita-siddhi, is considered ‘the fountain head of Śrī Rāmānuja’s epoch-making works’.22 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 Saṅkara and Bhāskara in a dialec-

18 They are: Poygai Ālvār, Bhūttattālvār, Pey Ālvār, Tirumalaiśai Ālvār, Naṁmālvār, Madhurakavi Ālvār, Kulaśekkhara Ālvār, Penyālvār, Anjäl, Tondaradippodi Ālvār, Tiruppān Ālvār, and Tirumahgal Ālvār.
19 For a detailed study of the Āḷvārs and their works, the following books may be consulted: K. C. Varadachari, Ālvārs of South India, J. S. M. Hooper, The Hymns of the Ālvārs; HIP, Vol. III, etc.
20 For an exhaustive catalogue of the works of the different ĀĆāryas and their followers HIP, Vols. III & IV and CHI, Vol IV may be consulted
21 The Vedānta which harmonizes the teachings of both the traditional Vedānta and the teachings of the Ālvārs.
tical battle seeks to establish the Pāñcarātra Tantras or the Vaiṣṇava Āgamās as having equal authority with the Vedas. His Gitāṛtha-saṅgraha, in thirty-two verses, an admirable summary of the Bhagavad-Gītā, is in line with the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. His Mahāpuruṣa-nirṇaya 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 Śāraṃgati-gadya of Rāmānuja, the Śrī-stava of Vatsāṅkamīśra, the Śrīgūṇa-ratnakoṣa of Parāśara Bhaṭṭa, his son, and the Śrī-stuti of Veṅkaṭaḥāṁtha.²²

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 Śuddhādvaita (pure non-dualism).

RĀMĀNUJĀCĀRYA

Vaiṣṇava theology gained widespread popularity through the writings of the great Rāmānuja. Intellectually well-equipped, and deeply devoted to the Āḷvār, Rāmānuja emerged on the Vaiṣṇava literary scene with his Śrībhāṣya and Gītā-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.
VAISNAVA LITERATURE
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 Viśiṣṭādvaita 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, _Saraṇāgati-gadya_, _Śrīranga-gadya_ and _Śrīvaikuntha-gadya_. Self-surrender is the essence of Vaiṣṇava doctrine, and _Saraṇāgati-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 _Saraṇāgati-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 _Śrīranga-gadya_ sets forth the overwhelming splendour of the Lord whose _kārunā_ (kindness and mercy) draws Him to the devotee in moments of distress. _Śrīvaikuntha-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 _Bhagavadādṛḍhāna-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 Coḷa king, Kulottuṅga. The following five hymns were the

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25Here 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 pureness (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 and wonderful weapons suited to His might; He has, besides, a Spouse of unsurpassed 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 Śrutis which state that all these are eternal and immaculate.’—Translated by M. R. Rajagopalay Iyengar.

26_Vide M. Yamunacharya, Ramanuja’s Teachings in His Own Words_ (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1963), p. 128.
outcome of his passionate, spiritual heroism. In the Śrīvaikuntha-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. Atimānurīya-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 Laksmana. How does one reconcile the naivety of Rāma following the fake deer and Kṛṣṇa being bound for stealing butter, with the super-exploits attributed to them? The devotion in Kureśa’s heart streams out in elegant poetry in the Sundarabāhu-stava and Varadārāja-stava. The eleven verses of Śrī-stava describe Laksṇī as guiding Nārāyaṇa in his role as creator, sustainer, and destroyer of the universe. Indeed, the Lord realizes His glory because of Laksṇī’s proximity. The world flowers in triumphal beauty when Laksṇī glances at it.

Kureśa’s son was Parāśara Bhaṭṭa who composed elevating Sanskrit hymns like Śrīraṅgārāja-stava, Raṅganāthā-stotra and Śrīgūra-ratnakosa. The last-mentioned is a soulful prayer to Laksṇī and describes the Mother’s kindness and affection towards her devotees. Parāśara’s Asta-stōkā explained the meaning of the three basic mantras of Vaiṣṇavism: Aṣṭākṣara, Dwāya and Carama-stōkā. His Bhagavad-guṇa-darpāṇa is a priceless commentary on the Viṣṇu-sahasranāma, Like Śaṅkarā, 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 Venkaṭādhipharin’s Viṣṇu-guṇādaśā-campū which introduces two gandharvas, Kṛṣṇu and Viśvavasu, 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-vibhaṅga and Bhāva-prakāśikā), Varādācārya (Tattva-sāra and Śārīrīcatausṭaya), Sudarśana Bhaṭṭāraka (Śruta-prakāśikā and Śruta-pradhāpikā), Ātreya Rāmānuja (Nyāya-kulīla) and Meghanādri Sūri (Nyāya-prakāśikā and Bhāva-prabodha). Nañḍadoor Ammal’s Prapannam-pārijātā 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 saṁsāra in the boat of nyāsa or self-surrender.²⁷

One of the well-known disciples of Parāśara was Raṅganāthā Muni who has remained popular all these centuries because of his commentaries in Tamil and Sanskrit. He was taught the importance of Laksṇī in Vaiṣṇava theology by Pranatārūhara who was a disciple of Rāmānuja. Śrīsukta-bhaṣya of Raṅgānāthā Muni contains a remarkable analysis of the Laksṇī hymns found in the

²⁷Prapanna Pārijātā (Vaishnavite Pracharini Sabha, Madras, 1971), p 70.
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Vedas, a detailed explanation of the term jātavedāḥ, and at the end a long discussion on the concept of Lakṣmī.

Rāganātha Muni also wrote the Puruṣasūktā-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 Kṣamāṇḍasi-stotra, Annan’s Śrīvenkaṭeṣa-stotra, Tirukkacci Nambi’s Devarājaṭaka, Maṇavāla Mahāmuni’s Śrīdevarāja-māṅgala, Vādikesari Jeeyar’s Narasimhaṭaka, Jeeyar Nayanar’s Nākṣatra-mālikā and Tirumalai Ananthāzhvan’s Śrīrāmānuja-catuḥ-sloki.

LOKĀCĀRYA 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 Tatva-traya, Śrīvacaṇa-bhāṣya, Tatva-śekhara, Artha-paṇcaka, Frameya-śekhara etc. Tatva-traya is an aphoristic exposition by telling analogy of the relationship between man, nature and God. Śrīvacaṇa-bhāṣya is an account of the secret doctrine of the sect. The theme of Tatva-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 Veṭikāṭanātha (a.d. 1268-1369), one of the most eminent stalwarts of the Viṣistadvaita 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 maṇipravālā (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-tārki-simha), Deśika’s exposition of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophy is found in numerous works like Tatva-muktā-kalāpa and Sarvārtha-siddhi. Among his better known commentaries are Tatva-tikā (a commentary on Rāmānuja’s Śrībhāṣya), Tatparya-candrikā.

In the course of the discussion he answers categorically some prima facie arguments raised by himself. Then he concludes that Śraddhā and Viṣṇupati refer to Lakṣmī 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 Aḥravduḥṣa Sanhita and Lakṣmī Tantra in support of his view.—Vide A. Srīvraha Raghavan, Śrīsūktā Bhāṣya Maharajah’s College, Pudukottah, 1937, pp. xiii-xhil.
(on the Gitā-bhāṣya of Rāmānuja), Śata-dūṣṇī (a refutation of Advaita), and Nyāya-siddhānta. Pañcarātra-rākṣa, Saccarita-rākṣa and Nikṣepa-rākṣa deal with the principles and practices of the Pañcarātra school, andrāyana-mīmāṃsā treats the Pūrva and Uttarā Mīmāṃsā 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. Deśika’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-rahasyatrayaśara composed in a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil. It is a commentary on the three ‘secrets’ of self-surrender in Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, that is, the Aṣṭākṣara, the Duaya and the Carama-lōka. But it is more than a mere commentary. It is a text of Viśiṣṭādvaitic Vaiṣṇavism. Deśika’s masterly summary of the meaning of the Carama-lōka in the Gitā provides the grand finale to a work which overwhelms us by its intellectual brilliance, intuitive perception and devotional humility.29

Vedānta Deśika’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 Viśṇu as Hayagrīva whom Deśika revered as the Lord of knowledge. Stotras dedicated to the dasāvātāras of the Lord, to Śrī, Bhū and Godā, to Sudarśana, Dehaliṣa, 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 Deśika in the Vairāgya Pañcaratna 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 Kāṇcipuram).’

Deśika’s Dayā-tatka stands out among his devotional lyrics. The hymn describes the karupā of Veṅkaṭaśvara and is replete with illustrations. The

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29 Your 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 upāyas 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 upāya and perform the surrender of the responsibility of protecting yourself to me with its five aṭgar. When you have adopted the upāya, 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. Rajagopala Iyengar (Tv.), Śrimad Rahasyatrayasāra (Agnihotram Rāmānuja Thathachariar, Kumbakonam, 1956).
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 Haṁsa-saṁdeśa provides a contrast and is a simple, sensuous poem in the mandākrānta metre made famous by Kālidāsa. The subject-matter of the poem is Rāma’s sending a swan as his messenger to reassure Sītā 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 Sītā 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 Sītā and deliver the message. The ten verses, beginning with the seventy-third, bring before our eyes the captive Sītā 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 sandeśa-kāvyā. Deśika’s absorption in the Kṛṣṇāvatāra is seen in poems like Gopāla-vimśati and Tādavāḥhyudaya. The latter has twenty-four cantos and was inspired by the Bhāgavata. It describes Kṛṣṇa’s birth, childhood and youth, his marriage with Rukmīṇī and Satyabhāmā, the destruction of Narakāśura, the marriage of Uṣā and Aniruddha, the killing of Pounḍraka and other heroic exploits of Kṛṣṇa, and the Gitopadesa on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra. The Tādavāḥhyudaya has a remarkable commentary written in the sixteenth century by Appaya Dīkṣita, the author of the hymn, Varadarāja-stava.

Deśika’s allegorical play preaching Vaishnavism is Sankalpa-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 Mahāmohā (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 Sītā
With eyes dim and aimless,
She sighs often, her lotus face is shrunk.
The eyes send forth tears unending.
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.
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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 maṇi-pravāla 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 Kureśa, ‘Thirty-six thousand’ by Vadakku Tiruvithi Pillai and ‘Twenty-four thousand’ by Peria-vacan 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-parjñā-saurabhā. Śrīnivāsa, a pupil of Nimbārka, wrote an excellent commentary on it called Vedānta-kaustubhā. The other works attributed to Nimbārka are as follows: Daśa-śloki (also called Siddhānta-ratna), Śrīkṛṣṇa-stava-rāja and Guru-parampara. 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-jāhnavī, a commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra, by Devācārya, on which Sundara Bhaṭṭa wrote a commentary called Siddhānta-setukā. Vedānta-kaustubha-prabhā by Keśava Bhaṭṭa is a commentary on Vedānta-kaustubhā. A commentary on the Bhagavad-Gītā called Tattva-prakāśikā is also attributed to him. Vanamāli Miśra’s Vedānta-siddhānta-saṅgrahā (also called Śrutī-siddhānta-saṅgrahā) 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 Gītā-bhāṣya and Gitā-tātparya-nirṇaya, a summary of the central teachings of the Gītā, to outline his bimba-pratibimbabha; Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya which has an imposing array of choice quotations; Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya, an epitome of the essential teachings of the Mahābhārata; Bhāgavata-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_, _Anunākhyaṇa_, _Tattva-saṅkhyaṇa_, _Tattvoddotya_, _Sadācāra-smṛti_, etc. The last one is a manual on the duties and rituals of a vaiṣṇava.

Madhva has also composed some stirring devotional lyrics in Sanskrit, such as _Dvādaśa-stotra_, _Yamaka-bhārata_, and _Narasinḥa-nakha-stotra_. _Kṛṣṇāṁṛta-mahārṇava_ 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 Vaiṣṇavism through the Dāsa Kūta saints in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Mention may be made of _Hari-bhakti-sāra_ and _Mohana-taraṅgini_, 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 Jayatīrtha and Vvāstārthā. Jayatīrtha wrote _Nyāya-sudhā_, a commentary on _Anunākhyaṇa_ of Madhva, _Nyāya-dīpikā_, a commentary on Madhva’s _Gītā-tātparya-mrṇaya_, _Prameya-dīpikā_, a commentary on Madhva’s _Gītā-bhāṣya_, and _Tattva-prakāśikā_, a commentary on _Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya_ of Madhva. Vyāstārthā wrote _Tātparya-candrikā_, a commentary on _Tattva-prakāśikā_ of Jayatīrtha. _Pada-ratnāvalī_ is a standard commentary on the _Bhāgavata_ by Vijayadhvāja of the Madhva school.

VALLABHĀCĀRYA

Vallabha, the founder of the Śuddhadvaita 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 _suddha_ (pure) unalloyed with Māyā. This system is also known as _pusti-marga_ as it strongly emphasizes _pusti_ (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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21_Viṣnu 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 Viṣnu. 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 Viṣnu 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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Gītā-bhāṣya; Kṛṣṇārṇaya; Premāṁṣa; Siddhānta-muktāvaś; Siddhānta-rahasya; Bhakti-vardhini and its commentary, Bhakti-siddhānta. Tattvārtha-dīpa together with its commentary Prakāṣa, is a most important work of Vallabha. It is divided into three sections viz. Śāstrārtha, Sarvanirnaya and Bhagavatārtha. Of the three, the first and the last are devoted to summarize the essence of the Gītā and the Bhagavata respectively. Among his other works, these may be mentioned: Sevāphala-stotra, Catuḥ-sloki, Antaḥkarana-prabodha, Nararatna, Puṣṭipravāha-maryāda, Madhurāṣṭaka, Bhāgavata-sāra-samuccaya and Puruṣottama-sahasranāma-stotra. The following works are attributed to Viṭṭhaleśa, Vallabha’s son: Kṛṣṇa-premāṁśa, Bhakti-haṁsa, Bhagavad-Gītā-tāṭparyya, Bhāgavata-daśāma-skandha-sīvṛti, Bhakti-hetu-nirṇaya, Premāṁśa-bhāṣya, etc. Bhakti-taraṅγi and Nāma-candrika of Raghunātha, Subodhini-prakāsha, Prārthana-ratnakara and Bhakti-haṁsa-viveka of Puruṣottama, Bhakti-cintāmaṇi, Bhagavannāma-dārapaṇa and Bhagavannāma-vaiḥkava of Muralidhara, Bhakti-mārtanda of Gopeśvara, Bhakti-rasata-vāda and Avatāra-vādavāli of Pitāmbara 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 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, Śrī Raṅgarāmānuja Svāmī (c. sixteenth century) has written a commentary in Sanskrit prose on Nāmālvar’s Tiruvaimozhi. He also wrote lucid commentaries on several principal Upaniṣads. His commentary on the Śrībhāṣya is called Mūla-bhāva-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-smarana-sātaka, Viṣṇu-pādī, and Harimide-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. Līlāsūka’s Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāṁśa is a favourite with devotees even today. Śakti Bhadra wrote Aścarya-cūḍāmaṇi, a Sanskrit drama on the Rāmāyaṇa theme. Narratives like Anantaṭhura-varṇana and Kṛṣṇa-gāthā and campū-kāyas like Kaṁsa-vadha and Kaṁsa-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 Bhaṭṭatīra’s Sanskrit epic, Nārāyaṇīya. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīra has written eighteen prabhandhas on themes chosen from Hindu epics as well as works like Dhatu-kavya and Silpi-ratna. But it is Nārāyaṇīya which assures him of his pre-eminent position as an epic poet. The poem is in one hundred dasakas and retells the story of Kṛṣṇa as found in the Bhāgavata. The devotional fervour of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīra converts the legendary story into a spiritual adventure.

Passages relating to the Narasīṁhacatāra, Gajendra-mokṣa and Ajāmilopāhyāna are couched in mellifluous diction. From the thirty-seventh daśaka onwards, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīra 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)
SĀKTA LITERATURE

The term sākta is generally regarded synonymous with tāntrika but it is not correct. Sākta has a wider import than tāntrika. Also, while Sākta 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,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 Sākta, 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.* She is represented as the eternal feminine, always pursued but never overtaken by the Sun, who starts his chase

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1 Some 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 Hārappan sites are thought to represent the Mother Goddess later associated with the Śākta cult.

2 It 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 Amarakośa (c. sixth century) and the other kāyas 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.

3 According to which there is one ultimate Reality, called Brahman, behind the phenomenal world.

4 Śaṅkara-bhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtra, I. 4.3.

5 R. V. IV. 5.51-52, VII. 5.75-81.
after her every morning. Such is her elusive nature. The hymns to Uśas 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. Almost at the end of the Rg- Veda we come across the famous hymn to Vāc, 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 Śakti literature the hymn to Night, the Rātri- sūkta, who is conceived as a female deity like Dawn and invoked through this hymn. There are also some stray verses in the Rg- Veda in which names of such female deities as Prthivi, 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 Kaustubha, Vindhyavāsini, Caṇḍi, Umā, Ambikā, Kālī 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 Sanhitās and the Brāhmaṇas of the Yajur- Veda there are references to Ambikā not yet associated with Rudra as his wife. She has been described there as Rudra’s sister, and in one place even as his mother. 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 Haimavati who revealed to Indra the nature of Brahman, the supreme Spirit, when gods like Agni and Vāyu were absolutely baffled in their attempt to fathom Its nature. 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. Bhandarkar 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.’

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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 Taittirīya Āranyaka, 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 Upanishad to seven female powers bearing names like Kâlî, Karâlî, etc. The tongues rising from a sacrificial fire are given these names. Nowhere else in the earlier Upanisads 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 SĀKTA UPAṆISADS

There is a whole body of literature bearing the title of Upanishad, which is specifically Sākta in character. They are nearly as many as ten, all obviously of a later date. They are as follows: Tripurāpanisad, Tripurā-tāpini Upaniṣad, Bahuya-panisad, Bhāvaṇāpaniṣad, Sarasvatī-rahasyopaniṣad, Sītopaniṣad, Saubhagyalakṣmi Upaniṣad, Sumukhi Upaniṣad, Guhyakâlî Upaniṣad and Devī 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 character, dealing with the glory of a particular female deity, like Śītā or Sarasvatī. Others, like the Tripurā-tāpini, go deeper into the methods of Sākta 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 Gāyatrī 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 Tantric ways of realization. Later, the distinction between the two completely disappeared. Thus, we find the use of many Vedic mantras in Tantric rites. At the same time, the Vedic deities assume the roles and characters of Śakti as depicted in the Tantras.

EPICS, PURĀṆAS AND UPAPURĀṆAS

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. I). 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 Erythraean Sea (first century A.D.) also there is a reference to this goddess (vide the text edited by Schoff, p. 46).

14 Mu. 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 Haimavatī known as the wife of Rudra, and Kālī, Karâlī and others as that of Agni gradually came to be associated with the wife of Śiva. The Makhābhārata gives us hints about how this happened.

15 Śvet. 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 and the Harivamśa are two important sources so far as the history of the cult and worship of Śakti is concerned.

There is a distinct class of Upapurāṇas known as Śakti because they deal exclusively with the female deity. But these are of a later date. Before these Upapurāṇas, devoted exclusively to the Devī or Śakti, were written, we find in some of the principal Purāṇas, like the Mārkandeya, Vāmana, Varāha, Kurma and so on, chapters in praise of, and on the worship of, the different forms of Devī. Though the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is primarily devoted to the glorification of Kṛṣṇa, it contains plenty of information concerning the worship of Śakti. The Śaktas Upapurāṇas of note, which have come down to us are the following: Devī, Kālikā, Mahā-bhāgavata, Devī-bhāgavata, Bhagavati, Candi or Candiśka, Devī-rahasya, and Sati (also called Kālikā or Kāli). Devī or Śakti is the central deity in these books though she is given names and forms such as Durgā, Kāli, Candi, Sati, etc. Accounts in the Mahābhārata, Harivamśa 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. 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 Upapurāṇas which are lost and are known only by names. They are: Bhramandikesvāra, Kālikā, Nandikesvāra, Nandi, and Śrādasī.

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 Bhāmāparvan (chapter XXIII) and the other by Yudhishtīra in the Virāparvan (chapter VI). They speak of many aspects of the Great Goddess to be found in the later Tāntric texts. The Daṇḍa-yajña episode in the Śantiparvan (chapter CCLXXXIV) of the Mahābhārata describes how Mahakāli 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, Sakambhari (VI. 23.9). On the basis of some seals, scholars infer that the concept of the Sakambhari aspect of the Mother Goddess may have been familiar even in the days of the Harappan civilization.

II. 2-4 and 22. The Harivamśa (II. 2.48-52) states that Viṣṇu descended into the Ṛta (the nether regions) and asked Śleep in the form of Time, the destroyer (Nārāyaṇa), to become the daughter of Yāsoda. She was told that she would become Kaushika and would have a permanent residence on the Vindhya mountain. She was also told that she would kill Śumbha and Nīmbha and would be worshipped by wine and animal sacrifices.


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, Śrī-vidyā-ratna-sūtra, which is attributed to the great Vedāntist, Gauḍapādācārya. Yet another work is Pārānanda-Sūtra. There is also a reference to Agastyā-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.28 The Raghuvanśa refers to Kālī (XI. 15), and the Kumāra-sambhava describes her as the Divine Mother (VII.39). Vāsavadattā of Subandhu (seventh century) contains the earliest literary reference to a worshipper of the Buddhist goddess Tārā. The Śākta Tārā, also called Ugratārā, Ekajāta and Nila-sarasvatī might be an adaptation of the Mahāyāna Buddhist goddess of the same name.29 Subandhu also mentions the goddess Kātyāyanī of Kusumapura. Bāṇa’s (seventh century) Haṃsa-carita shows that the Tāntric rites were gradually encroaching upon the Brāhmaṇic religion. Bāṇa was an ardent devotee of Cāṇḍi and his Cāṇḍi-śataka shows that he was deeply influenced by the Saptāśata or Cāṇḍi-māhātmya of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. In his Kādambari, he refers to the worship of the mother goddess by the Śāvaras. Vākpatī (c. eighth century) in his Gauḍavaho describes the temple of Vindhyavāsinī and also refers to the killing of Mahīśāsura as found in the Cāṇḍi. Bhavabhūti’s Mālāti-Mādhava (c. eighth century) speaks of Aghoraghaṇṭa, a Kāpālik ascetic, who happened to be the priest of the Goddess Cāmūṇḍā in Śrī Śaila, who was worshipped with regular human sacrifices. Some fine hymns to Devi are attributed to Śaṅkarācārya (ninth century), and his bhāṣya on the Bhagavad-Gītā shows that he might have been influenced by the Śākta philosophy.30

TANTRAS AND ĀGAMAS

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

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28 Some 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 Maheśvarī, Cāmūṇḍā and so on. (Vide Corpus Inscription Indicarum, Vol. III, p. 47). Several terracotta figures, stone discs, seals and coins belonging to the Mauya and Kuśāna 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. Banderjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 171.

29 Vide Narendra Nath Bhattacharyya, History of Śākta Religion, p. 69.

SÁKTA LITERATURE

Sákta school, is very extensive and elaborate.25 The Sákta school had infinite ramifications, such as the Kádi-mata, the Hádi-mata, the Kahádi-mata, the Káli-mata, the Kaula-mata and so on. Similarly, their forms of worship, ácāras, were also numerous, such as the Daksínádára, Vámádára, Divyádára, Virádára, Pasvácára, Kulácára, Samayácára, Cínábára and so on. Books written by different schools expressing their views about forms of worship naturally increased the bulk of Sákta literature. The divergence of the Sákta deities contributed no less to the wealth of Sákta literature. The most famous division is on the basis of the ten mahávidyáś, each having a distinct literature of her own.

The first of the ten mahávidyáś is Káli and the best book on her is supposed to be the Mahákála Saṁhitá. 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 Káli, the following may be mentioned: Kála-jñána, Káloottara, Káli-kula-krámácára, Bhadrakáli-cintámáni, Káli Yáma, Káli-kalpa, Káli-sapáryá-krama-kalpavalli, Káli-nilása Tantra, Káli-kula-sarasvata, Káli Tantra, Víśuta-sára Tantra, and Kámešvarí Tantra. A section called Káli-khanda of the Sákti-saṁgama Tantra is also important as is the Káli-máhámya of the Bhairavi Tantra. Rágghava Bhattá, the author of Sáradátilaka, wrote a book called Káli-tattva, which was widely known in northern India. The Sáma-sapáryá-pidhi, by Básána Bhattáacárya Tarkálmkara, consisting of seven chapters and the Sáma-rahasya by Púrnananda having eleven chapters are very important works on Káli written by Bengáli authors. They set the standard for Káli worship in Bengál. Incidentally, Káli has almost become a favourite deity with the Bengalees who worship her in numerous forms such as Siddhákáli, Guhyákáli, Bhadrakáli, Smaśánakáli, Raksákáli or Mahákáli.26 Káli is, in fact, the most important Sákti deity in eastern India.

Next comes Tára, whose worship is supposed to be of Buddhistic and Chinese origin and appears to have been taken from the country of Bhóta, i.e. Tibet. There is a vast literature pertaining to her worship. Some of the works about her are: Tára Tantra or Táriṇi Tantra, Tára-súkta, Tádala Tantra, Tára-rápa, Níla Tantra, Mahá-níla Tantra, Níla-sarásvati Tantra, Cínádára, Tantra-rána, Tára-sávara Tantra, Tára-Upaniśad, Ekája Tantra, Ekája-kalpa, Brahma-yáma Tantra, Mahá-cínádára-krama, Ekája Tantra, Táriṇi-níraṇya and so on. Mention must also be made of many compendiums on Tára, such as Tára-Prádipá by

25 Though the traditional list enumerates sixty-four Tantras, the number of Tantras extant in manuscripts is far greater. (Vide Haraprasad Sástri, 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. iv-viii). They seem to have originated in Bengal, from which 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.

26 Cf. Chintaharan Chakravarty, Tantras: Studies in their Religion and Literature (Chapter on Káli Worship in Bengal).
Lakṣmana Bhaṭṭa, Tārā-rahasya by Āgāmācārya Śaṅkara, Tārā-bhakti-sudhārṇava
by Narasinya Ṭhākura, Tārā-bhakti-taraṇāgīṇī by Prakāśānanda, a book of the
same name by Vimalānanda as well as another by Kāśīnātha, Tārā-kalpa-latā-
paddhati by Nityāṇanda, Tārīṇi-pārijāta by Śrīvidvad Upādhyāya, Mahāgra-tārā-
kalpa and others. Tārā-sahasra-nāma, on which there is a commentary by Lakṣmī-
dhara, also deserves mention.

The third in the list, Śoḍaṣi 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,
Śoḍaṣi, 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 Śoḍaṣi. Because
of her beauty and grandeur she is also known as Tripura-sundari or simply
Sundari and Rājārājēśvarī. As she was first worshipped by Brahmā, Viṣṇu
and Maheśvara, she is known as Tripurā, though there are other interpretations also
of this term.27 She is also conceived as having three different aspects, viz. Bālā,
Bhairāvī 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, Pūraṇagiri in the west and Jālandhara at the top of the
Meru mountain. These three points are looked upon as a triangle with Odī-
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 worshiped
in twelve different forms in different parts of India such as Kāmākṣi in Kān-
ci, Kumārī in Kerala, Ambā in Gurjara, Kālikā in Mālava, Lalītā in Prayāga,
Vindhyavāsinī in Vindhyācala, Viṣālākṣī in Vārānasi, Maṅgalacandrī in Gayā,
Sundari in Vaṁga, Mahālakṣmī in Karavira and Guhyēśvarī in Nepāla as well
as Bhṛāmarī in the Malay mountain.

The literature of Tripurā or Śoḍaṣi, therefore, is vast and elaborate. The
form of her worship, known as śrī-vidyā, has come down in two main currents
known as Kādi-vidyā and Hādi-vidyā. The latter 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, Māṭrākārṇava,
Yoginīhrdaya and Tripurārṇava. The Tantrarāja has many commentaries of which
one named Manoramā by Subhagānandaṅgātha is the most important. The
other commentary, Sudarśana, by Fremanidhi, is also sometimes attributed to
his wife Prāṇamaṅjari. Bhāskara Rāya is also supposed to have written a com-
mentary, which, however, is not available now. Paramānanda Tantra or Parānanda
Tantra is an important work on śrī-vidyā. Another important book on the subject

*Brahma-viṣṇu-mahālakṣmī-trīdāśayāreiṭā pura, 
Tripurāśi sadā nāma kathah duścataśi tava. Viśālī Tantra (quoted in the Tantrasāra, 
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is Saubhäsya-kalpa-druma, written by Mädhavamandanätha. There are nearly forty other texts dealing with śri-vidyä. To mention some of the important ones among them: Vämakesvara Tantra, Śakti-saṅgama Tantra, Lakṣmi Tantra, Svacchanda Tantra, Tiriṣṭra-rāhasya, Tiriṣṭra-sāra-samuccaya, Śri-tattva-cintāmaṇi, Kāma-kalā-vilāsa, Varvasyā-rāhasya, Varivasī-paśa, Viṁśṭiśa-paścāśikā, and Lalitāccana-candrikā.²⁸

The literature on śri-vidyä became so extensive and popular that the names of many gods like Indra, Skanda, Śiva, Śūrya, 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. Śri-vidyā-ratna-sūtra. There are also some important hymns addressed to the deity which together with commentaries thereon, form an important part of Śaṅkta literature and also throw a flood of light on this cult. The hymns, Ananda-lahari and Saundarya-lahari, both attributed to Śaṅkara, and the commentaries thereon, especially the commentary by Lakṣmīdhara, deserve special mention. The hymn, Lalitā-sahasanāma-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 Kāli, Tārā and Šoḍaśī 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, Bhuvanesvari, the most important book dealing with her cult and worship is the Bhuvanesvari-rāhasya by Prthvīdhara Acārya who is claimed to be a direct disciple of Śaṅkara. There is also a Bhuvanesvari-stotra by Prthvīdhara. The Bhuvanesvari Tantra, Bhuvanesvari-pārijāta and the Bhuvanesvari-kalpa-lañā 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-rāhasya and the Bhairavi-saṅgārya-viḍhī. The most important work, however, is Bhairavi Tāmala. This manifestation of Bhairavi has many sub-forms such as Siddha-bhairavi, Tiriṣṭra-bhairavi, Caitanya-bhairavi, Bhuvanesvari-bhairavi, Kamaleśvari-bhairavi, Kāmeśvari-bhairavi and so on. A Bhairavi is always associated with a Bhairava, also known as a Vaṭuka. According to the Muṇḍamālā Tantra, Bhairava and the incarnation of Nṛśīrṇa are identical.

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

²⁸For a detailed list see Gopinath Kaviraj, Tāntrika Sahitya, 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 Praṇatāśiṇī 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 Sāṅkhāyana Tantra, which is also known as Saḍvidyāgama. The Vagalā-krama-kalpa-vālī 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, Mātaṅgī, became manifest, according to the Brahma Yāmala, through the prolonged penances of the sage, Mātaṅga. Mātaṅgi-krama by Kulamaṇi Gupta and Mātaṅgi-Paddhati by Rāmbhaṭṭa give details about the worship of this form of Śakti. Mātaṅgī is also known by the name Sumukhī. Sumukhī-puṣṭā-paddhati is a well-known manual on the forms and methodologies of her worship. Its author, Śaṅkara, who was a disciple of Sundarānanda, belongs to the line of the great Vedāntist, Vidyārāṇya.

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. Lākṣmi, with a red lotus as her seat. She is described in the Tantrasāra, Sāradā-ilaka, Śāktapramoda and other such books.

We have so far dealt with the Tāntric 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 Mālinī-vijaya Tantra we have other names like Mahādurgā, Annapūrṇā, Vāgāvādini, 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, Tripūṭā, Mahāmāyā, Bheraṇḍā, Cāmūṇḍā, Śulinī, 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

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89 Vide C. Chakrabarty, Tantras: Studies in their Religion and Literature, p. 94.
90 Kāli, Kātyāyanī, Iśāni, Muṇḍamardini, Cāmūṇḍā, Bhadrakāli, Bhadrā, Tvaritā, and Vaiṣṇavī.
SAKTA LITERATURE

Śakti, 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 *Prapāñcasāra Tantra*, ascribed to Śaṅkara, is one of the most important Tantric texts. It deals with the worship of the various manifestations of Śiva and Śakti. It, however, refers also to Viśṇu and his avatāras (incarnations). Though a later work, the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* represents 'the best aspect of Śaktism'. 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 Devī, 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. *Munda-mālā Tantra*, already mentioned, enumerates hundred names of the goddess.

In addition to Tantric and Āgamic works discussed so far, there is a large number of manuals on various Tantric rituals belonging to different schools of Śaṅktism. The *Jñānānartava Tantra* is one such work which, along with various kinds of Tantric forms of worship, discusses, and attaches the greatest importance to, *kumāripūja*, the worship of maiden as Devī 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 akṣaras, bijas, mantras, mudrās, cakras and kūndalinī. For example, *Ekākṣara-kosa*, *Bija-nighantu*, *Mātrka-nighantu*, *Mantravidhāna*, *Mudrā-nighantu*, *Śaṭakrā-niṣṭhāna*, and *Pāḍukā-paṇḍaka*.

No account of Śaṅka 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 Tantrika worship. One can have an idea of this much-derided as well as highly adored Śaṅka cult from books like *Kulārṇava*, *Kula-cudāmani*, *Kula-gāhara*, *Kula-dīpiṇī*, *Kula-paṇḍaśikā*, *Kula-prakāśā*, *Kula-mata*, *Kula-kamala*, *Kula-tattva-sūra*, *Kulāmṛta*, *Kula-ratna-mālā*, *Kula-ratna-mātrikā*, *Kula-pradīpa*, *Rudra Yāmala*, *Drī Yāmala* and a host of such other books.

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33Ibid., p. 592n.
34The Tantras are usually in the form of dialogues between Śiva and Pārvatī; when Pārvatī asks questions like a pupil and Śiva answers like a teacher, they are called Āgamas, and when the order reverses, i.e. Pārvatī as the teacher answers Śiva's questions, they are called Nigamas.
35For an exhaustive list see Gopinath Kaviraj, *Tantrika Sahitya*, p. 49.
We have already mentioned some of the Yamalas dealing with different forms of Sakti. In the Jayadratha Yamala, a supplement of the Brahma Yamala, we find plenty of information about various branches of Tantric sadhana and sahitya, together with references to a large number of Saka deities. It has been rightly observed that ‘the supplementary literature of the Yamala group indicates a new orientation of the Tantric culture. The sadhanas of the Agamas assume in them a more pronounced character of Saktism. ... The later literature of pure Saivism ceases to be called Tantra. Tantra proper became more Saktic in character. This character became definitely established by the tenth century.’ That is why perhaps Saka literature becomes synonymous with Tantric 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.

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A survey of the Indian religious literature can be complete without at least a brief study of the works dealing with Gaṇeśa, 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, sanmata, he has approved and propagated.

GANAPATYA LITERATURE

Although admitted to the Brāhmaṇic pantheon comparatively late, Gaṇeśa 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), Gaṇeśvara (Lord of the Gaṇas), Gaṇapati or Gaṇanāyaka (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 Gaṇeśa in any early Vedic text. But it is evident from the Mānava Grhya-Sūtra (II. 14) that Vināyaka (or Vināyakas), the earliest form of Gaṇeśa, had emerged as a malignant deity (or deities) before the Christian era. The Grhya-Sūtra refers to four Vināyakas, and gives an account of the rituals connected with their propitiation. The Tājñāvalīya Smṛti (c. sixth

1These are Saiva, Vaiṣṇava, Sākta, Gaṇapatya, Kaumāra and Saura.


3The attendants of Śiva.

4The popular names of Gaṇeśa outside India:
   Mongolia: Tökhār-oun Khlaghan
   Tibet : Ts'ogs-bdag
   Japan : Kangi-ten
   China: Kuan-shi t'ien
   Cambodia : Prāh Kenēs.

5The epithet ‘Gaṇapati’ found in the Rg-Veda (II.23.1) refers not to him but to Brhaspati, the Vedic god of wisdom. Bhandarkar attributes Gaṇeśa’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 Gaṇeśa with Brhaspati, vide his Elements of Hindu Iconography (The Law Printing House, Madras, 1914), Vol. I, pt. L p. 45.

6They are, viz. Śālakāṣākṣaṭa, Kūśmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmita, 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 Tājīvakalīya Smṛtī against four in the Grhya-Sūtra, they all, unlike those in the Grhya-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 Pārvatī (also called Ambikā) are the parents of Gaṇeṣa. The Smṛtī also records the appointment of Vināyaka as Gaṇapati, the Leader of the Gaṇas by Rudra and Brahmā. The Baudhāyana Grhya-Sūtra also speaks of Gaṇapati. The Nārāyana Upaniṣad belonging to the Taṁśiṛiya Āṇayaka (X. 1) contains the Gaṇapati-gāyati referring to the deity as Vakratunda and Dantin. The Gaṇapati-tāpaniya Upaniṣad, a later work, is important from the theological point of view. It proclaims Gaṇeṣa as the eternal Brahman. In the Atharva-śiras Upaniṣad, another later work, Vināyaka has been identified with Rudra. According to Farquhar, the Gaṇapati Upaniṣad, which forms a part of the Atharva-śiras Upaniṣad, has behind it another Upaniṣad of the Gaṇapatya sect.

There is no mention of Gaṇeṣa as a distinct deity in either of the two great epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. The epithet ‘Gaṇeṣa’ or ‘Gaṇeṣvara’, found both in North and South India recensions of the Mahābhārata, refers to Śiva. This perhaps leads Przyluski to think that Śiva and Gaṇeṣa were originally one and the same god.12 But Bhandarkar has referred to the Anusasana-parvan (CLI. 26) where Gaṇeṣvaras and Vināyakas are mentioned as gods bearing witness to the actions of man.

In the Purāṇas, Gaṇeṣa 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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2Mīta, Sammita, Śīla, Kaṭahkaṭa, Kūṃśṇḍa, and Rājaputra.
3Since Gaṇeṣa emerged as an elephant-headed deity in a much later period, the authenticity of this passage is not beyond doubt.
5The North India recension of the Mahābhārata, however, categorically mentions Gaṇeṣa 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 Gaṇeṣa to write down the epic (I.1.75-83). Here Gaṇeṣa has been called Heramba, Vighneśa, Gaṇaṇeṣaka, and Sarvajña. Bālabharata, 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. Wintermute 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 (see JRAS, April, 1896, p. 380).
6Vide Alice Getty, Gaṇeṣa, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1971 (Reprint), pp. 2-3.
7Vide R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, p. 147. The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata does not contain this.
Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa are devoted to the cult of Gaṇeśa. The Brahma-
vaivarta Purāṇa, which professes to glorify Kṛṣṇa, relates in its Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa to
the legends of the elephant-headed deity. Curiously enough, Gaṇeśa has been
represented here as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. The Gauḍa (chapter XXIV) and
Agni (chapters LXXI and CCCXIII) Purāṇas prescribe rules for the worship of
Gaṇeśa. Among the other Purāṇas which refer to Gaṇeśa and his legends are the
Skanda, Matsya, Vāmana, Liṅga, Śiva, and Varāha. A later Gaṇeśa Purāṇa is devoted
to the glorification of Gaṇeśa. 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 Gaṇeśa, his devotees and the vratas sacred
to him. In the Mudgala Purāṇa, an Upapurāṇa recently discovered, Gaṇeśa
is worshipped as the highest deity. It is an important work for the Gaṇapatiya cult. It is believed to have been revealed to sage Mudgala by Upamanyu.

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

That Gaṇeśa 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
entire stotra literature in Sanskrit is dedicated to him. Mention may be made
of the Gaṇapati-mahimna-stotra (attributed to Puṣpadanta), Gaṇeśa-stavarāja (in
Rudra Yāmala), Gaṇapati-stotra (in Sāradā-tilaka Tantra), Gaṇeśa-stotra (in the
Matsya, Padma, Varāha and Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas), Gaṇeśa-pañcaratna, and
Gaṇeśa-bhujanga (attributed to Śaṅkara).

Ānanda Giri (ninth century) in his Saṁkara-vijaya has mentioned six different
sects of the Gaṇapatiya cult, none of which, however, is believed to exist today.
But the worship of Gaṇapati is the foremost item in nearly all Hindu religious
ceremonies throughout India. In Maharashtra, moreover, he is the most
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popular deity and, during the annual Ganeśa-caturthī 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, Brahma-pati and Hiranyagarbha. 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 parīṣṭas of the Atharva-Veda, refers to Skanda’s parentage (VI. 4). It is interesting to note that it also refers to him as Śaḍānana, the six-headed, and mentions his association with mayūra, the peacock (II. 3). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describes Kumāra as the ninth form of Agni or Rudra (V. 1.13.18). The Taittiriya Aranyaka (X. 1) refers to Mahāsena-Ṣaṁmukha (i.e. Kārttikeya). The Māitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā mentions the most popular names by which the deity is known, Kumāra, Kārttikeya and Skanda (II. 9.1.11-12). In the Čāndogya 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 Atharvaśīras 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 Grhya-Sūtra and Hiranyakesin Grhya-Sūtra testify to this. In the former, the deity is given the following names: Skanda, Sanatkumāra, Viśāṅka, Śaṁmukha, Mahāsena and Subrahmaṇya (II. 5.9.8). In the latter, Skanda appears to enjoy the same status as Viśṇu, 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 Rāmāyaṇa, for example, refers to the legend of his birth in the Bālakāṇḍa (chapters

19 Winternitz believes that the epithet ‘Nejameja’ 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, 1895, pp. 149-55. It may be mentioned here that the name occurs in some of the Grhya-Sūtras, viz. Māṇava II.18. Naigameya (same as Nejameja or Naigameya) is invoked also in the Utara-tantra (XXXVI. 9) of the Sūtrata 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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In the *Mahābhārata*, the story appears several times, for instance, in the *Vana-parvan* (GCXIII-CCXXI), *Salya-parvan* (XLIII-XLV), and *Anuśaṇa-parvan* (LXXXIII-LXXXVI). The *Sabhā-parvan* of the epic refers to a place called Rohiṭaka (modern Rohtak in the Haryana State) which was dear to Karttikeya (XXIX. 4-5). This is perhaps the earliest reference to a place sacred to this deity. 'Rohiṭaka', however, does not occur in any of the extant Purāṇas; but one Buddhist Sanskrit text belonging to the early Christian era, *Mahāmyūrī* (verse 21), refers to it as associated with Kārttikeya-Kumāra.

According to the epic, the rulers of Rohiṭaka were the valiant 'Mattamayurakas' who are usually identified with the ancient Indian tribe, Yaudheyas. A large number of Yaudheya 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 *mattamayūraka* itself is also significant because of its connection with *mayūra*, the *vahana* (vehicle) of Karttikeya.

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 *tīrthas* 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 CXXVIII), *Vāyu* (LXXII), *Matsya* (CLVIII-GLX), *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 *Śīva* (*Jñāna-samhita*, XIX), *Padma* (*Śrīti-khaṇḍa*, XLIII-XLIV), *Bhaviṣya* (*Bṛhma-purāṇa*, XXXIX) and *Brahmanda-varta* (*Ganeśa-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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4 Vide *Kārttikeya (Skanda) in the Mahābhārata*, pp. 141-77, vide also *A Study of the Kārttikeya Cult as reflected in the Epic and Purāṇas*, vide also *Skanda in the Purāṇas and Classical Literature*, vide also K. K. Kurukkal, op. cit.

5 Vide *Kārttikeya (Skanda) in the Mahābhārata*, vide also *A Study of the Kārttikeya Cult as reflected in the Epic and Purāṇas*, vide also *Skanda in the Purāṇas and Classical Literature*, vide also K. K. Kurukkal, op. cit.

Kauṭilya (fourth century B.C.) in his *Arthaśāstra* (II. 4.19) refers to the gates of the city being presided over by gods including Skāpali (i.e. Karttikeya). Patañjali (second century B.C.) in his *Mahābhāṣya* mentions, while explaining Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādiyāyī* (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, Kumāra 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 *Kāḍāpa Sanhitā* (c. fifth century) refers to Viśākha, Kārttikeya, Skanda and Mahāsena. A *Skāṇḍa or Kaumāra Śāhita* has been mentioned by Schrader. The principal theme of Kālidāsa’s *Kumāra-sāṁbhava* is the birth of Kumāra or Skanda. This well-known ṛṣaya 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 tīrtha sacred to Skanda. The *Mṛchakaṭīka* of Śūdraka pictures Skanda as a patron-deity of thieves and burglars (Act III). The *Bṛhat-sanhitā* of Varāhāmihira (sixth century) describes the image of Skanda with sakti (his characteristic weapon) in one of his two hands. The Sanskrit lexiccon *Amarakośa* (c. sixth century) mentions sixteen names of Skanda. The *Kāḍambari* of Bāṇa (seventh century) refers to the installation of a figure of Kārttikeya holding a spear and riding on a peacock. The *Kāṇya-mimāṃsā* 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

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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 Sūtras, 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’. *Vid Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 151.

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


The 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-yāga* (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.

him as a god imparting all branches of knowledge (I, 2.44-61). The Rājatarāṅgiṇī (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 Garuḍa Purāṇa (I. 81.16). Several vratas sacred to Kārttikeya and Kumāra are mentioned in the Vrata-khaṇḍa of Hemādri (thirteenth century).

The rituals connected with the worship of Skanda occur in several Tāntric or Āgamic texts such as Kāmika, Kāraṇa, Suprabheda, Arāsumat, 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 Vallī and Devasena, 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. Paripāḍal, Tolkāppiyam, Śilappadikāram, Pattupāṭṭu, Eṭṭutogai, Ahanānāru, Puranānāru, and Kurinci depict the birth and exploits of Muruga in enthralling poetry. The beautiful poem Tirumurugāṟṟupadai of Nakkirar is devoted to the glorification of the deity. The Tirumurai, the Tamil Śaiva Vedas, contain numerous allusions to Muruga as the ‘dynamic’ son of Śiva. It may be mentioned here that the Tirumurugāṟṟupadai is included in the eleventh book of the Tirumurai. The Tamil epic poem Kanda Purāṇam is said to be based on some of the sections of the Skanda Purāṇa. Arunagirināthar’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

33 Vide CHI, Vol. IV, p. 311.
34 Skanda-Kārttikeya is often depicted as one who religiously avoids the company of women. For example, the Matya Purāṇa (CLXXXV. 3) describes him as Brahmacārīn. Kālidāsa’s Viśramanott (Act IV) says that Skanda’s place is forbidden to women. Kavīdhārt-ūṣa (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 Kumāraśālām temple near Sandur, in Mysore. The Śrāvyāntra, 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-bhujāṅga, 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-āstottara-sūta-nāmāvali, believed to have been revealed by Nandikesvara 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. UŚā 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 Sāvītrī-mantra (the Gīttrī) 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 Tuddha-kāṇḍa (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 Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva in one, nay, the Lord of all the three. The epic also refers to the ārdha-nabāhu 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

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27Vide Rāma Navaratnam, op cit, p. 223.
28Gopinath Rao, op cit, p. 415. Vide also Asim Kumar Chatterjee, op cit, pp. 65-76.
29R.V. I. 50. 8-9, IV. 13 3.
Sun worshippers. There are two Sūrya-stotras in the epic (III. 3), one by Dhau­mya and the other by Yuddhiṣṭhīra. Yuddhiṣṭhīra calls Sūrya, Brahman eternal, Brahmo sāsvatam. 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 Mārkandeya (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), Garuda (VII, XVI, XVII, XXXIX), Bhaviṣya (Brāhma-purāṇa, CXXXIX-CXL), Matsya (LXXIV-LXX), and Skanda (Prabhāṣa-khaṇḍa) which refer to Sūrya, his worship, observances, cults, etc. Of the Saura Upapurāṇas, mention may be made of the Sāmba, Sauradharmā, Sauradharmottara and Sūrya. The first one deals principally with the cult of the Sun. It tells the story of Sāmba’s constructing the temple of the Sun in Mūlaṭhāna (modern Multan) and importing some Magi priests from Sākadvāpa (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 Tantric texts belonging to the Saura cult. The account may be fictitious, but it certainly indicates the importance of the deity in the Tantric pantheon. The Tantrasāra describes the rituals connected with the worship of Sūrya.

From the Harsacarīta of Bāna (seventh century) it is clear that Prabhākara­vardhana, Harṣa’s father, and Harṣa himself were ardent devotees of the Sun-god. The copper-plate grant of Harṣavardhana is also a pointer to this. The Sūrya-sataka 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 Samhitā, mentioned by Schrader and preserved in manuscript in Nepal, is devoted to the worship of Sūrya. It is an important document of the Saura cult. Though dated A.D. 941, some scholars think that it belongs to a much earlier

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40 Cf. J. N. Farquhar, op cit., p. 151.
41 The stotra by Yuddhiṣṭhīra is not included in the Critical Edition.
43 Vide Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 72-73. In the epigraphic records Prabhākara­vardhana’s father and grandfather, Adityavardhana and Rājyavardhana, are also described as great devotees of the Sun, parama-aditya-bhaktas.
45 J. N. Farquhar, op cit., p. 205.
46 Ibid.
date. In the Prabodha-candrodaya of Krṣṇa 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. Purāṇic works like the Viṣṇu, Bhāvishya, and Śāmba, Varāhamihira's Brhat-saṁhitā (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 Mihira), 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-Kuśānas. 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 Krṣṇa, 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 Pāśca-rātras, a sub-sect of Vaiṣṇavism, as having imbibed their doctrinal elements from the Sun himself is of much significance. In the Śatapatha 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 Tāntricism as is evident from Ānanda Giri’s Saṅkara-vijaya. There were, according to Ānanda Giri, six classes of Sun worshippers during the days of Saṅkara. They all wore marks of red sandal paste, garlands of red flowers, and repeated the mantra of eight syllables. They identified Śūrya 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 Bhavisya 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 Hiuen 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 Śūrya 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 udarabandha, 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 udarabandha 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 Śūrya are that the head is in all cases adorned with a kīrti surrounded by a circular halo or prabhamandala, and that in several instances the characteristic seven horses and their driver Aruna are not missing.' — Op. cit., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 311-12.


Ibid., p. 154.

Ibid.

*This article has been prepared by the Editorial Board of CHI, Vol. V—Editor.
JAINA literature begins with the last of the Tirthankaras, 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 *ahīṃsā* (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 Āngas (parts) by his disciples. These Āngas formed the earliest literature on Jainism, and were as follows:

1. **Ācārāṅga** laid down rules of discipline for the monks.
2. **Śūtrakṛtāṅga** 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. **Śāhānāṅga** listed in numerical order, categories of knowledge pertaining to the realities of nature.
4. **Saṃvāyāṅga** classified objects in accordance with similarities of time, place, number, and so on.
5. **Vyākhyā-putpāṇti 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. **Upāsakadhyayana or Upāsaka-dalāka** was meant to serve as a religious code for householders.
8. **Antakṛddhaka** gave accounts of ten saints who attained salvation after immense suffering.
9. **Anuttararupapāṭika** 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 Tirthankaras who were responsible from period to period for the promulgation of religion or dharma. The twenty-third Tirthankara was Pārvanātha whose historicity is now accepted. Mahāvīra, whom Buddhist texts mention as Niganṭha Nātaputta, 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. *Drśṭivāda* included the following five sections:

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

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

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

   (d) *Pūrvagata* 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) *Vīryāṇyapraṇāda* explained the powers and potentialities of
           the soul and other substances.

       (iv) *Āstī-ṇāstī-praṇāda* studied the substances of nature from
           various points of view pertaining to their infinite qualities
           and forms.

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

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

       (vii) *Ātmā-praṇāda* was the study of the self or the principle of life.

       (viii) *Karma-praṇāda* gave an exposition of the eight forms of *karma*,
           bondage, namely: *jñānāvaraṇa* (knowledge-cover or error),
           *darsanāvaraṇa* (obstruction of one's philosophical views),
           *vedanīya* (expression of feelings), *mohaniya* (producing delu-
           sion), *āyu* (duration of life as governed by *karma*), *nāma*
           (attachment to name), *gotra* (attachment to race), and *anta-
           rāya* (any obstacle to realization) as well as their subdivisions.

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

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

       (xi) *Kalyāṇa-praṇāda* 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 Narayanas, and the Prati-Narayanas.

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

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

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

(v) Cūlikā was the fifth section, of Drśtiśāda, 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 theimes, secular as well as religious, could not survive long in its original form. According to the Digambara Jains, the whole canon was preserved for only 62 years after Mahāvīra, that is up to the eighth successor, Bhadrabāhu. After that, portions gradually began to be lost. So, after 683 years from the nirvāna of Mahāvīra, what was known to the deāyas (teachers) was only fragmentary. It was only the knowledge of a few portions of the Pūrṇagata or Pūrṇas that was imparted at Girinagara in Kathiawar by Dharasena to his pupils Puspadanta and Bhūtabali who, on the basis of it, wrote the Śāṭkhaṇḍāgama in the sūtra (aphorism) form during the first or second century AD. The Śāṭkhaṇḍāgama, 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 Śāṭkhaṇḍāgama, was the Kaśyapa-pāhuḍa of Guṇadharācārya. Drśtiśāda, the twelfth Anga, was also the basis of this text. The Digambaras, who thus have their pro-canon, refused to acknowledge the canon compiled at the Pātaliputra Council in the fourth century B.C.

As early as in the first century B.C. 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 Jaimismus, 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 Magadh to Karnātaka under Bhadrabāhu, as the possible seed of the great schism. Because, after the famine when the followers of Bhadrabāhu returned to Magadh, they found a great gulf between the practices of their own and those of others who stayed in Magadh.

See the next article, Prakrit Language and Literature, of this volume, p. 170.

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THE SVETĀMBARA 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 Bhadrabāhu is concerned. The Śvetāmbaras say that after Bhadrabāhu 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 Aṅgas together with the remnants of the twelfth. This was the first attempt to systematize the Jaina Agama. But in the course of time, the canon became disorderly. Therefore, the monks met once again at Valabhi in Gujarat under the presidency of Devardhī 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 Aṅgas named above, the twelfth being totally lost.
5. Two Cūlikā-Sūtras: Nandī-Sūtra and Anuyogadvara.

There are, however, variations in this classification. Sometimes Nandī, Anuyogadvara, and Paṅca-kalpa are put at the head of the Prakṛṇas. Instead of Paṅca-kalpa, Jīta-kalpa by Jinaḥbhadra is sometimes mentioned amongst the Cheda-Sūtras. 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 Śvāmācārya; the first of the ten Prakṛṇas, Catuḥ-śaraṇa, to Virabhadrā; the fifth Cheda-Sūtra, Kalpa, to Bhadrabāhu; and the sixth, Jīta-kalpa, to Jinaḥbhadra; the first Cūlikā-Sūtra, Nandī-Sūtra, to Devardhit; and the third Mūla-Sūtra, Daśa-vaiṅālika, to Śvayambhava.

4 The collective term given by the Jains to their canonical texts is Āgama or Siddhānta.
5 W. Schubring thinks that the Mūla-Sūtras are ‘intended for those who are still at the beginning (mūla) of their spiritual career.’ Cf. Worte Mahaatras, 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 ‘Mahāvira’s own words’ and therefore, they are called Mūla-Sūtras. (Vide Uttarādhyāya-Sūtra, Introduction, p. 32). This explanation, however, is not accepted by Wintemitz. (Vide HIL, Vol. II, p. 466 n. 1).
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 Agama 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 Agama 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 Svetambara creed, such as Mahavira'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 Angas 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 Agama 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 Māhārāṣṭra or Jaina Māhārāṣṭra. 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 Mahāvira. As such, it is essentially didactic, dominated by the supreme ethical principle of ahīṃsā. 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, Mahāvira, 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 Mahāvira in the Ācārāṅga, information about his predecessors and contemporaries in the Vyākhyā-ṣṭhāna or Bhagavati and the Upāsaka-dāśaka, about his successors in the Kalpa-Sūtra, and about monachism practised in the days of Mahāvira in eastern India in Daśa-vāikālika 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 niryuktis, 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 bhāyas similarly composed in Prakrit verse. These, in some cases, have been so intermingled with the niryuktis that it is now difficult to separate them. The bhāyas carry the systematization and elaboration further.
These texts, of which there are eleven available, are mostly anonymous. The elaborate bhasya on the Āvasyaka-niryukti is, however, attributed to Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa and that on the Kalpa-Sūtra to Saṅghadāsagaṇi.

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 Āvasyaka-cūrṇi, for example, makes mention of a flood in Śrāvasti, thirteen years after Mahāvīra’s enlightenment. The Niśitha-cūrṇi contains a reference to Kalakācārya who invited a foreigner to invade Ujjain. All the cūrṇis are indiscriminately ascribed to Jinadāsagaṇi.

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, Śīlāṅka, Śantī Sūri, Devendra alias Nemicandra, Abhayadeva, Dronācārya, Maladhārīn Hemacandra, Malayagiri, Kṣemakārtti, Vijayavimala, Sānticandra, and Śamayasundara. 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 avacārṇis are also extant.

Jaina Philosophical Texts on the Karma Doctrine

The Śatkhaṇḍāgama of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali, as already mentioned, is the earliest and most authoritative work on Jaina philosophy. Its six sections are Jīnavātana, Kṣudrakabandha, Bandhasvāmitva, Vedanā, Vargāṇa and Mahābandha. The last of these is almost an independent work and is popularly known as Mahādhavalā. It is composed in sūtras, the language of which is Śauraseni Prakrit strongly influenced on the one hand by Ardha-Māgadhī, particularly in its technical phraseology, and on the other by Māhārāṣṭrī. 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 Kaśyapa-pāhuda of Guṇadhāracārya 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 Yativṛṣabh. Many commentaries are said to have been written on these works but the only one now available to us is the Dhavalā of Virasena on the Śatkhaṇḍāgama and the Jayadhavalā of Virasena and Jinasena on the Kaśyapa-pāhuda written during the ninth century in Śauraseni Prakrit. They are very voluminous and masterly. During the tenth century, their subject-matter was compressed by Nemicandra Siddhāntacakravartin in his Gomaṭasāra (Jīvakāṇḍa and Karma-kāṇḍa), the Labādhisāra, and the Kaṇḍasāra 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 karma-granthas, separately called karma-śīla, karma-śāstra, bandhaśvāmitra, śāntaśīti, śataka, and septaśīti of uncertain authorship and date, and also the karma-pāyaṇi of śīvaśarman and the Pañcaśaṅgrahā of Candraśī, 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 Mulārādhanā of śīvārya 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 Mulārādhanā of Vaṭṭakera 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 Mulārādhanā of śīvārya as well as with the āgama texts of the Śvetāmbaras dealing with similar topics. The Kārttikeyānupreśā 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 pāhudas (prābhāya) are now available. They are on the subjects of Darśana (36 verses), Cāritra (44), Śītra (27), Bodha (62), Bhāvo (163), Mokṣa (106), Līṅga (22), Śīla (40), Raina (162), Doṇḍānupreśā (91), Niṃamsā (187), Pañcaśīkāya (180), Pravacanasāstra, and Samayasāstra (415). The last three works are particularly popular and the Samayasāstra 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 Bhāvanāsaṅgara, the Arādhanāsāstra, the Tatvośāstra, and the Darśanāsātra, besides their religious and moral exposition, contain important and interesting information about the origin and development of various saṅghas in the Jaina community. The Śrāvakā-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. *Vajjālaggā* 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 *Upadesamālā* 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. *Jīvasamāśa* and *Bhavabhāvanā* of Maladharin 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 *Sammatiśāra* of Siddhasena and the *Nayacakāra* of Devasena are the most important contributions on the subject. Jaina cosmology is very thoroughly described in the *Triloka-prajñāpi* of Yativṛṣabha, the *Trilokasāra* of Nemicandra, and the *Jambudvīpa-prajñāpi* 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 *Tattvārthahādhiḥgaṇa-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 Svetāmbaras 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 *bāṣya* 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 *Sarvārtha-siddha-vṛtti* of Pūjyapāda (sixth century) as the earliest commentary. Pūjyapāda has made full use of the *Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama-sūtra* in explaining some *sūtras* of this work.

The next commentary on it is *Tattvārtharāja-vārtti* of Akalanka (eighth century) which offers more detailed explanations of the *sūtras*, as well as of the important statements of Pūjyapāda. The *Tattvārthāloka-vārtti* of Vidyānandin (ninth century) gives expositions in verse and makes valuable clarifications. For yogic practices, the *Jñānārṇava* of Śubhacandra and the *Yogasāstra* of Hemacandra are valuable guides, while the *Ratna-karana-dravakācāra* is more popular amongst the laity. Jaina Sanskrit literature is considerably enriched by a series of works on Nyāya (logic) begun by Samantabhadra.
and Siddhasena Divāka and followed up by Akalanka, 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 tīrāsṭi-sālākā-puṃsāḥ. These are the twenty-four Tirthāṅkaras, twelve Cakravartins, nine Baladevas, nine Nārāyaṇas, and nine Prati-Nārāyaṇas. In the lives of the Tirthāṅkaras the five auspicious events (kālyāṇa) 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, Lākṣmaṇa, and Rāvaṇa form one triple while Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, and Jarāvandha form another, these two triples being the last of these nine triples; it is they who, next to the Tirthāṅkaras, 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 Śrenīka, the king of Magadha, and the reply is given by the chief disciple of the Tirthāṅkara, namely, Gautama. A rich literature of this kind is found, written in Prakrit and Sanskrit as well as in Apabhraṃśa.

The earliest epic available is the Paumacariya of Vimala Sūri, in 118 chapters, which gives the Jaina 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 adīkāvi of Sanskrit, Vimala Sūri may be called the pioneer of Prakrit kavya (poetry). According to the author's own statement, the work was produced 530 years after Mahāvīra's nīrṇāṇa (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 Tulasīdāsa 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 Tirthāṅkara Neminātha and his cousin Kṛṣṇa Nārāyaṇa. The Apabhraṃśa version of it is
beautified by the genius of Swayambhū and his later followers, Dhavala and Yaśahkūrti.

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 Ādiṣṭhāna, ends with the nirvāṇa of the first Tīrthāṅkara, Adinātha or Rṣabha-deva, while the second part, called Uttarapurāṇa, narrates the lives of the rest of the Tīrthāṅkaras, and the remaining śalākā-puruṣas. 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 Jayadhavala, and his poetic ability is evinced by his Pārśvaḥyudaya-kāvyā in which he has transformed the lyrical poem Meghadūta by Kālidāsa into an equally charming epic on the life of the twenty-third Tīrthāṅkara. This whole Mahāpurāṇa has been rendered into Apabhraṃśa with commensurate skill and in charming style by Puspadanta in his Tīṣṭhatī-mahāpuruṣa-guṇālanakāra (tenth century). Another Sanskrit-version of it is found in the Triṣṭati-salākā-puruṣa-carīta of Hemacandra which again has a charm of its own. Its historical value is enhanced by the additional section called the Pariiṣṭi-purāṇa or Sthavirāvatī-carīta 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 Tīrthāṅkaras, and other personages of the hierarchy, in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa. The more important of these are:

In Sanskrit: Life of the twelfth Tīrthāṅkara, Vāsu-pūjya, by Vardhamāna Sūri; life of the thirteenth Tīrthāṅkara, Vimala, by Kṛṣṇadeva; life of the fifteenth Tīrthāṅkara, Dharmanātha, by Haricandra; lives of the sixteenth Tīrthāṅkara, Śaṅtinātha, by Deva Sūri, Māṇikyanandand, and Sakalakūnti; lives of the twenty-second Tīrthāṅkara, Neminātha, by Vāgbhaṭa and Surācārya; and lives of the twenty-third Tīrthāṅkara, Pārśvanātha, by Jinasena, Vādurāja (eleventh century), Bhāvadeva, and Māṇikyacandra.

In Prakrit: Adināthacariya of Vardhamāna (eleventh century), Sumatinātha-cariya of Somaprabha (twelfth century), Supāsanācariya of Lākṣmanagaṇi, and Mahāvīracariya of Guṇacandra and also of Devendra.

In Apabhraṃśa: The Mehasaracariya of Raidhu (fifteenth century) on the life of the first Tīrthāṅkara; the Candappahacariya of Yaśahkūrti (fifteenth century); the Śaṅtināḥacariya of Mahācandra (sixteenth century); the Nemināḥacarīya of Haribhadra (eighth century), of Dāmodara (thirteenth century), and of Lakhmadeva (sixteenth century), the Pasanāḥacariya of Padmakūrti (tenth century), of Śrīdhara (twelfth century), of Asavāla (fifteenth century), and of Raidhu; and the Vaddhamānacariya 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 Taˈmarshalla-campu of Somadeva (tenth century), the Tilakaˈpaˈn corruption of Dhanapala (tenth century), the Jəmˈvaramˈbhaˈbhaˈcampu of Vadibhasirha 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 kathā and akhyārikā.

In Prakrit, the Vatsudeva-hiˈni of Saˈnhadásagaˈni is remarkable for its style, and content, as are the Samarācca-kahā of Haribhadra and the Kuˈvadera-mālā of Udyotana Śūri which are also valuable for their mature literary style. The Surasundariˈsari of Dhaneˈvha (eleventh century) and the Paˈniˈmaˈkahā of Mahēˈvaha (eleventh century) are other poems in Prakrit which are interesting for their story, flowing narrative, and poetic embellishment.

In Apabhramsa, some beautiful poems of this kind are the Nāyakumāraˈcaˈriu and the Jasaˈharaˈcaˈriu of Puˈspadanta; the Bhavisatta-kahā of Dhanapala, and Karakaˈnaˈcaˈriu of Kanakāˈmaˈra.

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 Katka-kosā of Harṣeṇa (tenth century) and the Apabhraˈmaˈcaˈli of Śrīˈcandra (eleventh century). Some unique examples of satire intended for religious edification are found in the Prakrit Dhurtakhyana of Haribhadra, in the Apabhraˈmaˈcaˈli of Harṣeṇa, and in the Sanskrit Dharma-parikṣā of Harṣeṇa, and in the Prakrit Dharma-parikṣā of Amiˈnagati (eleventh century).

Stotras and Lyrics

Lyrical poetry in Jaina literature found expression in hymns addressed to the Tirthakaradas and holy saints. The Bhaktāmbara-stotra of Mānatunga and the Kalyāˈnā-māntaˈstro of Vādirāja, the Viṣāpaˈstro of Dhanaˈjaˈya and the Jina-caturvaˈmātikā of Bhūpala 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 Brāhmaˈnas 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.

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ROADLY speaking, Indo-Aryan speech has flowed in two streams: Sanskrita 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 everyday 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 Prakritis of eastern India; and the great emperor Aśoka (third century B.C.) and, a century later, King Kharavela 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
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 Saka 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, Paiśācī, 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 inscritional Prakrits, Pali and Paiśācī, 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 Vīrāngamūvafiya; 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 Kaliṇga war; but the misery of the people brought such remorse to the mighty monarch that he expressed his anguish frankly and vividly.

The Häthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (first or second century B.C.) of the Cedi dynasty gives a record of the first thirteen years of Khāaravela'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 Kaliṇga, 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 Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāyi of the second century A.D. expresses the spirit of a royal panegyrist steeped in epic-Purāṇic mythology and religion, and anticipates the later embellished style so common in kāyās 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 Hanumāntaka (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, Viśakhadatta, 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 Śauraseni made by Vidūṣaka, the jester, who figures in various plays. His description of Vasantasena's palace in the Mṛcchakātikā is more pedantic than natural. Śūdraka's Sakāra 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 Vēni-sanākhāra give us a description of a battle-field in Māgadhī. But the stylistic basis of dramatic Prakrits is essentially Sanskrit, and the desi 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
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Thus these plays admit Sanskrit and Prakrit simultaneously. However, there is one type of drama, the sāṭṭaka, which is composed entirely in Prakrit, and which in many respects resembles the nāṭīkā. The term sāṭṭaka, or sāḍika, is quite old; but the extant specimens of sāṭṭaka are comparatively late and few in number. The Karpūramaṇiṇī by Rājaśekhara (about A.D. 900) is a love intrigue, ending happily in the marriage of Gaṇḍapāla and Karpūramaṇiṇī. Karpūramaṇiṇī 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 Karpūramaṇiṇī has been a constant source of inspiration down the centuries, and a model for all subsequent sāṭṭakas. 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 Candralekha, a sāṭṭaka, which celebrates the marriage of Māṇaveda and Candralekha. His style is forceful, but is often burdened with unwieldy compounds. Ghanaśyāma, a court poet at the time of King Tulajājī of Tanjore (middle of the eighteenth century), wrote the Ánandasundari, another sāṭṭaka. The Rambhāmaṇiṇī by Nayacandra (c. fifteenth century) is also a sāṭṭaka in which Prakrit is used along with Sanskrit. It deals with the story of King Jairasimha of Vārāṇasi and Rambha, the daughter of Madanavarman of Gujarat.

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 Tīrthaṇkaras 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 Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. 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 Ágama, the canon, in Ardha-Māgadhī, 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 Devarddhī. There are also a few texts of individual authorship. The canon, as available today, was systematized, rearranged, redacted, and committed to writing by the Valabhī Council under Devarddhī 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 Valabhī Council itself, is that the Āgama contains the following sections:

1. eleven Āngas (parts),
2. twelve Upāṅgas,
3. ten Prakṛnas,
4. six Cheda-Sūtras,
5. two Cūlikā-Sūtras (individual texts),
6. four Mūla-Sūtras.

The twelfth Ānga, the Drśṭivāda, which included the fourteen Pārvas, 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-vākalika give a detailed account of monachism as practised in eastern India in the days of Mahāvīra; Jīvādhigama and others fully discuss the Jaina ideas about living beings; Uṇāsakāḍhayayana and Praśna-yyākaraṇa set forth the ideals and regulations of a householder’s life; Jhāṭṭhādharmakathā, Viḍāka-Sūtra, and Niṇayāvali give many holy legends, moral in all their aspects and hadactic in purpose; Sūrya-prajñāpīti discusses Jaina cosmology; Śīrakāṭāṅga and Uttarādhayayana contain brilliant moral exhortations, philosophical discourses, and amusing legends, while some of their sections are fine specimens of ancient ascetic poetry; the Nandi-Sūtra gives the details of Jaina epistemology; and texts like the Bhagavatāt are encyclopaedic in content. Some of the stories are laid in the age of Aśīṭa 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.

Devarddhī 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 vanno, 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 Āṅgas, the division of the Upāṅgas to correspond to the Āṅgas 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 Praśna-yyākaraṇa. Up to the final redaction, reshuffling and transposition of parts took place, and can be detected even now. Some of the niryuktis (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 Prakṛnas, but only some of them are admitted to the canon.

Though the Ardha-Māgadhī 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 Devarddhi the twelfth Āṅga, 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 Āṅga 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 Āṅgas. The texts of the Drśṭivāda, it has been shown by Dr H. L. Jain, are the basis of the Prakrit sūtras of the Saśkarma-prābhṛta and the Kaśāya-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 *Acarāṅga* contains metrical pieces
interwoven in it, and consequently presents manifold difficulties in interpre-
tation. The old prose works are diffused in style with endless, mechanical repeti-
tions, but some works contain pithy remarks pregnant with meaning. The
didactic sections present vigorous exposition in a fluent style, while the standard-
ized 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 signifi-
cance; 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 Māhā-
rāṣṭri 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 Pātaliputra 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 Pātaliputra
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 Digambaras disown the Ardha-
Māgadhī canon of Pātaliputra. 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 *Kaśyapa-prābhṛta*,

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which are the remnants of the *Dūśṭivāda*. The Viirasena-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 Kundakundaścārya, but only a few of them have come down to us. His *Paṇcāstikāya* and *Pravacanasāra* are systematic expositions of Jaina ontology and epistemology. His *Samayasāra* is full of spiritual fervour. Yatīrṣabha’s *Tiloyapāṇḍatti* 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 *niryutki* 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 Devārdhī’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, Jinabhādra Kṣamāśramaṇa (A.D. 609) wrote a highly elaborate *bhāṣya* (commentary) in Prakrit on the *Āvalyaka-niryutki* round which has grown a little world of literature. On some works both *bhāṣya* and *cūṇī* commentaries are found. A *bhāṣya* is an elaborate exposition of the text in Prakrit, at times incorporating and supplementing the *niryutki* verses; while *cūṇī* is a prose gloss written in a bewildering admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit. Jinādāsa Mahattara wrote his *Nandi-cūṇī* 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 *Mrčchakatika* 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 *Gāthā-sattasai*, attributed to Hāla, has survived. The text is preserved in different recensions, and commentators even attribute some of the stanzas
to different poets, a few of whom are known from literary records. The \textit{Sattasa\text{\text{a}}i} 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. Hāla’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 \textit{Sattasa\text{\text{a}}i} 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 Hāla’s genius by extensively quoting his verses by way of illustration. There is very little of religious setting in the poems, thoughĪśvara and Pārvatī, Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, and others are casually mentioned. The name Hāla stands for Śatavāhana who figures as one of the Andhra-bhrtya 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 Hāla’s work, but planned topically, is the \textit{Vajjālagā} of Jayavallabha. Its date is uncertain. There are different recensions, the number of \textit{gāthās} averaging about 700. The major portion of it was composed perhaps by Jayavallabha who, of course, included verses from Hāla and others. The subjects under which the verses are grouped embrace the three human ends, \textit{dharma} (righteousness), \textit{artha} (wealth), and \textit{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 Vajjalagga. Lately, another anthology, Chhappannya-gāhā, 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 nīryukti, 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 Upadesamālā 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 Upadesapada. 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 Haribliadra, 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 Vivekanājari by Āsaḍa 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-
siriha Siddharāja, Āśāda 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, Mānautunga, Dhanapāla (A.D. 972), and Abhayadeva. The R̥ṣimaṇḍala-stotra is a chronicle of monks, and the Dvādaśaṅga-pramāṇa is a short description of the Ardha-Māgadhī canon. Somasundara (fifteenth
century) wrote a few prayers almost as exercises in different Prakrit dialects.

NARRATIVE LITERATURE IN JAINA MĀHĀRĀŚTRY AND APABHRĀMSA

There is an extensive and varied narrative literature in Prakrit, especially
in Jaina Māhārāśtri and Apabhrāmsa; only a few of the most important works
are being reviewed here. Broadly speaking, this literature includes the lives
of the triṣaṣṭi-sālākā-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 Bhṛhatkathā, 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 Bhṛhatkathā 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 Sūrī composed his Purānic epic the Paumacariya 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 Vidyādhāras, a class of semi-divine persons. Vīmala 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 Apabhramśa traces seen in it.

Pādalipta, of the early centuries of the Christian era, wrote in Prakrit a now-lost religious novel called Taraṅgavai. The legends surrounding Pādalipta 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 Taraṅgalata, which testifies to its engrossing literary qualities.

The Vasudeva-hindi of Saṅghadāsa and Dharmadāsa (before 600) is a voluminous prose tale which elaborately records the wanderings of Vasudeva of the Harivamśa, 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 Vasudevacaria of the fourth century B.C.; but there are indications that it closely corresponds in form to the Brhatkatha by Guṇadhyā.

In A.D. 868, Śīlācārya wrote his Mahāpuruṣa-carita which deals with the lives of the salākā-puruṣas. The Kālakācārya-kathānaka, written in about the tenth century, narrates the story of how the saint, Kālaka, went to the Śaka Satraps, called sāhis, 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 Surasundaricaria (1038) is a lengthy romance. In sixteen cantos it narrates the love story of a Vidyādharachātra 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 Pañcam-kāthā by Maheśvara Sūri (earlier than the middle of the eleventh century) celebrates Śrutipañcamī 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 Ādinātha-carita in 1103, a regular Purānic epic dealing with the life of the first Tīrthaṅkara.

The Supāsanāhacakria (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 ghata, 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 paddhādiya metre. Of Svayambhū (eighth century) we know a good deal through his son Tribhuvana Svayambhū who brought to completion his father’s Pāumacarīya and Harivaṃśa 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.
The most important Apabhraṣṭa 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 Keśava and Mughādevi, who, before they accepted Jainism, were devotees of Śiva. Life had been cruel to Keśava, and it was almost unbearable to Puspadanta, a man of outstanding talent and touchy self-respect. He wandered forlorn and came to Māṇyakheṭa 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 Mahāpurāṇa, Jāsharacarīṇa, and Nāyakumārācarīṇa have been well edited. All that was best in Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry has been well expressed by him in Apabhraṣṭa. 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 Kanakāmara. He lived sometime in the eleventh century, but his place and date are still to be finally settled. His Karakaṇḍacarīṇa, written in ten cantos in a comparatively lucid style, gives the life of Karakaṇḍa, one of the pratya-kṣa-buddhas. His reference to the Tera caves is of great interest.

Dhanapāla of the Dhakkada family (c. tenth century) wrote Bhavissayattakahā in which the hero is depicted as suffering great miseries but finally achieving his aim through his outstanding virtues. The Nemināhacarīṇa (c. 1159) of Haribhadra contains beautiful descriptions; and it is composed in raḍḍā metre. The Kirtiḷatā by Vidyāpati (fifteenth century), though a late work, is of manifold interest. It is a specimen of the post-Apabhraṣṭa 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 Apabhraṣṭa literature is still lying in manuscript form, and every year we come across new finds. Dhavala's Harivamsa (c. ninth century) is a lengthy text, and it gives a good deal of information about earlier authors. Hariśena's Dharma-parikṣa (988) is earlier than Amitagati's Sanskrit work, and it records a still earlier work written by Jeyarāma in gāthās. The Katha-koṣa by Śrīcandra (around the end of the eleventh century) gives the stories referred to in the gāthās of Arūḍhanā by Śivārya. Many Apabhraṣṭa works which are still in manuscript form indicate that this literary Apabhraṣṭa was being cultivated almost up to the close of the Mogul period. The linguistic material preserved in these works is of supperlative importance in reconstructing the early history of Modern Indo-Aryan languages, especially Gujarati, Hindi, and Rajasthani.
ornate and stylistic kāvyas and prose romances had a corresponding field in Prakrit. The Setubandha or Dahamuhavaha by Pravarasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty deals with the incident in the Rāmāyaṇa 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 Bāṇa and Daṇḍin referred to this outstanding work with compliments.

Gañḍavaho by VākpatirāJA, a poet at the court of King Yaśovarman (c. 733), celebrates the slaying of the Gauḍa 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 upama (simile), the other is unrivalled in his utpreksā (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 Samarāśca-kahā is a Prakrit campu 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 Dhūrtakhyāna, 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 Purāṇic 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 Samarāśca-kahā in its aim, but it uses Paścā and Apabhramśa in addition to the normal Jaina Māhāraṣṭrī in which the whole work is composed. When the author passes from the high-flown Prakrit to conversational prose in Apabhramśa, 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 Lilāvati by Kutūhala, earlier than Bhoja, is a stylistic, romantic kāvya composed without divisions, like Gaiḍavahō. However, it contains more racy narration than the latter, and is less pedantic. It deals with the love story of King Śatavāhana and Lilāvatī, a princess from Simhaladvipa, 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 Apabhraṃśa) 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 Guṇacandra’s expressions and ideas were much influenced. It is a studied performance, 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, Uddyoṭana, 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 Dvya-śrayakāvya, it illustrates, as does Bhaṭṭikāvya, 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. Kṛṣṇalilāśuka (thirteenth century) wrote the Siriciṇḍhakaw-poṣṭam, 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 Soricarittra by Śīkaṭṭha (fifteenth or seventeenth century) is a yamaka kāvyā, the eight mātrīs (beats) in two metrical feet having identical sound but different sense. By about the middle of the eighteenth century Rāma Pāṇivāda wrote two tiny poems, Kāṁsavaḥo and Uṣāniruddha, charming in conception and scholarly in execution; the first deals with the slaying of Kāṁsa 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 Pūras, the remnants of which form the basis of the sūtras of the Dhaivalā, Jayaḍhaivalā, and Mahādhaivalā commentaries. There are other works, more or less compiling the traditional matter, such as Kamma-payeṭi by Śivaśarman, Paṇcasāṅgraha by Candrarṣi, and Gommatāsāṣṭra 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 Śāṅsyaṇaṇṭhitā 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 Sammatitarka in Prakrit is a brilliant treatise elucidating the Jaina epistemology and the doctrines of nayās (standpoints) and anekāṅkāṇavāda. The Dharmasaṅgrahaṃ by Haribhadra is an exhaustive treatise on different aspects of Jaina dogmatics; while Kattigērayukkapāthaka by Kumāra deals mainly with the twelvfold reflection, but incidentally forms a good exposition of the fundamental Jaina dogmas. Devasena deals with various dogmatical topics of Jainism in his Bhāvasaṅgraha, Ārādhanaṅga, and Tattvāsāra; and his Darśanasāra (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 Paramappayās and Yogasāra by Joindu (c. sixth century) and the Dohākosas of Kānha and Saraha.

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GRAMMARS

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 inscriptional Prakrits; and even for the Ardha-Māgadhī 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, Siṃharāja, 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 Apabhraṃśa, 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, Pāśy-a-lacchī-nāma-mālā, written by Dhanapāla in 972-73, presents a list of Prakrit synonymous words. It was written for his younger sister Sundari. 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 Alankāra-dappana 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 Gāthā-laksana, fully discusses the varieties of gāthā. In Svayambhū-chandas, Svayambhū discusses various metres and also gives many quotations mentioning the names of their authors, who number more than
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fifty. The *Vṛttajāti-samuccaya* is also an exhaustive treatise. Further, the *Kavidarpana* and the *Chandaḥkosa* by Ratnaśekhara, and the *Prākṣṭa Paṅgala* give abundant details regarding Prakrit metres. Some Sanskrit texts, like the *Vṛttaratanākara*, include Prakrit metres as well, but the *Chando'nuśasana* by Hemacandra is of special value for Prakrit metres. Professor H. D. Velankar has provided quite a systematic exposition of Apabhṛṣṭa metres.

ASTRONOMICAL AND MEDICAL TEXTS

The *Jambudvīpa-paṇḍatti-saṅgahō* by Paumānarṇādi deals with cosmological and astronomical subjects. The *Jōpi-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 Yaśākhīrti (c. twelfth century) are associated. *Haramekhala* (c. 830) by Mahuka is a medical treatise which covers a wide range of topics, a talisman for all living beings. The *Ritthasamuccaya* 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-Suttanta we learn that Buddha anticipated that his sayings might be misrepresented and so he advised his disciples to verify his words in four ways (cattāro mahāpadesā). His prophesy came true after his mahāparinibbāna. Subhadda who entered the Order (Saṅgha) 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. 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 (Doctrine) 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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classic witness the appearance of the whole of the Buddhist canonical literature in three divisions, viz. Vinaya Piṭaka, Sutta Piṭaka and Abhidhamma Piṭaka.8 This is technically called Tipitaka. 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 Tipitaka represents the earliest and most complete collection of the Buddhist literature.

Pali and its origin

Pali means ‘row’ (pankti), ‘text’, ‘sacred text’ (pāṭho iti pi pāṭa), ‘reading’ (ayam pi pāṭho), i.e. the text of the canon as distinct from the atthakathā (commentaries). Pali always signifies the text of the Buddhist scriptures. In the Mahāvamsa we find that ‘only the text has been brought here not the commentaries’.6 It also means that which preserves the import of words (Saddattam paletiti pāṭa).

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 mūlabhāṣā, ‘the primary speech of all men’.8 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 Paisācī Prakrit spoken at that time in the Vindhya 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 Sauraseni 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 Tipitaka. 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. Wintermute, HIL, Vol. II, p. 21.
5 Pāliānattam udānīta, n'ātthi atthakathā udha—Mahāvamsa, ch. XXXVII, v. 227.
Buddhism) in Ceylon. Some scholars maintain that he carried with him the text of the Tipitaka, while according to others, he went to Ceylon after memorizing the whole of the Tipitaka. Through the patronage of the king, Buddhism was, however, well established there. The Tipitaka was committed to writing during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya in the first century B.C. According to Ceylonese monks, this Tipitaka and the Tipitaka 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 Tipitaka was not the same as that compiled in the Third Council—it is but a revised edition. The Tipitaka composed in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit was derived from the old Tipitaka which was written in Māgadhi. This view is also corroborated by the manuscript fragments of the Tripitaka composed in Buddhist Sanskrit discovered so far.

It is striking to note here that before the compilation of the Tipitaka, the Buddhist literature was divided into nine angas or parts. This is technically known as Navāṅga-satthusāsana. 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 Tipitaka and give a brief survey of the texts constituting it.

THE VINAYA PITAKA

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 Parivārapātha.

(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, Ceyya, Veyyakarana, Gāhā, Udāna, Insuttaka, Jātaka, Abhutadhamma and Vedalla.
8 M. Winteritz, op. cit., pp. 9 ff.
10 Vinaya anuppādeparinibbānavīhāra. Ibid.
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explanation and discussion on doubtful points. It comprises (a) Mahāvibhanga which has eight chapters dealing with eight classes of transgressions against discipline, and (b) Bhikkhu-nivibhanga, a shorter work, a commentary on the code for the nuns. The Mahāvibhanga and the Bhikkhu-nivibhanga are also known as the Pārājika and Pācittiya respectively. They are also called Ubhatovibhanga.

It should be noted that Pātimokkha, the oldest text, which is included in the Suttavibhanga, 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'. There are two codes—one for the bhikkhus called the Bhikkhu-pātimokkha-sutta and the other for the bhikkhunis 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 bhikkhunis. They give us a coherent picture of the life in the Saṅgha. They form a sort of continuation and supplement to the Suttavibhanga. 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 bhikkhunis 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 Sattapannīgahā of Rājagaha and Vālukārāma of Vesāli.

(iii) The Parivāra or the Parivārapātha is the concluding text of the Vinaya Piṭaka and was composed much later than the Suttavibhanga 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 Suttavibhanga and the Khandhakas.

11 Pātimokkhassarīvarasahavata. Dīgha Nikāya, II. 42; XIII. 42; XXVI. 28.
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Anakas. Its first chapter gives us a list of vinayadharas (masters of discipline). The list is indeed invaluable in the history of the Buddhist Sanghas of India and Ceylon.

THE SUTTA PITAKA

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. Dīgha 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 Pāṭika-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, Sakkaṇaṇa, 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 Asoka’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 (*paravādamatkana*). 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, sāmādhi*, and *pāññā*, the three corner-stones of Buddhism. The most famous is the *Mulapariyāya-Sutta* which strikes the keynote of the entire doctrine of Buddha (*sabbadhammamulapariyāya*). 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 *Pāpañcasūdani*, a commentary on the *Majjhima Nikāya*, tells us that the *Majjhima Nikāya* was also called the *Majjhimasaṅgīti*.

(iii) The *Sānyutta Nikāya* contains fifty-six groups (*sānyutta*). 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 *Bhikkhu ni sānyuttas* 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 *Sānyutta 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 *Sānyutta Nikāya* contains subjects dealing with ethical, moral and philosophical matters.

(iv) The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* is a collection of *suttas* 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 Pañcak, for the text of which it probably formed the foundation’.

(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.
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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 Paramatthajotikā, 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 Tipitaka. 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 Udana is a collection of eighty stories, in eight vaggas, comprising solemn utterances of Buddha on special occasions. The Udana 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 niḥbāna, 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 has been said by the Blessed One—thus have I heard" and closes with "This meaning..."
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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’.17

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 Vimanavatthu and the Petavatthu are two short treatises which are believed to belong to the latest stratum of literature collected in the Pali canon. The Vimanavatthu 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 Vimanavatthu) is historically interesting as being in all probability the source of a good deal of mediaeval Christian belief in heaven and hell’.18

The Theragāthā and Therigāthā are the two collections of poems ascribed to the theras and the theris respectively. The Theragāthā 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 kāvyā literature. The pictures of real life are far more numerous in the Therigāthā than

18 Op cit., p. 54.
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in the *Therāgāthā*. 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 *jañ*) 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 ‘Bodhisatta 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 *Pārāyonaavagga* of the *Suttanipata*. It is divided into two parts—the *Mahaniddesa* 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 herein. 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 *Paṭisambhidamagga* 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 ‘evam 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* (recollection), *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

19 CIL, Vol II, p. 100.
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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 Buddhas and the *paceka-buddhas* respectively. It is regarded as one of the latest books of the canon.

The *Buddhavamsa* 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 Sāriputta who used to meet Buddha when he came down to the Mānasasarovara for meals. Then Sāriputta handed it down to Bhaddajī 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 Vaibhāśikas, 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 Śrāvakas and were worked into Abhidhamma treatises by them. In the *Atthasaḷīni*, a commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgani* by the eminent commentator Buddhaghosa as also in Asaṅga's *Sūtrālankāra* 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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81 *Abhidharmaśabdhāya*, *Bibliotheca Buddhaica*, p. 7.
discussed are those already propounded in the *suttas* and therefore, taken for granted”.22

The Abhidhamma Piṭaka consists of seven books, usually known as the Sattapakaranas, which are *Dhammasaṅgāṇi, Vibhaṅga, Kāthāvatthu, Puggalapaṭṭātī, Dhatukathā, Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāṇa*.

The *Dhammasaṅgāṇi* (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* (supra-mundane) realms. All phenomena belonging to the internal and external worlds have been classified and examined carefully. They are *citta* (consciousness), *cetasika* (mental properties), *ruṇa* (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 *Dhammasaṅgāṇi*. Different methods of treatment have, however, been employed therein. The *Dhammasaṅgāṇi* analyses the psychical conditions and phenomena while the *Vibhaṅga* synthesizes them. Thus the *Dhammasaṅgāṇi* 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 *Suttantabhajaniya, Abhidhammabhajanlya*, and *Paññāpucchaka*. The first three chapters of the *Vibhaṅga* serve as supplementary to the *Dhammasaṅgāṇi*.

The *Kāthāvatthu* is the only work of the Tipiṭaka ascribed to a definite author. It was composed by Moggeliputta 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 *Puggalapaṭṭātī* 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, paceka-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 *dhammas*. It is significant to note that the *Puggalapaṭṭātī*, one of the earliest parts of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, is nothing but a collection of portions selected from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.

The *Dhatukathā* is a discussion on the mental elements and their relations to other categories. The *Khandavibhaṅga*, the *Dhatuvibhaṅga* and the *Ayatana-

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vibhaṅga—three chapters of the Dhammasaṅgani form the foundation of the Dhatukathā. There are fourteen chapters in this book. All these chapters discuss khandhas, dhātuḥ and āyatanas from different points of view in the form of questions and answers. Some scholars thus hold that the Dhatukathā should have been named the Khandha-āyatana-dhatukathā as it contains discussion mainly with reference to these subjects.

The Ōḷaka 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 Patθhāna is the most notable and voluminous book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. It is devoted to the discussion on causation and mutual relationship of phenomena. It is also called the Mahaṭpakaraṇa. The Patθhāna is nothing but a detailed exposition of the paticca-samuppāda. The twelve links of the paticca-samuppāda have been explained very lucidly in the Patθhāna in the form of twenty-four paccayās.

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 tippanis, 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 Buddhaghoja and Dhammapala. The works belonging to this period may rightly be called the extra-canonical works. Among them the Milindapañha, the Netī-pakaraṇa, the Peṭikopadesa 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 point of view of the Buddhist literature and philosophy. It occupies a unique position in the post-canonical Pali literature.

The Netti-pakaraṇa is contemporaneous with the Milinda-panha. It is ascribed to Mahākaccāna, 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. Dharmapāla wrote a commentary on it in the fifth century A.D.

The Petakopadesa is another treatise contemporaneous with the Milinda-panha. It is also composed by Mahākaccāna. It is a continuation of the Netti-pakaraṇa. It is nothing but a different manipulation of the subject-matter taught in the Netti-pakaraṇa. It has quoted three chapters verbatim from the Netti-pakaraṇa. It contains teachings embedded in the Piṭaka texts. In some places we find quotations from the Tipiṭaka. It also throws much light on the points not clearly explained in the Netti-pakaraṇa.

(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 Dhammapāla. Of them Buddhaghosa was the most celebrated. Buddhadatta wrote a number of commentaries on the Vinaya and Abhidhamma treatises. Of them Vinayavinicchaya, Uttaravinicchaya, Abhidhammāvatāra and Rūpārūpavibhāga are the most important. The Vinayavinicchaya and the Uttaravinicchaya are the two commentaries on the Vinaya Piṭaka. They contain rules of discipline for the monks and the nuns of the Saṅgha. The Uttaravinicchaya is a supplement to the Vinayavinicchaya. The Abhidhammāvatāra 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 Rūpārūpavibhāga 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 Tipiṭaka. Apart from his commentaries, he wrote two other works, the Nāpadaya38 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-

38 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 Tipiṭaka texts. It is indeed an encyclopaedia of Buddha’s teachings.

The Samantapāśadikā is a commentary on the five treatises of the Vinaya Piṭaka. It was written on the basis of the Mahāpaccārī and Kurundi aṭṭhakathās 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 Kaṅkhāvītaraṇī is a commentary on the Pāṭimokkha of the Vinaya Piṭaka. Apart from commenting on the rules of the Pāṭimokkha, it throws much light on the later development of the Buddhist monastic life. It is remarkable for the restraint and matured judgment that characterize Buddhagṛha’s style.

The Sumanāgalavilāsini 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 Paṇaṇcasudani (commentary on the Majjhima Nīkāya), the Sāratthapakāsini (commentary on the Saṅgutta Nīkāya), the Manorathapūraṇī (commentary on the Āṅguttara Nīkāya) and the like composed by Buddhagṛhoṣa. His famous Aṭṭhasālīni, a commentary on the Dhammasaṅgāṇī 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 Paramatthadīpanī on the Cariyāpiṭaka, Thera-Therigāthas, Petavattu, Vimānavaṭṭhu, Itivuttakah and Udāna included in the Khuddaka Nīkāya. He also wrote a commentary called the Paramatthamaṇḍūsā on Buddhagṛhoṣa’s Visuddhimagga. We are told that he also composed a commentary on the Nettī-pakaraṇa. Dhammapāla’s commentaries throw much light on the religious condition of South India and Ceylon.

It should be mentioned here that other aṭṭhakathās (commentaries) and expository works were also written before the composition of the well-known commentaries by Buddhādatta, Buddhagṛhoṣa and Dhammapāla. Such commentaries have been referred to by Buddhagṛhoṣa in his different commentaries. The Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, for instance, is one such commentary which gives in its introductory chapter called the Nīdānakathā, the life story of Buddha. There is no connected biographical sketch of the life of Buddha in Pali literature until we come to the Nīdānakathā which is regarded as the most informative in this regard.

84 Sīle paṭṭhāya naro sapatthe
uttān paṭṭhāya ca bhāṇayaḥ;
Ādiṣṭhaṁ pako bhikkhu
so āśrivaṁ vihaṇgajāpati.

Visuddhimagga, Nīdānakathā.

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It contains a chronological biography of Gautama Buddha to a certain extent. Its authorship is not known.

(ii) 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 attthakathās. 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 Mahābodhivamsa or the Bodhivamsa 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 Dāthavamsa or the Dantadhātuvaṁsas 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 Sanskrit-ized 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 Thupavamsa 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 Hatthavanagalla-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 Chakesadāthuvaṁsas 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 Gandhavamsa was also written in Burma by a monk named Nandapanñā. 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 Jinakālamāli was written by Ratanapāṇī 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 Siṅhala Buddhism and Siṅhala Saṅgha in different regions of Siam.

The Cāmadeviyavamsa is another important chronicle for the study of Siamese (Thai) Buddhism written by the Bodhirāṣṭa. 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 Haripuṇja, 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 Saddhama. It also refers to Buddha’s preaching at Campaka (Campakānagaravāsinām).

The Sandesakatha 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-vibhāvani by Thera Sumaṅgalasāmi and the like. Many kingdoms such as Suvaṅnahumī, Rāmaṇī, Jayavaḍdhana, Ayuddhāya, Sīvi, Cīna, etc. have also been mentioned herein.

The Buddhaghosuppatti 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 Śāsanavaṁśa was written by the distinguished monk, Paṅnāsāmi 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 Saccasankhepa was written by Culla Dhamma-pāla. It is a short treatise containing five chapters on Abhidhamma materials.
It deals with the rūpa, vedanā (feeling), cittappavatti (thought), pakinnakasāṅgha, and nibbāna.

The Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha was written about twelfth century A.D. by Anuruddhācarīya, an Indian monk of Kāñcipuram or Kāñjivaram. It is a manual of the psycho-ethical philosophy of the Theravāda school. The work deals with the four ultimate categories, viz. citta, cetasika, 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 Anurādhāpura. 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 Khuddakasīkha and the Mūlasīkha are the two compendia containing a short summary of the rules of the Vinaya Piṭaka. They are mostly in verse. The Khuddakasīkha is generally ascribed to Dhammasiri and the Mūlasīkha to Mahāsāmi.

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 Anāgatavamsa was composed by Kassapa, a native of the Cola 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 Jinacarita 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 Telakatātagathā is a poem in ninety-eight stanzas supposed to have been uttered by Kalyāṇīya 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 Pajjamadhū was composed by Coliya Dīpaṅkara or Buddhappiya. It is a poem of one hundred and forty-four stanzas. It deals with the eulogies of Buddha. Its language is Sanskritized Pali.

The Saddhammapoṇya was composed by Buddhāsamāpiya. It contains six hundred and twenty-nine verses dealing with the fundamentals of Buddhism in general and the ethical doctrines in particular.

The Paṅcagatiṣṭipana 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, Moggalāna and Aggavaṁsa. Kaccāyana wrote the first Pali grammar named Susandhikappā. Many suttas of this work agree closely with those of the Sanskrit Kātantravyākaraṇa. The Mahārīpasiddhi, Bālāvatāra, and the like were composed on the basis of Kaccāyana’s suttas. The Payogasiddhi, Padasādhana, and others were composed on the system of Moggalāna’s grammar. The famous Cullasaddanī was composed on the system of the famous Saddanī of Aggavaṁsa. 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, Saṅgharakhita of Ceylon, on the pattern of Danḍin’s Kāvyādarīa. 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 Saṅgharakhita in imitation of the Sanskrit works dealing with metrics. The Kāmandaki, Chandoviciti, Kavisāra-pakarāṇa, and Kavisāra-ṭīkānīssaya 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 Vevacanahāra of the Netti-pakarāṇa containing synonyms may be regarded as the early model of the Pali lexicon. The two most well-known lexicons are the Abhidhānappadīpikā and the Ekakkhara-kosa.

The Abhidhānappadīpikā was written by the distinguished monk, Moggalāna of Ceylon, in the twelfth century A.D. It is divided into three parts.

The Ekakkhara-kosa was composed by Saddhammakitti, a student of Ariyavaṁsa 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 Brahmajāla-Sutta, Sāmaññaphala-Sutta, Sakkapañha-Sutta and the Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta which exhibit vividly dramatic settings. In the Segāthavagga of the Sāmyutta Nikāya we come across stage action. It seems
that one Devaputta appears therein to test Buddha's knowledge and retires and another appears on the stage. It shows that there are ample dramatical materials in the Pali literature although there is no dramatical work. As to novel, the historical narratives contained in the Mahāparinibbāṇa-Suttanta, 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 Ardha-Māgadhī and with the languages of the inscriptions of Asoka. 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 Tipitaka, there is also the Tripitaka in Buddhist Sanskrit consisting of Āgama, Vinaya, and Abhidharma. But a complete set of the Tripitaka 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 Tripitaka 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, Saṅhyuktāgama and Ekottarāgama, corresponding to the four Pali Nikāyas, viz. Dīgha Nikāya, Majjhima Nikāya, Saṅyutta 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 Ajñātiya 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 Saṅhyuktāgama is divided into fifty chapters. It contains a larger number of sūtras than those of the Pali text. The manuscript fragments of the Pravāraṇa,
Candropama and Śakti Sūtras have been discovered in Central Asia. The Ekottarāgama contains fifty-two chapters, while the Pali text contains eleven nipātas (ekādaśakaniñpāta) consisting of one hundred and sixty-nine chapters. The manuscript fragments of the Pañkadhā, the Pūrṇikā and other sūtras have been discovered in Central Asia. The manuscript fragments of the Kṣudrakāgama of this school corresponding to the Pali Khuddaka Nikāya have not yet been discovered. Fortunately, a complete copy of the Dhammapāda as also a few fragments of the Sthaviragāthā have been discovered.

The Vinaya Piṭaka contains four divisions—Vinayaviśbhaṅga, Vinayavastu, Vinaya-kṣudrakavastu and Vinaya-uttaragrantha. The Vinayaviśbhaṅga corresponds to the Suttaviśbhaṅga, the Vinayavastu to the Khandhakas, i.e. the Mahāvagga and portions of the Cullavagga, the Vinaya-kṣudrakavastu and the Vinaya-uttaragrantha to the Cullavagga and Pariyārāpāṭha respectively. The Vinayavastu is further divided into seventeen chapters. The Vinaya-kṣudrakavastu and the Vinaya-uttaragrantha 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 treatises25 like the Therāvādins. The Jñāna-prasthāna by Ārya Katyāyanīputra: it is divided into eight sections covering forty-four chapters and deals with the pratīcyasamutpāda, the faculties of organs, the question of final emancipation, etc. The Saṅgītāparaśā by Mahākauṭhila: it deals with eka-dharmas (all beings living on food etc.), dvi-dharmas (mind and matter—nāma-rūpa) up to pañca-dharmas (five skandhas), five balas and the like. The Prakaranaṇapāda by Sthavira Vasumitra: it treats of the five dharmas, i.e. rūpa, citta, caitya-dharma, cittaviprayukta-saṅskāra, asaṅskṛta-dharma, ten kinds of knowledge, twelve organs and objects, etc. The Viṣṇu-nāthāka by Sthavira Devaśarmā: it was composed 100 years after Buddha’s mahāpārivaśīpaṇa and deals with Maudgalyāyana’s opinion about pudgalas, indriyas, cittas, klesas, viśīnas, bodhyāṅgas, etc. The Dhātu-kāya by Pūrṇa: it was rendered into Chinese by Huien-tsaṅ in A.D. 663. Pali Dhātu-kathā has nothing in common with the present treatise. The Dharmaskandha by Ārya Sāriputra: it treats of five precepts, srotāpānna, four sorts of purity as to Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha and śīla, four stages of śrāmayaṇaphala, four āryavaṁśas, etc. The Prajñāpañ-āstra by Ārya Maudgalyāyana: in this book the instruction about the world (loka-prajñāpañ) belonging to the Abhidharma-mahāāstra 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 Mahāvastra 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-

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25 They are available in Chinese translations only.
vāda, a branch of the Mahāsāṅghika school. It agrees with the Pali *Nidāna-kathā* 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 *Avadānasataka*, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Avadāna-kalpalatā*, etc. Another important treatise, the *Abhidharma-kośa-nyākyā*, a commentary on the *Abhidharma-kośa*, belongs to this school.

The *Jātakamālā*, also called *Bodhisattvavādāna*, 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 paramitās (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 *Avadānasataka* (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 kāvyā 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 *Avadānakalpalatā* 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.

Thus the famous legend of Suddhārtha’s departure, abhimukṣramaṇa, may find a parallel with the account in the *Mahāmaṇḍala Nīkāya*. There are also versions of the *Khuddaka-piṭha*, *Pahojā*, *Padhāna*, and *Khaggavatins suttas* from the *Suttanta*, of the *Sahassavagga* from the *Dhammapada*, of the *Mahāgovinda-Sutta* from the *Digga Nīkāya*, of the *Dīghasaccana-Sutta* from the *Mahāmaṇḍala Nīkāya*, and of the *Mara-samyutta* from the *Sahajayuddha Nīkāya*.
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MAHÂYÂNA BUDDHIST SANSKRIT TEXTS

We now turn to the works which belong to the Mahâyâna school whose contribution to Indian thought is indeed unique. It had also an extensive literature of its own. Of the numerous Mahâyâna 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 Mahâyâna as also point out its fundamental teachings. They are: Aûtasaûhasika Prajñâpâramitâ, Saddharma-pûndarîka-Sûtra, Lalitavistara, Laûkikasutras, Suvarnâprabhâsa, Gaûḍâvyûha, Tathâgata-guhya, Samâdhirâja and Daûabhâmîśvara. They are also known as Vaipulya-Sûtras. The Prajñâpâramitâs belong to the earliest Mahâyâna sūtras and are considered to be the most holy and the most valuable of all Mahâyâna works. They are further of great importance from the point of view of religion. Of the different recensions of the Prajñâpâramitâs, the Aûtasaûhasika Prajñâpâramitâ is probably the earliest. The Saddharma-pûndarîka-Sûtra is the most important Mahâyâna sūtra and as a work of literature it stands foremost. It deals with the characteristic peculiarities of Mahâyâna 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 Vâraṇâsi, embodying in it all the germs of an epic. It exhibits all the remarkable features of Mahâyâna. From the points of view of the history of religion and literature, it is of immense value to us. The Lalitavistara, which is one of the latest books of this group, presents us with valuable material for the study of the early Yogâcâra system. It teaches Vijñânavâda. According to it, nothing exists but thought. The Suvarnâprabhâsa-Sûtra also one of the later Mahâyâna works. A few fragments of this work have been discovered in Central Asia. It is both philosophical and ethical. Tântric rituals are further referred to herein. It is very popular in Mahâyâna Buddhist countries. The Gaûḍâvyûha which is not yet available in Sanskrit corresponds to the Chinese translation of the Avatamsaka which comes just after the Saûtrasûkha Prajñâpâramitâ and Aûtasaûhasika Prajñâpâramitâ. 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 Sûkṣma-samuccaya. At the end of the Gaûḍâavyûha, there are a few verses which are used even at the present day for purposes of worship in all the Mahâyâna Buddhist countries. The Tathâgata-guhya, which probably belonged to the seventh century A.D., contains Mahâyâna teachings mingled with elements of Tântricism. It is regarded as one of the authoritative works on the earliest Tantras. The Samâdhirâja-Sûtra which is

27 It, however, originally contained the biography of Buddha for the Sarvastivâdins of the Hinayâna. It is probable that the present text is 'a recast of an older Hinayâna text...enlarged and embellished in the spirit of the Mahâyâna.' Cf. HIL, Vol II, p 252.

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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 Daśabhūmīśūtra 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 Āśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Śthiramati, Diṅnāga, 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 Saundarananda are the two important poetical works composed by Āśvaghoṣa. 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 Vārānasi. 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-sūtra, 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 Yogācāra-bhūmi-sūtra by Asaṅga in its original Sanskrit form has been discovered by Rahul Sankrityayana. It is divided into seventeen bhūmis

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28 Tibetan and Chinese translations of the text, each having as many as twenty-eight cantos, run, however, up to the mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha.
BUDDHIST LITERATURE

(Chapters) and describes in detail the path of discipline according to the Yogācāra school.

The Viśīṣṭa and the Tīrthīka of Vasubandhu, containing twenty and thirty kārikās respectively, are the basic works of the Viśīṣṭavāda system of thought. Both repudiate all belief in the reality of the objective world, maintaining that citta (cittamātra) or vijnāna (vijnānamātra) is the only reality.

The Nyāyapravīṣṭa of Diṇṇāga, the father of Indian logic, is a monumental work on logic. It deals with different types of terms, viz. pakṣa, sādhyā, dṛṣṭāntas (examples), etc. for demonstration and refutation of fallacies. Perception and inference have also been discussed herein for self-understanding.

The Nyāyabindu by Dharmakīrtī is regarded as one of the important works on logic. It is divided into three chapters: (i) pratyakṣa (perception), (ii) śvārthānāmāna (inference for one’s own self), and (iii) parārthānāmāna (inference for the sake of others).

The Śīkapāramitā 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 Bodhicaryavatāra, another work of Śāntideva, is an important and popular religious-cum-philosophical work of Mahāyāna Buddhism. According to Winternitz,30 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 (śīla-pāramitā) consists essentially in the will not to hurt any living being.

The Tatva-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 Tantric Buddhism. Mantras, dhāranis, mudrās and maṇḍalas and other Tantric rites gradually crept in to this new system. Later, there appeared Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna from this system. A vast litera-

30 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 Dohākośa and Caryāgiti (in Old Bengali) give us a fair idea about the meditational practices of the Sahajayāna system. The Laghukālacakra-tantrarāja-ṭīkā or the Vimalaprabha-ṭīkā furnishes us with the doctrinal views of the Kālacakra system. The language used in these Tāntric texts is technically known as the sandhya-bhasa 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
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, kavi, 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 Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, are called kāvyas (poems), and are described as the model and source of all later literary creations. Of these two, the Rāmāyaṇa is more specifically called the ādikāvyā (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 kāvyas took Vālmiki, the ādikavi, 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-viśaya and Pātalaviśaya, 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 ākhyāyīka. 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, Vāraṇuc-kāvyam, which, according to Rājaśekhara (c. A.D. 900), was called Kanyakabhāraṇa. In his Śṛṅgāra-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 Chandaḥ-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-sastra*. Its nucleus goes back to the pre-Pāṇinian *Nāṭa-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 kāyya, 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: AŚVAGHOSA AND KĀLIDĀSA

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 (*dhīrodāttā*), 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 itihasa-purāṇa literature and of the Sanskrit poem, play, hymn, and gnomic poetry came to be reflected in the Buddhahistorical literature that then arose, viz. the *Mahāvastu* 'The Great Theme', which was a biography of Buddha; and the *Lalitavistara*, an elaboration of the ālā (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 Aśvaghōsa 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 Aśvaghōsa, is available in complete Sanskrit form. At the end of the work the author states that it is a kāyya, but it is written mainly for the sake of mokṣa and vypaśānti (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 Asvaghosa’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 Vālmikī finds pointed expression.

Following Asvaghosa, 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 Kumāralaṭā, the Avadāna-sataka (c. A.D. 100), the Dvayavadāna (c. second century A.D.), and the Jātaka-mālā by Āryā 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 Satapatākā-śatākā-stotra and the Catuśsatākā-stotra, both of which are simple but intense expressions of devotion to Buddha. Little is known about Māṭrceṭa and he is sometimes identified with Asvaghosa.

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 kāvyās, 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 Šūdraka-kathā. Another work also called Šūdraka-kathā, by Paṇcaśikha, an old name in Sanskrit literature, is cited by Bhoja.

Between Asvaghosa 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 Asvaghosa, 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 Śuṅga age which was equally an age of Hindu revival.

However, whether he lived in the Śuṅga age or the Gupta, whether he was a native of Ujjain or of any other place, Kālīdāsa 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 Śrutī (scriptures which record revealed knowledge) and in the Smṛti (other scriptures based on the Śrutī). So well has Kālīdāsa done this that to this day he stands as the authentic voice of the culture in which his genius flowered, as much as any jīti (ancient sage) or ācārya (later philosopher). It is not surprising that a philosopher like Kumārila quotes him. Kālīdāsa 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 KĀLĪDĀSA

Kālīdāsa began with a short poem, Ritusamhāra, describing the cycle of seasons, one canto being devoted to each of the six rūtus (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 Kālīdāsa writes about a separated lover; the lover from the north is sojourning in the south, and through the cloud (megha) as a messenger (dāta) 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 mahākāvya class he wrote two poems, the shorter, Kumāra-sambhava in eight cantos and the longer, Raghuvamśa, in nineteen cantos. Taking as leading characters Śiva and Pārvatī, the prime parents of the universe, Kālīdāsa 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 Raghuvamśa. Kālidāsa introduces the Love-god (Madana) as a character, bums 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 Pārvatī, 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.

Raghuvamśa 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 Agnīvarna, through Raghu, 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 purusārthas (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 Raghuvamśa 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 purusārtha, dharma (duty in the sense of contributing to the progress and well-being of the individual and society). The son, Raghu, 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. Raghu 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, Raghu'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 purusārtha series, is exemplified in Rāma, Raghu's great-grandson. Rāma is none other than Śrī Hari, Rāmabhidhāno Hariḥ, and he is described as jagat-prathama-māṅgala (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 Agnivarna, 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 *Raghuvamsa* concerns Raghu's digvijaya (conquest in all directions) and it brings out the idea of a country being under one cakravartin (emperor). In the cantos depicting Rama's story, we observe the poet's intimate knowledge of Vālmiki's epic and the artistry with which he introduces a gem here and a gem there within the framework of the adikavi. 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 pathukṛt (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 Kālidāasya (Kālidāsa's similes). Taking his style as a whole, his expression is distinguished for simplicity and grace, precision and proportion.

If it was the adikavi 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 mahākavyas, 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 Śṛihaṛṣa, their poems being the *Kirātārjuniya*, the *Śīrupālavadha*, and the *Naśadhīya-carita* respectively. Together, these five poems attained special status and came to be referred to as the paṇca-mahākavyas (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 mahākavyas in post-Kālidāsa times. Poems there were, but they have been lost. The *Hayagriva-vadha* by Meṇṭha (sixth century), for example, is known to have existed, since it is mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* 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 *Aśmakavāṁśa*, citing it as an example of the Vaidarbhi style of poetry. A close follower of Kālidāsa in both time and style is the Śinhalese prince Kumāradāsa, the author of *Jānakharaṇa*. This poem, preserved in Śinhalese paraphrase, was recovered from South Indian manuscripts.

**THE KĀVYAS OF BHĀRAVI, MĀGHĀ, ŚRĪHARṢA, ŚĪVASVĀMIN, AND OTHERS**

Bhāravi was a friend of King Kuhjaśivānuvardhana (c. 608), the founder of the eastern Cālukya dynasty of Veṅgi. He wrote his poem, *Kirātārjuniya*, 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 pāśupatāstra, 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 Kalidāsa. 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 *Śīhupāla-vadha*, written on a theme from the *Sabhāparvan* 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 Bhāravi, gathers momentum in Māgha, and, through several other works of this class, reaches its climax in Śrīharṣa’s *Naśadhiya-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 *Kapphinabhyudaya*. Ratanākara, 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 Bāna’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 *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bṛhatkathā*, the *Avadānas* on Buddha, and Bāna’s *Kādambari*; the last of these has not yet been recovered. He also wrote several stories of his own, but only one, the *Daśāvatāra-cantā*, is available. In the next century, also in Kashmir, another *mahākāvya* was written. This was Mānkhā’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 *Naśadhiya-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 Damayanti, but, being the product of the massive mind of Śrīharṣa, it presents a veritable thesaurus of knowledge and has been correctly characterized as *vidvadausadha* (a tonic for the learned).

The latter part of the classical period witnessed the composition of many
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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 mahākāvyya.

JAINA POETS IN THE SANSKRIT KĀVYA TRADITION

The Jains were comparatively slow to take up the mahākāvyaya 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 Vādībhavinsīna (eleventh century A.D.) composed the Yasodhara-carita and the Kṣattra-cūḍāmaṇi respectively. In A.D. 978, Vīranandī wrote the Candraprabha-carita; and in A.D. 988, Asaga wrote the Vardhamāna-carita. Hemacandra (1088-1172), who is known as the kalikāla-sarvajña (the know-all of the kāliyuga), contributed, among his numerous works which did indeed cover all branches of knowledge, the long poem Trisasti-sālākupuṣṭa-carita, including supplementary material at the end.

Other notable Jaina poems include: Māṇikya Sūri’s Yasodhara-carita (eleventh century); Vāgbhaṭa’s Nemi-nirvāṇa (twelfth century); Muniratna’s Amamasvāmi-carita (twelfth century); Ravigupta’s Candraprabha-carita; Haricandra’s Dharmasambhāvyudaya; Devaprabha’s Pāṇḍava-carita; Ācārya Vīranandī’s Mahāpāla-carita; Abhayadeva’s Jayanta-vijaya (1221); Amaracandra’s Bāla-Bhārata (thirteenth century); and Vāgbhaṭa II’s Rāshhibha-carita and the work quoted by him, the Bājmati-parītyaga.

LATER MAHĀKĀVYAS : ŚLEṢA-KĀVYAS

The later history of the pure mahākāvyaya may be illustrated by specimens selected from different regions. Under the Pālas of Bengal, Umāpatidhara wrote Candracūḍa-carita. In Orissa, Kṛṣṇananda produced the Sahādayananda on the Nala-Damayantī story. In Andhra, Agastyā Paṇḍita (thirteenth century), under the Kākatiyas, composed the Bāla-Bhārata; and in the same region, under another king, Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāna (beginning of the fifteenth century) wrote the Nalāḥhyudaya.

A South Indian, Utpreksāvallabha, who flourished earlier, produced a new and interesting kind of mahākāvyaya in his Bhikṣāṭana-kāvyaya. 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 Veṅkaṭanātha Vedānta Deśika (1268–
who wrote *Yadavabhyudaya* on the life of Kṛṣṇa, and Nilakanṭha Diksita (early part of the seventeenth century) who composed *Śivalīlārṇava,* 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 *svaratantra-svatantra* (proficient in all aspects of the scriptures). Nilakanṭha Diksita also wrote a poem on the descent of the Gaṅgā, *Gaṅgāvatarana.* His contemporary, Rājacūḍāmāni Diksita, wrote *Rukmini-kalyāṇa,* and his pupil, Rāmabhadra Diksita, wrote the *Patañjali-carita.* In Karṇāṭaka, Vidyācakravartin 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 mahākāya was established in which, through *śḷaṣa* (double entendre), two distinct stories were told in the same set of verses. Stories from the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata,* for example, were embedded in the same poem. Such poems were called *dvisandhāṇa* (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 Dāṇḍin of Kāṇḍa (seventh century). The earliest and best-known extant poem of this class is the *dvisandhāṇa* written by Dhanañjaya (c. 1000–1050). *Rāghava-pāṇḍaviya,* written by Kavirāja from Banavāsī 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 *vilomākāvya.*

*Kāvya* was also used to display erudition or to teach some branch of knowledge. This trend bore early fruit in the famous *Bhaṭṭī-kāvya.* Bhaṭṭī (sixth-seventh century A.D.) wrote *Rāvaṇa-sadha* which achieved the double purpose of being a poem and also an illustration of Pāṇini’s grammar and poetics. Bhaṭṭī’s work again started a class represented by a number of grammar poems, the better known among these being *Rāvaṇārjunīya* by Bhima (or Bhauma); *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 Bhaṭṭatīrī. 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 *Dvārakāya-kāvya* or *Kumārapāla-carita.* Another writer, Jinaṇavallabhā, composed a hymn on Mahāvīrā 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 Cōla 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 *Bhuvaṇābhyudaya* by Śaṅkuka of Kashmir (c. 850) which describes a local battle. The first *mahākāvyā* of this class is Padma-gupta Parimala's *Navasahasānika-carita* which is about King Sindhuṛāja of Mālava. In the *Vikramāṇkadeva-carita*, the celebrated Bihāna deals with his patron Cālukya Vikramaḥityā VI of Kalyāṇa (1076-1127). The greatest of the historical poems is *Rājatārangini* by Kalhana (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, *Nṛpavali* by Kṣemendra and the works of Helārāja and Chavillakara which are all lost. *Rājatārangini* 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. Kalhana’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 *Rāmacarita* which is at the same time a historical kāvyā relating to Pāla rule during the period 1070-1120. Chandakavi wrote *Prthvīrāja-vijaya*, a kāvyā on Prthvīrāja of Ajmer. Someśvara’s *Kīrti-kaumudī*, *Sukṛta-saṅkīrtana*, *Vastupāla-carita*, and *Vasanta-vilāsa* form a set of works on the Vāghela kings of Gujarat and their minister Vastupāla. Nayacandra’s *Hammīra-mahākāvyā* on the Cauḥāna king of Raṇastambhapura describes the king’s heroic stand against Alauddin.

In South India, the tradition of historical kāvyas dates from Pallava and Cōla times. The *Mayūravarma-carita* deals with the Kadamba dynasty of Banavāśi. *Rājarāja-carita*, now lost, was written round a great Cōla monarch and builder; Atula’s *Māṇukavanāśa* is on the history of North Malabar. The *Kākāṭiya-carita* by Narasinha dealt with the Kākātiya kings of Warangal in Andhra. The great Vījayanagara 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 *Mathurā-vijaya*, or *Vira-kamparāya-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; *Sālauḥabhuyudaya* by Rājanātha II; and *Acyutarāyābhuyudaya* 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 Rāgūnātha Nāyaka was the subject of *Sāhitya-ratnākara* by Vaiṣṇavāraṇaṇa Dikṣita, and also of *Ragunāthābhuyudaya* 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 Śivāji, Śāmabhāji, and others. The *Śvabhāraṭa* on Śivāji by Paramāṇanda Kaviṇḍra is the greatest work in this group. Other works were the *Śambhurāja-carita* and the *Rājarāma-carita*. The Maratha dynasty at Tanjore was celebrated in several biographical works of this nature. The largest number of these literary tributes centred round Śāhāji (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 *Rāṣṭraudhavānsa-kāvya* on the Bāgulas of Mayūragiri (end of sixteenth century); *Jāmaṇījaya* by Vaiṣṇavādī on the rulers of the Navaṇagara (end of sixteenth century); *Rāmacandia-yasah-prabandha* by Govindabhaṭṭa on the rulers of Bikaner; Kṛṣṇa Kavi’s *Īstara-vilāsa* and Rāma’s *Jayavaiḥa-kāvya* describing Śaiva Jaisingh and his ancestors; and *Cetasimha-kāvya* by Balabhadra 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 *Saṃvada-yottananda-saṅgrahā*; the subject of Rudra Kavi’s *Dānaśāha-carita* is Akbar’s son; while *Kṛiti-samullāsa* and the *Nabākhāna-carita* by the same poet also celebrate Jahangir; in his *Nṛpaniṭi-garbhaṭa-nyṭha*, Lakṣmipati 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 Śankara, 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.
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TOPOGRAPHICAL AND RHYMED KĀVYAS AND KĀVYAS IN PROSE

Originally, geographical accounts were closely linked with cosmogony and pilgrimage, the earliest form being seen in the treatment of bhuvanakoṣa (a list of the different worlds), tīrthas (places of pilgrimage), and kṣetras (holy places) in the itihāsa-purāṇa literature. In classical kāvyā literature, the dāta-kāvyas involve geographical descriptions. Pilgrimage came to be a main subject for a kāvyā. Tīrtha-prabandha by Vādīrāja (sixteenth century) with a commentary, and Tātra-prabandha by Samarapuṅava Dīkṣita (seventeenth century) are examples of kāvyā and campū (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-kāvyā, and in difficult verbal feats, called duṣkaras. In yamaka-kāvyā, 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 Bahravi and Māgha.

The earliest poem to exhibit such difficult feats of composition is Acyutottara by Rāma Sarman, mentioned by Bhāmaha. Among those that are available, the earliest ones are the short Ghaṭakarpara, and Nalodaya and Kīkaka-pada by Nītivarman; and Mānāka’s Vṛndīvama and Meghābhīṣyadāya. In the tenth century, Vāsudeva of Keralā composed three yamaka poems; and in Tamil country there was Yamaka-ranmākara by Śrīvatsānaka. Anandavardhana’s Deivī-tātaka displays all the feats. Dharmadāsa, earlier than Bhoja, produced Vidagdha-mukha-māndana 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 gādyā-kāvyas (prose literature). In the introduction to his Kādambarī, Bāṇa refers to two earlier kathās (fiction with no traditional or historical basis); similarly, in his Harṣacarita he refers to Bhatṭāra Haricandra’s gādyā-bandha (prose composition). Dhanapāla in his Tilaka-maṇḍari mentions Rudra’s Trailokya-maṇḍari and Bhadrakīrti’s Tārāgana, the former being quoted also in Vardhamāna’s Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi. An akhyāyikā (a fictional adventure story with some historical basis) called Mādhavikā is mentioned by Bhoja in his Śrīgāra-prakāṣa; while Vardhamāna mentions two works, called Narmadā-sundari and Vilāsavatī. In his Dhvanyālōka, Anandavardhana discusses many varieties of story literature, some of which, at least, should have been represented by actual examples. Earlier, the two rhetoricians, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, held pointed discussions on the differences between the two types of composition called kathā and akhyāyikā.

SUBANDHU, BĀNA, AND DAŅḌIN

The three chief prose-poets of the classical age whose works have survived are: Subandhu (seventh century) who wrote Vāsavadattā; the great Bāṇa who
wrote Kadambari and the Harṣacarita; and Daṇḍin who wrote Avantisundarikathā or the Daśakumāra-carita. The shortest of these, Vāsavatātā, 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 Bāṇa, 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 gadya-kāvyā.

Bāṇa’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. Bāṇa flourished under King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj (606–48), of whom the Harṣacarita, the first prose historical kāvyā, 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. Kadambari 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, Bāṇa 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 Bāṇa has left untouched (Bāyocchiṣṭānta jagat sarvatam). 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 Bāṇa’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 Bāṇa can also be brief and simple; he can touch us and move our hearts in situations of pathos. It is to Bāṇa 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, Bāṇa’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 Bāṇa’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-
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nally called Avantisundari-kathā. Like the Harṣacarīta, it carried an interesting autobiography of its author. Thus this poet-laureate of the Pallavas of Kāṃci threw valuable sidelights on the history of South India between the sixth and ninth centuries.

Other prose stories or romances include Tilaka-maṇḍari by Dhanapāla, who wrote under Muṇja and Bhoja of Dhārā, and tried to follow the line of Bāṇa. Gadya-cintāmani was a Jaina prose work by the Tamil Jaina writer already mentioned, Oḍayadeva. Āśarya-maṇḍari by King Kulaśekhara of Kerala is known only in citations. Rājaśekhara mentions a work called Mṛgāṅkalekha written by someone called Aparājita.

Following Bāṇa’s Harṣacarīta, a few historical works in prose appeared. Among these are Vikramāṅkāhyudaya by Cālukya Somesvara of Kalyāṇa, written on his father King Vikramāditya (1076–1127). This work has been recovered only in part. Gadya-karnāmṛta 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 Vīramārṇya-carita.

CAMPŪ

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-kavya 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 sīlaṣa too. His second campū, Madālasā, 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 Yaśastilaka-campū, which in the later parts turns completely didactic and religious. Another campū produced in South India in this period is the Jīvandhara-campū by Haricandra. Two old campūs which are lost, and whose names we know from Bhoja, Damayanti and Vāsavadattā, are different works from those whose names are mentioned above.

The Bhoja-campū on the Rāmāyana, 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 Nilakaṇṭha-vijaya by Nilakaṇṭha Diksita, written in 1637, and Viśvagunāḍārśa

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by Venkatadhvarin, written in the latter part of the seventeenth century. *Nilakantha-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 *Vīnāgumādarśa* 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 Śrīṅivāsa (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 cākyārs. For them, *campū* compositions called prabandhas were composed on episodes from the two epics and from the Purāṇas. The cākyārs were thus provided with full scope for recitation and exposition through word and gesture. The great Nārāyaṇa Bhāṭatāri 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 *Mudrārāksa-saśā-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 *Hiṭopadeśa*.

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.

**NITI LITERATURE**

Closely related to the theme of the *Pañcatantra* is the question of *niti* (right
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conduct). This is the subject of several shorter poetic works, ranging in length from a few verses to a sataka (a hundred verses). The best-known work in this category is the Niti-sataka by Bhartrhari. In popularity, it is second only to the Vidura-niti of the Mahabharata. The Niti-dvishaṭṭikā 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 Nitisāra by Kāmandaka, which calls itself a kāvyā. There are some anonymous nitisaras 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 anyāpādeśa, 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 tree, a creeper, an animal or bird, or any other aspect of nature. The best collection of such anyāpādeśas is the one current in the name of the poet Bhallāṭa of Kashmir (ninth century). Of equal rank is the Anyāpādeśa-sataka by Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita 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 Amoghavarsā, 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 Sevyā-sevakopadesa; on the four ends of man, Caturvarga-saṅgṛaha; and on the right and healthy conduct, Cārucaryā. 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-nilāsa; and to warn the young of pitfalls, he wrote Samayamāṛṭkā; this was written on the lines of an earlier work, Kuttanimata by the Kashmiri minister Dāmodara-gupta (c. 800). Following both Dāmodaragupta and Kṣemendra, Jalhaṇa wrote the Mugdhopadesa. On the model of Kṣemendra’s Cārucaryā, Gaminī, a later poet, composed the Upadesa-sataka, embodying in each verse a principle of good conduct and an illustrative episode. On the model, again, of Kṣemendra’s satirical and didactic pieces, Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita of South India wrote two brilliant satakas, Kalividambana and Sabhāraṇjana. The Mahīṣa-sataka by Vānichēśvara Yajvan is a satire on an official of the Tanjore Maratha court. Employing śleṣa, Vedānta Deśika, in his Subhāṣītanī, 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 *Brhatkatha* ranks with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. It was written by Gṛṣaṇīya in Pāścā 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 Durviniṣa, but this is not available now. The one by Buddhavāmin, *Ślokaśaṅgraha*, 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 *Brhat-kathā-maṇḍīrā*, and a longer form, *Kathāśrī-sūgara* by Somadeva (1063–81). Somadeva’s version, which the poet wrote for Śūryamaṇi, the queen of Ananta, is of better quality and interest as a narrative. *Śrīgāra-maṇḍīrā* 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 Vikramādiyā, Śūdra, and Bhoja are *Vēṭāla-paṅcaśrīṇtattati*, the *Śālavāhana-kathā*, the *Vīra-carita*, and *Śīṅhāsaṇa-dvātriṁśākā*. 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, *Puruṣa-parīkṣā* by Vidyāpatī of Mithilā stands high above all others. *Mādhavārṇa-kāmakandāla*, by Ānanda, and *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, *Prabandha-kośa*, the *Prabhāvaka-carita*, and the *Bhoja-prabandha* are the best known. Śrivara’s *Kathakautuka* is translated from the Persian. Śivadāsa’s *Kāthārṇava* gives tales of knaves and fools. The Jains produced numerous *kathākosas* 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 *Rītasamhāra* 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 Dhyōt of Bengal (twelfth century) and *Harṣa-sandeśa* by the great South Indian philosopher, Vedānta Deśika, are noteworthy. In this type of *kāvyas* 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 *ṣatakas*, depicting an infinite variety of moods of love. The earliest
of these collections is the Śṛṅgāra-satāka by the famous Bhartṛhari. In fact, this work, together with his century on nīti, and another on sairāgya (dispassion), formed his triśati (three centuries) and became part of the curriculum of studies. Then, like Bhartṛhari, to write triśatis on nīti, śṛṅgāra (mundane love), and sairāgya became a vogue with poets, and they began to produce satakas on the three subjects or on one or two of them.

For artistry, for fineness of feeling, and for portraiture, the Amaru-satāka 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-pañcásīkā, 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-kavya 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 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 Kṛṣṇalilā-taraṅgini by Nārāyaṇatūrthas of the Tanjore area (c. seventeenth century). This work is still part of the Karnatic music tradition, and of the Kṛṣṇagitī or Kṛṣṇāṭam of Mānavadeva, the Zamorin of Calicut (seventeenth century). Kṛṣṇagitī, 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-saptāsati, a Sanskrit counterpart of the old Gāthā-saptāsati in Prakrit; and, on the same model, Viśveśvara wrote a sataka, Āryā-satāka. With Bhartṛ-
hari as model, Dhanadarāja (fifteenth century) wrote śatakas on nīti, śṛngāra, and vairāgya; and the well-known Paṇḍitarāja Jagamātha (seventeenth century) his Bhāmīnī-vilāsa. Bhārtṛhari’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 Śīlāṇa of Kashmir; Moha-mudgara ascribed to Śāṅkara; Amitagati’s Subhāṣita-raṇa-sandoha, and Somaprabha’s Śūkti-muktāvalī among the Jaina works; Vairāgya-paṇīcaka by Vedānta Deśika, and the Vairāgya-śataka and Śānti-vilāsa by Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita.

BHAKTI HYMNODY

Between mundane love (śṛngāra) 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 Māṭrceśa’s Buddha-stotras. Other works which together form the chief Buddhist stotras are: Nāgārjuna’s Catuḥstava; King Harṣavardhana’s Suṇaprabhāsta-stotra and Aṣṭa-mahāśrīcaitya-stotra; Vajradatta’s Lokesvara-stotra (ninth century); the Nāma-stotra, Paramarthanāma-sangiti, and the Śragdhara-stotra on Tārā by the Kashmiri Sarvajñāmitra.

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 Bāṇa and Mayūra at Harṣa’s court, and also the Caṇḍi-śataka on Goddess Devī 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 Ratnakara, both of the same court, wrote the Devī-śataka and the Vakrokti-pañcāśikā 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 Ālvar of that
name, attained canonical status together with the Stotraratna by the pre-Rāmānuja philosopher Yāmunācārya. Of equal or even higher status on the Śaivite side is the Mahimnaḥ Stava by Puspadanta. 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: Stavacintāmaṇi by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa; Cakrapāṇi’s Bhūopahāra-stotra; Utpaladeva’s Śiva-stotrāvali; and Jagaddhara’s Kusumaṃjali. Four other important Śiva stotras are taken together with that of Puspadanta and referred to as Śivapāṇca-stavi. These are: the Anāmaya-stotra ascribed to Daṇḍin; and one each ascribed to Bīhaṇa, Halāyudha, and Maḥaṇa. Kṛṣṇa-karnāṃśa by Līlāsūka 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: Śrīvatsānaka who wrote Paṇcaśati; Parāśara who wrote Śrīgūṇa-rāmakoṣa; and the most prolific Veṅkaṭanātha Deśīka. Madhvācārya’s Dwādaśa-stotra has appealing, devotional, and didactic aspects. In the field of Devi worship, canonical significance combined with high poetic quality attaches to four sets of hymns: the Lālītā-stavaratna or Āryāvīśai written to Durvūsa; the much commented upon Saundaryaloha associated with Śaṅkara; the Devī-paṇcaśati, a pentad comprising the Laghu-, Carcā-, Ghaṭa-, Ambā-, and Sakalajanani-stavas, some of which have commentaries, and the five śatakas on the Goddess Kāṃkṣi at Kāṇcī, the Paṇcaśati 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 Dīkṣita 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; Mānasolōsa, and the Atmārpaṇa-stuti. His brother’s grandson, the poet Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, wrote Śivothkara-maṇḍarati and the Ananda-sāgara-stava on the Goddess Minākṣi in Madurai. Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha’s five lāharīs are praises and prayers addressed to Sūrya, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Laksmaṇī, and Viṣṇu. An exclusive Rāma hymnist was Rāmabhadrā Dīkṣita of Tanjore (c. 1700) who wrote several stotras on Rāma. There was also Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa, of the same time and village as Rāmabhadrā Dīkṣita, 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 *Nārāyaṇiya* by the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīrī (1560–1646). It is at once a hymn to the deity at the great shrine of Guruvayar, 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: Akalaiika’s *Aṣṭaka*; Vidyānanda’s *Bṛhat-pañcanamaskāra-stotra*; Samantabhadra’s *Śrutividā*; Mānatiṅga’s *Bhaktāmara*; Siddhasena Divākara’s *Kalyāṇa-mandira*; and the hymns by Hemacandra, Dhanapāla, and Śōbhana. 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 Karnāṭaka princess. Next come Śīlā Bhaṭṭārikā, Vikaṭanitambā, Mārulā, Mōrikā, Indulekha, Prabhudevī, Subhadrā, Avantisundari, 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 *Virakamparāya-carita* by the Vijayanagara queen Gaṅgādevī (fourteenth century); the *Varadāmbikā-paniniṇaya* by Tirumalāmbā of the Vijayanagara court (sixteenth century), and *Raghu- nāthābhīyudaya* by Rāmabhadrāmbā 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 *Kavyamimāṁsā*; in poems, such as the *Śrīkanṭha-carita*; in Kṣemendra’s minor works of criticism, such as *Aucitya-vicāracarā* and *Kavikanṭhābharana*; 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-ratnakosa made by Vidyākara (1110) of eastern India, which was published by the Harvard University Press in 1957. This was followed by Sadukt-karnāmṛta by Śridharadāsa (1205), of the same part of the country. Other anthologies included: the Subhāṣitāvali by Vallabhadeva of Kashmir; the Sūktimuktāvali by Jalhaṇa (thirteenth century) who lived under the Yādavas of Devagiri; Śāṅkardāsa’s Padādahit (1363); the Subhāṣitā-sudhānidhi by Śāyaṇa of Vijayanagara (unpublished); the Sūktiratnakara by Kāliṅgarāya Sūrya (fourteenth century) of South India; the Padyāmya-taraṅgītī by Haribhāskara; the Padyāveni by Venidatta (seventeenth century); the Padya-racanā by Lakṣaṇa; the Rasika-jivana by Gadādhara; the Sūkti-sundara by Sundara (seventeenth century); and the Vidyākara-sahasraka by Vidyākara (nineteenth century) of Mithilā.

CONCLUSION

The kāvyā literature, being derived from the epics, provided a continuation, differently expressed, of the concepts and values of Indian thought. The total output of kāvyā 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 kāvyā 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 universalism which Sanskrit literature presents. While the Upanisads 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 Sakuntalā. The poems and plays of Kālidāsa and Śūdraka, the fables of the Pāñcatantra, the lyrics of Amaru and Jayadeva, the prose of Bāna 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 subḥāṣitas, with brevity and pointed expression, the innate wisdom of the pure human mind shines forth, with few parallels in world literature.
SIR William Jones, by his translation of Kālidāsa’s *Sakuntalā* 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 Aśvaghoṣa, whom the Buddhist tradition places as the court poet of Kaniska. 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.
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-sāstra*, 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. Carudatta, 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 Mudrārākṣasā, in
the whole range of Sanskrit dramatic literature, as a drama proper. This is
indeed an extreme attitude, for the authors of the Abhijñāna-Sahantala and the
Mṛchakaṭīka 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 dra­
matic 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 Īrūbhanga has a tragic
ending. There were also instances where the rule was obeyed in the letter
but not in spirit; for Vasantasena’s apparent murder in the Mṛchakaṭīka
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 re-
newal 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 Mrchakaṭṭaka and the Abhi-
jñāna-Śakuntala, for instance, tragedy does not indeed occur at the end, but it
occurs in the middle, and in the Uttara-Rāmā-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 trans-
ported 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, middle­class 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 sahrdaya (aesthete) which inspired the drama. Its dominant love-motif is explained by the fact that at its centre stood the nāgaraka, the much­sought-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 Kāmasutra of Vatsyayana. 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 Jimūtavāhana’s self­sacrifice; and in his benedictory verse he does not hesitate to represent Buddha as being railed at for his hard­heartedness by the ladies of Mara’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 plentitude 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 consequents, the various devices to help the movement of intrigue, the normativefixing 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 *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśakhadatta, the *Venuśanāhāra* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and the *Nāgānanda* of Śrīhaṛṣa. 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 Buddhistic 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**

Śrīhaṛṣa’s two other dramas, the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Priyadarśikā*, 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 ingenues 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 Irāvari are finely set off against the subdued
dignity and magnanimity of queen Dhārini. More effectively devised in
plot, however, is the Svāpna-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 Vāsavadatta arc depicted, to whose noble and steadfast
love no sacrifice is too great; while her willing martyrdom is set off by the equally
ture, 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 Abhiṣeka 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 Kṛṣṇa; 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 Mahānāṭaka
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
Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇi of Saktibhadra and the Kunda-mālā of Dhīranāga (or Vīranāga),
exhibit no remarkable peculiarities other than the utilizing of the pretty device
of a mark of recognition (abhiṣjñāṇa), 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 Viḍḍhaśālā-bhaṇḍakā and
Prakrit Karpūramanḍjari, 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
Sanskrit drama: General Characteristics

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 Mālatī-Mādhava of Bhavabhūti and the Vikramorvāśiya 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 Mālatī-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 Pūruravas for Urvāśi in the fourth act of the Vikramorvāśiya. 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 Abhijnana-Sakuntala 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. Contrast with the Mālatī-Mādhava and Vikramorvāśiya, 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 mund akin
to madness, but a deep and steadfast feeling, or rather a developing emotional experience, ending in an abiding spiritual enrichment.

KALIDĀSA'S ABHIJÑĀNA-SĀKUNTALA

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 Śakuntalā, 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 amānust (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 Gautamī, as well as by the sterner reprove.
of Śāṅgaraṇa: ‘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 Kanva 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. Śakuntalā 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 UTTRA-RĀMA-CARITA

Through the same chastening influence of sorrow, the Uttra-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 Rāmāyaṇa, 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 Paṅcavaṭī, of Rāma’s meeting with Vāsantī and confession, the fight between Lava and Candraketu, the visit of Vaśīṭha and others to Vālmikī’s hermitage, and the enactment of a play on Rāma’s later history composed by Vālmikī, 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 Laksmana’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 Pañcavatī, 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 Vāsantī 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 Sītā’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 stem resolve in a brief and dignified speech, bidding the faithful Laksmana take Sītā, 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.

SŪDRAKA’S MRCHAKATIKA

When we turn from these masterpieces of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti to the third great Sanskrit drama, the Mrchakatika 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 Dusyanta and Šakuntalā, nor yet the deep conjugal affection idealized in Bhavabhūti’s Rāma and Sītā, 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 *Mrchakatika* 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 Ujjayini. Characterized as a play ‘full of rascals’, its
host of despicable 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 Sanśṭhānaka, 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 Vasantasenā. 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. Cārudatta 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 Vasantasena.

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. Vasantasena 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 Cārudatta 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 Cārudatta, 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 Cārudatta’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 Cārudatta 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 Cārudatta is still on her lips, and she murmurs in a struggling voice: ‘My homage be to Cārudatta!’

HARSA

The dramas of Harṣa, Viśākhadatta and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa show greater variety and vitality. Three dramas, Priyadarśikā, Ratnāvalī, and Nāgānanda, have come down to us under the name of Śrīharṣa who was identical with King Harṣavardhana, the patron of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa. The Priyadarśikā and the Ratnāvalī
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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 Āranyakā 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 Priyadāsiṅkā 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 Malayavatī 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.

Viśakhadatta

Viśākhadatta’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, Viśākhadatta 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, Bhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭa Narayana's Venīsāhara 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 Bhima'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, Kṣemīśvara and Kṛṣṇamiśra have enjoyed traditional reputations.

Murāri's Anargha-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 Karpūramaṇjari is a satāka and Viddhaśāla-bhaṇjikā is a nāṭikā. The former is written entirely in Prakrit. The theme in both the plays is the traditional amorous intrigue of court life. Kṣemīśvara's Caṇḍa-kausṭika 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 Pravṛtti and Nivṛtti. 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 Viśnu-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 Śāstras, 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 BRĀHMANAS**

The earliest evidence of the employment of prose as a vehicle of sacerdotal and esoteric disputations is found in the *Yajus*, 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 *ṛk*, *śāman*, and *yajus* 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

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* Tatrātha-vatena pāda-pavasthā tā ṛk
  Citiṣu sāmāhyā
  Śeṣe yajuh-kalpāḥ. (*Jai. S.*, II. 1.35-37)
English translation of the Satapatha 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 Satapatha Brāhmaṇa of the Śukla Yajur-Veda and the Ājīviniya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-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 sūtra: ‘purāṇa-proktaḥ brāhmaṇa-kalpeshu’ (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.
5 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.
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The extent of the vast Brâhmaṇa literature can be fairly gathered from the fragments of the lost Brâhmaṇas 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 Brâhmaṇas abound in observations that have direct bearing on the etymological analysis of words of obscure origin and Yāska, in his Nirukta, has profusely drawn upon Brâhmaṇa passages in his suggested derivations. The prose of the Upaniṣads like the Brhadāranyaka and the Chândogya, which constitute the concluding portions of the Brâhmaṇas, 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 Yâjñavalkya and Maitreya 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.6

THE SUTRA LITERATURE

At the close of the Brâhmaṇa period Sanskrit prose assumed a new form in the hands of the authors of the Sutra texts. For the purpose of easily memorizing the contents of the vast Brâhmaṇa 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-Sutras belonging to various Vedic schools and forming the chief source of the later Śruti-samhitas. There is another division of Sutra literature, viz. the Sulva-Sutras, 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-Sutras 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: ‘ardhamātrā-lāghavena putrotsavān manyante vajyakaranāh’ (‘economy of even half a mātrā [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 paribhāṣās, was developed to achieve this.

6 See Keith’s remarks on the style of the prose portions of the Taittirīya Samhitā in particular, and of the Brâhmaṇa literature in general, in HOS, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, pp. clv-clxc. 255
Nirukta or the science of etymology was regarded, like the Kalpa-Sūtras, as an important Vedānga, a knowledge of which was essential to understand the message of the Vedas. Yāśka’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. Yāśka’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 Yāśka and Pāṇini are still in dispute, though from a comparative study of the grammatical data available in Yāśka’s text and Pāṇini’s technique and terminology there seems to be strong evidence in favour of regarding him as prior to Pāṇini. Yāśka’s Nirukta is ‘the oldest existing Veda-exegetic work’ and it led to the writing of detailed commentaries on the Vedic texts at a later period.

DEVELOPMENT OF SANSCRIT PROSE

It is somewhat difficult, with the insufficient data at our disposal, to trace systematically the development of Sanskrit prose in the post-Brahmapic 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’ (daivī 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 language was transformed into a beautiful literary language which was used in the compositions of the great poets of the time.

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 Muller 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 lokabhasā, as prevalent among the cultivated dīشب (wise men), that is employed in these texts. Bhartr̥hari in his Vākyapadīya has characterized the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali as *alabdha-gāmbhīryād uttāna iva saṣṭhavād* (‘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 Pāṇini’s Sūtras, and 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 slokas. 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 Kavyamimāṁsā, 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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*Vākyapadīya*, II. 480.

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totally lacking in the ancient bhāyas 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 ākhyayikā as noticed by later ālankārikas like Dandaṇḍ in Bhamaha as also by the celebrated lexicographer Amarasimha, it seems probable that ākhyānas, too, formed one of the species of prose narrative current in those times. Ānandavardhana, in his vṛtti on Dhvanyāloka (III. 7), notices several divisions of kāvya, composed either in prose or in verse, whether in Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhramśa, like pārṇa-bandha, pari-kathā, khanda-kathā, sakala-kathā, besides the well-known types like sarga-bandha, abhinayārtha, ākhyayikā, 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 Apabhramśas. 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-mimāṃsā.

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 used to be spoken by the

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11 Cf. Pāṇi. VI. 2. 103. Vide Mahābhāṣya and Kāṭhā thereon, where texts like Pūrṇaḥprāmaṇa, Aparākhyā, Pārṇa-gītā, and Aparā-gītā are referred to as examples.

12 Cf. Dhvanyāloka-vṛtti on III. 7, and Abhinavagupta’s Locana thereon. It appears from Abhinava’s gloss that khanda-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 Dandaṇḍ in his Kāvyādārika, I. 38; also Bhamaha’s Kāvyādārika, I. 28. See also L’Inde Classique, Tome II, p. 239 (Par Louis Renou et Fillionat, Imprimerie 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 Banarsidas, 1st Edn., 1972).

13 Cf. Kāvya-mimāṃsā, 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 Apabhramśa. 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-mimāṃsā notes:

“Sanskṛtaṁ sarvaśca bhāṣyam yathādīnārthayānān yathā-ruci yathā-kautukah sāvhitah īdāt ... taduktam: Ekeśvaṁ sanskritokiṣā sa sukaśramanām prahṛṣṭendūparāḥ smīti aprabhramśa-śrutiṁ anvāḥ prabhuḥ bhāṣa-kāvya-dūrāṇām, devāṁbhūḥ kṣip vādhihr bhavoḥi ca tarābhīḥ kāvyaṁ kāvyaḥ kāvyāṁ kāvyaḥ nibhāntaṁ vayoṁ kāvyāṁ dāhīḥ prajñāṁ snāpeṣu tvakah tvakah kāvyaḥ jātaḥ.”
SANSKRIT PROSE

common folk on the other. In fact, Prakrit works of acknowledged merit like the Gāhā-sattasai of Hāla composed in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit and Guṇāḍhya's Brhatkathā, no longer extant, in bhūta-bhāṣā or Paisāci Prakrit, were looked upon with great respect, and Govardhana, the author of the Āryā-saptasai, does not hesitate to rank Guṇāḍhya with Vālmīki and Vyāsa and declares unambiguously that the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Brhatkathā 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 Pāli jātakaś 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 su-l-su the various spoken dialects of England. Vide his HSL (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 11.

15 Cf. 'Srīrāmāyaṇa-bhāraṭa-bhrāḥākāhānām kāvān namāstūrnamāḥ, Trisrotā vā sarātt vahāti yaḥ saracott bhunāt.'—Āryā-saptasaiit. For the numerous encomiums heaped upon Guṇāḍhya and his Brhatkathā 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 over 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 hallmark 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 (lokapakti) was the duty of the Brahmins, and the tales of the Jātakas show young men of all classes, not merely Brahmins 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.17 This practice of narrating tales with a view to teaching some ethical, philosophical or practical lesson is traceable in the Mahāvaipulya-Sūtras of Buddhistic literature and the Avadāna, which can also be linked with their somewhat archaic parallels in the Brāhmans. 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.'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 Sāmkhya aphorisms and their exegesis—the Sāmkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya by Vījñāna Bhiksu. Not only Brāhmanical teachers, but also those belonging to other schools like the Jaina, the Bauddha, etc. followed this custom in propagating their doctrines.

The earliest collection of fables known to us is Guṇāḍhyā’s Byhatkathā which was composed in Paisāci, a very low form of Prakrit, as can be gathered from Daṇḍin’s reference to it as bhūta-bhāṣā, though it did not lose any of its importance on that score. The original is presumed to have been written in prose.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 Kāthā-sarit-sāgara and the other the Byhat-kathā-mañjari by Kṣemendra. The Nepalese version, known as the Byhat-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 Vasideva-hinḍī. Sanghadāsa’s lately recovered version in archaic Māhārāṣṭrī has been assigned to a period earlier than the sixth century A.D. The Byhatkathā 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 Pañcatantra, though the lyrical and epic elements noticeable in the former are conspicuous by their absence in the latter.

The Pañcatantra explains the principles of polity as laid down in Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra and allied works, through popular tales and fables, for the plea-

17 See Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, p. 368.
18 Keith, op. cit., p. 242.
19 Renou et Filliozat, op. cit., p. 240.
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 kāśya style, so much in vogue in later prose texts, such as the use of long compounds, double entendres (ślesa), 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 Kautilya, the arch-diplomat as traditionally conceived ('Kautilyaḥ kūṭilamataḥ').

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 ākhya-śāstra) were composed in Sanskrit prose during the centuries following, mostly inspired by the Bhārat-kathā and Tantrākhyāyikā or Pañcatantra, of which the Vetāla-pañcaviṃśatikā, the Śīṁhāsaṇa-dvātriniśṭikā (also called Vikrama-carita), the Mādhavānala-kāśmandalā-kathā, having Prince Vikramāditya as the hero, the Śuka-saptati, of unknown date and authorship, the Kathārṇava of Śivadāsa, the Puruṣāparikṣā of Vidyāpati, the well-known Maithili poet, and the Bhūja-prabandha of Ballāla (or Vallabha), deserve particular mention, besides the two Jaina collections, the Prabandha-cintāmaṇi and the Prabandha-kośa.

**REFINED PROSE NARRATIVES**

Alongside the popular specimens of kathā and ākhya-śāstra 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, Bāravī, 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: *gādyāṁ kaviṁ nikaśāṁ vadantu* (‘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 kāvya, 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 Sūtra’s *Jāṭakamālā*, the diction of which is highly praised by Dhrāmkṛti in a verse attributed to him by Tārānātha. Bāṇa, in one of the introductory verses to his *Harṣacarita*, speaks very highly of the prose of Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra, its diction being right ‘royal’. 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 *Vāsavadatū*, Bāṇa’s *Kālamārī* and *Harṣacarita*, and Daṇḍin’s *Dāsyakumāra-carita*, to name only the chief representatives of this class. The style, too, gradually became varied, sometimes abounding in long...
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.\textsuperscript{22} Artifices like \textit{double entendre}, poetic fallacy (\textit{utprekṣā}), pompous
syllables (\textit{aṅkṣara-ḍambhara}) were freely made use of by poets all over the vast
sub-continent. And, in Bāna’s prose all these devices are artistically and judi-
ciously utilized, harmonizing with the theme, the context, the sentiment, and the
speaker.\textsuperscript{23} In this way the difference between prose \textit{ākhyāyikās} and \textit{kathās} on the
one hand and ornate high-flown metrical compositions of acknowledged poetic
worth like the \textit{mahākāvya}s, the \textit{khaṇḍa-kāvya}s, and the various species of \textit{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 \textit{kāvya}s were considered full-fledged
poets, fit to be mentioned in the same breath with eminent \textit{mahākāvī}s like
Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, etc.

Originally there was a clear-cut distinction between the two types of prose
narrative, viz. \textit{kathā} and \textit{ākhyāyikā}, from the point of view of theme as well as
of form. The \textit{kathā} had an imaginary plot, whereas the \textit{ākhyāyikā} was based
upon some historical anecdote. The prose of \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{gadya-kāvya} (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 \textit{gadya-kāvyā}s 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

\textsuperscript{22} Cf. ‘Cānakam alpasamāsām dirghastamāsām utkalikāpyayam, Saṃśarabhitam viśiddhām viśuddhāgūṇītān
\textit{vṛttagandhi}.’ Vāmana, too, mentions three varieties of \textit{gadya}—viz. \textit{vṛttagandhi}, \textit{cūma}, and \textit{utkalikāpyay}\n in his \textit{Kāvyāsenaḥkāra-Sūtra}, I. 3.22-25 and illustrates them in his \textit{vṛtā} thereon. Viśvanātha, in his \textit{Śāhita-
darpana}, VI. 330-32\textsuperscript{2}, considers four varieties of prose instead of three, adding \textit{muktaka}, which is defined
as ‘\textit{vṛttagandhajñita}’ and marked by a complete absence of compounds.

\textsuperscript{23} See \textit{Harsacarita}, I. 8-9. V.S. Agarwal thinks that in earlier prose narratives like \textit{Laśitaśīrīra, jātaka-
mallā}, etc. the emphasis was on realistic description of nature and man (\textit{svabhāvīkā or jāti}), which
gradually came to be looked down upon and gave way to ornate prose embellished with various poetic
devices like \textit{vakraḥ} and \textit{jāla}, as it appears to have been hinted at by Bāna in the couplet:

\textit{Santi ivana imsamlhya jatibhajo ghe grhe,
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.

Thus the later kathās and ākhyāyikās could be easily regarded as mere prose counterparts of classical court-epics or mahākavyas, the difference lying in the medium and not in theme. Such works were obviously meant for the élite who had access to the kavya-gōṣṭhīs—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.

26 Kārṣṇalakāra, V. 4: Na sa śabdā na tad vācyat na sa nityo na sa kalā, jñyate yanna kāvyāngama abhāvah mahān kavay.

The concluding remarks of Professor Cowell in his preface to the English translation of Bāna's 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 Libanius) '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 sympathise with the men and women of his own time; like Apollonius Rhodius he was a poet as well as a grammarian.'—The Harṣacarita of Bāna, 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 Taśastilaka-campū the author Somadeva declares with pride:

'Uktāyāḥ kavita-kantāḥ suktaṃś evasarocitāḥ
Tuktaśilā tāsvadāśtmāta tasa yaśātrie kauvukam.'—Taśastilaka, I. 15.

26 Goṣṭhī 'has been explained by the commentator Śankara as: 'Samānāvadhya-orita-buddhi-vyavatām amūrijāraśīrupa evānāvadha goṣṭhī.' Goṣṭhī might, according to Vārāhīyana, be either good (loka-citānāvartita) or bad (loka-citānāvartitaṃ kāvatā goṣṭhī). Various types of goṣṭhī are noticed in Jinasena's Mahāpurāṇa, XIV. 190-92, viz. pād-goṣṭhī, kāvyā, jāloṇa, gītā, nṛtya, vāka, vāhā, etc. Bāṇa refers to vāra-goṣṭhī as well. In such goṣṭhī various literary competitions, recitals of ākhyāyikās, ākhyāyikās, tilāmiss, parān̄a, and discussions on the important philosophical and learned topics used to be held as can be easily gathered from the frequent references to such assemblies in Bāṇa's works. Vīḍa V. S. Agarwal, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

26 Speaking of the literary merit of Subandhu's Vāsavadatā, 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 Vāsavadatā 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 save in Sanskrit, and the alliterations have a melting 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
Subandhu’s Vasavadatta, Bana’s Kādambari and Harṣacarita, 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 ēkhyāyikā type of composition though poetic fancy and mastery of expression are equally noticeable in all of them. The original trait of an ēkhyāyikā, 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. utkālikā-prāya, ēṃaka and vṛttagandhi, according to the degree of preponderance of compounds, the great prose writers mostly preferred the utkālikā-prāya variety of prose, abounding in long compounds (dirgha-samāsā saṅghātana) and marked by the quality called ojas (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 Bāna’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 ēkhyāyikā and the milieu in which they flourished. Bāna’s Kādambari, a kathā, or his Harṣacarita, an ēkhyāyikā, should not be viewed as being on the same level with the Brhat-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 Bāna always revelled in utkālikā-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.'—Vasavadatta (a Sanskrit romance) by Subandhu, translated with an Introduction and Notes by Louis H. Gray, Columbia University Press, Introduction, pp. 26-27.

27 Tat kathākhyayiketyekdā jātih saṃbhava dyakakīla, ativartabhanivamanta leṣād oṣhyaṇaṣajeyah. —Kāvyadarsa, I. 28. Cf. 'The great merit of the Harṣacarita consists in the fact that it is a very early attempt at an historical romance. Bāna’s other work, the Kādambari, and Subandhu’s Vasavadatta 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 pātraṇa 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 ēkhyāyikā as a kāvya form may be traced to the Mahāprārthikānā-Suttanta 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 ēkhyāyikā, 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 físita and dealing with characters of high rank, and the latter being sīkāya-āsāt and having characters belonging to the middle and lower strata of society.

28 Vide Dhvanidhāka, III. 8 and vṛtti thereon; also III. 9.

29 Cf. 'Bāna’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.

30 Cf. Mehaadāta : 'prāpyavaṃstā udayanakathā-kvādgrāmavarṣādāhī.'—v. 30 (K. B. Pathak’s Edn.)
prāya prose. His use of cūrṇaka or simple prose is picturesque, lively, and calculated to evoke the desired emotion—be it pathos, wonder, love, awe or anger. Bāna 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, Dhanapāla’s Tilaka-maṇḍari (c. tenth century A.D.), Sodgāla’s Udayasunadari-kathā, a tale in eight ucchvasas, Oḍayadeva Vāḍībhāsinīha’s Gadya-cintāmani in eleven lambhas, Vāmana’s Vemabhūpāla-cariya, a life of his royal patron who ruled during the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. at Koṇḍavīdu, and Ahibala Nṛsīnha’s Abhinava-Kādambari (close of the eighteenth century A.D.), though inspired by Bāna’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.

CAMPŪ

Besides kathā and ākhyāyikā, another species of śravya-kāvyā in Sanskrit has been noticed by Daṇḍin in his Kāvyādāsa, viz. campū, which is a mixture of prose and verse in almost equal measure, and has therefore been regarded as a specimen of mīśra-kāvyā. This technique of mingling prose and verse is in evidence in the Brāhmaṇas and later in the Purāṇas as well. But the element of poetry and the artistic excellence of the classical age are not discernible in these early specimens.

Ārya Śūra’s Jātakamāla can be regarded as the earliest specimen, as yet available, of this genre. There are thirty-four jātaka tales narrated in this collection in prose and verse mixed almost in equal proportions, and the artistic finesse of Ārya Śūra’s prose and his skilful employment of elaborate metrical forms are beyond dispute. His command of Sanskrit vocabulary is striking and

81 Vāmana openly declares that his attempt is to show that good prose-writing is possible even after the great Bāthabhatta:

Bāna-kavīnaṁ dנתe kāṁ saparam gleyṣa-sarvamāṇiṣu
Iti jagah vīdhanaṁjata nātmakolo viṣṇumāṁdhanī mārsī
d. It has been justly said by an unknown critic with reference to Bāna’s uniqueness as a poet in prose in the following verse—

Śrīva kavac ca bāhurāmhaṁ saha kāขนาด kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāṁ kāmó

82 Cf. ‘The Jātakamāla (Garland of Births) is a campū narrative with roughly equal amounts of prose and verse, regarding thirty-four of the most popular Jātaka stories. The critic Ratnarājīhaṇa 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 Dharmakirti, as noticed by Taranatha. In an anonymous verse cited by Vidyākara, in his celebrated anthology *Subhāṣita-ratnakosa*, Śūra is lauded for the purity of his diction (*vṛuddhoktiḥ śūraḥ*). 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.\(^3\)

Earlier specimens of *campū* are not available at present, and it is difficult to determine the actual works which called forth Dandin’s definition, just referred to.\(^4\) From the tenth century A.D. onwards, *campūs* became very common, particularly in South India,\(^5\) 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 śānas, 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.\(^6\) Bhoja’s *Rāmdyaṇa-campū* also is a notable *campū* work. Originally it ran up to the *Kīśkindhā-kāṇḍa*, but was later supplemented by the addition of the sixth *kāṇḍa*, the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*, by Laksmanakavi. The problem of authorship of this important *campū* is still disputed as there is doubt as to whether Bhoja is the famous king of Dhārā 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 *Ānandakanda-campū* of Mitra Miśra deserve special notice. The *Vīsavoṇḍārṣa-campū* of Veṅkaṭaṅdhamvarin (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

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\(^3\) 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 Jātakamālā might be Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit.

\(^4\) In the Pali *Kundāla Jāṭaka* (*Jāṭaka*, V. 416-56) alternance of prose and verse is, however, noticeable and according to Warder ‘the work is a true *campū-lāhya* in form. Probably this *campū* was designed as a bitter response to the actions of Aśoka’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.

\(^5\) The origin of the *campūs*, according to a majority of scholars, is to be traced in South India. Cf. ‘On a prétendre une origine méridionale pour le genre littéraire tout enrier.’—Renou et Filliozat, *op. cit.*, p 259.

\(^6\) 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 Svāhāsudhīkara-campū of Nārāyaṇa (seventeenth century) and Śaṅkara’s Śaṅkaracetovijaya-campū, in honour of the famous Chait Singh of Banaras, deserves 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 Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava teachers also made important contributions in this field, of which the Gopała-campū of Jīva Gosvāmin and the Ānanda-vrndāvana-campū of Kavi Karṇapūra are noteworthy both from literary and theological stand-points.

EPÍGRAPHES AND EDICTS

The Sanskrit prose style, the flowering of which we notice in the compositions of Bāna, Subandhu and Daṇḍin, as also in the campūs, had also greatly influenced the style of the important epigraphs and edicts. In the Śāsanādhiyāra (Arthadāstra, II. 10), Kauṭilya lays down the six merits of a royal decree of which mādhurya, audārya, and sāpaṭṭava are conspicuous. But in most of the epigraphs composed in Sanskrit prose, the element of mādhurya is not very prominent. Instead we have ojas, which is the characteristic feature of the gauḍiya style, abounding in long compounds and avoiding mellifluous and soft sounds, that is so much in favour with most of the eminent prosateurs. In Hārīṇa’s Samudragupta-praJasti and even earlier in Rudradāman’s Gīmara inscription (second half of the second century A.D.) evidence of this artistic prose style is clearly visible. The authors of such inscriptions were adepts in the full-fledged kāya style as elaborated by ancient writers on poetics, and consciously made use of all the artistic devices, viz. guṇas and alaṅkāras, some of which have been mentioned by name in the Gīmara inscription. Thus, the beginning of the kāya style...

87 Cf. ‘Arthakramāḥ sambandhakā pariṣṭaṁ mādhuryam audārīyaṁ sāpaṭṭavam ti lokhasamāpaṁ.’—A.S., II. 10.6. Kauṭilya defines the last three guṇas as:

‘Sukhaṃpaita-cāravarta-labdhādhiṇaṁ mādhuryam
Agrāndabaddhādhiṇaṁ audāryam
Pratīdabaddhādhiṇaṁ sāpaṭṭavam.’—Loc. cit., II. 10.10-12.

88 In the early Sanskrit inscriptions of South India, especially those of Vākṣṭaka, Kadamba, and Vaiṣṇavapūraṇa, the prose, though ornate, is less elaborate and much simpler in comparison with the inscriptions of North India. See Renou, Histoire de la Lingu Sanskrite, p. 98 (Paris, 1956). Tyrā Śūra’s prose is one of the earliest specimens of Vaidarbya style, as Śūra was a southerner (vaidarbya), according to Bhāmaṇī, an old critic and commentator of Daṇḍin’s Gīmara-lakṣaṇa. Besides, Asmaka-vālka, a specimen of Vaidarbya-marga, according to Bhāmaṇa (Kāyāṅkular, I. 33), had as its theme the dynasty of Asmaka, belonging to the south of Vidarbha, and most probably was composed in that locality. Thus Vākṣṭaka might have been the region where the vaidarbya rītī 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 gauḍi rītī in Sanskrit inscriptions Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya’s informative article entitled The Gauḍi Rīti in Theory and Practice in IHQ, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 388 ff., may be consulted with profit.
Sanskrit prose

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 Nāṭyā-sāstra 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 karuṇa (pathos) are the principal emotions. The prose style of earlier dramatists like Bhāṣa 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, Bhāṭṭanārāyaṇa, Kṣemāśvara, 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, Bhāṭṭanārāyaṇa, 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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29 Cf. Ānandavardhana's śrīti on Dhanayālaka, III. 6.
30 Consult Dr S. K. De's HSL, pp. 275-76, 283 ff., on the prose style—both Sanskrit and Prakrit, of Bhāṭṭanārāyaṇa and Bhavabhūti.
31 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 Brahmāsūḍdhī, Vācaspāti Miśra’s incomparable prose in his masterly commentaries like Bhāmati, Tattheadvāṣadī, Śāṅkhyavatikā-tātparyatikā, Jayanta’s graceful, dignified, and almost poetical exposition of the dry topics of logic and metaphysics in the Nyāyamañjarī, Śrīharṣa’s terse and polemic prose style as evidenced in his Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khaḍya, Udayana’s masterly idiom and succinct expressions full of suggestiveness, Anandavardhana’s measured and dignified exposition of the theory of suggestion in his Dhvanyāloka, and Abhinavagupta’s incomparable prose composition in Sanskrit. According to Rājaśekhara, śāstra and kavya 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 śāstrarakaras, 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 Avadānaśatakā, the Divyavadāna, 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 of the prose style of Vyāsa’s bhāya on Patañjali’s Yogasūtras as also Vācaspāti Miśra’s gloss thereon, see Woods, The Yoga System of Patañjali, Preface, p. ix. (HOS, Vol. XVII). Similarly, for a critical appraisal of Dharmakīrti’s prose style, see Raniero Gnoli, The Pramāṇa-vārttikā of Dharmakīrti, Ch. I (Text with Critical Notes), Serie Orientali, Roma, XXIII, Introduction, pp. xxxv-xxxvi; also Renou, HLS, p. 210. See also Winternitz’s HLS, Vol. II, p. 364, on the style of Vasubandhu, Candrakīrti, Śrīnārāyaṇa, and other Buddhist thinkers.

Of Kātyāyaṇa-mimāṃsā, V: ‘Upakāryopakārikābhāṣā tu mihāḥ śāstra-kāvyākavyavy anumanyayānahe, yasocāstra-samskrātra kāvyam anuśāṣaḥ śāstravākṣpravanatā tu nigrhṇāti, Kātyāyaṇa-kāraṇa śāstravākṣprakaraṇam-rupaddhi kāvyākṣpravanatā tu virupaddhi.’
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 'Tarrāṇastyaravāṇaḥ' because of their peculiar pronunciation of the expression yadāv-nas-tad-vā nāḥ based upon a defective euphonic combination. But such solecisms were never tolerated in ritual acts proper.46

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, specially those set down by the Pāṇiniains, 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 summarises broadly the peculiar traits of this hybrid dialect in one of his lectures: 'Let me summarise 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 Pāli, 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. Thus 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 wide-spread 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.

46 Cf. Mahābhāṣya, Āmaka 1 (Pañpadā):

'Evaṁ hi śrūyate—Tarrāṇastyaravadā namā purpo bhavah praṇya-kavipakṣamānaḥ parāparyasā viditaśhād

tayā adhityā-yāhātāthāādhyā, te tvairahāvamo yadānastaheru na vi praṇyktoṣyeva yaratānastava na praṇyāhāte,
yāya puraḥ karmapi nābhabhūte.'
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, Bāna, 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 nīvids 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.16

16See, 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 Brāhmaṇas 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 Brāhmaṇas 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 Upaniṣads 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 PANCATANTRA 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 Dharmashastra, 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 emboxing 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 Mitrabheda, handles efficiently the theme of the separation of friends. The frame-story relates how a wicked jackal brings about the estrangement of the lion Pingalaka from the bull Sañjivaka. Pingalaka 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 Pingalaka, 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 Bhagavad-Gītā the memorable teaching of the Lord never to lament the living or the dead. Finally Pingalaka 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
SANSKRIT AND SANSKRITIC FABLES

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 enboxed within other stories concerns two friends, the sons of merchants. Their names are Honest-wit (Dharmabuddhi) and Evil-wit (Pāpabuddhi), 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, Mitrā-samprāptī, 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 (Citragriva), 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 (Hiranyaka), 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, Kākolūkiya, illustrates the theme of war and peace, using a frame-story about the crows (kākāḥ) and the owls (ulūkāḥ). The king of the owls, Foe-killer (Arimardana), destroys the retinue of the king of the crows, Cloud-
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 (Sthirajīvī), 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-pranāśa, the loss of one's gettings, and this is illustrated by a frame-story about a monkey and a crocodile. 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, however, 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 (Lambakarna). 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 persuaded 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-kāraka, is hasty or ill-considered action. The frame-story opens with the young merchant Maṇḍhūḍra 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 re-
minds 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 bar-
er 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 Nārāyaṇa, whose patron was King Dhavalacandra (date not known),
it is an independent work intended for instruction in Sanskrit. At the outset,
however, Nārāyaṇa 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 Kāmandakiya
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 edify-
ing 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 Nārāyaṇa 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. Viravara 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 Viravara to find out what it was. Viravara 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 Saktidhara. But Śūdraka had followed Viravara, 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 Šaktidhara back to life. The tale ends happily with the coronation of Viravara as the king of the Karnāṭaka region. Thus Viravara 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 Viravara 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 *Brhatkatha*, ‘The Great Story’,
written by Gunãdhya; it epitomizes the ‘popular tale’. Bãna and Subandhu
both refer to its importance; and Dãndin records that Paisãci 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 *Brhatkatha* were written in Kashmir: the *Byhart-
kathã-mahãjari* written by Kãsemendra; and the *Kathã-sarit-sãgara* written by
Somadeva. Both were written in about 1050. The adaptation written in Nepal
is the *Byhat-kathã-sloka-saãgraãha* written by Budhasvãmin, whose date is assigned
by tradition to the eighth or the ninth century.

Gunãdhya 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 *Rãmãyãna* he obtains the motif of a husband searching for a wife cruelly
stolen from him soon after marriage. Gunãdhya describes the adventures of
Naravãhanadatta, the son of Udayana. He is a man of pleasure and of many
loves. His chief love is Madanamãncukã whom he discovers after she has been
carried off by force by Mãnãsavega. He makes her his bride and the land of the
Vidyãdharaãs his empire. In the course of this achievement he visits many
countries and marries a number of women. In the two Kashmir works the narra-
tive 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 consider-
able 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-
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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 naughty women belong to the original Brhatkatha 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 Vetala-paṇcamāssati, a number of versions of which are available. Of these, the most popular is the recension by Śivadāsa, which is in prose interspersed with verse. Another version is the prose recast by Kṣemendra; 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 Vikramādiṭya. 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 vetala, a ghost, and he agrees to give up the body only if the king can answer certain questions he will put to him. The Vetala 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, Vikramāditya 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 unwisely 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.
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 Purānas (ancient tales), church history and biographies in the Buddhist works, and the patañjalas (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), Kalhaṇa (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 vahālas (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 nārāsamsis (songs in praise of heroes), which are 'the precursors of epic poetry' and 'forerunners of the Indian historical kāvya' (poetical class of literature); and the itihāsas (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'.

Ākhyāna (tale), itihāsa, 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, itihāsa, and purāṇa in different places, while different kinds of narratives were styled ākhyānas, itihāsas, and purāṇas. The Mahābhārata calls itself, besides the best of itihāsas, 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 Kautilya’s time (fourth century B.C.), itiḥāsa occupied an important position and comprehended six branches which comprised purāṇa (in its earlier form dealing with cosmogony, cosmology, and divine pedigree), itiḥāṭa (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 Kautilya’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 pañcaśāstra (having five characteristics): sarga (original creation), pratisarga (dissolution and recreation), vaṁśa (divine genealogies), manvantara (ages of Manu), and vaṁśānucarita (genealogies of kings). The Purāṇas themselves state that the ancient sage, Vyāsā, compiled a Purāṇa Sanhitā from the material supplied by ākhyānas, upākhyānas (episodes), gāthās, and kalpajoktis (descriptions of the aeons or cycles) and kalpaśuddhis (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 Purānas were regarded in those days, was deemed sacrilegious. Purānic genealogies have their counterparts in later days in the vaṁśavālīs (genealogies) of Nepal, the Jaina prabandhas (collections of historical narratives) of Gujarat, and the buaṁjīs (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 Bāna’s Haṁśacarita. Apart from the historical material found in the Vedic texts, the Mahābhārata, and the Purānas, some kind of historical information can be found in literary works of a subsequent period—the so-called historical kāvyas. But the concept of kāyā 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 Purānas 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 drags 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.

PRAṆASTIS

The beginnings of the historical kāvyas can be traced, as we have seen, to the

1 Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World (London, 1906), I, p. 78.
gāthās and nāḍāśāṃśīs, and in the prāśastis (eulogies) we get the earliest specimens of them. The main aim of the author or poet in composing the historical kāvya 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.

Prāśastis, 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 prāśastis, 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: caritas 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 Harsacarita: Chronologically after the prāśastis comes the Harsacarita, a prose romance by Bāṇa who lived in the seventh century. Though called a mahākāvya (epic) in the colophon, the Harsacarita 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, Sthanbīvara, and an account of his predecessors, the Harsacarita describes the marriage of Harṣa’s sister Rājyasrī with Grahavarman who belonged to the Maukharī dynasty, and goes on to narrate the death of Harṣa’s father, Prabhakaravardhana, the self-immolation of Harṣa’s mother, the sudden murder of Grahavarman, the imprisonment of Rājyasrī, the murder of Harṣa’s brother, Rājyavardhana, Harṣa’s expedition in search of his sister, the escape of Rājyasrī, and her rescue from the funeral pyre by a Buddhist monk. The story ends abruptly with the meeting of Harṣa and Rājyasrī.

Though intended to be a romantic story rather than sober history, the Harsacarita 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 Gaudavaho: Vākpatīrāja, who describes himself as a pupil of Bhavabhūti, probably composed the Gaudavaho in A.D. 725, before the defeat of his patron Yaśovarman at the hands of Lalitaditya Muktāpiṭa of Kashmir. The Gaudavaho, 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 Yasovarman’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 Yasovarman, the patron of Vākpati and Bhavabhūti, as being defeated by Lalitāditya.

The Bhuvanābhyudaya: According to Kalhana, the Bhuvanābhyudaya by Śaṅkuka (ninth century) described the battle between Manma and Utpala of Kashmir, 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. Bhandarkar identifies Halāyudha with the author of the Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā.

The Navasāhasāṅka-carita: Padmagupta or Parimala, the court poet of Sindhurāja Navāsāhasāṅka of Mālava, wrote the Navasāhasāṅka-carita in A.D. 1050. Dealing, as it does, with the marriage of Sindhurāja with the Nāga princess Śaśiprabhā, it has not much value as history, though it stands fairly high as a kāvya.

The Vikramāṅkadeva-carita: Bilhaṇa (eleventh century), the Kashmiri, who became the vidyāpati (director of education) of Cālukya Vikramādiṭya Tribhuvanamalla, 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 Tailapa (tenth century), of the restored dynasty, whose victory is recorded, but not his defeat by the king of Mālava. The exploits of Vikramādiṭya’s father are followed by his conquests before accession, which are described with conventional embellishments. Then follow the marriage of Vikramādiṭya with a Cola princess, his campaigns in the south, and his accession after supplanting his elder brother Somesvara II. Then are narrated the defeat and capture of his younger brother Jayasimha, and his several wars with the Colas.

The Vikramāṅkadeva-carita deals, in the traditional kāvya 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 Vikramādiṭya’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 Karnaśundari: During his stay at the court of King Karnaśudeva

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8 Rājasarangini, IV. 144.
9 Ibid., IV. 704-5.

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Trailokyamalla of Anahilavāda, Bilhaṇa wrote the semi-historical drama *Karaṇasundari*, dealing with the marriage of his patron with Mayanālaladevi. Though of little historical importance, the drama may have been based on a contemporary incident.

The *Rājatarāṅgini*: Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgini* (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 *Rājatarāṅgini* deals in the first three chapters with fifty-two fabulous kings of whom all record had been lost. The next two chapters cover the Kārkoṭa (or Nāga) and Utpala dynasties. Though the Kārkoṭa dynasty has been assigned a mythical origin, Kalhaṇa'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, Kalhaṇa may be said to have been well equipped for his task. He was well versed in mahākāvyas and historical kāvyas, works on astrology, polity, administration, law, poetics, geography, economics, erotics, and also the epics and legendary lore. He utilized for his *Rājatarāṅgini* not less than eleven historical chronicles besides the still extant *Nila-mata Purāṇa*. Of the authors mentioned, we know only Kṣemendra (eleventh century) and Helārāja who are stated to have been the authors of the *Nṛpavali* and the *Pārthivavali* respectively, though these works are not available to us. Besides these, Kalhaṇa drew upon not only literary texts, living traditions, and folklore, but also coins, inscriptions, and records of land grants, wherever available. The *Rājatarāṅgini* supplies valuable data for reconstructing the cultural life of Kashmir through the ages.

Kalhaṇa believed in the omnipotence of fate ruling historical events, and in the operation of supernatural forces in shaping them. This belief Kalhaṇa shares with many who preceded and followed him, and, by modern standards of historiography, it constitutes a defect. Also, it is found that Kalhaṇa 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 Purāṇas, and in the traditional lore.

Continuations of the *Rājatarāṅgini*: Jonarāja, Śrīvara, and Prāyja Bhaṭṭa continued Kalhaṇa's work. Jonarāja (fifteenth century), in his *Dvitiyā Rājatarāṅgini*, 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 Śrīvara started his *Tītṛyā Rājatarāṅgini* from the period where Jonarāja left it and completed it in four chapters covering the period, 1459 to 1486. Prāyja Bhaṭṭa
SANSKRIT HISTORIES AND CHRONICLES

(sixteenth century) and his pupil Śuka, in their Rājāvalī-patāka, carry the account up to 1586 when Kashmir was annexed by Akbar.

The Rāmacarita: Sandhyākara Nandin’s Rāmacarita (eleventh-twelfth centuries) is a śleṣa-kavya (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-viśaya: Probably a product of Kashmir, the Prthvirāja-viśaya (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 Cāhamāna 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 Cāhamānas of Sākambhari.

The Hammīrā-mahākavya: Another work dealing with the Cāhamānas is the Hammīrā-mahākavya by Nayacandra Sūri, the spiritual grandson of Jayasimha Sūri. In fourteen cantos the work describes the heroic deeds of Hammīra, the last ruler of the Cāhamāna dynasty at Raṇastambhapura (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 doyāstra-kāvya (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 Doyāstra-kāvya simultaneously gives an account
of the Cālukyas from Mūlarāja to Kumārapāla and illustrates the rules of the author's grammar, the *Siddha-hai̇ma-vyākaraṇa*. The first seven cantos of the Prakrit portion of the *Dvayāsraya-kāvya* illustrate the first seven chapters of the *Siddha-hai̇ma-vyākaraṇa*, 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 Gujarat 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*: Jinamandana'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 Yaśaścandra (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 Gujarat.

The *Moharaja-parajaya*: Written in the thirteenth century, Yaśahpāla's *Moharaja-parajaya* is an allegorical drama in five acts. Mixing allegory with reality, it describes Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism and his marriage with Princess Kṛpāsundari, Hemacandra acting as the priest.

The *Kirtikaumudv.:* This work by Someśvara (1179-1262) gives an account of the Vāghelā dynasty of Gujarat. The author's ancestors were *parahitas* (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 *Surathotsava*: Another work by Someśvara, the *Surathotsava* 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 Gujarat.

The *Sukṛta-saṅkṛitana*: Arisimha (thirteenth century) wrote the *Sukṛta-saṅ-

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*A. K. Majumdar, Chaulukyas of Gujarat (Bombay, 1956), p. 413.*
kirtana which speaks of the pilgrimages and religious and charitable activities of Vastupāla. It gives the genealogy of the Cāpotaka 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, Tejaḥpāla.

The Vasanta-vilāsa: Bālacandra Sūrī’s Vasanta-vilāsa, written soon after Vastupāla’s death (1242) for the delectation of his son Jāitraśimha, treats of the same subject.

The Sukṛta-kīrti-kalolini: Another eulogy of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, composed on the occasion of their pilgrimage to Śatrūjāya, is Udāya-prabha Sūrī’s Sukṛta-kīrti-kalolini. It is a praṇāsti of the sukṛtas (pious deeds) and kīrti (glory) of these heroes, and contains, besides the genealogy of Vastupāla, the genealogy and a eulogy of the Cāpotaka family and the Cālukyas.

The Vastupāla-carita: Jinaḥarsa 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-maduddana: Jayasimha Sūrī wrote the Hammira-maduddana, a drama in five acts, to describe the alliances of Viḍadhavala, the greatness of Vastupāla as a politician, and the defeat of a Muslim prince.

The Prabhavaka-carita: Prabhacandra’s Prabhavaka-carita is a continuation of Hemacandra’s Trisasti-jalakapurusa-carita and Pariśīṣṭa-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-cintāmani: Of the five prakāśas (sections) of the Prabandha-cintāmani by Merutuṅga (fourteenth century), the first gives the legends of Vikramāditya and Sātavāhana and accounts of the Cālukya kings of Anahilavāḍa and of Paramāra Muṇija 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 Śilāḍitya, Lākṣmaṇa Sena, Jayacandra, Umāpati, and Bhaṭṛhari. Curiously enough, Merutuṅga writes nothing about the contemporary Vāghelās, of whom he had personal knowledge, except to say that Viḍadhavala came after Bhima II. Merutuṅga 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-kosa: Written in Delhi in 1348, Rājaśekhara Sūrī’s Prabandha-kosa is a collection of twenty-four stories. Ten of the stories refer to religious
teachers; four refer to the poets Śrīhāra, Harihara, Amaraśandra, and
Dīgambara Madanakṛiti; seven refer to kings, and three to laymen in the royal
service.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

The Jagadū-carita: Sarvananda’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 Gujarāt 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-guna-ratnakara: Somacaritragaṇi’s Guru-guna-ratnakara mentions the
Prāgvāṭa dynasty and also describes the life of Laksmināraṇaṇi of Tapāgaccha.
It is a work of considerable importance for the history of Gujarāt.

The Rāṣṭraūḍha-vanśa: Written in the sixteenth century, Rudra’s Rāṣṭraūḍha-
vanśa gives the story of the Bagulas of Mayūragiri from Rāṣṭraūḍha, the founder
of the dynasty, to Nārāyaṇa Sāhā, the patron of the poet.

The Mathurā-vijaya: Also known as the Virakampa-carita, the Mathurā-
vijaya is by Gaṅgādevi (fourteenth century), queen of Kampana or Kamparaṇa.
In it she narrates her husband’s conquest of Mathurā, which he took from the
Muslim Sultan.

The Varadāṁbikā-parinaya: Tirumalāṁba’s Varadāṁbikā-parinaya (sixteenth
century) is a campū. It tells of the love of Varadāṁbikā for Acyutarāya and
of their marriage.

The Raghunāṭhāḥhyudaya: Rāmahadrāṁbā was a mistress of Raghunāṭha
Nāyaka of Tanjore. Her Raghunāṭhāḥhyudaya 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 *Alaṅkāra-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 *Alaṅkāra-śāstra*. Great importance was attached to *alāṅkāra* or figure of speech in the early days of Sanskrit poetics. When *rasa-dhvani* came to be looked upon as the soul of poetry, *alāṅkāra* 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 *Alaṅkāra-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, *Alaṅkāra* has held a unique position in the domain of poetics from the earliest times when the *alaṅkārikas* were not aware of a soul of poetry till the days of the neo-alaṅkārikas. These latter ranked *dhvani-kāvyā*, in which the suggested sense is predominant, as higher than *gunabhūta-vyanāga*, 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 *dhvani* theory were constrained to admit that a few figures of speech have the characteristics of *dhvani-kāvyā*, 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 *Alaṅkāra-śāstra*. In this connection, it may be pointed out that quite a number of earlier works on poetics have been called *Kāvyāalaṅkāra*.
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), rāpaka (metaphor), atīsya�ti (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 kāvyā, gāthā, 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 ākhyāyikā 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 Pāṇinian 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 Bhamaha, Ānandavardhana, 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 sāsanas, 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 Chāṇḍogya Upaniṣad or in the treatises of Āpastamba and Yājñavalkya or
in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. There are references, however, in the Lalitavistara, the 
Sukraniti, and some old Pali texts, which include or imply poetics and in some 
places dramaturgy too as among the several sciences for cultivation. Epi-
graphical 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 mahākāvyā in the technical 
sense of the word, containing the use of some important figures of speech like 
upamā, rūpaka, utpreksā (poetical fancy), aprastuta-praśānā (indirect descrip-
tion), 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 Kātya-mimāṃsā 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 (adhikaraṇas) 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, Kucu-
māra, 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 
esential characteristics of poetry. Thus from time to time, alaṅkāra, 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 Pāṇini to Kṛṣṭva and Śilālin who were writers on dramaturgy. Pāṇini refers also to a Naṭa-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 Kohala 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-bhāratī. There were also many other commentators, e.g. Mārguptācārya, Udbhata, Lollaṭa, Śāṅkuka, Bhaṭṭanāyaka, Harṣa, Kīrtidhara, etc. whose actual treatises are unfortunately lost to us.

Bhāmaha’s Kāvyālaṅkāra 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 Alankāra 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 Gaudi styles of composition; the three guṇas, viz. mādhurya, prasāda (clarity), and ojas (force); dosas 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. Udbhata had written a commentary on Bhāmaha’s Kāvyālaṅkāra, which is now lost.

Daṇḍin 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 Daṇḍin is still an unsettled controversy. The majority of scholars, however, regard Bhāmaha to be prior to Daṇḍin who is generally assigned to the seventh century A.D. It is supposed that Bhāmaha was a senior contemporary of Daṇḍin who appears to have been greatly influenced by the theories current in his time and specially by the Alankāra school having its first forceful exponent in Bhāmaha. Daṇḍin’s Kāvyādarśa 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-
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position (Vaidarbha and Gauda) and ten gunas pertaining to them have been discussed here. It also deals with thirty-five arthālāṅkāras as well as varieties of śabdālāṅkāras, ten doṣas or faults of composition, and so forth. Dandin is the precursor of the Rīti school which was developed by Vāmana. His most outstanding contribution to poetics is the concept of guna. His definition of poetry puts more emphasis on the word-element than on the sense-element. There are numerous commentaries on the Kāvyādārśa, most of which are comparatively modern except the commentary of Tarunavācaspati 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 Nātya-sāstra. He is also reported to have written a commentary named Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa, a viṇīti 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 Kāvyālāṅkāra-saṅgraha or Sāra-saṅgraha. The Kāvyālāṅkāra-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 alāṅkāras of Bhāmaha and adds some new ones not found in Bhāmaha. Udbhata’s work was commented upon by Pratihārendu-raja, a pupil of Mukula, to whom is attributed the authorship of a grammatico-rhetorical work called Abhidhā-vaivṛtta-mātrkā. Pratihārendu-raja flourished in the middle of the tenth century A.D. He appears to be conversant with the dhvani theory as explained by Anandavardhana, 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 Kāvyālāṅkāra-Sūtra with his own gloss, divided into five chapters and twelve sections, embraces the whole sphere of poetics. Vāmana asserts that rīti (style) is the soul of poetry and that the ten gunas are important in so far as they constitute rīti. 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 Kāvyālāṅkāra-Sūtra. Sahadeva, the earliest known commentator, tells us that Vāmana’s work had gone out of use until it was restored by Mukula Bhaṭṭa. 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
Kāvyālankaṅkāra. 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 Alankāra school. A special importance of his work lies in the rational method he has adopted in classifying the alāṅkāras. 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, Namisādhāru, and Āśādhāra. The commentary of Vallabhadeva is yet to be discovered, and that of Āśādhāra is rare. Namisādhāru’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 Śrīgāra-tālaka. 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 Visvudharmottara, 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, encyclopædic 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 alāṅkāras etc. in the Agni Purāṇa is more comprehensive and scientific than it is in the Visvudharmottara; 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
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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 laksanā, but also with the power of vyākhyānā 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 Candrikā, written by some ancestor of Abhinavagupta.

Here we may recall the famous Lollaṭa who is supposed to be the earliest interpreter of Bharata’s aphorism on rasa. Lollaṭa flourished in the eighth century A.D. Another interpreter of this rasa theory is Śrī Śaṅkuka who has criticized the views of Lollaṭa. He is believed to have been a junior contemporary of Lollaṭa. 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 Lollaṭa and Śrī Śaṅkuka. It is interesting to note that Bhaṭṭanāyaka has recognized two additional powers of words, viz. the power of bhavakatva and the power of bhōjakatva. 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. bhōjakatva 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 Kāvyamimāṃsā 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 kāvyay as an expression in words possessing guṇas and alāṅkāras.

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 Alāṅkāra school, which is of a definitely earlier origin. Kuntaka's work Vakrokti-jivita profusely quotes Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, and Udbhata. The book is in four chapters. It consists of kāṅkās along with their explanations and illustrations. Later writers have mostly been critical of Kuntaka's theory of poetry.

Dhanañjaya 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. Dhanañjaya'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-caracā and Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa, 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-caracā discusses propriety as essential to sentiment and as the soul of poetry. The Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa 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 Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa 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 rītis (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 Vyūkti-viveka, a work composed in the context of the theory of dhvani as expounded by Abhinavagupta with reference to Ānandavarbhana's Dhwanyāloka. The work is divided into three chapters and contains sagacious discussions on the possibility of including dhvani under inference. Ruyyaka 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 Parikalakara-alankara, and the remaining portion was written by Allaṭa or Alāṭa. The Kavya-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. Bhāmaḥa, Uḍbhata, Rudrata, 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 Alankara-sarasva, 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 Maṇḍka, 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 Kavyaṇusāsana of Hemacandra of the twelfth century a.d. is a compilatory 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: Vāgbhaṭālankāra, Candrāloka, Rasa-maṇījari, Rasa-taraṅgini, and Nātya-darpaṇa. The Vāgbhaṭālankāra, a work in verse, by Vāgbhaṭa I, is divided into five chapters containing two hundred and sixty kārikās. All the usual topics including Alankāra, 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-maṇījari and the Rasa-taraṅgini, written by Bhānudatta, treat of rasa and allied topics. The Nātya-darpaṇa, jointly authored by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, is a work on dramaturgy differing widely from the Nātyaśāstra of Bharata.

During the thirteenth century of the Christian era there came out some other works deserving of notice. They are: (i) Kavyaṇusāsana by Vāgbhaṭa II, (ii) Kavitā-rahasya or Kavya-kāḷpalatā by Arisiṁha and his pupil Amaracandra,
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(iii) *Kana-kalpalata* by Devešvara, (iv) *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-koṣa*, a work on dramaturgy, by Sāgaranandin.

The fourteenth century is specially remarkable on account of three reputed works which came out during this time. The works are: (i) *Ekāvalī* by Vidyādhara belonging to the Dhvani school and commented on by Mallinātha in his *Tatala*; (ii) *Pratāpa-rudra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa* by Vidyānātha, a voluminous treatise containing various information about poetics and dramaturgy; (iii) *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* of Viśvanātha. 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 Mammaṭa.

Rūpa Gosvāmin of the sixteenth century composed a work entitled *Ujjvalanilamanī* where it is asserted that the erotic is only a different name of the devotional. The work had its commentary in the *Locana-rocana* of Jiva Gosvāmin who flourished in the same century. There is a work called *Alankāra-sekhara* by Keśava Miśra who also belonged to the sixteenth century. It is a short treatise on poetics.

*Citra-mimāṃsā* and *Kuvalayananda* are two rhetorical works by the noted Appaya Diksita of the seventeenth century. Jagannātha of the same century is a notable name in Sanskrit poetics. His famous work, the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, an outstanding study in the dialectics of Indian poetics, ranks with *Dhvanyāloka* and *Kāvyaprakāśa*, evincing the author’s superb power of criticism and presentation. The treatise contains *kārikās*, *vṛttis*, and illustrations which are all by the author himself. The book is abruptly cut short in the second chapter. It seems that Jagannātha could not find time to complete it. According to Jagannātha, poetry consists not in *rasa* but in *ramanīyakāsva* (charmingness). Studies in poetics went on unabated even after Jagannātha and the total output during the succeeding centuries is considerable.
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-saṅgīta*, (2) the music of sound-variation or the *varṇa-saṅgīta*, and (3) the music of time-regulated accent or the *tāla-saṅgīta*. 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 *tad*, 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-saṅgīta* 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-urttis in view of this principle, are three, namely, the gāyatī-anusṭubh, the triśṭubh and the jagati. They respectively contain eight, eleven, and twelve letters in each of their lines. The anusṭubh, the triśṭubh, and the jagati have four lines each in their stanzas, while the gāyatī has only three. The gāyatī is evidently the oldest of these and the anusṭubh represents only an attempt to bring the gāyatī to the level of the triśṭubh and the jagati, by having four instead of three lines. Similarly, a jagati line seems to have originated as an extension of the triśṭubh line by a single letter where, however, the monotony of the two long letters at the end of the triśṭubh 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 gāyatī line by a half. This newly invented line could thus be freely mingled with the gāyatī line, while the older triśṭubh 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 gāyatī 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 gāyatī and the jagati. Thus we have the bṛhatī and the satobṛhatī of four lines each and the uṣṇik, the kakubh, and pura-uṣṇik 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 triśṭubh into a jagati line. The penultimate of a jagati line is always short while that of a triśṭubh 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 *tristubh* 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 *gāyatri* 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 Saṁhitā 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: VARNA-VRITTAS**

The three main Vedic metres, namely, the *anustubh*, the *tristubh*, 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 Prātiśākhyaṣ 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-saṅgita*, yet deviating from the Prātiśākhyaṣ 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-saṅgita* 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 utkṛti, 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 vara-sāṅgīta, but they are not mentioned by Bharata or Pingala, whose treatment begins with the gāyatri class and ends with the utkṛti class.

**CHARACTERISTICS OF VARNA-VRTTA METRES**

This metrical music, namely, the vara-sāṅgīta, 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. Pingala is undoubtedly the earliest prosodist who had used this unit and was very probably the originator of it. He calls the eight trikas (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-
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 *ardha-sama-vṛttaḥ* have originated from their Prakrit prototypes. The starting point seems to have been the *vaitāliya* and the *aupa-chandasika*, which in their garb of a *varṇa-vṛttaḥ* are known as the *vijogīṇi* or the *prabodhīṇā* and the *māḷabhārīṇī*, respectively. They are employed for the composition of the main part of the canto by Asvaghōsa as early as the second century A.D. There are also a few *viṣama-vṛttaḥ* among the Sanskrit *varṇa-vṛttaḥ* and the most ancient among them is the *udgataḥ*, similarly employed by Asvaghōsa.¹

**CHARACTERISTICS OF MĀṬRĀ-VṛTTA 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 *tāla* and constructed with identical and recurring *trikās*, are freely adopted by the Prakrit and particularly the Apabhṛṣṭa poets. Among the Sanskrit metres there is one more class called the *māṭrā-vṛttaḥ*. In these there does not appear to be any definite kind of music as the basis, except the negative type of the *varṇa-saṅgīta* where a long letter has to be avoided at the junction of the *māṭrā-gaṇas* of which a line in the *māṭrā-vṛttaḥ* is made up. The *māṭrā-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 *māṭrā* of an earlier *gaṇa* with the initial *māṭrā* of the later *gaṇa*. In a *gaithā*, for example, the line is not made up of thirty *māṭrās* employed at random, but it must be divided into seven and a half *māṭrā-gaṇas* kept separate from each other. If this is not done the *gaithā* will surely lose its peculiar rhythm.

Sanskrit *māṭrā-vṛttaḥ* are of three kinds: (1) the *āryā* group, (2) the *māṭrā-samaka* group, and (3) the *vaitāliya* group. The *āryā* seems to be the oldest among these and evidently was a *geya-vṛtta* meant for singing as against the *varṇa-vṛttaḥ* which are *pāṭha-vṛttaḥ* meant for reciting for a long time in the early days of its career. In Sanskrit dramas the *nāṭi* or the actress is often made to sing and the metre is the *āryā*. The difference between the *gaṇa* (song) and the *pāṭhana* (recitation) is that the former is a *tāla-vṛtta* 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 *Jayadāman* (Published by the Haritosh Samiti, Bombay, 1949), General Introduction, paras 12-16.
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or scriptures, since they had no ear for the tāla. The origin of the ārya and particularly its fourth shorter pāda is shrouded in mystery, at least at the present stage of our knowledge. But the other mātrā-vṛttas 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 Apabhramśa 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-vṛttas 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-gaṇas as it was founded on a new unit, namely, the varṇa-mātrā, the counterpart of the kāla-mātrā required for the tāla-vṛttas. From the Sanskrit varṇa-vṛttas 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.a

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

a Ibid., paras 17-23.
must be pronounced so as to cover the period of their mātras. Usually a short letter takes up one kāla-mātrā while a long one takes up two, and a tāla-gaṇa of five mātras 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-vṛttas, 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-vṛttas 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 parallely 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 kaḍavaka and several kaḍavakas 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 kaḍavaka. A mixture of different tāla-gaṇas is never permitted in the same line or couplet or even kaḍavaka. The kaḍavaka is preceded and followed by a ghattā which is either a dvipadi or a satpadi stanza. A dvipadi-ghattā 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 kaḍavaka which may be sung in a different tāla. It must have also given a breathing time to the singer. The satpadi-ghattā, on the other hand, was sung in the same tāla as the main kaḍavaka and generally came at its end. In narrative poetry the most general tāla-vṛttas that is employed is the pājhatikā which is sung in the tāla of eight mātras. But sometimes, even the varṇa-vṛttas whose lines are made up with identical trikās being repeated a number of times are employed, the tāla in this case being the tāla of that number of mātras which the trikā contains. The poets, however, take liberties and often substitute two short letters for a long one in any of the trikās. 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 mātras 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 (Prākṛta-Paiṅgala, I.181), the jhulaṇā (Prākṛta-Paiṅgala, I.156), the madanāvatāra (Haima
Chando'nuśāsana, 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 hari-gita or gita (Prākṛta-Paṅgala, I.191) is undoubtedly sung in the tāla of seven mātrās. The tāla-vṛtta of five mātrās, however, is employed by Apabhṛṣṭa poets for their narrative poems now and then. Thus the madanāvatāra is employed for his kaṇḍavakas by Puspadanta in his Jasaharacariu (I.16-17; II.16-17; III. 13, 27). Similarly, the varṇa-vṛtta-bhujāṅga-prayāla and sragcīrī, both sung in the tāla of five or ten mātrās, are used by him for a kaṇḍavaka at I.18, IV. 17, and III.3. In the same work (I.10; III.2, 15-16), he employs for his kaṇḍavakas two or three varṇa-vṛttas which are sung in the tāla of six mātrās. But on the whole, the tāla of eight mātrās is very common.

MATRĀ-VRṬTA METRE IN PRAKRĪT AND APABHΡṢṬA

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-vṛttas are defined side by side with the pure mātrā-vṛttas which do not obey any tāla in treatises like the Prākṛta-Paṅgala, the Svayambhu-chandas, the Kavi-darpana, Hemacandra’s Chando’nuśāsana, 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-vṛttas like their prototypes, namely, the classical Sanskrit mātrā-vṛttas. As in the case of these latter, their lines are made up of the mātrā-ganaḥ 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-vṛttas 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 Apabhṛṣṭa poetry must have originally consisted of the tāla-vṛttas; but an unskilful handling of these and an external imitation gave rise to the several mātrā-vṛttas which are in no way amenable to tāla. On the other hand, the early and original tāla-vṛttas 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

* See ‘Apabrahmsa Metres (I)’ in the Bombay University Journal, May, 1933.
kinds of bodily movements and gestures. We should remember how the early svara-sahīta of the Rg-Vedic days was developed in the schools of the Sāma-Veda and gave rise to the different rāgas and rāginīs 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 Brahmana* 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 *Taittirīya Sandhitā*. 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.

PANINI: HISTORY AND TRADITION

The earliest extant systematic treatment of grammar is Panini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, with its 3,995 sūtras (formulas), divided into eight adhyāyas (chapters) of four pādas (quarters) each. There were, however, grammarians before Panini, 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. Panini deals with both Sanskrit and Vedic grammar and mainly Vedic accent, though he deals more fully with Sanskrit grammar.

According to tradition, Panini 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. Panini, as his name would suggest, was the son of Paninī, although the Bhavisya Purāṇa would have us believe that his father's name was Sāmana. Panini's mother, Dākṣi, was the sister of Vyādi who composed *Saṅgraha*, said to have contained a hundred thousand verses on Sanskrit.

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1 I. 24.  
2 VI. 4.7  
3 Vide Panini's reference to earlier adharmīs 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. 3.51; VII. 1.74; VIII. 4.67), Cārvavarman (VI. 1.130), Bhāradvāja (VII. 2.64), Sākaṭayana (III. 4.111; VIII. 3.18; VIII. 4.50), Sākalya (I. 1.16; VI. 1.127; VIII. 3.19; VIII. 4.51), Sphoṭayana (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 interpolated 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’. 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: Katyayana, Bharadvaja, Śunāga, Vyāghrabhūti, and Vaiyāghrapadya. All these grammarians wrote vārttikas (aphorisms) on Pāṇini’s work. Among them, Katyayana wrote vārttikas on 1,245 of Pāṇini’s sutras 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 Viśnu’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 Śunga dynasty (III.1.26), and to a Greek invader, identified as Menander (III.2.3). In addition to his comments upon Katyayana’s vārttikas, Patañjali deals with some of the sutras in Pāṇini’s work not taken up by Katyayana, explaining and justifying them, and occasionally rejecting them.

9 Vide: Sūkha vyākaranasya kartur akharat prāṇān prāṇān pāṇineḥ—Pallacintra, II 96.
10 Āryaṃbhrīnādīkṣaṭa, 427; Kathāsvarītāgara, I. 4.
11 Cfr. Hiṭācinti. Taṅkaṃ Tunis Pāṇiśabala lokā prakāśita and ākūmārath yaloḥ pāṇineḥ.—Kālōk under the sutras II. 1.6, 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 Bhartrhari 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 *vyttis* (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, Kāyaṭa; the seventeenth century critic Nāgasa wrote a commentary on *Pradīpa*, which he called *Uddyota*. Bhartrhari’s commentary was called the *Mahābhāṣya-dipikā*; 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 *sutra* of the first *pada* of the first *adhyāya*.

The three great grammarians we have so far referred to, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali, are called collectively the *muni-traya* (the three sages). After them came Bhartrhari, 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.

Bhartrhari is the author of two works, the *Mahābhāṣya-dipikā*, already mentioned, and the *Vākyapadiya*, 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 *prakirṇaka-kāṇḍa* (miscellaneous section). Since it consists of these three books, the *Vākyapadiya* 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 *samuddeṇas* (chapters). A commentary on the first and second *kāṇḍas* was written by Bhartrhari himself, while commentaries were written on the third *kāṇḍa* by Helārāja and another Kashmirian scholar, Puṇyārāja. An

13 *Vākyapadīya*, II. 4.89.
14 *Rājataraṅgini*, I. 176.
unidentified later commentator, probably of the North, condensed and simplified Bharṭṛhari’s own commentary, while Vṛṣabhadeva, probably hailing from the South, wrote Paddhati in which Bharṭṛhari’s commentary was explained at length.

**THE ĀŚṬĀDHYĀYĪ : COMMENTARIES AND REARRANGEMENTS**

The first extant vṛtti on Pāṇini’s Āśṭādhyāyī 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 Āśṭādhyāyī is Bhāga-vṛtti by Bharṭṛhari or Vimalamati, although this work is now no longer available. There is also the Bhāga-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 Āśṭādhyāyī, was written by the Buddhist scholar, Śaraṇadeva; he mentions the date of his work as Śaka era18 1095, which is A.D. 1172. The name of this work is derived from the fact that it seeks to offer justification for durghātas, i.e. points which are normally difficult to justify by grammar. The last of the important commentaries on the Āśṭādhyāyī 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-ośvarāṇa-pañjikā by Jinendrabuddhi,19 and in the eleventh century was written Haradatta’s Pada-panicari.20

In about the eleventh century, the Āśṭādhyāyī was given a new form by the Buddhist scholar, Dharmakīrti. He rearranged some of the useful sūtras topic-wise. In about the fourteenth century21 another Buddhist scholar, Vimalasarasvatī, did precisely the same thing in a work called Rūpamālā. About a century later, the Andhra scholar Rāmacandra, in his Prakṛtya-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:

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18 An era founded by a Śaka king Śālavahana approximately in A.D. 78.
21 K. P. Trivedi takes Dharmakīrti and Vimalasarasvatī to be contemporaries. According to him, the Rūpamāla and the Rūpamālā were composed about the same time, vide Introduction to his edition of the Prakṛtya-kaumudi, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No. LXXIII, 1925, p. xxxii.
the Prakriyā-prakāśa by Śeṣaṅkṛṣṇa (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 Sabda-ratna. His principal aim in writing Sabda-ratna was to refute what he regarded as unfair criticism of Praudha-manoramā, which occurred in Praudha-manoramā-kūcā-mardini by Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, a contemporary of his father, Bhānuji 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) Saṇḍendu-śekhara, and the shorter Laghu-saṇḍendu-śekhara. Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa wrote another work in three versions, the Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-mañjuśā. The longer version was called simply Mañjuśā, the shorter version Laghu-mañjuśā, and the still shorter version Parama-laghu-mañjuśā. 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 Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya and on Bhartrhari’s Vākyapadīya, but not unoften he differed from them, showing remarkable originality. Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa also wrote Paribhāṣendu-śekhara, a gloss on the paribhāṣās (grammatical dicta). This was in line with such treatises as the Paribhāṣā-vṛtti by Śrīodeva.

A work by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita which deserves special mention is Sabda-kaustubha, 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 pada of the third adhyāya; the other fragment contains the fourth adhyāya. Sabda-kaustubha is an independent commentary on Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī and is based primarily on Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya, as the author himself expressly states and as Haradatta Miśra also states in his Pada-mañjari. Sabda-kaustubha 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. Kaundabhaṭṭa, 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 Mañjuśā, Kaundabhaṭṭa’s work deals with

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Phanīkhaṭitaḥbhāyāḥbhāṣāḥ sabda-kaustubhaḥ uddharaḥ – verse 3.
grammatical philosophy and semantics. Kaundabhatā lived in the middle of the seventeenth century.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Varadarāja, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita'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 pāls (traditional Sanskrit schools) and pāṭḥasālās (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 Śaṅkārayana. A later work, Dhatu-pāṭha, which is in substance that of Pāṇini, was the source of inspiration for three works: Dhatu-pradīpa by Maitreyarakṣita (A.D. 1165); Daīva by Deva on which Kṛṣṇalīśukā Muni wrote a commentary, Purusakāra; and Madhavya-dhatu-vṛtti by Śāyaṇa (thirteenth century A.D.). Gaṇa-ratna-mahodadhi 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, Sāntanava, 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 Kālāpaka according to two traditions associated with its origin. The author of Kātantra, Śarvavarman, is said to have propitiated Lord Śiva who in turn ordered Kumāra-Kārttikeya, his son, to give instruction to Śarvavarman; thus the work came to be called Kaumāra. Kumāra-Kārttikeya is said to have inscribed it in the first instance on the tail (kālāpa) of his peacock and thus the work came to be called Kālāpaka, 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 Śarvavarman in about the first century A.D. for a Śatavāhana king, as a tradition recorded in an old text would have us believe. A vṛtti on it was written by Durgasiṁha in the eighth century; and on the vṛtti a nyāsa (an elaborate commentary) called Śiyahitā, was written by Ugrabhūti in the eleventh century. A number of other commentaries on Kātantra were also written. Kātantra also appears in Tibetan translation
with a supplement and Durgasiriha's commentary. *Kātaṭaṇḍra* 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 *Kātaṭaṇḍra* 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 Candracārya, mentions in the beginning of his own *vṛtta* 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 Bhārtrihari and Kalhana (twelfth century) testify.

The Jainendra Vyākaraṇa school: Although the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* is considered to be the work of Jīna Mahāvīra himself, it was actually composed by Pujyapāda Devanandin (c. sixth century). The colophons in the manuscript itself testify to this. It is a sort of condensation of the works of *Pañini, Kātyāyana,* and *Paṭaṇjali*; it has a recast, meant for beginners, which is called *Pañca-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 *Mahāvṛttī* by Ablayanandin and the *Laghu-jainendra* by Mahācandra. There is also a *nyāsa*, *Śabdāmbhoja-bhāskara*, by Prabhacandra (A.D. 1075-1125).

The Śakatāyana Vyākaraṇa school: The *Śabdāmnāsa* by Pālyaiktī (ninth century) now goes by the name of *Śakatāyana Vyākaraṇa*. It was composed during the reign of the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsa 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. Prabhacandra wrote a *nyāsa* on the *Amoghā-vṛttī*. Yakṣavarman wrote a commentary, *Cintāmani* on the *Śakatāyana Vyākaraṇa*, in which he alluded to its all-comprehensive nature; the *sūtras*, he said, included what in other grammars would be conveyed by *iṣṭis* (grammatical principles) or by *upasamkhyaṇas* (additional grammatical rules).

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27 Adāhād amogha-vruṭṭīn.
SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

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 sutras, constituting the first seven adhyāyas, deal with Sanskrit grammar, while 1,119 sutras, 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 Laghu, the shorter, and Bhātī, the longer. He also wrote a vṛtti on his work, and an extensive treatise called the Brhannyāsa.

The Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharana school: The most extensive of the grammars is the Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharana written by the Paramāra king Bhoja (eleventh century A.D.). The total number of sutras in it is 6,421, which is 2,426 more than even the Aṣṭādhyāyī has. This is because, included in the very sutras are the uṇādis (the suffix uṇa etc.), the paribhāsas, and the ganas (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 Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharana: Ḥṛdayaharini by Dandanatha Narayana Bhatta; Puruṣakara by Kṛṣṇalīlā-śuka Muni; and Ratna-dārparāja 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 Saṁkṣipta-sāra: Kramadīvara wrote the Saṁkṣipta-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 Jáumāra after its redactor Jumaranandin. In the colophons of many of the manuscripts Jumaranandin is styled Mahārājādhirāja. Goyicandra Autsāsanika, a later writer, appended supplements to this grammar and wrote commentaries on its sutras, uṇādis, and the paribhāsas. The Saṁkṣipta-sāra, however, was popular only in the western part of Bengal.

The Mūgḍha-bodha: Among the works written by Vopadeva (thirteenth century), who flourished under King Mahādeva of Devagiri, was the Mūgḍha-bodha, a small manual on grammar. Many commentaries have been written on it, the best known among them being the one by Durgādāsa Vidyāvāgīśa (seventeenth century A.D.). The Mūgḍha-bodha attained great popularity in Bengal, and it is still in use there. Two other works by Vopadeva are the
Kauśī-kalpadrūma, a work on roots, and a commentary on this called the Kāma-
dhenu.

The *Supadma Iyākaraṇa*: Written in 1375 by Padmanābha (fourteenth cen-
tury A.D.), the *Supadma Iyākaraṇa* was popular in the eastern part of Bengal.
Five commentaries have been written on it, including the *Pañjikā* by the author
himself and the *Supadma-makaranda* by Viṣṇu Miśra.

The *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa*: This grammar is traditionally ascribed to Anu-
hūtisvarūpācārya, although it might actually have been composed by Naren-
drācārya, Anuhūtisvarūpācārya being merely a *prakriyākāra*. As Vopadeva
does not mention this work, it was probably written after him but before the
Mohammedan ruler Ghiyasuddhin Khilji (A.D. 1469-1500), since one of his
ministers, Puṣyarāja, 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 *Līṅgāṇośūnas*: Of some grammatical importance are the treatises
on gender known as the *Līṅgāṇośūnas*. Some of them are ascribed to Pāṇini,
Vararuci, Śākatāyana, 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 śādhanā (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 vāgyogavid (knower of the secret of speech) to visualize Brahman in the varṇamālā (wreath of letters). Letters are denoted in Sanskrit by the same term (aṅkṣara) as is often applied to Brahman. A glance into the words in which aṅkṣara 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 Patanjali, 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 śāstras (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. It is stated further that the cultivation of grammar is a path which ultimately leads to the Pure Light of God. This is why Patanjali eulogized gram-

1 Mahābhāṣya, I. 1. 2. Also Vārttika.
2 Vākyapadīya, I. 2.
3 Ibid.
mar as the most important member of the Vedāngas. Bharṭṛhari, the philoso-
pher-grammician, 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 tutelage 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 signifi-
cance 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 sphoṭa 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 Sadabrahmo-

\[ \text{Ibid} \]
\[ \text{Ibid} \]
\[ \text{Mahābhāṣya, I. 11.} \]
\[ \text{Vide Yoga-Sūtra, I. 27-28.} \]
\[ \text{Patañjali says that one should pursue the study of grammar for the supreme object of attaining}
\text{equality with the great God} \]
\[ \text{While commenting on the ṛk (R.V., X 671), Patañjali has laid stress on the necessity of}
\text{making a thorough study of grammar, because it renders one capable of attaining union with Brahman.} \]

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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 Bhārtṛhari, the author of the Vākyapādiya, 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 Vākyapādiya
the emergence of a developed form of sādhanā where the dominant note is more
philosophical than grammatical. The last of the trinity is Nāgeśa who, following
in the wake of Patañjali and Bhārtṛhari, 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, nitya (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 nitya-śabda.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 varṇas (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 vyākaraṇa
(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 devat) that makes its presence
felt by every act of utterance. He was a jōgin whose inward intuitive vision
(prātiḥkha-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

10 Cf. his Śabdendu-tekhara.
11 Punyarāja under Vākyapādiya, I 1.1.
12 Mahābhāṣya, I.1 1.
13 Punyarāja has alluded to that subtle and invisible form of sūs which is undifferentiated from
meaning.
14 Helārāja under Vākyapādiya, III 32.
vāc with its origin in the Upaniṣads15 which found so prominent an expression in the Āgamas, was earnestly followed up by the śabdakas, particularly by Patañjali and Blārtharī. Sabdabrahmopāsanā 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.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-devī) and the glorification of the same as aksaīa 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 sādhana 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.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.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 Blārtharī 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 (sintāmaṇi)19 in his search after shells (śukti), so the grammarians, while dealing with the nature of words, preached

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15 Chā. U., VIII.2
16 Mahābhāṣya, I. 1. 1.
18 Mahābhāṣya, I. 1. 1
19 A fabulous gem believed to fulfill any wish of its possessor.
the doctrine of absolute monism of the Upaniṣads and ultimately found Brahma 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. sphaṭa, the eternal verbum, indivisible and really significant unit of speech, which is manifested outwardly by letters and words.

The doctrine of sphaṭa, as expounded and nourished by the grammarian, marks the climax of mysticism reached by Sanskrit grammar. The assumption of a spiritual phenomenon like sphaṭa, to which all sounds are reducible and from which all meanings follow, furnishes a clue to the origin of sound. To the grammarian sphaṭa is indivisible (akhaṇḍa) and represents consciousness (caitanya) in its purest form. Its sacred and lofty nature was so much exaggerated by the grammarians that it was finally identified with Brahman (cf. Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣana-sāra). The conclusion at which the grammarians had arrived after all their speculations on ṣabdā-tattva is the supreme identity of vāc and Brahman.

Bhartrhari, as a staunch advocate of sphaṭa-vāda, started with the proposition that ṣabdā-tattva and Brahma-tattva are interchangeable.20 Though their procedure is secular and artificial to all appearance, the grammarians, says Bhartrhari, 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 (sādhanā) 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 Bhartrhari 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 Vākyapadīya, I 1
21 Ibid., III. 33-34.
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 Amaraśimha, the *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* and the *Anekārtha-saṅgraha* by Hemacandra, the *Medinī-kośa* by Medinīkara, 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 Amaraśimha’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
anger and fighting; and (v) physical abstract qualities such as heaviness or lightness.\(^1\)

Two commentaries on the *Nighantu* are known to us: the *Nirukta* by Yāśka (800-700 B.C.) and the *Nighantu-nirvacana* by Devarāja Yajvan (twelfth century A.D.).

The *Nirukta* is a thorough commentary on the *Nighantu*. 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. Yāśka, the celebrated author of this work, quotes Vedic passages and tries to give the derivation of every word found in the *Nighantu*. 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 Mahēśvara, 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 Yāśka. Thus the whole text of the *Nirukta* could be reproduced from this work alone.

The second commentary on the *Nighantu*, *Nighantu-nirvacana* by Devarāja Yajvan, was composed with a view to supplying all that was wanting in Yāśka’s commentary. The *Nighantu-nirvacana* is an important text as it gives a collation of a number of manuscripts of the *Nighantu* consulted by Devarāja Yajvan before writing his commentary.

Only a few lexical works seem to have been composed between the compilation of the *Nighantu* and the fifth century A.D. when Amara flourished. Among the predecessors of Amara to whom lexicons are attributed are Vyāḍī, 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. Vyāḍī is very often quoted by well-known authors like Hemacandra, and was apparently a renowned lexicographer. Vyāḍī is also quoted in the commentaries on the *Amarakoṣa* written by Rāyamukuta and Mahēśvara. From all these quotations it appears that Vyāḍī’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-nighantu* 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 *Amarakoṣa*, the standard and the most popular work, which was com-

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2 *Nirukta* (Marathi translation), p 1278
posed in about A.D. 500. Other works of this period include the lexicon of Rabhasapāla, Anēkārtha-samucaya by Śāśvata, Anēkārtha-dhvam-mañjai by Mahākāpanaka, and the Vaijayantiha by Yādavaprakāśa.

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, Aufrecht records not less than forty commentaries on this work.

Amarasimha's lexicon is popularly known by the name of Nāmalingamūlasana which means 'a work which deals with vocables and their genders'. It is also known as Trikāndī, since it is divided into three books or kāndas: (i) svarga-kānda, dealing with heavenly matters; (ii) bhūmi-kānda, dealing with earthly matters; and (iii) sāmānya-kānda, dealing with general matters. The whole work is written in metrical form in anuṣṭubh 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 strī, puṁs, or klīva, 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 Sarvananda, and he is also quoted by Kṣirasvāmin, Medinīkara, Rāyamukuta, Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita, Bhānuji Dīksita, and many others. This wide range of quotations by later writers is sufficient indication of the great popularity attained by Rabhasapāla's lexicon.

The Anēkārtha-samucaya by Śāśvata (about the sixth century), which is popularly known as the Śāśvatakoṣa, is a dictionary of homonyms, but is not a complete kosa (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

* 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-maṇḍari* by Mahākṣapaṇaka 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-nighantu* of the thirteenth century, for in it we also find synonyms for other terms such as pārāvati, jayanta, brahmā, viṣṇu, and bhrtya.

Another medical glossary, and one written on the model of *Paryāya-ratna-mālā*, is the *Paryāya-muktāvali* by Hariśeṇa. It is written in metrical form and is divided into twenty-three sections.

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 *Amarakoṣa*, it does not treat of genders so strictly as the *Amarakoṣa* 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*, a grammatical work written in honour of King Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-70) of the Rāṣṭrakūta family.

The last lexicon to be composed during this period was probably the *Vaijayantikosa* by Yādavaprabhāja, 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. Yādavaprabhāja, who lived in South India, is identified with the preceptor of Rāmānuja, the celebrated staunch adherent of the Vaiṣṇava school of Vedānta. Yādavaprabhāja 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.


* Sanskrit Lexicography (Ed. G. Oppert), Preface, p. vi.
Being so popular, the *Amarakosa* 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 Subhūticandra, written between A.D. 1062 and 1172, is probably the earliest known commentary on the *Amarakosa*. The author was a Buddhist. Professor Das Gupta is inclined to identify Subhūticandra with Subhūtipāla who was perhaps a Bengali. As Subhūticandra was a Buddhist, the manuscripts of his commentary on the *Amarakosa* 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 Subhūticandra’s possible dates. One is that the *Kāmadhenu* contains a reference to Bhoja and two of his works, the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābhaṭarana* and the *Śrīgīra-prakāśa*, and the date of Bhoja’s death is given as A.D. 1063. The other factor is a reference to Subhūticandra made by Saranadeva (twelfth century A.D.) in his *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*.

Another early commentary on the *Amarakosa* is the *Amarakosodghatana* written by Kṣirasvāmin in the latter half of the eleventh century. Kṣirasvāmin 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 *Ṭīkā-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 *Ṭīkā-sarvasva* seems to have been the basis of all later Bengali commentaries on the *Amarakosa* including the one by Rāyamukūṭa, the celebrated commentator who flourished in the fifteenth century.

The *Amarakosa-ṭīkā* is attributed to Trilocanadasa (about twelfth century), a Bengali who has been identified as the reputed author of the gloss on the *Kāṇṭhāra-vṛtti* by Durgasimha.

The *Amarakosa-mālā*, dated between 1350 and 1500, is attributed to Paramānanda Śarman who is said to have been an inhabitant of the village of Sailakini.
in the Bhawal area of the Dacca district in the eastern part of Bengal. He is identified as Paramananda who wrote a commentary on Kavya-prakasa by Mammat. 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 Amarakosa is the Pada-candrikā written in 1431 and attributed to a Bengali writer named Bhṛhaspati who was known as Rāyamukuta. His commentary is exhaustive and is regarded by subsequent writers as a work of great authority. Bhṛhaspati was a native of Rādhā 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 pāṇḍita-sārvabhauma (i.e. a polymath). This commentary has recently been published from the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

A hitherto unknown commentary on the Amarakosa was discovered by Das Gupta, although only a fragment of the manuscript was found. This is the Amarakosa-ṭīkā, written after 1275 by Durlabhavallabha. An account of the author is given in Indian Culture.11

The Padārtha-kaumudi, which is also known as the Amarakosa-paṭeṣā, is an exhaustive commentary on the Amarakosa. It was written in about 1618 by Nārāyaṇa Cakravartīn, a Bengali commentator. It is replete with quotations from previous works including the commentaries on the Amarakosa written by Subhūtīcandra, Sarvāṇanda, and Rāyamukuta.

Among the later commentaries of the Bengal school is Mugdha-bodhinī 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 Vṛākhyā-sudhā was written by Bhānuji Dīkṣita in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Bhānuji Dīkṣita calls himself the son of the celebrated grammarian Bhatṭoji Dīkṣita, and his work was written at the request of Kṛitiśītha of the Bāghela dynasty and ruler of Mahīdhara. The Vṛākhyā-sudhā is among the important commentaries on the Amarakosa; 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 Amarakosa is the Amarakosa-niveda written by Maheśvara, who appears to have been a resident of Mahārāṣṭra, 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 Mahēśvara 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 *pratidham (thus it is widely current) or *iti *khyātam (thus it is well known) or *iti *laukikabhāṣāyām (thus it is in popular language).

The *Amarakoṣa-pada-vivṛtti, 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 Kāmyabhaṭṭopādhyāya.13 P. P. S. Sastry observes that Liṅgaya Śūri, 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 Mathurasa Vidyālākāra. 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 *Sabdartha-sandīpiṅkā 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 *Śīṣu-bodhini written by Maheśvara Sukthaṅkara in the eighteenth century. The author hailed from Goa and belonged to a family of Gauḍa Śārasvata Brāhmaṇas; his family deity was the goddess Śāntādurgā. 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-cintāmaṇī 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 *Nāmamālā by Dhananījaya; the *Medikosā by Medikara; the *Nānārthana-saṃkṣepa by Keśava; the *Maṅkhasa by Maṅkha; the *Anekārtha-tilaka by Mahīpa; the *Nānārtha-ratna-mālā by Irugappadanḍādhinātha; and the *Anekārtha-koṣa by Ayajapāla.

During this period special glossaries such as medicinal and botanical

13 *Loc. cit., i, 344b.
14 *Tanjore Mss Des. Cat., IX, No. 4960.
works were composed. The following are the important ones:

The *Sabda-candrika* 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) *swarṇādi-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) *siṃhādi-varga* (section on the lion and the like); (vii) *madhyādi-varga* (section on wine and liquors); (viii) *pañca-kaśyādi-varga* (section on five astringent juices and the like); and (ix) *triphalādi-varga* (section on three fruits viz. haritakī, bibhitakī, and āmalakī 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 *Sabda-pradīpa* by Sūrēśvara, 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 *svara-kanda* (section on vowels); and the *vyāhaya-kanda* (section on consonants). Sūrēśvara was a court physician to King Bhīmapāla who probably belonged to the Pāla dynasty; the *Sabda-pradīpa* was written for him in 1075.15

The *Dravyaguna-śata- śloki*, which is also known as the *Pathyāpathya-nighaṇṭu*, was written by Trīmallabhāṭṭa 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) *dugdha-varga* (section on milk); (iii) *dhānya-varga* (section on paddy); (iv) *māṁsa-varga* (section on meat); (v) *patrāśaka-phalaśāka-kandaśāka-varga* (section on leaves and vegetables); (vi) *iṣukhaṇḍādi-varga* (section on sugar-cane and the like); (vii) *taila-varga* (section on oil); (viii) *maḍhu-varga* (section on honey); (ix) *drākṣādi-varga* (section on grapes and the like); (x) *sunthyaśādi-varga* (section on ginger and the like); (xi) *siddhāṇṇa-varga* (section on boiled rice or cooked food); (xii) *madya-varga* (section on wine); (xiii) *abhyangaśādi-varga* (section on cosmetics); and (xiv) *tambūlādi-varga* (section on betel leaves and the like).

The *Madana-vinoda-nighaṇṭu*, 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

15 A. B. Keith, HSL, p. 123.
Rāja-nighañṭu written about the same time, it also describes the drugs and their properties. One chapter, anna-varga, describes different kinds of foodstuffs; while another, mānsa-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-nighañṭu, 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 yāvānī, 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 duwan for amāya (minister); bakshi for senāpāti (commander-in-chief); alaci or vakil for dāta (messenger); muni for lekha (writer); anajbegi for vijnāpaka (informer); mir atas or tophkane ka daroga for analadhyakṣa (superintendent of armoury); mir imarat for śilpa-śāstra-viśārada (civil engineer); and bagait ka daroga for udyanapāla (gardener).

These lexicons may, in fact, be regarded as bilingual glossaries. Among such works are: Pārast-prakāśa by Vihāri Krṣṇadāsa; Pārast-prakāśa by Vedāṅgarāya; Yavana-paripāṭi-anukrama by Dalapātrīḷa; and Rāja-vyavahāra-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: Kalpadrukosa by Keśava; Sarvāratna-samanavaya attributed to King Shahji of Tanjore; and Koṣakalpataru by Viṣva-nātha composed towards the middle of the seventeenth century.
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 ṛta). 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 Samhītas, the Brāhmaṇas, and the Āraṇyakas, 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 necessity1 or from divine dispensation2), 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 rājaśya or the asvamedha as well as in such expressions as ekarāṭ (the sole ruler), samrāṭ (the emperor), viśvasya bhuvanasya 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.

—Editor.

2 Sat. Br., V. 3. 3-12.
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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 Sūtras we are on firmer ground. The early Dharma-Sūtras 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-Sūtras lay down the norm of political organization, and this is chiefly a monarchy. The Sūtras 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 Sūtra literature.

It may be presumed that towards the close of the Sūtra period political theories tended to crystallize and might have developed into the schools of political philosophy and economics alluded to in Kautilya’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.

KAUTILYA’S ARTHAŚĀTRA

The earliest extant treatise on the science of polity in its widest sense, however, is the Arthaśāstra written by Kautilya who is known as Viṣṇugupta as well as Cāṇakya. Kautilya was an astute Brāhmaṇa politician and, according to tradition, he was responsible for the rise of Candragupta Maurya. It is further believed that Kautilya was the principal architect of the Maurya administration and also its chief minister. Thus Kautilya’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. Shamasstry, 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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3 Ibid., pp. 488-90.
4 Bibliotheca Sanskrítica, Vol. XXXVII (Mysore).

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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 Kautilya 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 (Ušanas) and Brhaspati; 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-Kautilya 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 *adhikaranaś* (books) dealing with important topics and divided further into 180 *prakaranaś* (sections). The

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7 R. G. Bhandarkar, Jolly and Schmidt, Wintermaitz, Keith, Hillebrandt, etc.
8 R. Shamasastry, Fleet, Mm. G. Sastr, K. P. Jayaswal, N. N. Law, D. R. Bhandarkar, R. K. Mookerji, H. C. Ray, Mm. P. V. Kane, etc.
prakarana again are fitted into a scheme of 150 adhyayas (chapters), some of which extend over more than one prakarana dealing with related matters. Probably as a precaution against interpolation, Kautilya prefaced Book I with an exclusive chapter enumerating the contents of the volume. The method followed by Kautilya reveals his discerning and constructive mind. Collecting relevant data from various sources including the Sāstras 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.*

Books I to V, comprising ninety-five prakaranas, deal with tantra. Book I deals with the discipline and training of the king; his daily round of duties, principles for the exercise of danda (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 prakaranas, deal with āvāpa. Books VI and VII deal with the essential characteristics of the State, described as consisting of saptāṅga or saptaprakṛti (seven elements); the sixfold political expedients in the field of diplomacy in inter-State circles, described as sādgungya (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 prakarana, 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 Kautilya's conception of polity or political science was not simply to theorize on the political expedients confined within the bounds of rāja-niti (politics), rāja-dharma (political philosophy), or daṇḍa-niti (laws of punishment). His concept was much wider in content and bearing. A distinguished economic historian very aptly observes that the object of Kautilya 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 Kautilya eminently justifies the nomenclature of the treatise as Arthasastra. 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. Kautilya 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 Arthasastra is Sanskrit, it is interspersed with archaic un-Pāñinian 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 bhaṣya 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. Viśnugupta (Kautilya), it says, undertook the composition of the sūtras and the bhaṣyas 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, Kautilya 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 Kautilya 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. The oldest and most popular of the Dharma-śāstras is the *Māṇava 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 (*kāntaka-sodhana*). 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

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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 *Arthashastra*, on the other hand, are based on practical considerations according to the needs of circumstances. Even so, it is interesting to note that the *Arthashastra* admits the claim of the precedence of the Dharma-
śāstra view in the event of a conflict between the two in any fundamental matter. This shows the popularity of the Dharma-
śāstra and the extent of the confidence it enjoyed in society.

There are other later Śruti works which closely followed the *Manu Śṛti*, not only chronologically but also in content. Among these are the Śrūtis of Yājñavalkya and Viśū (c. A.D. 100-300), of Nārada (c. A.D. 100-400), of Brhas-pati (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 Brāhmans, and questions of internal administration including the system of taxation as expressed in these Śrūtis almost echo the *Manu Śṛti* 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 Śrūtis demonstrate their ingenuity. The *Yājñavalkya Śṛti*, for example, describes the judicial procedure more systematically than the *Manu Śṛti*. 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 Śṛti* 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 *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*, are replete with sound political and economic theories for good government. The *Rāmāyana*, 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 parvans 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, Bhīṣma, 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.S., III. 1.
13 Dates according to *H Dh.*, II, Pt. I.
14 *Tāj.*, II.
15 *Nār. Sm.*, Introduction and Chapters I-II.
16 For detailed study refer to *CHI*, Vol. II, pp. 301-413.
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of the ruler, his equipment, and his responsibilities towards his subjects; and the constitutional features of non-monarchical governments.\(^{17}\)

KĀMANDAKA'S NĪTISĀRA

In the post-Kauṭilyan age the over-riding influence of the *Arthaśāstra* was so striking that, except for the rāja-dharma sections of the *Manu Smṛti* and the *Mahābhārata*, we find no work on polity or economics worth the name. It seems that Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* cast into the shade all forms of political speculation; so, the theories it propounded reigned supreme. The later Smṛtis and Nīti 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 *Kāmanda kiya*). 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 Viśnugupta (Kauṭilya) as the innovator of the science of polity.\(^{18}\) Kāmandaka attempted to elucidate the teachings of Kauṭilya, 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 *prakaranas*. The classification of topics under titles more convenient than Kauṭilya's is indeed commendable. Cantos I and II deal with the discipline and training of the king and the princes, the institutions of varṇāśrama (the four castes and the four stages of life), the usefulness of danda, 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 manḍala (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

\(^{17}\) *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

\(^{18}\) *Kāmandakiya Nītisāra*, I. 5-7.
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 Nitisāra shows the degree of Kāmandaka’s indebtedness to Kautilya’s work which, in fact, he almost paraphrased. Unlike Kauṭilya, however, Kāmandaka 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, Kāmandaka 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 Kāmandaka 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 Arthasastra continued as the authoritative pattern of governmental organization, and no new light could be thrown upon it even by commentators like Kāmandaka.

LATER WORKS

By the ninth century the Dharma-śāstra scholars devoted themselves more to writing commentaries on the main Śmṛti works and preparing nibandhas (digests) of them than to the production of original texts. Two notable works of this period are the Bāla-kriḍā, a commentary on the Yajnavalkya Śmṛti written by Viśvarūpa (A.D. 800-850), and the bhāṣya on the Manu Śmṛti 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 Medhātithi20 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 endorses 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-

19 Ibid., IX. 10; XXXVI. 54, 71.
20 Bāla-kriḍā (TSS Edn.), p. 181; Medhātithi on Manu., VII. 1-2.
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 Nitivākyāṁṛta (the nectar of the science of polity). It was written by Somadeva Sūri, a Jaina monk of the Deccan, a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrāṇa 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 Kāmandaka’s Nitisāra, 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-śaḍvarga (the six internal enemies); the education of the prince in the four vidyās (branches of learning), namely, ānikṣikī (philosophy), trāyī (three Vedas or religion), vārtā (economics), and dandaṇīti (polity), the functions of councillors, 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 Kāmandaka did. Somadeva’s work, however, reiterates in a conventional way the Śruti-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 Śruti digests bearing on polity and law, namely, the Yukti-kalpataru by Bhoja, the Mānasollāsa or Abhilaṣitārthā-cintāmaṇi by Somesvara, the Kṛṣṇa-kalpataru by Lakṣmīdhara, Vijñāneśvara’s and Aparārka’s commentaries on the Yājñavalkya Śruti, Govindarāja’s and Kullūka Bhaṭṭa’s commentaries on the Manus Śruti, and the digests of Jimūtavāhana.

The Yukti-kalpataru, attributed traditionally to King Bhoja of the Pāramāra

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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 Abhulaśītārtha-cintāmaṇi by the Cālukya king Someśvara (c. 1126-38) is described as a work on polity, although only the first two prakaraṇas or víṃśatis (groups of twenty verses) deal with some aspects of statecraft.

The oldest Smṛti digest is the Krtya-kalpataru by Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmidhara who was the sāndhi-vigrahika (minister of war and peace) at the court of King Govindacandra (c. 1114-54) of the Gāhadavāla dynasty. This is an encyclopaedic work, of which the section on rāja-dharma deals with polity. In three sections it describes (i) the saptāṅga (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) sādgunya (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 Aparārka were contemporaries. Their commentaries on the Yajnavalkya 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 Mitakṣara, 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.

24 Tutī-kalpataru (Ed Pandit Iśvara Chandra Sastri, 1917), p. 5, vv 30-32
25 On Tūṭ, I 368.
26 Ibid, II.

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Aparārka’s work, although more extensive than the Mitākṣarā 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-mārka and Dāyahāga. With eminent ingenuity he covers in them a wide range of topics bearing on legal procedure and positive law. In the Vyavahāra-mārka 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. Dāyahāga 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 Mitākṣarā, 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-nitiśāra, which is attributed to the sage Śukrācārya, 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 sādharana-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; sāṣana-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 Arthasastra 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-ratnakara* by Candeśvara, *Niti-prakāśkā* by Vaiśampāyana, *Niti-prakāśā* by Mitra Miśra, *Niti-mayukha* by Nilakanṭha, and the *Bṛhaspatya Arthaśāstra*. All these works deal with aspects of polity and statecraft. They follow the conventional pattern of the Śrāvṇī tradition with little 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 *Garuda* 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 *varṇa-jrama-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 *Garuda* and *Agni* Purāṇas. The Śrāvṇī 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 Śrāvṇīs 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 *Brhaddharma 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.

28 *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chs. CCXV-CCXLIII; *Agni Purāṇa*, Chs. CCXVIII-CCXLIII; *Garuda Purāṇa*, Chs. CVI-CXV; *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Bk II.
29 *Kālikā Purāṇa*, Ch. LXXVII; *Brhaddharma Purāṇa*, Bk. III.
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-Veda reference to the artificial thigh made of iron given to Viśpalā 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 Sadyo jangham īṣastāṁ viśpalāyā—R.V., I. 116.15; I 118.8.
4 Laghu-dūr-mayam mahābhikṣhunām drīḍha-svāla-tanah vadhōya tasya
   Udare rasi-yontram ādadhīta jsalāndhāram adhe'ya cāṃgāparām.
   Tāṁrāṅgāhā pūruṣaṁ tasya pākpatmavoccaçāpyajhimisāsānena
   Suṣṭayantah pāradaśīya lokañca śirhaṁ kusavanamvare yāsā dīrum.
   Ithāmēvā saú-māndūra-tulam sātacalayāsālghu dārvuwanām
   Ādadhīta vidhiniś ca turavaṁtasya pāradaśkṛtām drīḍhakumbhām.
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 Vājasaneyi Samhitā (VI. 18. 18, 37) there are references to mechanical devices (yantras) and the Mahābhārata also speaks of a number of yantras. The Rāmāyaṇa also knew about them. Kautilya's Arthaśāstra speaks of two varieties of yantra, static (sthita) and dynamic (cala), and also of other kinds such as automatic door-leaves and a contraption called viśvāsa-ghatin 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 rasayantra (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

5 Adi. (Kumbhakonam Edn.), p. 64. 6 II.100.53; V.3.18; VI.61.33.
7 Adhyakṣa-pradēśa, II. 18. 5-6. 8 Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra, XXXI. v. 79. Tanhrāṇām ghaṭanā nōktā guptyāram Ṋuṣṭālāvādāt.
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, pathalogy, 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; erotics; 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 Tantric religion, but the ancient works which dealt with alchemy are now lost; only a trail of this tract survived in the forms of Kakacandehari-mata Tantra and Svarna or Svarna Tantra mentioned by Alberuni.\(^n\) The earliest available work on this subject is perhaps Rasa-ratnakara (seventh or eighth century A.D.), attributed to Nagarjuna,\(^10\) of which an incomplete manuscript has survived. Sarva-darsana-sangraha by Madhava (fourteenth century A.D.) refers to such ancient masters in alchemy as Govindabhagavatpada, Acarya Sarvajna, and Ramesvara Bhattaraka, and gives some citations from Rasarnava, Rasa-hridaya, and Raseswara-siddhanta.

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-hridaya by Govinda\(^11\) (eleventh century A.D.), a work in twenty-one chapters; a twelfth century work called Rasarnava or Devi-sastra;\(^12\) Rasa-ratnakara by Siddha Nityanatha\(^13\) (c. 1350); Rasa-ratna-samuccaya\(^14\) (c. thirteenth century A.D.), variously ascribed to Aśvinikumāras, Vāgbhaṭa, and Nityanātha; Rasendra-cintāmāni\(^15\) by Dhundhukanātha, but wrongly ascribed to Rāmacandra (A.D. 350).
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, Svachchanda, Dāmodara, Vasudeva, Caraka, Suśruta, Hārita, and Vāgbhaṭa. The earliest extant work, however, is ascribed to Nāgārjuna who belonged to the second century A.D. The work called Rasa-ratnakara which is ascribed to him is actually a much later work belonging to the seventh or eighth century. Ratnaghoṇa, 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-cūḍāmaṇi by Somadeva (twelfth or thirteenth century A.D.); Rasa-prakāśa-sudhākara by Yaśodhara (thirteenth century); Rasa-sāra of Govindācārya, Rasa-rāja-lakṣmi by Viṣṇudeva, the court physician of King Bukka (fourteenth century); Dhātu-ratna-mālā of Devadatta of Gujarat (fourteenth century); Rasa-kōumudi by Mādhava (fifteenth century); and Rasa-vāja-mrgāṅika attributed to Bhoja (eleventh century). On Śāṅgadhara Samhitā: two commentaries were written, one by Aḍhamalla and the other by Vopadeva. Rasendra-sāra-saṅgraha, wrongly attributed to Kavibhūṣana of Bengal, is the work of Gopālakṛṣṇa (fourteenth century A.D.). Four commentaries were written on it, of which one was by Rāmasena Kavimaṇi, the personal physician of Jaffār Ali Khan of Bengal. 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 phiranga-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 arak meaning tincture. From a reference made by Govindācārya we
know that chemistry was studied seriously in Tibet and that there was close contact between Tibetan and Indian chemists.\(^{23}\) 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 *Madhrāṇava*. 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), *kāśyapa-cikitsā* (therapeutics), *bhūta-vidyā* (demonology), *kaumāra-bṛtya* (paediatrics), *agada-tantra* (toxicology), *rasāyana* (elixirs), and *vaijī-karaṇa* (aphrodisiacs). Anatomy, embryology, and hygiene were known from Vedic times. Mythological gods such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, Śiva, Kārttikeya, and the Aśvinikumāras are traditionally mentioned as ancient masters of *vaidyaka-śāstra* (medical science), together with the names of historical persons such as Bharadvāja, Ātreya, Agniveṣa, Jātākaraṇa, Bhela, Hārīta, Kṣārapāṇi, and Dhanvantari. In the *Ṛg-Veda*, Rudra (II.33.4) and Śūrya (I.55. 11-13) are praised as healers. The Aśvins are also praised there for rejuvenating Cyavana (I. 116.10), for providing an iron thigh to Viśpalā 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\(^{21}\) 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*\(^{28}\) on the medicinal use of mercury and a *Vaidyaratā Tantra*\(^{28}\) of Śiva. In the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* is mentioned a work called *Bhāskara Samhitā*.\(^{57}\) Kārttikeya wrote *Vaiṭa-granthā*\(^{58}\) on medicine, and the authorship of *Aśvinī Samhitā*\(^{29}\) and *Nādi-nidāna*\(^{30}\) is ascribed to the Aśvins. Another work, *Dhātu-ratna-mālā*\(^{31}\) by an unknown author, is claimed to have been compiled from *Aśvinikumāra Samhitā*. The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* also refers to a *Cikitsā-sāra Tantra* by the Aśvins. This refers


\(^{25}\) Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (GOML), Madras, XXIII, 13113.

\(^{26}\) *Ibid.*, 19226.

\(^{27}\) India Office Manuscript (IOM), 2719.

\(^{28}\) GOML, 13176-77. Actually *vaiṭa* is the Prakritized form of *vāghṣṭha*.

\(^{29}\) *Ibid.*, 13069.


\(^{31}\) *Bhubanes Catalogue*, 1999.
also to *Cikitsā-tattva-vijñāna* by Dhanvantari, *Cikitsā-darsana* by Divodāsa, *Cikitsā-kaumudi* by Kāśirāja (Divodāsa?), *Vaidyaka-saraśva* by Nakula, *Vṛddhi- sindhu-rimardana* by Sahadeva, and the works of a number of other authors.\(^{33}\) Bharadvāja, the preceptor of Ātreya, wrote *Bhāradvāja-yā*\(^{33}\) and also *Dhātu-laksana*.\(^{34}\) Trimallabhāṭṭa cites a work on medicine called *Vāsiṣṭha Samhitā*.\(^{35}\) The date and authorship of these works are, however, uncertain.

The earliest extant work on medicine is the *Caraka Samhitā* written by Caraka in the first century A.D. In the eighth or ninth century it was redacted by Dṛḍhabala and also by an author named Kāśmiraka, 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 *Samhitā* is earlier than the *Caraka Samhitā*. The Bower Manuscript names Ātreya, Hārita, 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, *Nāvanitaka*,\(^{36}\) in connection with *vṛṣya-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 Nārāyaṇa who was superintendent of the kitchen of King Nayapāla of Bengal (A.D. 1038-55); *Caraka-tattva-dīpikā* by Śivadāsa; a commentary by Jinaḍāsa; one by Īśvarasena; *Jalpa-kalpataru*\(^{36}\) by Gangadhara Kavirajā (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 Samhitā*\(^{40}\) which is possibly as old as Caraka's work. The text is said to have been revised by Nāgārjuna, and also subsequently by Candraṭa in the light of Jaiyyāṭa's commentary. The earliest commentaries on Suśruta's work were written by Jaiyyaṭa and Gayāḍāsa. After them came *Bhānuḥati* by Cakrapāṇidatta, a commentary by Aruṇadatta (c. twelfth century A.D.), one by Dallaṇa (thirteenth century A.D.), and a modern one by Haranchandra Chakravarti.\(^{41}\) Then, too, there are the *Samhitās*

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\(^{34}\) *GOML*, 19178.

\(^{35}\) *IOM*, 2715.

\(^{36}\) *Ibid.*, 2705-6 (*Yogatara-mitra*).

\(^{37}\) Bower MS., II. 26.1.9, p. 65.

\(^{38}\) *Ibid.*, 2705-6 (*Yogatara-mitra*).

\(^{39}\) *Ibid.*, 2705-6 (*Yogatara-mitra*).

\(^{40}\) *Vide* Viraj Gupta, *Vana-upadhi-darpana* (Calcutta).


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 appears to be a descendant of the other; possibly they were both Buddhists. A commentary was written by Aruṇadatta on Vāgbhaṭa’s Āṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya which was known as Sarvāṅga-sundara. His Āṣṭāṅga-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. Śārīra-pādmiṇī by Bhāskarabhaṭṭa 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-jātīra. 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 Rugvinikaya or Nidāna by Mādhavakara (seventh century); it was rendered into Arabic in the eighth century. Among a host of commentaries on this work Vyākhya-madhu-kosa by Vījayaśikṣita (thirteenth century) became well known. Cikitsa-saṅgraha attributed to Dhanvantari and a modern work Siddhānta-nidāna by Gananath Sen also deserve mention.

SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

Materia medica: The most popular work on the subject is *Dravyaguna-saṅgraha*\(^{57}\) by Cakrapāṇidatta. Śivadāsa wrote a commentary on it. Rājavallabha’s *Dravyaguna* has a commentary (*viśṭi*) written by Gangadhara Kaviraja.\(^{58}\)

Therapeutics: There are numerous works on this subject, among them being: *Yoga-sāra* or *Yoga-sataka* ascribed to Nāgārjuna;\(^{59}\) *Cikitsā-sāra-saṅgraha* by Cakrapāṇidatta, on which Niścalakara and Śivadāsa\(^{60}\) wrote commentaries; *Cikitsā-sāra-saṅgraha* by Vaṅgasena (c. twelfth century A.D.); Śāṅgadhara Sanhita\(^{61}\) commented on by Āḍhamalla and Bhāva-prakāśa by Bhāva Miśra; *Cikitsāmyāta*\(^{62}\) in 2,500 verses by Mālhaṇa (c. thirteenth century A.D.); *Cikitsā-kalikā* by Tiṣṭa\(^{63}\) (fourteenth century A.D.); *Cikitsā-jñāna* ascribed to Vidyāpati,\(^{64}\) the celebrated Mithilā poet of the fourteenth century; Āyurveda-Sūtra,\(^{65}\) a late work; and Vaidya-jivana by Lolimbarāja\(^{66}\) (seventeenth century A.D.).

Paediatrics: On this subject the well-known work is *Kumāra Tantra* ascribed to Rāvāṇa;\(^{67}\) there is also a work called Bāla-cikitsā.\(^{68}\)

Hygiene: The ancient texts treat hygiene and dietetics incidentally and not as separate topics. In modern times, however, appeared *Śattra-niścayādikāra*\(^{69}\) by Gangaram Daś, a work on the personal hygiene of pregnant women, and also *Suśṛtya-tattva*\(^{70}\) by Govinda Ray.

Dietetics: On this subject we have *Anna-pāna-vidhi*\(^{71}\) by Suṣeṇa, *Pathyāpathya-nīghaṇṭa* and *Bhojana-kutūḥala* by Raghunāṭha\(^{72}\) (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 *Nāḍī-viṣṇāṇa*\(^{74}\) by Kaṇāḍa and in a work called *Nāḍī-parikṣā*.

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\(^{57}\) Ed. Jivananda.

\(^{58}\) K. K. Dutta, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

\(^{59}\) *Nepal Catalogue*, XXII.

\(^{60}\) Ed. Jivananda.

\(^{61}\) Ibid.


\(^{63}\) G. N. Sastri, *An Introduction to Classical Sanskrit* (Calcutta, 1943), p. 86


\(^{66}\) G. N. Sastri, *loc. cit.*

\(^{67}\) P. C. Bagchi’s article in *Indian Culture*, VII, Pt. III.

\(^{68}\) GOML, XIII, 75.


\(^{70}\) Ibid

\(^{71}\) Ed. V. S. Sastri (Mylapore, Madras, 1950).


\(^{73}\) K. K. Dutta, *loc. cit.*

\(^{74}\) Ed. Jivananda.
ascribed to Rāvaṇa.\textsuperscript{76} There are also a number of later works such as \textit{Nādi-parīkṣā} by Gangadhara Kaviraja\textsuperscript{78} and two other works with the same title by Govindarama Kaviraja and by Sankar Sen.\textsuperscript{77} Unfortunately, this science, which was a priceless treasure of Āyurveda, is dying out.

\textit{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, \textit{Śāra-saṅgraha}\textsuperscript{79} by Indu Sen, deals with this science. It has various specialized branches dealing with the treatment of different types of animals such as:

(i) \textit{The treatment of elephants}: The classical work on this subject is \textit{Gajāyurveda} by Pālakāpya.\textsuperscript{79} To the commentators who cite the treatise it is known as \textit{Gaja-sāstra}. Pālakāpya was an ancient sage contemporaneous with King Romapāda, ruler of Aṅga-deśa. The \textit{Gaja-sāstra} that is now available, however, does not appear to be very old. A \textit{Mriga-carmīya} cited by Mallinātha (\textit{Raghuvamśa}, IV. 39; \textit{Śīṣu-pāla-vadha}, V. 49) appears to be connected with this science, but it is now lost. Other works that similarly came to our knowledge are \textit{Māṭanga-lilā} by Nārāyaṇa\textsuperscript{80} and \textit{Gaja-graha-prakāra}\textsuperscript{81} by Nārāyaṇa Dikṣita; the latter deals with the different devices to catch or entrap an elephant, as its name implies.

(ii) \textit{The treatment of horses}: The classical work on this subject is \textit{Aśva-sāstra}. Śālihotra is cited as the first propagator of this science. Raghunātha Cakravartin\textsuperscript{82} quotes from Śālihotra in his commentary on the \textit{Amarakosa}. Although \textit{Aśva-sāstra} is called \textit{Aśva-yurveda}, it deals not only with the treatment of horses, but with several other topics connected with horses. Bhoja (eleventh century A.D.) wrote a \textit{Śālihotra}\textsuperscript{83} in 138 verses; and a work called \textit{Aśva Tantra}\textsuperscript{84} is cited by Rāyamukuta. \textit{Aśva-cikīrtā}\textsuperscript{85} is attributed to Nakula, but the date of this work is uncertain. Mallinātha (\textit{Śīṣu-pāla-vadha}, V. 60) cites \textit{Haya-lilāvati}, \textit{Revatottara}, and \textit{Aśva-sāstra}, now lost to us. The works we have to include under this heading are \textit{Yoga-mahājā}\textsuperscript{86} by Vardha-
mana, Aśva-vaidyaka by Dipaṅkara, and a work of the same name by Jayadatta Śūrī (c. a.D. 1500), Aśvāyurveda by Gaṇa, Turaṅga-parikṣā and Vāji-cikitsā by Śārṅgadharā, Aśva-lakṣāṇa-tāstra, 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 there is a chapter on the treatment of cattle. Dealing with gauyaurveda, 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-tāstra by Haṁsadeva, protégé of King Śauṅḍeṣeva (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 by Indukara, father of Mādhavakara; Dhanvantari-nighaṇṭu, ascribed to Dhanvantari; Sarottara-nighaṇṭu by a Buddhist (earlier than A.D. 1080); Śabda-pradīpa (A.D. 1075) by Sureśvara, written for King Bhimapāla of Bengal; Rāja-nighaṇṭu by Narahari (written between A.D. 1235 and A.D. 1250); and Madana-vinoda-nighaṇṭu (A.D. 1374) by Madanapāla. Earlier works on this subject are now lost.

Cosmetics and aromatics: An early work on collyrium, Aṅgana-nidāna, is attributed to Agnivesa; earlier works have not reached us. Nāvanitaka (c. second century A.D.) gives a formula for hair-dye, while Śārṅgadharā Paddhati preserves instructions for the preparation of cosmetics including hair-dye and scented hair-oil. Brhat Samhitā by Varāhamihira in its chapter (LXXVI) on gandhayukti deals with the preparation of aromatics including frankincenses.
Similarly, the *gandhayukti* sections of the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇudharmaottara* deal with the same topics. The *gandhauḍa* section of *Rasa-ratnākara* by Nityanātha (c. A.D. 1350) deals with aromatics and has a Marathi commentary on it.101 There is also a work on aromatics called *Gandha-sāra* by Gaṅgādhara102 (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 *ratnadhatama* (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-sāstra* by Agastya (Śītupāla-vadha, IV. 44). In its *ratna-prakāśa* section, the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* cites Vyāḍi as an authority. Among the many books on this subject are: the work by Agastya already mentioned (date uncertain); *Ratna-parikṣa*108 by Buddhhabhaṭṭa (sixth century A.D.); a work by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍīta;104 *Smṛti-sāroddhāra* and *Īvara-dikṣitiya*105 (a compilation); and works called *Ratna-saṅgraha*, *Laghu-ratna-parikṣa*, and *Maṇi-māhātmya*.106

Cookery: The origin of the science of cookery in India is ascribed to the ancient sage Nala; yet the work ascribed to him, *Nalapāka*,107 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*108 (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.

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101 P. K. Gode’s article in *New Indian Antiquary*, VII (1945), pp 185-93.
104 Ibid.
107 Ed. Benares.
Reference to ancient masters are found in the *Mrchakaṭṭika*, the names mentioned being: Kanakasakti, also known as Kārttikeya, Devavrata, Bhāskaranandin, and Yogācārya. According to the *Bṛhat-kathā*, the propounder of this science was Karṇisuta, also known as Karta; but his work is lost. Now only a single work remains on this subject, which is not very ancient; it is *Ṣaṃmukha-kālpa*. 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-rasāyana*.

**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 *Rg-Veda* and to the *Tatā-Veda*, while there is a separate text, named *Ātharvāṇa Jyotiṣa*, related to the *Ātharva-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, Pārāśara, 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 *Āryabhatīya*, *Daśagitikā-Sūtra* with numerical notations; and *Āryāśatasata*. A collection of 108 verses in āryā metre, *Āryāśatasata* comprises three sections: mathematics (*ganita*), measurement of time (*kālakriya*), 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 *Paṇca-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-siddhānta, states that it was revealed by Sūrya to Maya in Romaka. The work Romaka-siddhānta must be of foreign origin, the name being connected with Rome. Paulisa-siddhānta might have some link with Paulus Alexandrinus. Lāta, commentator on Sūrya-siddhānta (mistakenly described by Alberuni as its author), and also Vijayanandin and Pradyumna were Varāhamihira’s predecessors. Lāta also wrote a commentary on Romaka-siddhānta; this commentary was drastically revised by Śrīśena who was anterior to Brahmagupta.

Brahmagupta (b. A.D.598) is another luminary in this field. His Brahmasphuta-siddhānta, which is based on Brahma-siddhānta as well as Śākalya-siddhānta, deals also with mathematics. His Khaṇḍa-khādyaka, which is based on a lost work by Āryabhaṭa, is on the subject of karaṇa (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-sīromāṇī has four sections: littāvatī and bijaganīta on mathematics; and grahaganīta and gola on astronomy. He also wrote a work called Kāraṇa-kutūḥala. Among the other works in this field are: Vṛddha-vāṣṭīṣṭha-siddhānta; Laghu-vāṣṭīṣṭha-siddhānta; Śīyadhi-vṛddhi Tantra by Lalla; and Rāja-mṛgāṅkā 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’.

The Vedic Śulva-sūtras are probably far earlier than the Alexandrian geometry of Hero (215 B.C.). The earliest work on mathematics that has reached us is probably the Bakshali Manuscript (c. third or fourth century A.D.). It is in śūtra form with examples in verse written in mixed Sanskrit. Between Brahmagupta and Bhāskarācārya, to whom we have already referred,
flourished Mahāvīrācārya who wrote *Gaṇita-sāra-saṅgraha*\(^{338}\). *Trisati*\(^{330}\) 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.\(^{131}\) in the process of permutation and combination. Among a host of later works are *Bijagaṇitāvatāmsa*\(^{132}\) and *Gaṇita-kaumudi*\(^{133}\) by Nārāyaṇa Pāṇḍita (fourteenth century).

**ASTROLOGY:** The popularity of this ancient subject is apparent from the long list of old masters whose names include: Satyācārya, Viṣṇugupta, Devasvāmīn, Jivaśarman, Piṇḍāyus, Prithu, Śakipārva, Siddhasena, Mañjitha (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 (*Raghuvarma*, III. 13); we also know of a work called *Yavana-jātaka*\(^{134}\) written in verse about the year A.D. 169. The best treatise is perhaps *Brhat Sanhitā*\(^{135}\) by Varāhamihira; a commentary was written on it by Bhāṭotpāla. The opening section of *Brhat Sanhitā* is called *tantra* and deals with astronomy and mathematics; the second section, horā, is concerned with horoscopes, while the third, sanhitā, deals with natural astrology. It is a masterly work, written in elegant Sanskrit in kāṣyva style, and covers almost all the sciences which in ancient India were associated with man’s life on earth. Varāhamihira’s *Brhatjātaka*\(^{138}\) is a work on horā-sāstra; Bhāṭotpāla wrote a commentary on it. Varāhamihira also wrote a work called *Laghu-jātaka*\(^{137}\) while his son Prthuyaśas wrote *Horā-ṣat-paśaśākāta*.\(^{138}\) We also know of a work called *Uṭṭala-parimala*\(^{139}\) written in A.D. 964 on *Brhat Sanhitā*. Some among the other numerous treatises on astrology are: *Bṛgu Sanhitā* which is available to us only in fragments; *Horā-sāstra* by Bhāṭotpāla; *Vidyā-mādhaviya*, which was written prior to A.D. 1350 and which claims to give correct language to the works of Vasiṣṭha, Garga, and others, contending that the available works ascribed to those authorities are not written in chaste and elegant Sanskrit; *Sūrya-siddhānta*;\(^{140}\) *Jyotirvidābhāraṇa*,\(^{141}\) a very late work ascribed to Kālidāsa; Nilakaṇṭha’s work

\(^{130}\) Ed. Rangacharya (Madras, 1912).
\(^{132}\) Sukumarranjan Das’s article in *Horāprakāsa Sankaradīhanā Lekhamālā*, II, pp. 85 ff
\(^{133}\) Ed. Chandrabhanu Pandeya (Varanaseya Sanskrit University).
\(^{135}\) *Nepal Catalogue*, XXX.
\(^{137}\) Translated by Iyer (Madras, 1905).
\(^{139}\) M. R. Kavi’s article in *Venkatavar Oriental Journal*, II (1941).
\(^{140}\) Ed., with Rājagunāthā’s commentaries, Jivananda.
\(^{141}\) Weber’s article in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (*ZDMG*), XXIII-XXIV.
on Tajika;\(^{142}\) and the four works on the astrology of warfare, viz. Yoga-yātra (Śīnupāla-vadha, V. 87); Kūṭasthīya (Raghuvanśa, III. 13); Yuddhajayārṇava (Agni Purāṇa, CXXIII-CXXIV); and Narapāti-jaya-caric-svarodaya\(^{143}\) of Nara-hari (twelfth century).

**Prognostication** (geomancy, cubomancy, and dreams): Varāhamihira’s Brhat Samhitā (Chapters LXI to LXXII) deals with prognostication. So also does Adbhuta-sāgara by Vallālasena (twelfth century A.D.); Vallālasena did not complete his work, and it was ultimately completed by Laksmaṇasena. The works, Nīmitta-nidāna (Meghadūta, I. 11, 17; II. 35) and Śakunārṇava (Raghuvanśa, XI. 26), cited by Mallinātha, also deal with this subject. Ramala-rahasya\(^{144}\) by Bhayabhājana Śarman deals with geomancy. Cubomancy is dealt with in Pāsaka-kevali which is referred to in the Bower Manuscript.\(^{145}\) The use of magic squares is dealt with in Gaṇṭa-kaumudi by Nārāyaṇa, written in A.D. 1350. Dreams are dealt with in Suapna-cintāmanī\(^{146}\) by Jagaddeva.

**Physiognomy and palmistry:** In the Viṣṇudharmottara, the Agni, and a number of other Purāṇas, and also in Brhat Samhitā, 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 gypsies inherited it in their original home in India far back in the hoary past. In India this science is ascribed to Nārada. In the Bhavisyottara Purāṇa there is a chapter on palmistry. A popular work is Durlabhārāja’s Sāmudra-nilaka\(^{147}\) (twelfth century A.D.) which was left unfinished, but completed by the author’s son Jagaddeva. There is also a work called Sāmudrika-lākṣaṇa;\(^{148}\) possibly, this is quoted by Mallinātha (Kirāṭārjunīya, VI. 1). The following are some of the many books on palmistry: Sāmudrika-cintāmanī by Mādhava Śrīgrāmakara, Sāmudrika-kaṇṭhābharaṇa, Sāmudrika-

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142 Ed. Vmayak Sastri Vetal (Varanaseya Sanskrit University).
143 IOC. I, compiled by Eggeling, pp. 1110 ff.
144 IOC. II, compiled by Keith, pp. 1121 ff.
145 Bower MS, pp. 84 ff.
146 I. von Negelein’s article in Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (WZKM), XXVI.
147 A. B. Keith, op. cit., p. 594.
Jastra, and Samudrika-sāra—all available in manuscript form.

Geography: In some of the Purānas geography has been treated in terms of dvipas and varas (continents and countries respectively according to Purānic conception). In Oriya script there is a geographical work by Balaramadāsa called Brahmandā-bhūgola. It is interesting to find that in the Purānas 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-Śakuntala (Act VII). The Purānas referred to are the Viṣṇu (II. 12), the Vāyu (LI), and the Kūrma (XLII. 42-43). There are also brief references in the Brahmandā Purāṇa and Siddhānta-sīromāṇa.

Agriculture and horticulture: A work that deals with agriculture is Kṛṣipara-sāra, and in the Agni Purāṇa the vṛksayurveda section (CCLXXXII) deals with the treatment of plants. A work also called Vṛksayurveda was written by Surapāla in the eleventh century A.D.

The science of warfare: A twelfth century text, Narapati-jaya-caryā, gives some idea about this science; there seems to be no earlier work extant. But in Bhoja’s Tukti-kalpataru there is a passage on swords; in this connexion, Vātsyāya’s work on swords and Lauhārana and Lauha-pradīpa by Śrṅgadharā 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 Vikramādiya, Sadāśiva, Śrṅgadatta, Vṛddha Śrṅgadharā, 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 Samhita, 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 Śyainika-sāstra by Rājā Rudradeva of Kumaon, written in the seventeenth century A.D.; there is also a commentary on this work. Among indoor games chess was popular; a modern work, Sataranja-kutūhala, 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

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146 Oppert's Catalogue, 1948, 6687.
147 Bakker Catalogue, 333.
151 MS. with Asiatic Society of Bengal (ASB.),III, H 453.
152 Ed. Bl., CCLXXXV (Calcutta, 1960)
153 K. K. Dutta, op cit , p. 39
154 Ed. Isvarchandra Sastri (Calcutta, 1917).
155 Ed. Isvarchandra Sastri & Arun Kumar Śmha (Mymensingh, 1921).
156 Ed. (with translation) H. P. Sastri (ASB., 1910).
157 MS. with ASB., 8244.
158 Ed. Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti (Samskrita Sahitya Parshad, 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, *Prācinā-Bhāratiya-Manovidyā* by Dinesh Chandra Sastrī 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 *Bṛhadāranyaka Upanisad*, Uddālaka Āruni is named as a teacher of the erotic art, while Vātsyāyana names Audḍālaki Śvetaketu as one of the authorities on erotics. Other names cited are: Bābhrawya, Dattaka, Čārāyaṇa, Suvaṁābhā, Ghoṭakamukha, Gondārya, Gônica-pūtra, 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 Māllanāga, 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 Yasodhara (c. thirteenth century A.D.). Padmāśri, possibly a Buddhist of the tenth century A.D., wrote a work called *Nāgara-sarasvatī* and on this a commentary was written by Jagajjyotirmalla 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 Kāśicinātha. In the fourteenth century Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekha of Mithilā wrote a work called *Pañcāsāyaka*. Among a host of other works on this subject are: *Kāma-ratna* by Nityanātha, *Anaṅga-raṅga* by Kalyāṇamalladeva (sixteenth century A.D.), *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi* (A.D. 1577) by Virabhadrā, *Rati-maṅjarī* by Jayadeva (of uncertain date), *Rati-ratnapradīpikā* by Mahārāja Devarāja (seventeenth century A.D.), *Rati-ramaṇa*.

159 Ed. Nirmaya Sagar Press (Bombay, 1891).
160 Ed. Tansukharam Sastri (Bombay, 1921).
161 Ed. Chowkhamba.
162 Ed. Devidatta (Lahore, 1921).
163 Ed. Panchananda Sastri Ghiladia (Lahore, 1921).
164 Ed. Chowkhamba.
165 Ed. Ram Chandra Sastri Kusal (Lahore, 1890).
167 Ed. Chowkhamba.
168 Ed. (with English translation) K. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Mysore, 1923).
ascribed to Siddhanāgārjuna, and *Rati-śāstra* by Nāgārjuna with a commentary called *Smaratattva-prakāśikā* by Rāvanārādhya. 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*. *Kuṭṭāṇīmata* 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-between 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 *Nāṭa-Sūtras* written by Śīlālin and Kṛṣṇāvya (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV. 3. 110-11). We are not sure about the contents of these two works, however. The earliest work available is the *Nāṭya-śāstra* 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, Brahman, Bharata, Kāśyapa, Mataṅga, Kohala, Yāṣṭikā, Viśākhila, Dattāla, Tumburu, Nārada, and Nandikeśvara. In *Śṛṅgāra-hāra* by Hammīra we find a reference to a work called *Gandharvāntara-sāgara* by Brahman. The text called *Gītālāṅkāra* is ascribed to Bharata. *Saṅgīta-makarandā* by Nārada probably belongs to the seventh century. *Bṛhaddeśi* 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 *Saṅgīta-rāinākara* by Śāṅgadeva, *Saṅgīta-
ratnavali by Somabhūpāla, Saṅgīta-cudāmaṇi by Jagadekamalla, and the musical section of Mānasollāsa by Somesvara. Saṅgīta-kalpataru is cited by Bhoja, Rucipati, and Raṅganātha. This treatise is probably a tenth century text. There is also a work called Yāṭikamata preserved in the Oriental Manuscripts Library in Madras. Jayana, who was also known as Jayasenāpati, for he was the commander-in-chief of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati of Warangal (thirteenth century A.D.), wrote a work on music called Saṅgīta-ratnavali. Also to this period belong: Saṅgīta-samaya-sāra by Pārvavadeva, Saṅgīta-kalpadruma with a commentary, Śrīgīra-hāra by Hāmmira, Rasatattva-samuccaya by Allarāja (its first chapter is on music), Saṅgīta-sāra-kalikā by Mokṣadēva, and Saṅgīta-rāja by Rānā Kumbha, who was also known as Kālasena. Raghunāthā (seventeenth century A.D.) wrote Saṅgīta-sudhā in it he quotes from Saṅgīta-diśākā by Mādhavabhaṭṭa (fourteenth century A.D.). Also of the fourteenth century are: Ananda-saṅjīvana by Madana, which deals with tāla, rāga, and analogous topics; Saṅgīta-candra by Vipradasa, of which only the nṛtta-prakāśa section and a commentary by Jagajīyotirmalla are available; Saṅgīta-sudhākara by Haripāladeva; and Saṅgīta-sarvasa by Jagadadhara, which is cited by Rucipati and Rāghavabhaṭṭa. In the fifteenth century A.D. Devanācārya wrote Saṅgīta-muktāvali; Maṇḍana, his contemporary, wrote Saṅgīta-maṇḍana. Aṭṭajanyay-bhārata, of doubtful authorship, appears to be the same as Yāṭikamata. The notable works of the next century are: Saḍrāga-candrodaya, Rāga-mālā, and Rāga-maṇjarī by Puṇḍarīka Viśṭhāla; he included in his work the jākkaḷī dance and the gajara songs which were much favoured by the Moguls; Svaramela-kalā-nidhi by Rāma Amāṭya, which in five chapters deals with Karnatic music; Rāga-mālā by Kṣemakarṇa; and Saṅgīta-sūryo-

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178 Ed. GOS., CXXVIII.
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. Bhatkhande; Ramaswami Iyer (Annamalai University); Chowkhamba.
195 Bikaner Catalogue, 516.
daya<sup>104</sup> by Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, court singer of King Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara. Among the many works of the seventeenth century are: Rāga-vibodha<sup>107</sup> by Somanātha, Saṅgīta-sāra-saṅgraha<sup>108</sup> by Jagajjiyotirmalla, Saṅgīta-darpaṇa<sup>109</sup> by Catura Dāmodara, Nagendra-saṅgīta<sup>200</sup> by Nāgamalla of Jyotipura (Jodhpur), and Saṅgīta-pārījāta<sup>201</sup> by Ahobala. Works of the eighteenth century include Saṅgīta-sārāṃśa<sup>202</sup> by King Tularaja of Tanjore and Rāga-māliṅkā by Puruṣottama.<sup>200</sup> Works on musical instruments include: Uddīsa-mahāmantrodaya,<sup>204</sup> Caturdandi-prakāśa<sup>205</sup> by Veṇkaṭamakhin (seventeenth century); and a work called Viṇālakṣaṇa.<sup>206</sup> Chapters XVII to XIX of the Viṣṇudharmottara also deal with music.

The ancient authorities on the subject of dance are: Kāmadeva, Vāsuki, Dakṣa, Dhenuka, Draupāṇi, Svāti, Kāśyapa, Śiva, Nārada, Śārdūla, and others. Mentioned by Mataṅga, Śārdūla was an expert on hastābhīnaya (histrionic posture of hands). Among the Purānic works that deal with dance are the Vēyu (XXIV-XXV), the Mārkaṇḍeya (XXI), the Agni (CCCXLI), and the Viṣṇudharmottara (XX-XXIX). The speaker of the nṛtya-śāstra in the Viṣṇudharmottara (XXXII-XXXIV) is Mārkaṇḍeya. There is also a work called Bhāratārṇavas<sup>207</sup> which is ascribed to Nandikeśvara; and works of doubtful origin called Brahma-bharata,<sup>206</sup> Nandi-bharata,<sup>206</sup> and Sadaśiva-bharata.<sup>210</sup> Abhinayā-darpaṇ<sup>211</sup> by Nandikesvara preserves a school of dance which differs in many respects from the Bharata school. Dattīla<sup>212</sup> wrote on music and dance. This work has a commentary called Prayoga-stanaka which was cited by Śimharāja in his commentary on Saṅgīta-rādhākara.<sup>213</sup> There is also a treatise called Talādhyāya<sup>214</sup> by Kohala. Āsokamalla wrote his
Nrtyādhyāya²¹⁵ in A.D. 850. Nrtya-ratnakosa²¹⁸ by Rānā Kumbha belongs to the thirteenth century and to the same period belongs Nrtya-ratnāvali²¹⁷ by Jayasena. To the fourteenth century belong Sangitopaniṣat-sāroddhāra²¹⁸ by Sudhākara (A.D. 1350) and Nātya-cūḍāmaṇi²²⁸ by Somana, an Andhra monarch. In the fifteenth century, Gopendra Tippabhūpāla wrote Tāla-dīpikā²³⁰ Mallinātha (Kumāra-sambhaava, VI. 40) cites a work on dance, Rāja-kandaṇa, but this work is now lost. Acyutarāya (A.D. 1543) in his Tāla-kālābodhi²³¹ cites three works on dance: Tāla-kālā-vilāsa, Nṛtya-cūḍāmaṇi, and Saṅgītārṇava. In the sixteenth century, Śubhaṅkara wrote his Hasta-muktaśali²²² There is a commentary on this work written by Ghanāyāma, and an Assamese rendering of it called Śrīhasta-muktāvali.²²² Śubhaṅkara also wrote Saṅgīta-dāmodara,²²³ which deals with dance, drama, and music. Nārīṇa-nirṇaya²²⁰ by Puṇḍarīka Viḍṭṭhala also belongs to the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century, King Tularāja of Tanjore wrote Nātya-vedāgama²²⁶ 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 śilpa-sāstra, a term which includes architecture, are: Viśvakarman, Viṣṇu, Sanatkumāra, Kāśyapa, and Maya. There are many texts which are known only by name, such as Rekhiṇaṇava (perhaps on pictorial art), Vāstuḥṛdaya, and Sukhāṇanda-vāstu. Two works cited by Mallinātha, Kalākoṣa (Naśadha-carita, XXII. 3) and Śayana-tāṭra (Naśadha-carita, XXI. 106), have yet to be discovered.

The following are among the important available texts: Vāstuvidyā,²³⁷ Manuṣyālaya-candrika,²³⁸ Śrījñāna-ratnakosa;²³⁹ Mayamata;²⁰⁰ Aparājita-prakasha²³¹

²¹⁵ Ed. GOS (1963).
²¹⁸ Ed. R. C. Parikh & P. Shah (1957)
²¹⁷ Ed. V. Raghavan (Madras, 1965).
²¹⁸ Ed. GOS., CXXXIII.
²²⁸ GOML, 12998.
²³⁰ Tanjore Catalogue, XVI. 7307.
²³¹ M. R. Kavi, op. cit.
²³² Ed. Mahesvar Neog.
²³³ Ed. Balaram Srivastav (Calcutta)
Viśvakarma-vaṣṭu-stra;\textsuperscript{232} Kāśyapa Sanhītā;\textsuperscript{233} Kāśyapa-śilpa-stra;\textsuperscript{234} Prāśadamaṇjarī\textsuperscript{235} and Vāstu-maṇjarī by Śrīnātha (fifteenth century); Prāśadamaṇḍana\textsuperscript{236} by Maṇḍana; Tukti-kalpataru and Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra\textsuperscript{237} by Bhoja; Śīlparatna by Śrīkumāra;\textsuperscript{238} Nārada-śilpa-stra;\textsuperscript{239} Pratīmā-lakṣaṇa;\textsuperscript{240} Devatā-mūrti-prakaraṇa; Rūpa-maṇḍana\textsuperscript{241} by Maṇḍana; and Buddh-pratīmā-lakṣaṇa\textsuperscript{242} with a commentary called Sambuddha-bhāṣita-pratīmā-lakṣaṇa-vivaraṇa. In the Matsya Purāṇa, a work called Nagnajit-citra-lakṣaṇa is referred to; Bhṛhat Saṃhītā (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.\textsuperscript{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, robots\textsuperscript{244} and, as already mentioned, aeronautic machines. References to ancient masters in aeronautics include the names of Nārāyaṇa, Śaunaka, Garga, Vācaspati, Cākāryaṇi, and Dhundhinātha. Among available literature, besides Bhoja’s Samārāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra already referred to, is Bhārotthāpana-yantra-nirmāṇa-vidhi\textsuperscript{245} (principle of making a machine to lift a heavy weight) by Devisīhamahīpatī (seventeenth century). There are also two works by Bharadvāja, viz. Yantra-savasva and Amū- bodhīni. The commentator Bodhānanda Yati names Nārāyaṇa, Lalla, and Saṅkha as his authorities.\textsuperscript{246}
This, in short, is scientific literature in Sanskrit. The Purānas 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 Upanisads, it branched off into the literature on the six orthodox systems, namely, Sāmkhya, 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 Śabaravāmin 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 Bhartṛprapaṇa 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 Gaudapāda-kārika of the Māndūkya 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, Vaiṣṇava, 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.
We find systematic Indian philosophy mainly in the following orthodox systems: Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrva-Mimāṁsā, and Uttara-Mimāṁsā or Vedānta. Of these systems, Sāṁkhya and Yoga are generally coupled with each other and so are Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika as well as the two Mimāṁsās, Pūrva and Uttara.—Editor.

I

SĀMKHYA

Of the traditional Indian schools of philosophy, Sāṁkhya is probably the oldest. The first reference to Sāṁkhya is found in the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad (VI. 13). Sāṁkhya views have also been referred to in the Mahābhārata (Śanītparvan : Mokṣadharma), Bhagavad-Gītā, and Manu Śṛti. Kauṭilya (fourth century B.C.) in his Arthaśāstra, while enumerating the philosophic studies in his days, mentions Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata. Though Kapila is universally recognized as the founder of the Sāṁkhya system, the Sāṁkhya-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 Sāṁkhya was supposed to be Īśvarakṛṣṇa’s (c. third century A.D.) Sāṁkhya-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 Paṇcaśikha (c. second/third century A.D.), Paurika, Paṇcādhikaraṇa, Vindhya-vāsin, and Vṛṣa-gaṇa and his followers. This shows that Īśvarakṛṣṇa’s was only one school of Sāṁkhya 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 Uddyotakara, i.e. sixth/seventh century A.D.), these other philosophers were carrying on work on systematic Sāṁkhya in different schools.

Much later, as late as the ninth century, we have the famous commentary on Sāṁkhya-kārikā by Vācaspati Miśra, known as Tatvā-kau-mudī, which is the most popular of all the Sāṁkhya works. Before him, however, Gauḍapāda (seventh/eighth century A.D.) wrote another commentary called Gauḍapāda-bhāṣya. The Sāṁkhya-Sūtra was elaborately commented upon by Vījñāna Bhikṣu (seventeenth century) and briefly by Aniruddha (fifteenth century). Vījñāna Bhikṣu’s commentary is known as Sāṁkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya which ought to be read in conjunction with his commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra, known as Vījñānamātra-bhāṣya. Aniruddha’s commentary is called Aniruddha-vṛtti. Mention may, in this
PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

connexion, be made of a commentary on Śāṅkhya-kārikā named Māthara-vṛtti (seventh century) which may or may not be the Māthara-bhāṣya to which Guna­ratna (fourteenth/fifteenth century) has referred in his commentary on Saṭdar­sana-samuccaya. Another commentary directly on the Śāṅkhya-Sūtra is Mahādeva Sarasvati’s (seventeenth century) Vṛtti. On Śāṅkhya-kārikā there are two other commentaries. They are: Śaṅkarācārya’s (according to some, Śaṅkarārya of ninth century) Jayamaṅgalā and Nārāyaṇaṭīrtha’s (seventeenth century) Candrikā. Three known commentaries on Vācaspati Miśra’s Tatvā-kauṃudi are: Varāhīdhara Miśra’s (seventeenth century) Śāṅkhya-tattva-vibhākara, Bhāratī Yati’s (eighteenth/nineteenth century) commentary, and Kṛṣṇa Vallabhācārya’s Kṛṣṇa.

There are two important works of unknown authors, viz. Sāstī Tantra (in­complete) attributed sometimes to Pañcaśikha; and Tatvā-saṃśāsa which is to be read with Gaṅgāśikha’s or Bhāvāganāśa’s (sixteenth century) Tatārtha-dīpāna, Vāṃśīdāsa’s Artha-dīpikā, and an unknown author’s Krama-dīpikā. Another very old work going by the name of Swarṇa-saptāti is attributed to Paramārtha. Other independent works on Śāṅkhya are: Viśiṣṭa Bhiṣu’s Śāṅkhya-sūra, Kavirāja Yati’s (eighteenth/nineteenth century) Śāṅkhya-tattva-pradīpa, Keśava Bhaṭṭa’s (eighteenth/nineteenth century) Śāṅkhya-tattva-pradīpikā, Kṛṣṇa Mitra’s (eighteenth/nineteenth century) Tatvā-mīmāṁsā, Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭācārya’s (eighteenth century) Śāṅkhya-kauṃudi, and Kṛṣṇānanda’s Śāṅkhya-tattva-vivekana.

Śāyurveda works of Caraka and Suśruta, known as Caraka Saṭṭhitā and Suśruta Saṭṭhitā, also deal with Śāṅkhya, though basically they are treatises on medicine. The Atreya Tantra mentioned in Guṇaratna’s commentary on Saṭdar­sana-samuccaya as an authoritative Śāṅkhya work is very probably Caraka Saṭṭhitā 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 Bhagavata-Citā, and Lalitavistara also refer to Yogi 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 Patañjali’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 Śāṅkhya, though it differs in some important details, for instance, in its recognition of God. The theoretical part of Śāṅkhya philosophy is itself divided into two schools ac-
According as it recognizes God or not—Isvarakṣa’s Śaṅkhya belonging to the latter and Viṣṇu Bhikṣu’s to the former. The God that Patanjali 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 Viṣṇu 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 Viṣṇu 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 Vallabha-cārya’s Kīraṇa. Other commentaries on the Yoga-Sūtra are: Gaṇeśa Dikṣita’s Vṛttī, Rāmānanda Sarasvatī’s (seventeenth century) Maniprabhā, Nārāyaṇatīrtha’s Yoga-siddhānta-candrikā and Sūtrārtha-bodhini, Nāgēśa (Nāgoji) Bhaṭṭa’s (eighteenth century) Chāḍyā-nyāyakāya, Sadāśiva’s (eighteenth century) Yoga-sudhākara, Ananta Paṇḍita’s Candrikā, and Baladeva Miśra’s Yoga-pradīpikā. Viṣṇu Bhikṣu’s Yoga-sūtra is a useful handbook of Yoga philosophy. Mention may be made here of some other treatises like Gheranda Saṃhitā and Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā, which chiefly concern themselves with Haṭha-yoga and Rāja-yoga, but are not philosophical by nature. Some of the later Upanīṣads which are called Yoga Upanīṣads, namely, Maitreya, Śaṅḍilya, Yoga-tattva, Dhyāna-bindu, Haṁsa, Vaṁśa, Amṛta-nāda, Maṇḍala-Brāhmaṇa, Nāda-bindu, and Yoga-kundaḷi present the Yoga practices in their diverse proliferations over the centuries.

III

VAIŚEṢIKA

The first systematic exposition of Vaiśeṣika philosophy (also called Aulīkya Darśana) is found in the Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra of Kaṇāda who belonged to a very ancient age. The earliest commentaries on the Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra are Bharadvajya-vṛtti and

* 'The Vaiśeṣika 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 Kaṇāda 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 Kaṇāda’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 Kaṇāda’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 Upaskāra by Śaṅkara Miśra (fifteenth century), and Kaṇḍāsūtra-vivrti by Jayanarayana Tarkapanchana (nineteenth century). There is also a detailed commentary on Upaskāra called Pariśkāra 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-dharmasaṅgraha by Prāṣastapāda (c. fifth century), also called Praṣastapāda-bhāṣya. Padārtha-dharmasaṅgraha 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 dhāma 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-dharmasaṅgraha served as a source book for later commentators on Vaiśeṣika philosophy. The earliest commentary on Padārtha-dharmasaṅgraha was Vyomavati by Vyomaśivācārya (tenth century). This was followed by Śrīdhara’s (tenth century) Nyāya-kandali which was commented upon by Rājaśekhara (twelfth century) in his Nyāya-kandali-pañcikā. Udayana (c. tenth/eleventh century) is believed to have written his Kirāṇavali after this, though according to some scholars, he figured earlier than Śrīdhara. Both Śrīdhara and Udayana admit the existence of God. Udayana’s Lokaṇāvali is a short manual on Vaiśeṣika. Some other major works of Udayana are as follows: Nyāya-kusumāṇḍalī on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy of religion, Atma-tattva-viveka (a work in which the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika concept of the Self has been elaborated and defended particularly against the Buddhist challenge), and Lokaṇāmalā. Śaṅkara Miśra’s Kalpalatā is a commentary on Udayana’s Atma-tattva-viveka. Among other expository works on Padārtha-dharmasaṅgraha and Kirāṇavali are: Śaṅkara Miśra’s Kaṇāda-rahasya; Jagadiśa Tarkalāṅkāra’s (sixteenth/seventeenth century) Dravya-sūkti which deals with the category of dravya; a recent commentary by Mahamahopadhyaya Kalipada Tarkacharya on Dravya-sūkti; Vardhamānapādhyaya’s (thirteenth century) Kirāṇavali-prakāśa; Prakāśikā presupposes an earlier origin of Vaiśeṣika philosophy. Bādarāyana 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 sabda (verbal testimony) has been challenged in the Mīmāṃsa-Sūtra of Jaimini, which indicates that Vaiśeṣika philosophy was founded before Mīmāṃsā. There are also reasons to believe that Kaṇāda 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 Kiranavali-prakāśa; two didḥitis by Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (fifteenth century), the works being commentaries on Kiranavali-prakāśa.

Nyāya-lilāvatī by Vallabhācārya (who belonged to a later date than Udayanā) is not quite a commentary on Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha; it is an independent work dealing with the topics contained in the latter. The author has discussed various points on novel lines (navya śālī). Earlier contentions are sought to be refuted in his treatise. śaṅkara Miśra and Vardhamānapāḍhyāya wrote two commentaries on this work—Nyāya-lilāvatī-kaṇṭhaḥkaraṇa and Nyāya-lilāvatī-prakāśa respectively. A commentary on the latter is known as Nyāya-lilāvatī-prakāśa-viśṛti. Bhaṭṭa Vāḍindra’s (thirteenth century) Rasa-sāra is a commentary on Guna-kiranavali-prakāśa of Vardhamāna, while Dravya-pragalbhī by Pragalbhācārya (fifteenth century) deals with Dravya-kiranavali-prakāśa. Jayadeva Miśra (fifteenth century), also known as Pakṣadharā Miśra, of Mithilā wrote a commentary on Dravya-kiranavali-prakāśa by Vardhamāna and another on Nyāya-lilāvatī. An eminent logician of Bengal and author of many treatises, Mathurāṇātha Tarkavāgīśa (sixteenth century) wrote Dravya-kiranavali-rahasya and Guna-kiranavali-rahasya as well as Dravya-prakāśa-viśṛti-rahasya and Guna-prakāśa-viśṛti-rahasya. The list of his works includes a commentary on Nyāya-lilāvatī.

Some more important works on Vaiśeṣika are: Saṁpadārthī by Śivādīya Miśra (twelfth century), Mānامanohara by Vādivāgīśvara (contemporary of Śivādīya), and Pramāṇa-mañjari by Sarvadeva. Śivādīya’s Saṁpadārthī 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 Prasastapāda’s work. Balabhadra (fifteenth century) wrote a commentary named Sandarbha on Saṁpadārthī and another on Pramāṇa-mañjari. 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 Padmanābha Miśra (sixteenth century) are notable: Setu-ṭīkā (on Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha), Nyāya-kandali-ṭīkā (on Nyāya-kandali), Kiraṇavali-ḥāskara (on Kiraṇavali), and Vardhamānendu-ṭīkā (on Dravya-kiranavali-prakāśa). Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha by Mādhavācārya contains a chapter on Aulōkya Darśana. Tarka-saṅgraha and Tarka-saṅgraha-dīpikā by Annambhaṭṭa (seventeenth century) and Bhāṣa-pariśeda and Siddhānta-muktāvalī by Viśvanātha (seventeenth century) can be regarded as composite works on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. The topics like saṁpta padārtha (seven categories of matter), nava dravya (nine kinds of substance), caturūtirśalī guya (twenty-four kinds of quality), paśca karma (five types of action), etc. have been discussed in these works. Tarkāmṛta ascribed to Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra and Jayanarayana Tarkapanchānana’s
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Kanāda-sūtra-vivṛti (already mentioned) are useful compendia of the Vaiśeṣika principles. Based on Upaskāra, Jayanarayana’s Vivṛti differs from the former on certain points. Other works on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika metaphysics include Śaṅkara Miśra’s Vādi-vinoda, Bhāṭṭa Vādindra’s Nibandha on the Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra, Maṇikanṭha Miśra’s (c. thirteenth/fourteenth century) Nyāya-ratna, Śaśādharā’s (c. fourteenth century) Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa, Raghunātha Śīromani’s Padārtha-tattva-nirūpana, and Keśava Bhāṭṭa’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 (Aksapāda), 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-tātparya-tīkā. Vācaspati Miśra has contributions to different systems of philosophy including Nyāya, Advaita Vedānta, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, and Mīmāṁsā. 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 Tātparya-tīkā Udayana (c. tenth/eleventh century) wrote a further commentary known as Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-tīkā-parīśuddhi. He also wrote Nyāya-parīśiṣṭa 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-parīśiṣṭa was commented on by Vardhamāna (thirteenth century) in his Nyāya-parīśiṣṭa-prakāśa. Vardhamāna wrote another commentary, Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa; this relates to Udayana’s Tātparya-parīśuddhi. Other works bearing more or less directly on the Nyāya-Sūtra include Siddhānta-candrikā by Gaṅgādhara Sūri (seventeenth century),
Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti by Viśvanātha (seventeenth century), and Nyāya-siddhānta-
mālā by Jayarāma Nyāyapaścānāna (seventeenth century).

Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (ninth/tenth century) wrote an independent commentary,
Nyāya-maṇḍarī, 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 Gaṅgeśa Upaḍhyāya (thirteenth century),
Nyāya philosophy continued to hold ground parallely 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 Jayasiṁha Sūri’s (fourteenth century) Nyāya-sāra-ṭīkā;
and Vallabha’s Nyāya-lilāvati to be read with Vardhamāna’s Prakāśa on it.
Mention may also be made of Śaṅkara Miśra’s (fifteenth century) Lilāvatī-
kaṇṭhābhārana and Bhagiratha Ṭhakkura’s (fifteenth century) commentary
known as Prakāśīkā on Vardhamāna’s work.

Some other important works on Nyāya include Tārkika-rakṣā by Varadarāja
(c. eleventh century), Nyāya-tattvāloka and Nyāya-stūroddhāra by Abhinava
Vācaspati Miśra (fifteenth century), Nyāya-pariśuddhi by Veṅkaṭanātha,
Makaranda by Ruciḍatta (thirteenth century), Nyāya-sāra by Mādhava-deva,
and Tārka-bhāṣā by Keśava Miśra (twelfth century).

Nyaya-Nyāya: With the advent of Gaṅgeśa of Mithilā, the new school of
Nyāya philosophy known as Navya-Nyāya came into being. His monumental
work Tattva-cintāmāni deals with the four sources of knowledge—pratyakṣa
(perception), anumāṇa (inference), upamāṇa (analogy), and śabda (verbal testi-
mony)—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
Gaṅgeśa. 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 Gaṅgeśa was Raghunātha Šīromāṇi
(c. fifteenth century). He wrote many treatises which include Pratyakṣa-maṇi-
didhiti, Anumāṇa-didhiti, and Śabda-maṇi-didhiti on Gaṅgeśa’s Tattva-cintāmāni;
three nibhandhas (dissertations) included in the compilation known as Vāda-
vārdhā; Padārtha-khandana; Akhyāta-vāda; and Naṅvāda. His Anumāṇa-didhiti,
a classic work in Navya-Nyāya, is regarded as a contribution of great merit.
There are other notable works on Navya-Nyāya, which include Śaṅkara Miśra’s (c. fifteenth century) Khaṇḍana-ṭīkā; Rucidatta’s Prakāśa on Tattva-cintāmaṇi; Jānakīnātha Bhaṭṭācārya’s (sixteenth century) Nyāya-siddhānta-maṇjari; Kaṇāḍa Tarkavāgīśa’s (fifteenth/sixteenth century) Bhāṣā-ratna and a commentary on Tattva-cintāmaṇi; and Gaṅgēśa’s son Vardhamāna’s (thirteenth century) Anvīkṣaṇa-nayatattva-bodhā and some ten commentaries entitled Prakāśa on different topics. Jayadeva Miśra, author of Manyāloka, wrote commentaries on a number of Vardhamāna’s works. Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa (sixteenth century) wrote many treatises including śīkās on Raghunātha Śiromaṇi’s major works. Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra’s (c. sixteenth century) Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā is an outstanding work on semantics. His another important work is Nyāyādāraśa. Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma (fifteenth/sixteenth century) wrote many commentaries including Aṣṭādoṣo-dīdhīti-prasārīṇī and Naṅgada-pīppana on Raghunātha Śiromaṇi’s works. Among other works which deserve notice are: Gopinātha Ṭhākkura’s (sixteenth century) Anumāṇa-maṇi-sūra; Gadaḍhara Bhaṭṭācārya’s (seventeenth century) Naṅgada-yaśāḥ, Vyutpatti-vāda, and several expository treatises; Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa’s (sixteenth century) Baudhāṇḍikāī-śāstra and Tattva-cintāmaṇi-rahaśya; Krishnakanta Vidyāvāgīśa’s (nineteenth century) Śakti-sandipani, Nyāya-ratnavali (on Jagadīśa’s Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā), Tarkāmṛta-taraṇī, and Nyāya-ratna-prakāśikā; Madhusūdana Ṭhākkura’s (sixteenth century) Āloka-kaṇṭakoddhāra; and Kalisankara’s (eighteenth-nineteenth centuries) Kroḍapatra.

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 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 Śabaravāmin’s bhāṣya (Śabara-bhāṣya). Commentaries were there before him also by Bhaṭṭāmrita (referred to in Nyāya-ratnakara, verse 10 of Śloka-vārtikā), Bhavadāsa (referred to in Śloka-vārtikā, verse 63), Hari, Upavarsa (referred to in Śāstra-dīpikā), Bodhāyana, and many others. Śabara-bhāṣya was commented upon by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa in his Śloka-vārtikā, Tantra-vārtikā, and

*It is difficult to assign Śabara to a definite date. According to Ganganath Jha, Śabara belongs to the first century B.C. Jacoby 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.
Tup-ṭikā as also in his Brhat-ṭikā and Madhyama-ṭikā. The last two are lost to us. On Sabara-bhāṣya Prabhākara, who formed a different school, wrote two independent commentaries, Brhati (nihandhana) and Lagho (vivaraṇa). These are, again, commented upon by Śālikanātha in Rjuvimala and Dipaśīkā respectively. He also wrote a treatise called Prakaraṇa-pañcikā elucidating Prabhākara’s interpretation of Mīmāṃsā. Mandana Mīśra (eight-ninth centuries A.D.), who eventually accepted Vedāntism under the influence of Śaṅkara, and Bhaṭṭomveka were also Kumārila’s disciples. The former wrote Vidhi-viveka, Bhāvanā-viveka, and Mīmāṃsānukranaṇaṇī, while the latter composed commentaries on Śloka-vārttikā and Bhāvanā-viveka. Pārthasārathi Mīśra (about ninth century A.D.) wrote Śāstra-dīpikā, Tantra-ratna, and Nyāya-ratna-mālā in support of Kumārila’s interpretation of Mīmāṃsā. Among the followers of Kumārila, the most eminent areSucarita Mīśra, author of Kāṭikā, and Bhaṭṭa Somesvara, author of Nyāya-sudhā. Rāmakṛṣṇa’s commentary on the tarkapāda of Śāstra-dīpikā called Yuktis-moha-prapūraṇi-siddhānta-candraṇī and Somanātha’s commentary on the remaining chapters of Śāstra-dīpikā, known as Mayukhama-līkā, are held to be important contributions to Mīmāṃsā. Pāritoṣa Mīśra’s Ajīta is a competent commentary on Tantra-vārttikā. Other important works on Pūrva-Māṃsā are: Nyāya-mālā-vistara of Maṭhava, Nyāya-kāṇikā of Vācaspati Mīśra, Mīmāṃsā-paribhāṣā by Kṛṣṇa Yajvan, Mīmāṃsā-nyāya-prakāśa by Āpadeva, Gāgā Bhaṭṭa’s Bhāṭṭa-cintāmaṇi, and Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa’s Subodhindī and Mīmāṃsā-bāla-prakāśa. There are also a few short manuals on the Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra like Nandīśvara’s Prabhākara-vijaya, Cidānanda’s Nīti-tattvāvibhāva (Bhāṭṭa school), and Bhaṭṭa Viṣṭu’s Nayaātattva-saṅgraha (Prabhākara school). Other notable works of the post-Kumārila period are: Murāri Mīśra’s Tripadi-niti-nayana, a commentary on the second, third, and fourth pādas of the first adhyāya of the Jaimini-Sūtra; Appaya Dīkṣita’s (1552) Vidhi-rasāyana and Mayukhāvalī (a commentary on Śāstra-dīpikā); Veṅkaṭeśvara Dīkṣita’s Vārtikā-bhaṇaṇa (a commentary on Ṭup-ṭikā); Khaṇḍadeva’s Bhaṭṭa-kāustubha, Bhaṭṭa-dīpikā, and Bhaṭṭa-rāhasya; Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍīta’s Mānayeśvara; Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa’s Vidхи-rasāyana-dīṣāṇa; Veṅkaṭaṇātha’s Mīmāṃsā-pādukā; Lāgākṣi Bhaṭṣkara’s Artha-saṅgraha; Śambhudatta’s Prabhāvati (a commentary on Bhaṭṭa-dīpikā); Gopāla Bhaṭṭa’s Mīmāṃsā-vidhi-bhūṣaṇa; Raṅguṇātha’s Mīmāṃsā-ratna; Vaḷlabhācārya’s Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-kārikā; Bhāvanātha’s Nyāya-viveka; and Rāma-nujācārya’s (of Prabhākara school) Tantra-rāhasya.

VI

Uttara-Mīmāṃsā 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 Vedântic philosophy therefore lie in the Upaniṣads which were later systematized in the Brahma-Sûtra and synthesized in the Bhagavad-Gîtâ. The huge edifice of the Vedântic literature has grown up on the solid foundation of these three ways or streams of thought (Prasthana-traya) of which the basic pillar is Šruti which is supported by Smṛti and reasoned out by jñâna and târâ (arguments and counter-arguments). A vast literature is available in the form of commentaries on the Upaniṣads, the Bhagavad-Gîtâ, and the Brahma-Sûtra, which have been written from the standpoints of Advaita, Viśiṣṭadvaita, Dvaita, Dvaitadvaita, Suddhâdvaita, Acintya-bheda-bhâdha, 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-Sûtra or Vedânta-Sûtra of Bādarāyaṇa, which is the basic text of the Vedânta. The Brahma-Sûtra 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-Sûtra emerged in the course of time. The chief schools of interpretation are the Advaita expounded first by Gaudapâda and followed up by Śaṅkara, the Viśiṣṭadvaita by Râmânuja, the Dvaita by Madhva, the Dvaitadvaita by Nimbârka, the Suddhâdvaita by Vallabha, and the Acintya-bheda-bhâdha by Śrī Caitanya. It will be seen that although the basic texts which consist of the Upaniṣads and the Brahma-Sûtra 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 Mâṇḍûkya-kârikâ by Gaudapâda who does not refer to any other writer of the monistic school, not even Bādarāyaṇa. Gaudapâda 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 Gaudapâda lived in the beginning of the eighth century. He flourished after the great Buddhist teachers like Âṣvaghoṣa, Nâgârjuna, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu. Some scholars are of the opinion that Gaudapâda was a crypto-Buddhist and affirmed that the teachings of the Upaniṣads are in conformity with those of Buddha. His Mâṇḍûkya-kârikâ consists of 215 ślokas and is divided into four chapters, viz. āgama, vaitâthya, advaita, and alâtaśânti. In the first chapter, the Mâṇḍûkya 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.
Of Sankara'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 *Iṣa, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, Aṭṭareya, Taittiriya, Chāndogya*, and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*. Sankara's *bhāṣya* on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* is also a classic. Besides, *Viṣṇu-sahasranāma-bhāṣya, Sanat-sujñātya-bhāṣya*, *Hastāmalaka-bhāṣya, Lalitā-trisati-bhāṣya, Viveka-cūḍāmaṇi, Upaḍeśa-sāhasri, Aparokṣaṇa-bhūtī, Sarva-vedānta-siddhānta-sāra-saṅgṛaha, Vākyasūdā, Dṛk-dṛśya-viveka, Pañṭika-rāṣṭra-prakriyā, Praṇaṇcasāra Tantra, Ātmabodha*, etc. are also attributed to him.

Sankara'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-nīrṇaya*, while Govindānanda (sixteenth century) wrote another commentary known as *Ratna-prabhā*. Vācaspati Miśra wrote another commentary on Sankara's *Bhāṣya*, known as *Bhāmati*. On it Amalānanda (thirteenth/fourteenth century) wrote his *Kalpataru* which is commented upon by Appaya Dīkṣīta in his *Kalpataru-parimala*. Padmapāda, another disciple of Śaṅkara, wrote a commentary known as *Pañcapādikā* dealing with the first four *sūtras*. Sureśvārācārya wrote *Naśkarnya-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 'Tattvamāsi' (That thou art), nature of Self and non-Self, and distinction between Self and non-Self. Jñānottama Miśra's *ṭīkā* called *Candrika* and Citsukhācārya's *ṭīkā* called *Bhava-tattva-prakāśikā* are well-known expositions of *Naśkarnya-siddhi*. Its other sub-commentaries are Jñānāntaṛa's *Vidyā-surabhī*, Akhilātman's *Naśkarnya-siddhi-vivarana*, and Rāmadattā's *Śūrūṭha*. Prakāśātman (c. A. D. 1200) wrote a commentary on *Pañcapādikā*, known as *Pañcapādikā-vivarana*, which has two sub-commentaries, *Tattva-dīpana* of Akhaṇḍānanda and *Vivaraṇa-bhāva-prakāśikā* by Nṛśīnthaśrama Muni (A.D. 1500). Amalānanda and Vidyyāgāra also wrote commentaries on *Pañcapādikā* named *Pañcappādikā-darpaṇa* and *Pañcapādikā-ṭīkā* respectively. Vidyyārāṇya (A. D. 1350) elucidated and expanded the teachings of *Pañcapādikā-vivarana* in his *Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṅgṛaha*. On the Vedānta doctrine of liberation, his *Jīvamukti-viveka* is regarded by scholars as an excellent treatise. His another work of note is *Pañcadaśī*, a popular treatise in verse on Vedānta.

Śarvajñātātmanūmi (A.D. 900) wrote *Śaṅkēṣṭa-sārīraka* based on the teachings of Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya*. Śrīhaṃsa's (A.D. 1190) *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khaḍāya* is a well-known work on Vedānta dialectics in which the author establishes the unassailability of Śaṅkara's doctrine. Śaṅkara Miśra, Raghunātha, and Citsukha wrote commentaries on it. Citsukha had also written an independent work on Vedānta dialectics known as *Tattva-dīpikā* which was commented upon.
by Pratyagrupa in his *Nayana-prasādini*. Dharmarājādīlawindra’s (A.D. 1550) *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* is a celebrated work on Vedānta logic and epistemology, which was commented upon by his son Rāmakṛṣṇadhvarindra in his *Śīkhāmaṇi* and by Amarādāsa in his *Maṇiprabhā*. 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 *Gitā-gūḍhārtha-dīpikā* (a commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*), *Prsthāna-bhedā*; *Advaita-ratna-rahṣṭaya*, *Nivṛtta-daśaka-ṭikā*, *Vedastuti-ṭikā*, *Ātmabodha-ṭikā*, etc. Other notable works on Advaita philosophy include Anandabodha Bhaṭṭārakacārya’s (twelfth century) *Nyāya-makaranda*, Sadānanda Yogindra’s (sixteenth century) *Vedānta-sūra* (which has two commentaries, *Subodhīṇi* and *Vidvanmanoraṇjini*), Prakāśananda’s (sixteenth century) *Vedānta-siddhānta-muktāvali*, and Kāśmiraka Sadānanda Yati’s (eighteenth century) *Advaita-brahma-siddhi*.

**Viśiṣṭādvaīta:** Rāmānuja (A.D. 1017-1137), who is propounder of the Viśiṣṭādvaīta school, wrote a commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtra*, known as *Śrībhāṣya*. His other works are *Vedārtha-saṅgraha*, *Vedānta-sūra*, *Vedānta-dīpa*, *Gitā-gūḍhārtha-dīpikā* (a commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*), *Gāḍyā-traya*, and *Bhagavadārādha-krama*. Two main teachers of Viśiṣṭādvaīta who preceded Rāmānuja are Nāṭhamuni (A.D. 824-924) and Yāmunaścarya (c. A.D. 918-1038). The former’s important works are *Nyāya-latavā* and *Tōga-ruhaniya*. The chief works of Yāmunaścarya are *Āgama-prakāśya*, *Śiddha-traya*, and *Gitārtha-saṅgraha*. *Śruta-prakāśikā* of Sudarśana Sūri is regarded as the most important commentary on *Śrībhāṣya*. Virarāghavadāsa made a critical study of *Śruta-prakāśikā* in his *Bhāva-prakāśikā*. *Bhāva-prakāśikā-dūsanodhāra* by Śaṭhakopācārya (sixteenth century) contains a reply to the criticism of *Bhāva-prakāśikā*. There is yet another commentary on *Śruta-prakāśikā*, called *Tulikā* by Vādhnāla Śrīnivāsa (fifteenth century). Vātasyavarada, a nephew of Rāmānuja, had commented on *Śrībhāṣya* in his *Tattva-sūra* which was critically commented upon in *Ratna-sāraṇi* by Virarāghvadāsa whose commentary on *Śrībhāṣya* is known as *Tātparya-dīpikā*. *Naya-mukha-mālikā* by Appaya Dikṣita is a compendium in which the principal views of Rāmānuja are set forth. Veṇkaṭāṇātha (Vedānta Deśika) and his contemporary Meṅgaṇāḍri made critical studies of *Śrībhāṣya* in their works *Tattva-ṭikā* and *Naya-prakāśikā* respectively. Campakeśa, a disciple of Veṇkaṭāṇātha, wrote his *Guru-tattva-prakāśikā* which was commented upon in *Guru-bhāva-prakāśikā* of Śuddhasattvā Laksmapācārya. Prakāśātman Yati (fifteenth century) and his disciple Raṅga Rāmānuja wrote respectively *Mita-prakāśikā* and *Mita-bhāva-prakāśikā*, being critical studies of *Śrībhāṣya*. A digest on *Śrībhāṣya* called *Tattva-mārṭanda* is a work of Śrīnivāsa (also known as Śrīśaila Śrīnivāsa). His other works are: *Jīnāsā-darpāṇa*, *Naya-maṇi-dīpikā*, and *Naya-dyumaṇi-saṅgraha*. His *Śiddhānta-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. Desikācārya's commentary on *Śrībhāṣya* is called *Prayoga-ratna-mālā* and that of Nārāyanā Muni is known as *Bhāva-pradīpikā*. Puruśottama's commentary on *Śrībhāṣya* is known as *Subodhinī*. There are many authors known as Śrīnivāsa belonging to the Rāmānuja school. One Śrīnivāsa, son of Govindācārya and pupil of Mahācārya, wrote *Tattvānda-mata-dīpikā* as also a commentary on *Śruta-prakāśikā*. Śrīkaṇṭha'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 Dīkṣita in his *Śivārka-maṇi-dīpikā*.

**Dvaita:** Madhva (A.D. 1197-1276), propounder of the Dvaita school of Vedānta, is the author of about thirty-seven works which include *Ṛg-bhāṣya*, a commentary on the *Ṛg-Veda* (I. 1-40), *Krama-nirṇaya*, a discussion on the proper reading and order of the *Aṭitareya Brāhmaṇa* (IV. 1-4), *Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya*, *Bhaṭṭagad-Gitā-bhāṣya*, *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya*, *Brahma-Sūtrāṇubhāṣya*, *Upaniṣad-khaṇḍana*, *Māyāvāda-khaṇḍana*, *Tattva-viveka*, and *Brahma-Sūtrāṇu-vyākhyāna*. His expositions of the *Bhaṭṭagad-Gitā* have been commented upon by various scholars, e.g. Rāghavendra in his *Gītārtha-saṅgraha*, Vidyādhīrāja Bhaṭṭopādhyāya in his *Gītā-viśrūtaki*, and Jayatīrtha in his *Prameya-dīpikā*. Madhva's *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya* has been commented upon by Jayatīrtha in his *Tattvā-prakāśikā*. The sub-commentaries on his work are: *Tātparya-prakāśikā-bhāva-bodha* and *Tātparya-prakāśikā-gata-nāyika-vivaraṇa* by Raghūttama Yati, and *Bhāva-dīpikā* and *Tātparya-candrikā* by Vyāsatīrtha. Madhva's *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra* has also been commented upon by Jagannātha Yati in his *Bhāya-dīpikā* and by Viṭṭhālasuta Śrīnivāsa in his *Gītā-viśrūtaki*, and Jayatīrtha in his *Prameya-dīpikā*. Madhva's *Brahma-Sūtrāṇu-vyākhyāna*, 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 *Paṇḍīkā*. *Nyāya-sūdha* has been commented upon by Keśava Bhaṭṭa in his *Seṣa-vākyārthī-candrikā* and Śripadarāja in his *Nyāya-sūdhopanyāsa*.

**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*), *Daśa-śloki*, *Guru-paramparā*, *Vedānta-tattva-bodha*, *Vedānta-suddhānta-pradīpa*, etc. *Vedānta-pārijāta-saurabha* 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 Kāśmīrī Bhaṭṭa who also wrote a commentary on the *Bhaṭṭagad-Gitā* called *Tattvā-prakāśikā*. Nimbārka's *Daśa-śloki*, also called *Siddhānta-ratna*, has been commented upon by Puruṣottama-prasāda in his *Vedānta-ratna-maṇjuśa*. A summary of the views of Rāmānuja,
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Nimbārka, and Madhva is found in Śrīnivāsa’s Sakalācārya-mata-saṅgāha. 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, Aṣṭabhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtra, and Prakāśa on his own work Tattvārtha-dīpikā. His Aṣṭabhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtra was commented upon by Puruṣottama (b. 1670) in his Bhāṣya-prakāśa, Giridhara in his Vivaraṇa, and Śrīdhara Śarman in his Bālaprabodhini. Aṣṭabhāṣya-nigudhartha-dīpikā by Lālu Bhaṭṭa is another commentary on Aṣṭabhāṣya. Viṭṭhala Dīkiṭa (1518-88), son of Vallabha, wrote a number of books of which the most important is Vidvanmaṇḍana. Sadananda, an Advaitist scholar, refuted in his Saharākṣa (1688) the arguments in Vidvanmaṇḍana of Viṭṭhala Dīkiṭa and Śuddhādvaita-mārtanda of Giridhara. Saharākṣa was critically examined and its arguments were refuted by Viṭṭhalanatha (nineteenth century) in his Prabhaṇjana. Pitāmbara, the great-grandson of Viṭṭhala Dīkiṭa, wrote Avatāra-vādavali, Dravya-suddhi and its commentary. His son Puruṣottama (b. 1670) wrote Subodhini-prakāśa, a commentary on Subodhini of Vallabha. His other works are Upaniṣad-dīpikā, Āvāraṇa-bhaṅga, a sub-commentary on Prakāśa of Vallabha, Bhedābheda-saṅrūpa-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. Jīva Gosvāmin wrote six sandarbhas (compendia) to put this view of Śrī Caitanya in a philosophic form, which is known as Satsandarbha. 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

LOKAYATA OR ĀRVĀKA

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 Śrutis 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’,
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literally meaning (a doctrine) 'spread out among the people'.\(^4\) It was also known as 'Nāstika' as it was sceptical or antagonistic to the Vedic doctrines.\(^6\) It earned yet another name 'Cārvāka' which is sometimes interpreted as 'one of sweet and attractive (cārū) words (vāk)', as its founder\(^8\) was supposed to have been.\(^7\) 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.\(^8\)

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 Brhadāranyaka Upanīṣad (II. 4.12; IV. 5.13), Katha Upanīṣad (I. 1.20, 2.6), Chāndogya Upanīṣad (VIII. 7-8), Rāmāyaṇa (II. 108-9), Mahābhārata (XII. 38-39, 186), Brahma-Sūtra (III. 3.53-54) to be read with Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara-çārya and Bhāmāti of Vācaspati Miśra, Jaimini’s Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra (Chapter I), Vātsyāyana’s KāmaSūtra (II. 7), Kauṭūlya’s Arthaśāstra (I. 1), Viśnu Purāṇa (I. 6. 29-31), Padma Purāṇa (I. 13. 318-40), Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya (VII. 3.45), Manu Śṛṃti (II. 11, IV. 163, etc.), Dīgha Nikāya (II. 22-24), Śūtra-kṛtāṅga-sūtra (II. 1.9-10), Śāntarākṣita’s (A.D. 705-62) Tattva-saṅgraha (vv. 7, 110), Jayanta Bhaṭṭa’s Nyāya-maṅjarī (I. 2), Udayana’s Nyāya-kusumāṇḍalī (III. 5-6), Śrīharṣa’s Naṣadha-carita (XVII. 38 ff.), Kṛṣṇa Miśra’s Prabodha-candrodaya (Act II), Harihṛdra Sūri’s Saḍdarśana-sāmuccaya (vv. 84 ff.), Mādhavācārya’s Sarva-dārśana-saṅgraha (Ch. I), Vidyāraṇya’s Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṅgraha (I. 4), Sadānanda Yogīndra’s Vedānta-sūra (98-108), and Kāśmīraka Sadānanda Yati’s Advaita-brāhma-siddhi (II. 5. 1-7). Besides, there are the commentaries of Kamalaśīla, Prabhācandra, Guṇaratna, and others which quote śūtras attributed to this system of philosophy. A few śūtras scattered here and there have been attributed to Brahaspati, the supposed founder of the Cārvāka school. Śukra-ntisṭara, a treatise on polity attributed to Sage

\(^4\) The term lokāyata has various other interpretations as well. For example, Buddhaghosa, the Buddhist commentator of the fifth century A.D., describes (Sarvato-pakṣini, II. 96) it as a philosophy the āyatanas (basis) of which is loka (material world), while Haribhadra Sūri in his Saḍdarśana-sāmuccaya defines loka as that which is an object of sense-perception. Guṇaratna in his commentary on Saḍdarśana-sāmuccaya says that as the adherents of the school behaved like 'common people', their philosophy came to be termed as lokāyata.

\(^6\) Manu., II. 11. Medhātithi in his commentary accepts this definition (Manu., IV. 163) as well as identifies Nāstikas with Lokāyatās who do not believe in the existence of the other world (Manu., VIII. 22).

\(^8\) Brahaspati Laukya or Brahmanspati 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 ērī 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.
Sukrācārya, mentions the nāstika-lāstra and its strong arguments against the validity of the Vedas and the existence of God. Medhatithi in his commentary on Manu Smṛti (VII. 43) has also referred to the tarka-vidyā (science of logic) of the Cārvākas. It is known that there was one Lokāyata-lāstra with its commentary by Bhāgūrī which existed about 300 B.C. The authorship of the original work is attributed to both Brhaspati and Cārvāka. The only extant Lokāyata work is Tattvopaplava-simha of Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa (c. eighth century A.D.). Sāñjaya, Ajita Kesakambalin, Pūrana Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, and Kakuḍa Kātyāyana are referred to in the Buddhist texts as advocates of heretical philosophies similar to the philosophy of the Cārvāka school. Purandara (c. seventh century) is known to be an important exponent of the Cārvāka school.

Besides the Cārvāka system, Bauddha (Buddhist) and Jaina systems of philosophy are also included in the heterodox schools as they equally deny the validity of the Śruti. Instead, they take the words of Buddha and Mahāvīra as the highest truth and source of knowledge. They, however, differ from the Cārvāka system in recognizing the validity of inference as a source of knowledge over and above perception. 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 bhāṣyas, vṛttis, tikās, 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.

* Sukra-nitiśāra, IV. 3,55.
11 For an account of the philosophy and other details of the Bauddha and the Jaina systems of the heterodox schools, see CHI, Vol. I, pp. 289-598. The literature of these two systems has already been exhaustively dealt with in Part I of this volume (pp. 152-208).
12 The suśīkṣita Cārvākas, however, accept inference in a modified form (cf. CHI, Vol. III, pp. 181-82). It may be noted that the Cārvākas are generally classified into two groups, the dhūrtā Cārvākas and suśīkṣita Cārvākas. The dhūrtā Cārvākas are the extremists who deny the causal nexus of phenomena and hold that things come into existence by themselves. According to the suśīkṣita or progressive Cārvākas, 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 Sāmkhya to the Navya-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 praśāna (graceful) and gambhīra (solemn). Of the two well-known compendia on philosophy, one is Mādhavācārya's Sarva-dārśana-saṅgraha 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 Śūri's celebrated work, Ṣaḍdarśana-saṃuccaya, which deals with the Bauddha, Nyāya, Sāmkhya, Jaina, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrva-Mimāṃsā, and Lokāyata systems. There are two other short compendia, Sarva-dārśana-kaumudi and Sarva-siddhānta-sāra-saṅgraha, 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. Kaśmīraka Sadānanda Yati, for instance, in his Advaita-brahma-siddhi has used such expressions as mudgāra-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 Sāmkhya in Sāmkhya-tattva-kaumudi as of Advaita in his commentary on Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya of Śaṅkara, known as Bhāmatī.

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,

18 The following sixteen systems of Indian philosophy have been discussed in this work in the order as noted hereunder: Carvāka, Bauddha, Jaina, Rāmānuja, Pūrṇa-prajñā, Nakulīśa-Pāṣupata, Śāiva, Pratīyabhijñā, Raseśvara, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Jaininīya, Pāṇinīya, Sāmkhya, Yoga, and Vedānta or Śaṅkara-dārśana.
PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

and the formation of universals it explained by a well-thought-out metaphysical theory.\textsuperscript{14} The later philosophical literature of Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, etc. follows the Navya-Nyāya line. The tradition of maintaining precision in philosophical literature and sticking to parsimony of hypothesis has been preserved in the works of some scholars of the twentieth century also. —Editor.

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{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), praJastis (eulogies of important personages), and documents recording grants made by kings of lands and other objects to Brähmanas 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 kavya literature in the successive periods of history. The majority of the early inscriptions may also be treated as miniature historical kāvyas.

AŚOKAN EDICTS 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 dhammalipis (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.
INSCRIPTIONS : THEIR LITERARY VALUE

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 Brāhmi 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 direc­
tives 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 dharm’ (ayā ca mukha-muta vijaye devanam priya sa 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 (sa ve munise pājā mamā), he directs his adminis­
trators 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 āladhi) and ‘king’s favour’ here (lajālādhi). 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, dharmme sādhu (excellent is the law of piety), and then
he asks, kiyaṃ ca dhamme ti (wherein does dharm consist ?). His answer is:
apāsinave (little impiety), bahu-kayāne (many good deeds), dāyā (compassion),
dāne (liberality), sace (truthfulness), socaye (purity). That is to say, dharm
consists in the said ethical virtues. The king’s view is clearly expressed in the
following sentence: Havaṁ ca kho esa dekhīye—imāṇi āśina-āgāmīṁ nāma, atma
candīye niṭṭhūliye kodhe māne isyā kālanena va hakaṁ mā palibhasayisam (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.

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of these [vices]). In another passage the king claims that he made all people pious by preaching the dharma, and thereby caused their association with the gods which was hitherto non-existent. Thus says Asoka:

Iminā cu kālena amisā samānā munisā jaṁbudīpasi misā devehi. Pakamasa hi iyam phale. No hiyam sakye mahāyeneva pāpotave. Kamaṁ tu kho khudakena pi pakamaminiṇena vipule svage sakye ārādhetahe (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 dhammādasa 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 bhante āvateke hamā budhasi dharhmāsī saṅghastī 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 āsavān sadharmme cilāṭhitike hosattī (thus the good Law, i.e. Buddhism, will stay on permanently) with one in the Anguttara Nikāya of the Pali canon which reads: Yena... sadharmmo drattitiko hoti ti.

The significance, again, of the seven titles of texts, namely, Vinaya-samukase 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 Māgadhī 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 Pitakas are concerned, was closely related to the Māgadhī canon'. Asoka expressed in the same edict his faith in Buddha's words thus: E kaci bhante bhagavatā budhena bhāṣite save se subhāṣite vā (Whatever has been uttered by Lord Buddha, all that has been well said). The Anguttara 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 Bhabru Edict, and 'the mistake has been allowed to continue'.—Cf. Amulya 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, when many passages of the texts were unintelligible, scholars failed to note the lucidity of their style.—DCS.
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KURRAM PRAKRIT INSRIPTION

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 (probable of the Śaka era, equivalent to A.D. 99). It contains a quotation, attributed to Buddha, purporting to be the famous pratitya-samutpāda (pratīcāsa-mamupāda) formula, popularly called ‘the formula of causality’, which explains the twelve-linked chain of causation of existence beginning with āvijjā (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.

KHĀRABELA’S HĀTHIGUMPHA INSRIPTION IN PRAKRIT

The Hathigumpha cave (Udayagiri Hills, near Bhuvaneswar, 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 unexaggerated, 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 kāya 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-kidikā), and then he passed the next nine years in ‘the office of the heir-apparent’ (yovarāja, Sanskrit yauvarāja). 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-gaṇanā-vevaḥāra-viḍhī-visāradena sava-vijāvadātena), he was anointed as mahārāja in his twenty-fourth year.


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 Sātakarni (I. or II) of the West, another against Bhāratavarṣa (northern India), and yet another against Uttarā-patha (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 Kālinga capital, the gates, walls, and buildings which had been damaged by a storm' (vāta-vihata-gopura-pākara-nivesanam paṭīsankhārayati kālinga-nagaram), and the rebuilding of water-reservoirs and re-laying of gardens (sitala-taḍḍāga-pādiyo bandhārayati saṃyāna-paṭīsanthāpanam ca kārayati).

King Kharavela was himself 'versed in the musical sciences' (gaṃḍhava-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' (dāṇḍa-nāga-gata-vādita-saṃhīṣitaṁ usava-saṃāja-kāraṇāṁ ca kidārayati nagarīṁ). His danda or military force consisted, as in the Maurya period, 'of cavalry, elephants, infantry, and chariots' (haya-gaja-nara-radha-vahulam). 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-tivasam doṣamāṇaṁ tanasuliya-rāja taṇḍārim 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-vijaya-cako), Kharavela 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 Jaina king, sava-paṣaṇḍa-pujako (a worshipper of all sects or denominational congregations) and sava-deviṣyatana-saṅkhāra-kārako (a repairer of all religious temples), and four others assumed by the king himself, namely, khemarāja (king of prosperity), sadharāja (king of augmentation, or of old people [?]), bhikṣurāja (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' (alāṅkāras) were thought not so important.
The Nanaghat (Poona District) cave inscription in Prakrit, referring to the reign of the early Satavahana ruler Satakarni 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, specially 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 agnyādheya, anālamhāniya, rājasuya, asvamedha, saptadaśātirātra, bhagāladaśārātra, gargūrātra, gavāmayana, aṅgirasāmaya, śatātirātra, aṅgirasātirātra, chandomapavamānātirātra, and trayodaśārātra) stated to have been performed by the queen-mother (probably Nāyanikā-Nāganikā, wife of King Śatakarni I). The people were still guided by the karma-kāṇḍa of the Vedas. They used to pay substantial fees (daksīṇā) to the priests engaged in the sacrifices. The fees comprised milch cows, horses, elephants, and villages, besides ‘cash coins’ (kāhāpānas). 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’ (āpatihatacakasa dakhinā-patha-patino... bālayā), ‘the wife of Śrī Śatakarni, the foremost warrior of the earth girded by oceans and mountains, the scion of the Aṅgīya family, the great hero’ (Mahārathino aṅgiyakula-vadhanasa sāgara-girivara-valayāya pathaviya pathama-virasa...mahato...śātakaṁni [?] -śirisa bhāriyā ya[?]), the mother of Vediṣri (or Skandaśri, according to some scholars) who was a giver of pūrtta works (excavation of reservoirs of water etc.),9 boons, objects of enjoyment and wealth (devasa putadasa varadasa kāmadasa dhanadasa vedi-[khada, according to some decipherers] siri-māthya). 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 māsopavāsinīya gahatāpasya carita-brhamacarīvīya dikhāvrata-yamūna-sumūḍyā). 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, Saṅkarṣaṇa, 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 kāśya must

8 Ibid., pp. 186 ff.
9 It is possibly better to regard putada as Sanskrit putrada, ‘giver of sons’.—DCS.
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 vādarbhi riti (style of the South) so much extolled by Daṇḍin (c. seventh century A.D.) in his Kāvyādāśa.10

PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF PUＬUMＡＹI 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 inscription11 of the nineteenth regnal year of the Sātavāhana king Śiri Puḷumāyi (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 pṛaśasti 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 Bāna 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 Vasisthlputra Puḷumāyi. 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, Mahārājapitāmāhī to the Buddhist congregation of the Bhadrāyanīyas; 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 Sangha by the Lord of the Deccan (dakṣīṇapathesara). 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-maṇḍara-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’ (patipūna-cada-madala-sasirika-piya-dasanasa); his ‘attractive footsteps resembled those of a choice elephant’ (vara-vāraqa-vikama-cāru-vikamaśa); his ‘beautiful long arms were thick, round, and massive like the body of the king of serpents’ (bhujagapati-bhoga-plna-vata-vipula-digha-sudara-bhujasa); his ‘heroism equalled that of Keśava, Arjuna, and Bhīmaśeṇa12 (Kesavajuna-bhīmasena-tula-parakamaśa); his ‘heroic

10 It is doubtful whether Daṇḍin’s Kāvyādāśa could have been written earlier than the seventh century because it prominently mentions the gaudī 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.


12 The inscription has Rāma-besana-juna-bhīmasena-tula-parakamaśa.—DCS.
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lustre vied with that of kings Nābhāga, Nahuṣa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma, and Ambariṣa (Nābhāga-nahuṣa-janamejaya-sagara-yayāti-rāmabarisa-samatejas); 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 Pavana (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-rakha-sijāda-hara-bhūta-ganadhava-cāraṇa-cada-divākara-nakha-gaha-viciṇa-samasi jtirupasaṇghasa). There is an abundance of anuprasa (alliteration) and the poetical quality (guna) called prasada (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 prasātis 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 gaudi riti (style of the East) of Daṇḍin. Epithets describing Gautamiputra Sātakarni as 'the house of all lores' (āgamāṇa nilayasa), 'the shelter of good people' (sapūrasānam asayasa), 'the asylum of fortune' (siriye adhipānasā), etc. remind us of the style of later prose-writers like Bāṇa. For instance, in his picture of King Śūdraka in Kādambarī 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 kāyas 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 Baiia in a much finer way.

JUNAGARH INSRIPTION OF RUDRADĀMAN IN SANSKRIT

Probably the largest and earliest Sanskrit inscription wholly written in prose in the kāya style is the Junagarh (in Gujarat) rock inscription 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'

The words madhura (sweet), kānta (elegant), and udāra (dignified) along with seven others constitute, according to Dandin, one of the earliest Sanskrit theorists on kāvya, the ten requisite poetic excellences, guṇas which form the life-breath of the vaidarbhi diction. These guṇas are the soul of kāvya in Vāmana's opinion. At that early period, rasa or sentiment and dhvani or suggestiveness were not recognized as essential characteristics of a good kāvya.

The sphaṭa (lucidity) and laghu (ease) of the inscription may correspond to the arthavyakti (perspicuity) and prasāda in Dandin's list. His other guṇas which produce sound effects, namely, śleṣa (pun or double entendre), sukumāratā (tenderness), and samatā (consistency of sounds) as also samāдж (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 Harsavardhana 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 Dandin. 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 Hariśena'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 āgarbhat prabhṛti and anyatra saṃgrāmeṣu 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 anuprāsa (alliteration) is extensively used with repetition of parts of words, full words, or single letters as in abhyasta-nāmno rudradāmnano, praharana-vitarana, kāma-viṣayānāṁ viṣayānāṁ, vidheyānāṁ yaudheyānāṁ, and āryaṃkāryeṇa.

HARIŚENA'S PRAŚASTI OF SAMUDRAGUPTA AT ALLAHABAD

After the third century a.d. almost all inscriptions were written in Sanskrit, the praśastis being either in campū form, or in verse only, and sometimes, as in Central and South India, in prose only.

14 Cf. Kavyadarśa, I. 41-42.
15 This is not correct so far as South India is concerned.—DCS.
Among the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Gupta period, the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta (c. A.D. 335-80), composed by his court poet Hariśena, is a perfect specimen of kāyya. In it there is clear evidence of the influence of the theorists. This inscription is essentially a prāśasti composed to celebrate Samudragupta’s military conquests, and served as a model for Kālidāsa while he described Raghu’s conquests (digvijaya) in Canto IV of his Rāghuvanśa. It incidentally records his political relations with other kings. Hariśena has displayed his magnificent poetic art in composing this prāśasti in campū form. It begins with eight verses in which sārdulavikridita, mandakranta, and srāgdharā 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 pṛthvī metre. It concludes with another small prose passage. The whole prāśasti consists of a single gigantic sentence. Hariśena appears to have followed the vaidarbhi style. The composition shows the author’s weakness for long compound words, specially when he writes prose. This, it may be mentioned, was the peculiarity of the gaudī style. The figures of speech used are alliterations, metaphors, and similes. There is also a sprinkling of ślesa. 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 Ganga. Its ascent towards heaven and its proclamation by means of the lofty pillar acting as the arm of the earth provide beautiful poetic imageries.

Hariśena speaks of King Samudragupta as having ‘established the title of “king of poets” by the composition of many a kāyya which was fully drawn upon by other learned men’ (vidvajjanopajyanēka-kāyya-kriyāṣṭhitā-kaviṉāja-sabdasya). The king’s kāyya was of such a high order as would have ‘kept at a distance the greatness of the intellect of other poets’ (kavi-mati-vibhavotsaranaṃ). The king is further described as enjoying ‘lordship over fame [produced] by many blooming poetical works’ (sphuta-bahu-kaviña-kīrtti-rājya bhunakti). And what the poet of the inscription has said of his patron-monarch’s literary talents applies to himself as well.

16 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 Kāvyadarśa (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 Gaudas preferred them also in poetry.—DCS.
Kalidasa greatly influenced many of the writers of epigraphs. Vatsabhaṭṭi, the poet of the Mandasaur (Madhya Pradesh) inscription of Kumāragupta I (c. A.D. 413-56) and Bandhuvarman, dated A.D. 436 and 473, was in point of time an immediate successor of Kalidāsa, and his description of Nature seems to be an imitation of the author of the Meghadūta and the Ritusāhāra. 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 (śreni) of silk-weavers (paṭṭavāya), and the seasons, as and when opportunity arose. The whole praṇasti was made up of forty-four verses in altogether twelve metrical varieties. Like Kalidāsa, he also explained the particular season’s meaning for lovers. The influence of the Ritusāhāra 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-bhāskarāṃśu-vahni-pratāpa-subhage . . . . . . candrāṁśu-harmyatala-candana-tālavrnta-hāropabhoga-rahitte . . . . . . 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 Kavyadarśa (I. 80-84), this was also employed by non-Deccan poets (like Vatsabhaṭṭi) even when they composed a padya-kavya. The inscription does not forget lodhra, priyangu, kunda, and lavali flowers while describing the winter; similarly, it does not miss, while describing the spring, referring to flowers such as aśoka, ketaka, sindhuvara, 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-mudīta-madhukara-kulopagita-naganaka-prithu-tākhe).

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 Kalidāsa’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

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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.
gives smooth and pleasant sounds while describing the goodness and wisdom of Bandhuvarman. But the poet introduces harsh syllables just in the fourth pada to describe Bandhuvarman’s heroism (dvīd-dṛpta-paṅga-kaśapaṇaṇa-dakṣaḥ), which remind us of the principle of avoiding sukumārata (tenderness) in the description of the raudra (fierce) sentiment according to Dandin. Following the rules of composition of a mahākavya, Vatsabhaṭṭi has also introduced verse varieties like yugmakas, viṣṭekas, kalāpakaṇas, 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 Bhitari (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 (Śāṅgin) and the allotment of a village to the idol by Skandagupta evidently in memory of his late father Kumāragupta I. This inscription of the campā 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 Kṛṣṇa to his mother Devakī. The latter inscription is a eulogistic description of the work of repairs to the old and famous lake or dam, Sudarṣana, in the peninsula of Surāśṭra. Part I of the epigraph, complete in thirty-nine verses, is, according to the poet, a grantha by itself (iti sudarṣana-taṭāka-saṃskāra-grantha-racanā samāpiṣṭa). 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.

MANDASAUR STONE PILLAR INSRIPTION OF YAŚODHARMAN

The Mandasaur inscription of Yaśodharman (c. A.D. 525-35) composed by the poet Vāṣula narrates the erection of the column to dwell on the king’s glory and power. The poet seems to have adopted the method of Harihena in describing the pillar, with his first eight verses all composed in the sragdhara 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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virtues of Yaśodharman. It reminds one of Harīśena’s description of Fame’s way in the Allahabad pillar inscription. In verse 6, the poet describes the Hūṇa king Mihiṣṭaka as one who never bowed his head to any other except the god Śthānū (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 Bhāṭṭikāmya (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 Bhaṭṭi, 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 Banskhara (Shahjahanpur) copper plate of Harṣa (A.D. 606-47), the Nidhanpur (Sylhet) copper plates of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, the Aihole (Bijapur) inscription of Pulakesin II (A.D. 608-42), the Apshad (Gayā) prastāra of Ādityasena (A.D. 672), the Tipperah (Bangladesh) copper plate of Lokanātha, and the Kailan (Tipperah) copper plate of King Śrīdhāravarāṇa of Samatāta.

In the Maitraka inscriptions, Bhaṭṭaṛka, the founder of the dynasty, is described as pratāpoṇa-dāna-mahāvaṃśa-varṣaśāra-maṅgala-trivasadāna-dhanyākṣa-maudal-bhṛta-śrenā-balā-vāpta-raiṣṭra-śrī, i.e. ‘whole royal fortune was attained through his armies of maula (hereditary), bhṛta (salaried), and śrenī (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-kānti-śhārīrya-śhārīrya-gāmbhīrīyā-buddhi-sampadbhiḥ smara-sāsānikādhibhirājodhi trīdāsaṅguru-dhanesān ātityānāh, while King Dharasena is described as prathama-narapat-samatisṛṭānām, anupālayita, dharmaśayānām, apakartā prajopaghaṭa-kāraṇām upabṛavānāh, darṣayānāṃ śrī-sarasvatyorekādhīvāsasya, sarthatātāti-pākṣa-lākṣmi-paribhoga-dakṣa-vikramaḥ. The royal epithets show the poets’ familiarity with

26 Ibid., pp. 164, 171.
28 F. N. Bhatāccvurvyā, Kāmarūpaśaṃsvaṁvali (Rangpur Sahitya Parishad, 1338 n.s.), pp. 1 ff.
29 Ep. Ind., VI, pp. 1 ff.
30 J. F. Fleet, op. cit., XLII.
31 Ep. Ind., XV, No. 19.
32 Indian Historical Quarterly, XXII, pp. 221 ff.

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anuprāsa and śleṣa, with rāja-tantra (politics) and śalāturtya-tantra (the science of grammar as systematized by Pāṇini who was born in Śalātura33 in the Punjab). The descriptions of Supratiṣṭhita varman and Bhāskara varman in the Nidhanpur copper plates in a few āryā verses and in prose at once remind us of the pāṇḍitī riti (style of the North) adopted by Bāṇa, wherein words and sense are equally balanced. Epithets like śruta-sauryya-dhairyya-sausthīryah, i.e. ‘whose heroism, perseverance, and pride were well heard of’, in Bhāskara varman’s description bespeak the poet’s proper use of syllables suited to the sentiment.

RAVIKĪRTĪ’S PRAŚASTI OF PULAKEŚIN II AT AIHOLE

The exploits of Cālukya Pulakeśin II are lucidly and graphically described by Raviśīrtī in Śaka year 556 (A.D. 634) in a prāśasti of thirty-seven verses composed in a variety of metres such as ārṇa, śārḍīlavikrīḍita, ārṇāgiti, matte-bhavikrīḍita, vanlāsthā, mālīṇī, sagraha, mandākrāntā, sīkha, and hāṛiṇī. The poet admits (verse 37) that he imitated Kālidāsa and Bhāravi whose time cannot thus be placed after A.D. 634. The prāśasti offers clear evidence that its author was thoroughly conversant with the canons of the alankāra-āstra and, like a true Deccan poet32 (dāṅkīṣṭāya), was unsurpassed in his employment of utprekṣās. The prāśasti uses the sound-figure yamaṭa 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 ṁṛthu-kadamba-kadamba-kadambakam in his description must have been suggested by ṁṛthu-kadamba-kadambaka of the Kṛśṭārjuniya (V. 9) of Bhāravi.

APHŚAD PRAŚASTI OF ĀDITYASENA

The Aphsad (Gaya) inscription of Ādityasena, who built a temple of Viṣṇu, is a prāśasti consisting of thirty verses composed in different metres. Artificiality 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’.34

33 According to Hiuen Tsang, Sha-lo-tu-lo (Śalātura) lay a few miles to the north-west of Wu-to-ka-han-ch’a (Udabhānda) 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.


34 Cf. Such conventional epithets of the king as āstātāpatra-thagita-vasu-maṇḍala-lokapālāh (a guardian of the world, by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth is covered) and āstātā-pāṇḍita-naredra-maṇi-carana-phāra-pratāpānāḥ (the spreading fire of the prowess of whose feet has the heads of all kings placed under it). Phrases like ṁṛṣṇā mṛgendrāḥ (whose arms played the part of a lion) and suinīya-dugdhī-rindhūḥ...rīmāḥkito mandaṁśhīthya jena (by whom, playing the part of the Mandāra 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 SRIDHARANARATA AND LOKANATHA

The Kailan copper plate of the eighth year of the reign of King Sridhara-
arata of Samatata, whose father Jivadhara
arata was undoubtedly a contemporary of King Lokanatha of the Tipperah grant of the latter half of the seventh century A.D., exhibits the characteristics of the gaudī 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 Jivadhara
arata and his grandson Baladharanarata were adept in sabdavidyā (grammar and lexicon), the grandfather being a poet (kavi) 'versed in all arts, and the producer of excellent sweet songs' (atimadhura-citragīter utpādayitā).

The same characteristics of Sanskrit prose style are observable in the prose portions of Lokanatha's copper plate grant. The poet found an opportunity here to describe the forest region in the Suuvuṅga-viṣaya in the gaudī style as mrga-mahūsa-varāha-vyāghra-sarita-pādāhīr yatheccham anubhūyamāna-grha-sambhaga-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 aśṭa-puspikā known from Bāṇa's Harṣacarīta. The poet copiously uses long compound words with a play of the sound-figure of alliteration in tatra bhagavato'mara-varasura-dinakara-Jajadhara-kubera-kinnara-vidyadkara-makoraga-gandharva-varuna-yakṣa... [a]bhishuta-vapuo'nanta-nārāyaṇasya satatam aṣṭa-puspikā-
bali-caru-sattra-prārttaye.

BADAL PRAŚASTI OF THE NINTH CENTURY

The Badal (Dinajpur) pillar inscription3 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 ex-
tolled. 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 (Darbhapāṇi). 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 Gauri (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

3 Gaudaśekhamālī (Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi), p. 70.

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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 Vṛndāvana (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 Ksatriyas [for extermination]’, one may compare the figure virodha or virodhābhāṣa (oxymoron) in verse 15 of the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, in which we have expressions like nalasama and analasadrśa 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 PRAṢASTI OF THE NINTH CENTURY**

A praṣasti (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 Sarvajñāṇaṇi, head of the Kaṇḍkṣa vihāra (monastery), and then started for Mahābodhi (Gaya) to worship the vajrasana of Buddha, and finally went to live in the vihāra known as Yaśovarmapura in Magadha. 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 praṣasti. A skilful use of alliteration can be marked in such expressions in the epigraph as saṃsāra-sāgara-samuttaraṇaika-setuḥ, kalayā malaṁ, and tāpati tapanah. Not many involved figures of speech are found in the praṣasti. The poet has made an extensive use of the metre vasantatilaka interspersed with sprinklings of śārdula-vikritīḍita and mandākrāntā.

**BHUVANEŚVARA PRAṢASTI OF BHĀṬṬA BHAVADEVA**

The Bhuvaneśvara inscription is a praṣasti 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). Bhāṭṭa Bhavadeva, surnamed ‘Bala-valabhi-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
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brahmavādīn (one who teaches or expounds the Vedas), a mīmāṃsāka (a follower of the Mīmāṃsā system of philosophy), a jyotiṣika (an astronomer or astrologer), a smārta (one who possesses knowledge of Śruti), an ālokārika (a rhetorician), an arthastra (an expert in political science), an astrastra (an expert in ballistics), and a vaidyāstra (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 śeṣa, and seems in his elaborate kāvyā style to have followed the Naiṣadha-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.

UMĀPATICHARA’S PRAṢASTI OF VIJAYASENA FROM DEOPARA

Umāpatidhara is well known among the poets who adorned the court of King Lākṣmanaśena (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) prāṣasti40 of Vijayasaṇa (c. A.D. 1097-1159), which consists of thirty-six verses in a variety of metres. It records the construction of a temple of Hariharā under the name of Pradyumnaśvara by King Vijayasaṇa. 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 Prācetas (Vālmīki) and Parāśaranandana (Vyāsa) and says (verse 33) that his effort to eulogize the Sena king, Vijayasaṇa, 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-kārti-pura-surasindhu-viśāha puṇāha šaivāryātmāhā tu naḥ prayatnāḥ). He refers to his own intellect ‘being accurate in determining words and their import’ (eṣā kāveś pada-padārtha-viddha-suddha-buddhi umāpatidharasya kṛtāḥ prāṣastiḥ). 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 Vijayasaṇa 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 Ardhanārīśvara, 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 jewels, emeralds, and pearls dedicated by Vijayasaṇa 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 Silimpur (Bogra, North Bengal) stone inscription of the eleventh century A.D. may be cited wherein are represented the poet-author’s views on poetic power:

\[ \text{Kavih kavya-gunaireva sobhate’viveitalciram} \\
\text{Tanmukhānviṣṭa-kāvyasya nāṣyantyekapade guṇāḥ.} \]

‘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. Buhler, 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, and Central Asia (‘Serindia’). Sanskrit inscriptions consisting of Buddhist dhāranīs and the well-known formula ye dharma... have also been found in Yunnan (China); 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-desa, 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
only from the second half of the third century. It is remarkable, however, that the Vo-canh inscription (South Vietnam) composed in Sanskrit already adopts the kavya 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 ārdhavikriyā. Unfortunately, the text is mutilated to a considerable extent. It has not yet been decided whether it is of Brāhmaṇical or of Buddhist inspiration. But, palaeographically, this inscription has distinct affinities with the inscriptions of Nagarjunikonda, and it seems to be contemporaneous with the Brāhmaṇical inscriptions in Sanskrit discovered at the same site. It cannot be definitely concluded on the basis of this meagre evidence that the Vo-canh inscription is of Brāhmaṇical 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 prajāstis. A few, however, contain only invocations to divinities. These inscriptions prove that Sanskrit was the only literary language in ancient Cambodia. It is true that the local language, Khmer, is used in epigraphy from the seventh century onwards. But,
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 utilisable 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Yam antaraṁ jyotir upāsate buddhā} \\
&\text{Niruttaraṁ brahma paraṁ jīgaṣavaḥ.} \\
&\text{Tapaśrutejāvidhayo yadaṛpaṇā} \\
&\text{Bhavantyanirdeśyaphalāṁubandhinaḥ,} \\
&\text{Na kevalaṁ tatphalayogasanginām} \\
&\text{Asaṅgināṁ karmaphalatayājāṁ api.} \\
&\text{Nisargasiddhāṁ animādibhir gūnaṁ} \\
&\text{Upetam aṅgikṛtaṁaktivistaraḥ,} \\
&\text{Dhiyāṁ atitaṁ vacasāṁ agocaram} \\
&\text{Anāśpadaṁ yasya padāṁ vidur budhāḥ.}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{44 A. Barth and A. Bergaigne, Inscriptions sanskrites de Campâ et du Cambodge (JSCC), V, Cf. Les Religions brahmaniques, pp. 57-58; and Journal Asiatique (J.A.), 1967, pp. 212-13.} \\
&\text{45 The inscription relates the installation or restoration of a Śvāpada (footprint of Śiva, on which see J.A., 1964, pp. 379-81).} \\
&\text{46 The translation of some passages quoted here and elsewhere is more or less free.—DCS.}
\end{align*}
\]
Ayanca mūrdhna sphutaratnamālinā
Padanā dadhano girīṣasya bhūdharah,
Upaiti loke bahu ... ... ...
... ... ... ā mānyatame hi sannatih.

'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 Rāghuvanśa (Canto IV). Two of his verses recall unmistakably the Rāghuvanśa (IV. 49 and 54).

Inscription (verse A. 6):
Śaratkalabhiyā taṣya parānāṁtatejasah
Dvīṣām āsahyo yasyātva praṭāpo na raṣer 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.'

Rāghuvanśa (IV. 49):
Dīṣi mandāyate tejo daksīṇasyāṁ raṣer api
Taṣyām eva rāghoḥ pāṇḍyāḥ praṭāpam na viṣheire.

'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):
Taṣya saṁyayajodhātam ujjhitālaṅkhṛītvapi
Rīpustrigandadeśeṣu cūrdabhāvaṁ 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.'

Rāghuvanśa (IV. 54):
Bhayotsṛṣṭavibhūṣāṇāṁ tena keralayoṣītām
Alakeṣu caṁūreṇuḥ cūrdpratiniḥdaktāḥ.

'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.'

52 ISCC, I, A.
54 This was first noticed by F. Kielhorn in Ep. Ind., VI (1900), p. 4, n. 1.
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 (alankāras)—of both sound (śabda) and sense (artha)—are used with restraint and moderation. The śleṣa, 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 Raghuvamsa (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):

\[\text{Dvirephamālā iva pārijātaḥ}
\text{dhiyō muninām iva cālmayogam,}
\text{Vyāpāram anyaṅ jagatāṁ vāhāya}
\text{drśa ‘dvitiyāṁ pratipedire yam.} \]

‘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):

\[\text{Tāṁ hamsamālāḥ saradiva gaṅgāṁ}
\text{mahāṣadhiṁ naktam invāmaḥsāṁ,}\]

56 IC, I, pp. 73 ff.
57 L. Fino in BEFEO, XXV (1925), pp. 309 ff.
58 Most of these verses are quoted in BEFEO, LII, 1 (1964), p. 4, n. 1. Raghuvamsa (VI. 22) and Pre-Rup (v. 47) illustrate the rule of Pāṇini (Asṭādhyāyī, VIII. 2. 14): rājmayān sauvājye. The fanciful etymology of the word ksatra, as given in Raghuvamsa (II. 53) and Pre-Rup (vv. 210 and 290)—ksātāt trāgata—goes back to the Bhadāranyaka 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. 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 panegyrical 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 Indrādevī composed the inscription of Phimeanakas, while the princes, Sūryakumāra and Virakumāra, composed those of Ta Prohm and Preah Khan. 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 Astādhyāyi (called Saiva Vyākaraṇa, in the inscriptions in accordance with the tradition which ascribes its revelation to Śiva), Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya, and the Kāśikā-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 Saiva Āgamas in favour of Vedāntic monism.

It has been supposed that a Cambodian scholar came to learn the Śāstras (scriptures) at the feet of the great Śaṅkara (A.D. 788-820). This may not be true. But, from the tenth century onwards, the Vedānta greatly influenced the

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59 IC, II, pp.161 ff.
60 G. Coedès in BEFEQ, VI (1906), pp. 44 ff.
61 Ibid., XLI (1941), pp. 255 ff.
63 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 Ātman which in different bodies is diversely imagined (kalpita) to be the doer (kartṛ) and the enjoier (upabhokṛ). 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':

Ātma'yam eko bahudhā vibhinne
kartopabhoktā ca yataś sarvāṁ,
Tatas svadharmagraḥapam budhānāṁ
dharmesu sarveṣu viwirehatāṁ vah.

Upādhibhedād api kartṛbheda
yāḥ kalpitaḥ karmapalāṁ bhettum,
Bhāktas sa bheṣyāḥ paramārthaḥ-abhaddhīṁ
bhāśeṣa bhānor anayāndhakāraḥ.

"In different bodies there is only one Ātman 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—Sloka and the group indravajrā-upendravajrā-upajāṭī—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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66 On this word see Recherches sur le vocabulaire des inscriptions sanskrites du Cambodge in BEFEO, LII, 1 (1964), pp. 47ff.
traced in the unexplored parts of Sanskrit literature. With kāya 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 alaṅkāra-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 alaṅkāra-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 alaṅkāra 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 navanavonmeṣā Śrīmati 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 ṣleṣa. 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’ (aklista) 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 dhamma 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 prāśastis. Strangely enough, by its style it recalls the ‘pre-Angkorian’ inscriptions.
The last Sanskrit inscription in Cambodia was composed in the reign of Jayavarmaparamdevar (a.d. 1327-?). It does not show any of those signs of decadence that we encounter earlier in the twelfth century in Campa, and later in the fourteenth in Indonesia.

**CAMPA AND INDONESIA**

Next in importance to the inscriptions of Kambuja-desa are those of Campa (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 Campa, the inscriptions of Bhadravarman are supposed to date from c. a.d. 350. Somewhat later are the inscriptions of Mulavarman in East Borneo (c. a.d. 400). Then come those of Purnavarman 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 Campa 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 Campa 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 Campa. No wonder that in the course of time Sanskrit dwindled into gibberish. A distinctive trait of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Campa is that they often adopt the campā 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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ISCC, LXV; IC, IV, pp. 254-56.


J. Gonda, *id. cit.*, p. 115.

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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 prastati 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 (kāsyavattha) in the midst of tears of ministers, subjects, friends and relations, and 'women as beautiful as celestial damsels' (devanganābhahi sundarihi). 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 Myazedi Inscriptions, published in Epigraphia Birmensia, I, Part I (1919); Taw Sein Ko, The Kalpaśī Inscriptions (Rangoon, 1892).
79 G. Coedès, Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam, I, Nos. VI and XII.
80 See JA (1908), pp. 919-27.
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 Prāgjyotisa and Kāmarūpa. 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, Acam, or Ācām; and their kingdom was generally known as Āsam-, Asām-, Acam-, 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 Asam or Assam and its people Asamese or Assamese. The term asamiya 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 Apabhraṃśa, 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 ḷ and ḵ, 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, s, 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 Kālidā Purāṇa (tenth century A.D.) and the Tāginī Tantra (sixteenth century A.D.) give a graphic account of the geographical limits of Prāgjyotisa or Kāmarūpa. The earliest reference to Prāgjyotisa 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 Hiuen 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, Hiuen 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 Māgadhī 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-purusas (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 caryās 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 Durlabhānārāyaṇa (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 Hiraṇyakaśipu from the Vāmana Purāṇa. He is also the author of a more voluminous work, Hari-Gaurī-samvāda, based on several Purāṇas. Harivara Vipra’s chief works are Lava-Kuśarauddha and Vabruvahamarauddha. Though derived from the Jaiminiya Mahābhārata, each of them testifies also to the imagi-


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native genius of its poet. Kaviratna Sarasvatī, another poet of the period, turned a small section of the *Dronaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* into Assamese verse with adaptation. The work is entitled *Jayadratha-vadha*. Mādhava Kandali (c. fourteenth century A.D.) is the most distinguished poet of this period. His works include a translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* into lively and idiomatized Assamese verse. This period is marked by a wonderful zeal for story-telling and a developed form of *tripāṭi* and *payāra* versification.

### VAISNAVA RENASCENCE

By the end of the fifteenth century there had started a great and vigorous renaissance in Assam in the form of the neo-Vaiṣṇava 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-Lakhin-dara* 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-Rāmāyaṇa* adapted the *Rāmāyaṇa*, 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-parīṇa*, *Bhāgavata* (Books I and X), and *Candi-ākhyāna*. The works of these three poets differ from the contemporary Vaiṣṇava writers in their form which is called *Pacalī* 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 Vaiṣṇavism 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 (*ātā*) as the principal way of getting to the Lord. It is, therefore, called *ekasarana namadharmā* (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 Vaiṣṇavism. This neo-Vaiṣṇava movement brought in its trail a great literary upheaval in Assam. The royal patronage that came from the Koch king Naranrāyaṇa (1533-84) was a most significant factor so far as this literary upsurge was concerned. Śaṅkara Deva and his favourite disciple and chief apostle Mādhava 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 masterpieces, *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-harana, Hariścandra-upākhyāna, and Bālt-chalana are narrative poems full of poetic flavour and charm. Śaṅkara 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-gitas4 (noble songs) and his aṅkiyā-nāṭīs (one-act plays): Patni-prasāda, Kālīya-damana, Keli-goḍāla, Rukmini-harana, Pārījāta-harana, and Rāma-vījaya. These dramas, having some characteristics of the Sanskrit play (like the sūradhāra, prarocana, nāṇī, etc.), differ from the classical art in other aspects and in general construction.

Mādhava Deva’s bar-gitas and aṅkiyā-nāṭīs (Arjuna-bhaṇjana, Cordharā, Pim-parā-gucūṇā, Bhajana-vihāra, etc.) evince an artistic skill even finer than that of his master. Vātsalya (affection towards offspring) predominates over other sentiments in these writings as dāyya (devotion of a servant to his master) does in the case of Śaṅkara 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 Yasodā and the goḍīs of Vṛndāvana and even obeyed their commands. He translated Viṣṇu Pūrī’s Bhakti-ratnavali into Assamese verse at the behest of his master. His other popular works are: Rājasūya Yajña, Ādikāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa, etc. But Nāma-ghosa or Hājāri-ghosa, 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 Kandali and Rāma Sarasvatī are two other great poets of Śaṅkara Deva’s time. Ananta Kandali’s most popular work is Kumāra-harana narrating the romantic story of Usā and Aniruddha. He translated several books of the Bhāgavata and made an abridged version of the Rāmāyaṇa, where, however,

4 Brajabuli is an archaic speech said to have been used by Kṛṣṇa and the goḍīs of Vraja (Vṛndāvana). This literary medium was popular among the medieval Vaiṣṇavite poets of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. It is difficult to guess why Śaṅkara 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. Śaṅkara 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 aṅkiyā-nāṭīs. The Buddhist caryādāsas may be said to have served for structural models of these bar-gitas.4 Vido Birinchi Kumar Barua, History of Assamese Literature, p. 30.

4 These bar-gita lyrics were something new in the field of poetry which Śaṅkara Deva introduced into Assamese. They are essentially devotional poems, sometimes ecstatic in an abheda of faith, sometimes contemplative and reflective, at times exhortatory and seeking to create a distaste for the world with a love of God. These are still very popular, being frequently sung. The deha-vicara gita or ‘songs of the transitoriness of the body’ form another series of poems composed by Śaṅkara 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, *Mahāravaṇa-vadha*, *Hari-Hara-yuddha*, *Vīrāsura-vadha*, *Bharata-Sāvītṛ*, and *Jīva-stuti*. Rāma Sarvasvatī is a prolific writer on the *Mahābhārata* topics taken mainly from the *Vanaparan*. 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 *Khaṭāsura-vadha*. Rāma Sarvasvatī made an Assamese version of the *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva. He is responsible for one book of genial humour, *Bhīma-carita*, with the story of Lord Śiva as a farmer and Bhīma as the farmer’s servant. A similarly amusing poem is *Kān-khovā* which invokes the figure of a nursery bogey in order to enlarge on the subject of the former incarnations of Kṛṣṇa. Written by Śrīdhara Kandali, author of *Ghumucā-yātra*, it retains its popularity in Assam even today. Other talents, besides Śaṅkara Deva and Ananta Kandali, who concentrated upon the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, are: Aniruddha Kāyastha (sections of Books IV and V), Gopālacaṇṭha Dvija (Book III), Keśavacaṇṭha (Books VII and IX), Ratnākarā 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 *Harivarīra* found very good adapters in Gopālacaṇṭha Dvija (sixteenth century) and Bhavānanda Miśra (sixteenth century), the latter deviating considerably from the original. Kanśāri Kāyastha’s well-known translation of the *Mahābhārata* is faithful to a large extent to the original. Kālāpacandra, Rāma Sarvasvatī’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 *Kītāvat-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 Gopināṭha Pāṭhaka (early seventeenth century), Dāmodara Dāsa, Lakṣmīnāṭha Dvija, and Prthurāma Dvija 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 Miśra⁶ (seventeenth century), *Byāhamnārādiya Purāṇa* by Bhuvaneśvara Vācaspati Miśra (early eighteenth century), *Dharma Purāṇa* by Kavīcandra Dvija (eighteenth century),

⁶ Bhāgavata Miśra has also rendered the *Śāttvata Tantra* into Assamese verse.
Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa by Balarāma Dvija (eighteenth century) and Durgesvara Dvija (eighteenth century), Mārkandeya Purāṇa (Caṇḍī-ākhyāna) by Raṅganātha Cakravarṭi (seventeenth century) and Rucinātha Kandali (eighteenth century), and Harivinneśa 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 Mṛgāvati-carita, Dīna Dvijavara’s Madhava-Sulocana-upākhyāna, and the anonymous Madhumālī. The influence of North Indian poets like Kutuban and Manjhan is to be marked in the growth of this class of literature. The wandering minstrel Kavirāja Sūryavipra’s (c. 1616) Siyāl-gosāiṇ is a unique piece of metrical work. Rāmānanda Dvija’s Mahāmohā-kāvyā is a poem based on Kṛṣṇa Miśra’s famous play, Prabodha-candrodaya. The Hitopadeśa and the Dvārtrināśat-puttalikā were retold in Assamese by Rāma Miśra who, curiously enough, gives interesting topical accounts of different temples and holy spots of Vrnda-vana 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, Yadumaṇi, and Rāmānanda attained some distinction in the line. These ekāśara Kṛṣṇaite lyrics were supplemented in the early eighteenth century by Śākta and Rādhā-Kṛṣṇaite songs, written by the Ahom kings, Rudra Siṁha (1696-1714) and Śiva Siṁha (1714-44), and other poets of their reign. Notable among them is Rāmanārāyaṇa Kavirāja Cakravarṭi who translated the Gitagovinda, the Kṛṣṇa-jana-mahāpāda of the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, and the episode of Śaṅkhacūḍa and Tulasī from the Prakṛti-khaṇḍa of the same Purāṇa, and wrote Śakuntalā-kavya which includes the small verse-romance of Candraketu and Kāmakalā. The Yogīnī Tantra was partially translated by a royal officer, Rāmacandra Barpātra. Ananta Ācārya, taking inspiration from Śaṅkara’s famous Śaṅkta hymn to the Mother Goddess, wrote in Assamese verse Ananda-laharī. It may be mentioned in this connexion that Ananta Ācārya was assigned by King Śiva Siṁha to render the Ananda-lahari into Assamese. Besides Rucinātha Kandali’s translation, there is another Assamese version of the Caṇḍī-ākhyāna by Madhusūdana Miśra. The cult of Manasā was celebrated in Nārāyaṇa 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.

* The Ahom court encouraged the production of literature on sexology and erotics and consequently several Sanskrit texts dealing with kāma-sūtra (the science of erotics) were translated into Assamese. Kavīśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya compiled a treatise on erotics in verse for the enlightenment and entertainment of Prince Cāru Siṁha, son of King Rājesvara Siṁha (1751-69).
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The vogue of writing carita-puthis (biographies) in verse was started by Daityāri Ṭhākur,7 Bhūṣaṇa Dvīja, Vaikunftanātha Dvīja, and Rāmānanda Dvīja (seventeenth century). All of them gave accounts of the lives of Vaishnava masters like Saṅkara Deva and Maḍhava Deva, and the vogue was kept up by later writers. Rāma Rāya (seventeenth century) and Nīlakaṇṭhā Dāsā (eighteenth century) wrote biographies of Dāmodara Deva (1488-1598), a follower of Saṅkara 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. Vamśāvalis 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, Darang Rāja-vamśāvalī,8 composed during the latter part of the eighteenth century, gives accounts of the kings of Cooch Behar and Darang. Two later writers, Vishweshwar Vaidyadhip (Belimār Burañji, probably composed between 1838 and 1846) and Dutīram Hazarika (Kāli 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 Saṅkara Deva and Maḍhava Deva. Vaikunftanātha Bhāgavata Bhaṭṭācārya (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).10 About the same time Gopālacarana Dvīja, a poet of some note, rendered Saṅkara Deva’s Sanskrit treatise on bhakti, Bhakti-ratnakara, into very elegant Assamese prose Another noteworthy prose work 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, Kṛṣṇa-ghoṣā (1715) of Pāraśurāma, and Kṛṣṇa Rāmāyaṇa (c. 1758) of Raghunātha Mahanta.11

But we come nearer the prose of everyday life in the biographies of the

7 Daityāri Thākur has another work to his credit called Nṛśimha-jñāna.
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 narrates the events centring round Badancandra Barphukan, an Ahom viceroy at Gauhati. 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. 294). Bakharabarar Gīta and Padam Kuṇḍir 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, Sarana-saṅgraha and Prasādāg-mālā dealing with the procedure of Vaimavite dīkṣā and various forms of devotional services.
11 He has to his credit two more long metrical compositions, Śaṅkrupiya and Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa.
Vaiṣṇava saints, known as kathā-guru-caritas, and the chronicles of the Ahom kings called buranjis. Both these types of prose literature seem to have an unbroken history at least from about the last two decades of the seventeenth century. Puranti Asam-buranji, Asam-buranji, and Kathā-guru-carita provide very early and notable examples of the carita and buranjī 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. Buranjīs 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 Barkath’s Hasti-vidyāraṇava (1734), a beautifully illustrated treatise on elephantology based on a Sanskrit text (Gajendra-cintāmaṇi by Śambhunātha); the anonymous Ghodānīrāṇā on medicine for horses; Kavrāja Cakravarti’s Bhāsāvali on astronomy (based on the Sanskrit text Sūrya-siddhānta); and Kāśinātha’s Akār Āryā on arithmetic. Another notable prose work of this period is a gloss on Śubhaṅkara Kavi’s Hasta-muktāvali, a work on dance technique. It is an elegant rendering of the original Sanskrit text into suitable Assamese prose.

The buranjīs were at first written in original Ahom, the language of the rulers. Later the Ahoms gradually became Assamese-speakers, and the buranjīs came to be composed into Assamese from the middle of the seventeenth century.

12 Ed. Hemchandra Goswami (1922).
14 Ed. Suryakumar Bhuyan (1945). The buranjīs are numerous but only a few others have come to light so far: Deodhani Asam-buranji (1932), Tuṅgakhuṅgīya-buranji (1932), Kachari-buranji (1936), Pālīpāh-buranji, etc.
15 The Government of Assam has published a printed edition of this valuable treatise in 1932 under the editorship of Tarinicharan Bhattacharyya.
16 The Publication Board, Assam, has recently (1976) brought out Sukumāra Barkath’s now fragmentary Hasti-vidyāraṇava with photographic reproduction of the text and paintings of the extant folios in a costly volume.
17 Quite a mass of literature (in both prose and verse) known as the mantra-puthis, 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-puthis 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: Śāpar-śāṅkhārī-mantra, Kavari-mantra, Śravāṅkī-mantra, Mihānta-mantra, Kāņarauva-mantra, Bhutor-mantra, Khetra-mantra, etc. Strictly speaking, these mantra-puthis 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.
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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 Serampore 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, Hema-kosa (1900). He tried to remove social evils through the satirical essay, Bāhire Raṅgoaṅ Bhitare Kovābhātūrī (1861), which could also be called a novelette, and the playlet, Kaniyā-kārtana (1861). Gunabhiram Barua (1837-95) is the first historian and biographer in modern Assamese literature. His historical piece, Asam-buraṅ (1884) and his biography of Dhekiyal Phukan published in 1880 are both remarkable books. His Rāmavatāvaim (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 kāyas, Abhinanyu-vadhā (1875) and Sītā-haraṇa (1888) respectively. But the most significant phenomenon in the history of modern Assamese literature is the appearance of Lakshminath Bezbarua (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 Jonākti, 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 *Viṣṇu-varāṣṭī* (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 patrio-
tic and intellectual quality. *Cintāṇala* (1890) and *Cintātasāngīṇī* (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 Cānakeśi* is a collection of nature
lyrics. *Jurañī* (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. *Kāmatāpūra
Dhuaṁṣa* (1912) is one of his beautiful kāvyas. He has to his credit two collections
of sonnets, *Mālāc* (1918) and *Cakulo* (1922). The lyricist Durgeswar Sarma (1885-
1961) excels in his homely poetic diction. His poems have been published in
two collections, *Aṁjālī* (1910) and *Nivedana* (1920).

The new writers of the twentieth century mainly tried to be faithful to the
ideals of the *Jonākī*. Bezbarua's monthly, the-*Bāhī* (1909-45), was also one of the
main instruments in introducing and shaping new literary talents. Raghunath
Chaudhuri (1879-1968) sang of the religion of nature in his bird poems (*Sādārī,
1910; Keteśī, 1918; Dahikatārā, 1931) which are of rare artistic perfection.
Ambikagiri Ray Chaudhuri'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-kavītā*) of Jatindranath Dowerah (1892-1964)
whose sensitive mind has imbued 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 Sūra* (1960) that of Hāfīz. The
lyrics of Suryakumar Bhuyan (*Nirmālī, 1918*), Ratnakanta Barkakati (*Sevālī,
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1932), Lakshminath Phukan (Sonâlî Sapan, 1961), Sâilâdhar Rajkhowa (Nîjârâ), Nalinibala Devi (Sandhyâr Sura, 1928), and Dharmeswari Devi (Phular Sarâî, 1929) have distinctive characteristics of form and content. The twenties and thirties witnessed a group of poets in Dimbeswar Neog (Indradhanu, 1930), Binandachandra Barua (Sanâkhâdhoani, 1925), Atulchandra Hazariâ (Pañcâfânya, 1931), and Daibachandra Talukdar (Prema-Pâta). 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 (Sâgara Dekhichâ, 1945), while Ganeshchandra Gogoi (1907-38) evinces a keen sensitiveness and melancholy in his love lyrics (Svapna-bhaânga, 1934). Mention may be made of a few other poets of distinction belonging to the first half of this century: Chandradhar Barua (Raîjâna), Padmadhar Chaliha (Gîta-lahâri, 1921), Nilamani Phukan (Mânastr, 1943), Dandinath Kalita (Bahurâtip, 1926), Umeschandra Chaudhari (Mandakini), Kamaleswar Chaliha (Chanditâ, 1941), Prasannadal Chaudhuri (Agnimantra, 1952), and Anandachandra Barua (Pîpâdî).

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 Baralâi, Amalendu Guha, Homen Bargo-hain, Biren Bhattacharya, Ram Gogoi, and Abdul Malik have sought inspiration from many widely different sources—from Rabindranath Tagore and Jivan-nanda 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.

The earliest dramas of modern Assamese are Râma-navami (1857) of Gunabhârâm Barua (1837-95) and Kâmyâ-kirtana (1861) of Hencchandra 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), Gadadhara (1907), Sâdhant (1911), and Lâcit Barphukan (1915) are based on Ahom history. Of his three farces, Gâobudâ (1899), Tejon Tâmuli (1909), and Bhûta Ne
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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 Nilaka Darpāna (1860) to some extent. Lakshminath Bezbaruah’s plays on historical themes, namely, Cakradhvaja Sinha, Jayamati Kutār, and Belimār (all written between 1914 and 1916), and his farces, Līṭikāi (1890), Noma (1913), Pācan (1923), and Čikarpaṇi Nikarpā (1913) are some of the gems in the domain of modern Assamese drama. Benudhar Rajkhowa (1872-1955), writer of Candra-sambhavakāya, was also a leading dramatist. Some of his plays—social, romantic, and mythological—are: Tīni Ghaṇṭi, Seuti Kiraṇa (1894), Duryodhana Urubhāṅga (1903), and Dākṣa-yāṇa (1908). His most important work is, however, Asāmiyā Khaṇḍa Vākya-koṣa, a dictionary of Assamese phrases and idioms. Among the early mythological plays, Durgaprasad Majumdar Barua’s Guru-dakṣiṇā (1903) and Vṛṣaketu deserve mention. His Mahār (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 Śivājī (1927), Narakāśura (1930), Bould (1933), Kanauj Kuivār (1933), Kurukṣetra (1936), Rāmacandra (1937), Rukmiṇi-haraṇa (1949), and Vṛtrāṅga (1952). Jyotiprasad Agarwala (1903-51) in his mythological Šoṣita Kuivār (1924) and historico-social Kārṇgar Līgī (1934) attained to a high degree of technical and artistic perfection. Chandradhar Barua’s (1874-1961) Meghaṇāḍa-vadha (1905), Tilottamā-sambhava (1924), and Bhāgyā-parīkṣā; Durgeswar Sarma’s Pārtha-parājaya (1909), and Bālī-vadha (1912); Kamalananda Bhattacharya’s Avaśāna and Nāga Kuivār (1935); Daibachandra Talukdar’s Asam-prayābhā (1924), Vāmuni Kuivār (1929), and Bhāskaravarmā (1952); Sailadhar Rajkhowa’s Viyaṇpati (1918) and Pratāpasiṇha (1926); and Dandinath Kalita’s Agni-parīkṣā (1937) also deserve special mention. Mitradev Mahanta’s Viyya-vipāryaya (1924) and Kukurkuṇār Āṭhrmaṅgalā (1927), Indreswar Barthakur’s Śrīvatsa-Cintā (1927), Nakulchandra Bhuyan’s Badan Barphukan (1927) and Candraṅkārīa Sinha (1931), Prasannalal Chaudhuri’s Nīlāṁbara, 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 unprecedented 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)
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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 Kakhapa (1956), Prabin Phukan's Viṣava-rūpā (1961), Satyaprasad Barua's Ḡyoti-rekha (1958), Nagen Sarma's Ulkūr Jui (1961), Sarada Bardalai's Pahilā Tārikh (1956), Anil Chaudhuri's Pratīvāda (1953), and Girish Chaudhuri's Mīnāhājār (1958). ‘Viṇā’ Barua's Ehēlār Nāt and Pravin Phukan’s Tritaraśga (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: Mīrī-jiyāri (1895), Manomati (1900), Rahdai Līgiri (1900), Dandwā Drōha (1909), Raṅgilī (1925), Nirmala Bhakat (1926), and Tāmesvartī Mandira (1936). Lakshminath Bezbarua's historical novel Padum Kuvarī (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: Sādhanā (1938), Ānīkārā (1950), Paricaya (1950), and Gaya-nīpla va (1951). Of Talukdar's novels, the following are important: Āgneyagiri (1924), Vidrōhī (1939), and Ādārājapātha. Among other notable novels, the following may be mentioned: Ḡiwanār Bāyāt (1945) of ‘Viṇā’ Barua (Birinchikumar Barua), Cāknāyā (1954) of Radhikamohan Goswami, Keśā Pātar Kāpani of Prafulladatta Goswami, Herovā Svarga (1952) of Mohammed Piar, Ġiwanār Tiṁ Akhyāya of Adyanath Sarma, Soṇār Nāṅgaḷ of Chandrakanta Gogoi, Saṅgrāma of Dinanath Sarma, Dāvar Āru Nāī (1955) of Jogesh Das, Sūṃjukhīr Svāpaṇa (1960) and Rāpaṭīrthār Yātī (1963) of Abdul Malik, Eyiṭo Ġiwanā (1962) of Hitesh Deka, Kono Khed Nāī (1963) of Padma Barkakati, Sejī Pātar Kāhīnī (1958) of ‘Rāsma’ Barua (Birinchikumar Barua), Jyōruṇgām (1960) of Birendrakumar Bhatta-

19 Pravin Phukan (Lācit Barphukan, 1948; Maŋrāma Devōn, 1948), Atul Hazarika (Ṭikendrajī, 1959), and Surendranath Saikia (Kutala Keōl, 1949). Some other dramas depicting historical situations and personalities are: Ḡyotiprasad Agarwala's Labālā (1948), Chandrakanta Phukan’s Pījālī Phukas (1948), Phani Sarma's Bhogjarī (1957), Abdul Malik's Rājadrōhī (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: Surabhi (1909), Sadhu-kathā Kuki (1912), and Jonabīrī (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 Kripāvar Barbārūa Kākātī Topolā (1904). The character of Kripāvar Barbārūa 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 Galpāṭijāli (1914), Magṇā (1920), Vāṭikara (1930), and Paridāsana (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, Kerāsrī Karpālā, Ukilār Āpad, Yoga Ārū Viyaγa, Asāre Khālu Sansārē, Jaya-parable, Labha-locān, etc. are some of the stories of Mahichandra Bora, well known for their oblique approach. Some of the stories of Haliram Deka are Photograγher, Sahajā Samādhāna, Parājaya, and Re Bare Bhāi. ‘Viṃā’ Barua (Pata−parivaratana, 1948), Rama Das (Śreṣṭha Galpa), Trailokyanath Goswami (Mari−cikā), Dinanath Sarma (Dudāl, 1952) are a few other notables in the field. Lakshmīdhar Sarma’s stories, collected in Vyarthātār 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 (Parāmnj, 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: Lakshmīnath Phukan (Ṭāpiṣṭar Āvana), Jogesh Das (Madārav Vedanā, 1963), Homen Bargohain (Prema Ārū Mṛtyur Kāraṇa, 1958), Saurabh Chaliha (Aśānta Electron, 1962), Mahin Bora (Kathanivari Ghāṭ, 1961), and Nirod Chaudhuri (Aṅge Aṅger Šobḥā). Writers like Bhaben Saikia (Prahārī, 1963) and Lakshminandan Bora (Dṛṣṭirūpa, 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 Sankara 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’.20 Lambodar Bora’s (1860-92) Kālidāsa Āru Śākuntalā, Satyanath Bora’s (1860-1925) Sāhitya-vicāra,22 Deben Bezbarua’s Asamiyā Bhāṣā Āru Sāhityar Buraṇji (1912), and Nilamani Phukan’s (b. 1885) Sāhitya-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 Purani Asamiyā Sāhitya (1940). A number of other writers have worked in the same field. Mention may be made of Birinchikumar Barua (Kāya Āru Abhīviyaṇjanā, 1941; Asamiyā Kathā-sāhitya, 1950), Upendrachandra Lekharu (Asamiyā Rāmāyaṇa Sāhitya, 1948), Trailokyannath Goswami (Sāhitya-ālocaṇā, 1950), Prafulladatta Goswami (Asamiyā Jana-sāhitya, 1943), Maheswar Neog (Asamiyā Premagāthā, 1958; Asamiyā Giti-sāhitya, 1958; Asamiyā Sāhityar Rūparekha, 1962), Satyendranath Sarma (Asamiyā Sāhityar Itiṣṭha, 1959; Asamiyā Nāṭya-sāhitya, 1962), Upendranath Goswami (Bhāṣā Āru Sāhitya, 1956); Atulchandra Barua (Sāhityar Rūparekha, 1958), and Mahendra Bora (Asamiyā Kavitār Chanda, 1962). As a literary historian, Dimbeswar Neog (b. 1900) occupies an important position. His works include Asamiyā Sāhityar Buraṇji (1957). He has also some purely historical writings to his credit such as Vaiṣṇava Dharmar Kramavikāda (1943), Prāgaitihāsika Asam (1949), etc. Suryakumar Bhuyan (1894-1964) is well known in the field of historical essays. His books are: Āhomaṇa Dīna (1918), Buraṇji-vāpi (1951), Mirjumlar Asam Ākramaṇa (1956), etc. Among scholars who showed their craftsmanship in the field of historical literature, the following may be mentioned: Benudhar Sarma (Dūrōin, 1951), Nakulchandra Bhuyan (Bāra Bhūṣṇā, 1961), Lila Gogoi (Hārovā Dīner Kathā, 1958), and Maheswar Neog (Purani Asamiyā Samājā Āru Samhikṣyati, 1957). Of the philosophical writings, Radha Phukan’s Vedānta Darśana (1951) and Janmāntara-rahasya (1957), and Sarat Goswami’s (Junior) Socrates, Plato Āru Aristotele (1952) are well known. Bhuban Das’s Vivartanar Patihat Mānavā (1960) is an illuminating study of the phases of human civilization. Tilak Hazarika’s Āḍḍā (1958) and Kota Kathā (1960),

20 Vide Birinchikumar Barua, op. cit., p. 186.
21 His other prose works include Jñānedaya, Anandarūna Barūr Jivona-carita, etc.
22 His other works are: Sārath (1915), Kendra-rābh (1929), Akāśa-rahasya, and Cintākāl (1935).

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Hemchandra Sarma's *Svagata* (1963), and Bhadra Bora's *Madhurena* (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 *Jīvāni-saṅgṛaha* (1915), Suryakumar Bhuyan's *Gopālakṛṣṇa Gokhale* (1916) and *Ānandarāma Baruā* (1920), Dandinath Kalita's *Candranātha Šarmā* (1924), Mahadev Sarma's *Buddhadeva* (1914) and *Mohammed-carita* (1928), Kamakhyacharan Bhattacharya's *Dhitreśvarācārya* (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 Sankara 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 Ātā* 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 *Kārāgār Gīthā* (1962) and Padmadhar Chaliha's *Jīvana-saṅgṛāh Sura* (1963). Birinchikumar Barua (*Switzerland Bhramaṇa*, 1948), Prafulladatta Goswami (*Vilātāt Sātmāḥ*, 1958), Amalendu Guha (*Sovietde Sat 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. Caryāpadas or caryāgitiś are the earliest known specimens of this language. Although saturated with Sanskrit words and Avahattha (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 Avahattha, 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 (Avahattha), 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 Avahattha 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 'Brajbuli'. The currency of Brajbuli 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
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 Brāhma-Romān Kyāthalik Saṁvāda 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
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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 Laksmanasena, 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 (Avahattha) 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 Kartabhajās, 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 'BAJU' 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, Gujurat, 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 Avahattha 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
kīrtana style of music. The greatest and best known poet of such songs was
Vidyāpati (c. A.D. 1380-1460) of Mithilā. The songs of Vidyāpati seem to have
helped considerably the flowering of Brajabuli lyrics in Bengal. In fact, Bengali
Vaiṣṇava 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’ Candīdāsa. Nothing definite is known about him
except that some of his songs delighted Caitanya in his later days at Purī
(1514-33). Even his real name is a subject of dispute. His Śrī Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana 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 treat­
ment. The language of the poem, as originally written, may be roughly assigned
to the sixteenth century. The kernel may, however, be still older.

RELIGIOUS NARRATIVE POETRY : PĀNCĀLI OR MAṅGALA

A new kind of religious literature, which drew its material usually from
non-Aryan sources and popular tales, came to be known as Pāncāli 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-pāncāli (c. fifteenth century). Three
other old narrative poems of this type are Śrī Kṛṣṇa-vijaya (1480) of Mālādhara
Vasu, Manasā-vijaya (1495) of Vīpradasa, and Manasā-maṅgala (c. 1494) of
Vijaya Gupta. One outstanding poem on the Manasā legend written sometime
in the middle of the seventeenth century is Ketaṅkāda’s Manasā-maṅgala. The
Caṇḍī-maṅgala poems were written more carefully than the average Manasā-
maṅgala ones and, therefore, the former was not as prolific as the latter. By far
the best writer of Caṇḍī-maṅgala poetry and undoubtedly the best and most
representative poet in Middle Bengali is Mukundarāma Cakravartī ‘Kavikān­
kaṇa’, whose Caṇḍī-maṅgala (mid-sixteenth century) presents a gallery of good
pictures of the domestic, social, economic, and cultural life of the day. The

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 Candīdāsa’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 Basantaranjan Ray.
The 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 Pāncālī type is the *Mahābhārata* poem, *Pāṇḍava-vijaya* (seventeenth century), ascribed to Kāśīrāma Dāsa. The whole poem, although attributed to Kāśīrāma, 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 Kṛṣṇarāma 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 *Ṣaṣṭī-maṅgala* (1679), *Rāya-maṅgala* (1686), *Śitalā-maṅgala*, and *Lakṣmi-maṅgala*.

Two competent Muslim poets of the seventeenth century, Daulat Kazi and Saiyad Alaol, wrote Pāncālī poems in Bengali under the aegis of the Arakan court. Kazi's rendering of the story of Lor, Candrāṇī, and Mayanā current in upper India and Alaol's translation of Jayasi's *Pādamvat* 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*, *Annapūrṇa-maṅgala*, in 1753. It is a trilogy comprising three practically independent poems: *Annadā-maṅgala* eulogizing Goddess Durgā as the giver of food, *Mānasīnīha* narrating the downfall of Pratāpāditya, and *Vidyā-Sundara* depicting the erotic romance of Vidyā and Sundara. His earliest attempts at Maṅgala or Pāncālī 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 Rāmesvara Bhaṭṭācārya's *Śiva-saṅkīrtana* or *Śivāyana* (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 Rāmaprāśāda Sena 'Kavirājana' who also wrote a *Vidyā-Sundara* poem (sixth or seventh decade of the eighteenth century).
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 Rāmaprasādī 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 Pāncālī 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 yatrā (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 URGENT 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, Vidyapati, and Cançādāsa, 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 lovelorn Rādhā. Mention may be made here of some notable Vaiṣṇava lyric poets of the sixteenth century like Murāri Gupta, Vāsudeva Ghosa, Narahari Dāsa, Jñāna Dāsa, Balarāma Dāsa, Locana Dāsa, Govindadāsa Cakravartī, Govindadāsa 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 Padakalpātaru (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
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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. Murari Gupta's \textit{Kadca}, Raghunātha Dāsa's poem, Paramānanda Sena's \textit{ Caitanya-candrodaya} (1538) and \textit{ Caitanya-carita-mati} (1542). The first biographical poem on Caitanya written in Bengali is \textit{Caitanya-bhāgavata} by Vṛndāvana 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). Vṛndāvana Dāsa's picture of Caitanya is entirely human and provides a refreshing contrast with the stereotyped characters delineated in contemporary Maṅgala poems. The most authentic, scholarly, and best written biography of Caitanya is Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's masterpiece \textit{Caitanya-carita-mati}, 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: \textit{Caitanya-maṅgala} by Locana Dāsa, \textit{Gaurāṅga-vijaya} by Cūḍāmaṇi Dāsa, and \textit{Caitanya-maṅgala} by Jayānanda. Some of the long narrative poems on the Kṛṣṇa legend written in this century are \textit{Kṛṣṇa-prema-taraṅgini} by Rāghu Paṇḍita, \textit{Śrī Kṛṣṇa-maṅgala}, the longest of such poems, by Mādhava Ācārya, \textit{Gopāla-vijaya} by Devakīnandana Sīhā 'Kavi-śekhara', and \textit{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. \textit{Harivāṁśa} (early seventeenth century) by Bhavānanda, \textit{Jagannātha-maṅgala} (1643) by Gadādhara Dāsa, \textit{Bhakti-ratnakara} (eighteenth century) by Narahari Cakravartī, and \textit{Bhaktamāla} (eighteenth century) by Lāl Dāsa.

BENGALI PROSE : THE FIRST PHASE

Bengali literary prose began with the translation of the \textit{Bible} by the Baptist missionaries of Serampore headed by William Carey (1761-1834). The first book to appear was the \textit{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 \textit{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-candrika (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-candrika (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 footfalls of developing Bengali prose. He translated some of the Upaniṣads, rendered the Bhagavad--gitā 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 Tatwabodhini Patrikā (1843), noted monthly paper of the Brahmā 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-saṅghraha (1851), also contributed much to the new literary movement that was gradually gaining ground. Sainvāda-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 Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Madhusudan Dutt. In 1872 Bankim Chandra Chatterjee brought out the famous monthly Vangadarsana 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, Dugdārana (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 Somapratika (1858) of Dwarkanath Vidyabhushan (1819-86), Bharati (1877) of the Tagores, Vangadāsī (1881) of Jogendra Nath Basu (1854-1907), Sātīpati (1890) of Surendranath Samajpati (1870-1921), Sādhana (1891-95) of Rabindranath Tagore, and Udbodhan (1899) of the Ramakrishna Mission. Pravāsī was started in 1901 from Allahabad by
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Akshay Kumar Dutta, who edited *Tattva-bodhini* for many years, wrote *Bhāratavarṣya Upāsaka Saṅpradāya* 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 *Śakuntalā* (1854), *Śītār Varṇavāsā* (1860), and *Bṛānti-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-pancavimsati* (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, *Bhadrdrjuna* by Taracharan Sikdar and *Kirtti-vilāsa* by Govinda Chandra Gupta, published in 1852, were never staged.

The proper foundation of Bengali drama was laid by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna (1822-86), Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1824-73), Dinabandhu Mitra (1829-74), and Manomohan Basu (1831-1912). Tarkaratna's translation of *Ratnavali* (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 Kulasarvasva* (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* Brahmns of those days. Michael Madhusudan wrote two comedies, *Sarmiśṭha* (1858) and *Padmāvatī* (1860), one tragedy, *Kṛṣṇakumārī* (1861), and two farces, *Ekei Kī Bāle Sabhyatā* and *Buḍo Šāliker Ghāḍe Ron* (both 1859). Though the influence of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-Sākuntala* 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 unhymed verse which was its first occurrence in

Ramananda Chatterjee. From 1905 up to Tagore's death (1941) *Pravāśi* was almost the exclusive periodical that had the privilege of the first publication of Tagore's writings. For a long time *Pravāśi* 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 *Bāṅglā Sāmānyikopāra* (2 vols., 1942 and 1952) by Brajendranath Banerjee (Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta) may be consulted.
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), *Sadhowar Ekadasa* (1866), *Viye-pagla Bujo* (1866), *Lilavati* (1867), *Jami Bari* (1872), and *Kamale Kumi* (1873). *Sadhowar Ekadasa* 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 Puranic topics brought the newly-sprung Bengali drama again to the yâtrâ. Among his plays are *Râmâbhisekha* (1867), *Sait Nâjaka* (1873), *Haricandra* (1875), etc. Jyotirindranath Tagore (1848-1925) also wrote some plays. His first play, *Kiriti Jalayoga* (1872), was a burlesque. This was followed by *Puru-vikrama* (1874), *Sarojini* (1875), *Aśrumati* (1879), *Alika Bâbu* (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), *Vîlvenaṅgala Tâkur* (1886), *Pratulâ* (1891), *Balidâna* (1905), *Janâ* (1894), *Pändava-gaurava* (1899), *Sirajuddaula* (1905), and *Mirakasîm* (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 *Krpaner Dhanâ* (1900), *Corer Upor Bâtpâti* (1876), and *Vivoha Vibhrâta* (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 Avatâra* (1895) was, however, a burlesque. This was followed by *Pâgaî* (1900), *Stî (1902), Tārâbâī (1903), Pratâpâsinha (1905), Dungâdâsa (1906), Nurjahan (1908), Mevâr-Patana (1908), Sorab-Rostam (1908), Sajahan (1910), Candragupta
SENGAL (1911), and Bhīṣma (1913). Some of his farces are: Tryakṣaṁparśa (1900), Prāyaścitta (1902), Punarjanma (1911), and Ānanda Vidyā (1912). Kshirod Prasad Vidyavinod (1863-1927) wrote many plays—musical, historical, devotional, comic, and romantic. His Alibabā (1897) is an ever-popular operatic play of the Bengali stage. Pratāpāditya (1903) and Alamgir (1921) are his two most well-known historical plays.

MODERN BENGALI POETRY

The credit for preparing the ground for the appearance of the new poetry belongs to Iswar Chandra Gupta, founder-editor of Samvada-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) Padmānī 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 kāvyā, Tilottama-sambhava (1860), was followed by Meghanāda-vadhā (1861), Vrajaṅgaṅa (1861), Virāṅgaṅa (1862), and a book of sonnets, Caturdaśapada Kavita-vali (1866). The odes of Vrajaṅgaṅa on Rādhā's forlorn love shows Madhusudan's undoubted skill as a versifier, but breathes the spirit of the old poetry. Meghanāda-vadhā is the first epic poem in Bengali in the Western sense of the term. The next such poem was Vṛttasaṅbhāra (published in two parts in 1875 and 1877) by Hemchandra Banerjee (1838-1903). Among his other works mention may be made of Cintātarangini (1861), Vīrabhū (1864), and Chāyāmayī (1880). The next notable work was Nabin Chandra Sen's (1846-1909) trilogy on the Kṛṣṇa story as found in the Mahābhārata, entitled Rāśi-taka (1886), Kurukṣetra (1893), and Prabhāsa (1896). It was his earlier work, Palāṣṭr 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 romantics 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-māṅgala (1879). Some of his other poems are Bandhu-viyoga (1863), Prema-pravāhinī (1863), Nīsargā-sandarśana (1869), Vaṅga-sundari (1869), and Sādher Awana (1888-89). Surendranath Majumdar's (1838-78) best piece, Mahīlā (published posthumously in two parts of 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 Biharilal’s *Vaṅga-sundari*. Mention may be made of Dwijendranath Tagore’s (1840-1926) two original poems, *Swapna-prayāṇa* (1875) and *Yautika 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. *Aśokaguccha* (1901) was the first anthology of his poems. This was followed by *Golāpguccha* (1912), *Sephirāguccha* (1912), *Pārijātaguccha* (1912), etc. Others are *Apūra Naivedya*, *Apūra Śītu-maṅgalā*, *Apūra Vrajātiṅgana* (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 *Preme O Phul* (1887), *Kusikuma* (1891), *Kastūri* (1895), *Candana* (1896), *Vaijayanti* (1905), etc. *Kavitāhāra* (1873), *Bhārata-kusuma* (1882), *Atrukāṇā* (1887), and *Ābhāśa* (1890) are some of the books of Girindramohini Dutta (1854-1924). Swarnakumari Devi (1855-1932) was the first to introduce the romantic ballad in Bengali, four of which were compiled in *Gātāhā* (1890). Akshay Kumar Baral (1861-1919) was a close follower of Biharilal. He was essentially an emotional poet. His first work *Pradīpa* (1885) was followed by *Kanakāśyāli* (1885), *Bhul* (1887), *Śākha* (1910), and *Eśā* (1912).

**MODERN BENGALI FICTION**

Bengali fiction began in the middle of the nineteenth century with didactic tales of the classroom type. *Āṭhāler Charer Dūttā* (1858) by Peary Chand Mitra, ‘Ṭekcānd Thākūr’ (1814-83), is, however, an exception. It is the first specimen of original fiction in Bengali. Though an enjoyable work, *Hutom Pyāmnār 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, *Durgāśanandarāj* (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), *Vīṇavṛkṣā* (1873), *Kyśpakānter Will* (1878), *Rājasīṁha* (1881), *Ānandamaṭha* (1882), and *Devī Caudhurāṇī* (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 *Vīṇavṛkṣā*. It is a domestic tragedy brought about by widow-remarriage. *Kyśpakānter 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. *Rājasīṁha* is the best historical novel written by Bankim Chandra. Though not an outstanding work
of fiction, Ānandamatha 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 Mātaram, 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 Devī Cau- dhurāṇī 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 Dharmatattva (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-kānikāya (1877), Mahārāṣṭra-jivana-prabhāta (1878), and Rājput-jivana-sandhyā (1879), and two domestic novels, Sāṁsāra (1886) and Sāmāja (1894). Romesh Chandra translated the whole of the Rg-Veda into Bengali prose (1885-87) and also published translations of important Sanskrit religious texts under the title Hindu-kāstra (1885-96). Damodar Mukherjee (1853-1907) wrote Mrnymayi (1874) and Nawabnandini as sequels to Bankim Chandra’s Kapalakundalā and Durgesanandini respectively. He also adapted Scott’s The Bride of Lammermoor in his Kamalakumāri and Willkie Collins’s The Woman in White in his Śuklavāsanā 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 Aśthāśāka Upanyāsa (1862) contains a story and a novelette. The second tale Aṅguriya-vinimaya supplied an essential feature to the story of Bankim Chandra’s Durgesanandini. Sanjib Chandra Chatterjee (1834-89) wrote a few novels such as Kasaṭhamālā (1877), Mādhavilatā (1878-80), and Jāl Pratāpoṇāṇ (1881). The most characteristic and the best known work of Sanjib Chandra Chatterjee is his travelogue Pūlāmāu (1880-82). Taraknath Ganguli (1845-91) portrayed the day-to-day life of the lower middle class in Svarnalatā (1873), first domestic novel in Bengali with some genuine realism. Sivanath Sastri’s (1847-1919) Mejābau (1879) and Yugaṇtara (1895) present good pictures of contemporary domestic and social life. Srischandra Majumdar (1860-1908) in his Śakti-kā nanā (1887), Phuljāni (1894), and Viṣvanātha (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 Dīpānirvāṇa (1876), Chinna-mukula (1879), Mālatī (1879), Mīvār-rāja (1887), Vidroha (1890), Snehapalāti (1892), and Milanarātrī (1925). Mir Mosarraf Hossain (1848-1912) was a gifted writer. His literary fame mainly rests on his prose epic, Viṣṇudas-sindhu 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 Kadi 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 Tarī (1893), Cītā (1896), Kathā O Kāhīnī (1900), Nāivedya (1901), Kheyā (1906), Gitājīlī (1910), Bālākā (1916), Pūravi (1925), Mahuyā (1929), Prāntika (1938), Nāvajātaka (1940), and Ḫānmandīnī (1941). Tagore wrote exquisite poems on, as well as for, children. His Śītā (1903) and Śītā Bhāloānāthā (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. Gitājīlī (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. Punṣa (1932), Seṣa Saptaka (1935), Patrapuṭa (1936), and Śyāmaṭi (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 Cītāngatā (1936), Śyāma (1938), and Caṇḍalīkā (1938). He wrote, besides, a number of plays, both serious and light. Among the serious plays are Rājā O Rāni (1889) and its later version Taṇḍīt (1920), Vītarjana (1890), Mālīnī (1895), and Bāncī (1933). Among the light plays we have Gōḍīya Gālā (1892), Vaikunṭhaśākhā (1897), and Cīrakunḍārasmābhā (1901). Among his symbolic plays are Rājā (1910), Acalāyātanā (1911), Dākghar (1912), Muktādhārā (1922), Raktākaraṇī (1924), and Tāṣer Dēṣa (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, Bauṭhākurāṇīr Ḫāṭ (1885). The next, Cōkher Bāli (1902), turned the Bengali novel away from the tradition of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Among his later novels, Gūrā (1910), Caturahga (1916), Ghare Bāire (1916), Śeṣer Kāvītā (1929), Yogāyoga (1930), and Cār Adhyāya (1934) are of special importance. Gūrā, 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
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, Kāncanamāla (1916) and Beşer Maye (1920), clearly show his power as a literary artist.

Sri Sri Rāmakṛṣṇa Kathāmṛta in five volumes (1902, 1904, 1908, 1910, 1932) by Mahendranath Gupta (1854-1932), a devotee of Sri Ramakrishna, 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. Akshay Kumar Maitreya

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) Śri Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Kathāmṛta is one of the successful experiments in the use of calita-bhāṣā. It records Sri 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 Sri Ramakrishna used, and the pictures he projected in his very simple and unsophisticated language, created for calita-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.

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: Prāγya O Pādāyina, Bhāvanī Kathā, Vartanāna Bhrāṭā, and Pārameśvaraka. 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 calita-bhāṣā in Prāγya O Pādāyina. Vivekananda’s
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(1861-1950) was another able writer of Bengali prose and an expert in historical subjects. His works *Sirajuddaula* (1897), *Mirkasim* (1904), and *Pührîgî Vanîk* (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. *Prakriti* (1896), *Jîjnâsâ* (1903), and *Karmakathâ* (1913) are collections of his reflective and philosophical essays. His essays on linguistics were collected in *Sabdakathâ* (1917). Three more volumes of collected essays were published posthumously. He translated into Bengali the *Aitareya Brihmana*, 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 *Vangabhasa 0 Sahitya* in 1896. His *Râmâyana Kathâ* (1911) is a marvellous study of the characters in the *Râmâyana*. He wrote several novels including *Tin Bandhu* (1911), *Aloke Ândhâre* (1925), and *Câkurir Vîdambanâ* (1926). *Gharer Kathâ O Yugásahitya* (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-bhâsa* as a vigorous rival of *sâdhu-bhâsa*. He made his style popular through his reputed journal, *Sahuya Patra*, published in 1914. His works include *Tel Nun Lakdî* (1906), *Cår-iyâri-kathâ* (1916), *Virabaler Hâlkhâtâ* (1917), *Nànâ-kathâ* (1919), etc. Sudhindranath Tagore (1869-1929) produced some good short stories collected later in several volumes: *Maîjuşâ* (1903), *Karanka* (1912), *Citrâli* (1916), etc. Balendranath Tagore (1870-99) wrote essays on ancient literature and art, some of which were published in *Cita O Kârya* (1894). His collection of stories appeared as *Sâjî* (1900). Abanindranath Tagore (1871-1951), founder of the modern school of Indian art, exhibited his literary talent in *Râjâkâhini* (1909), *Pathe-nipathê* (1919), *Khâtâcîr Khâtâ* (1916), *Bânglôr Vrata* (1919), *Gharéyâ* (1941), *joḍâsânkhor Dhâre* (1944), *Bhâratalîpier Šândaţa* (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 were published posthumously. He also wrote letters in Bengali were later published as *Patrâmâlî*. They are also full of literary grace. Vivekananda was a brilliant talker too. *Sadhî-khyâna-sahâdâ* 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 *Sokhî Prati, Nîyêï Tîhate Šûmô, Gî Cîta Šûntî Temkî and Nîhi sîrîa, nîhi ītûsh*. 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 Sanñyāsi* (1912), *Ratnadīpa* (1915), *Jivaner Mulya* (1916), and *Sindura-kauṭā* (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: *Śrīkānta* in four parts (1917, 1918, 1927, 1933), *Bīrāj Bau* (1914), *Pallī Samāja* (1916), *Caritrākāṇa* (1917), *Gṛhādāha* (1919), *Denu-Pāṇā* (1923), *Pather Dāvi* (1926), *Śeṣapraśna* (1931), and *Vīḍradāsa* (1935). Among his stories, mention may be made of *Bindur Chole* (1913), *Rāner Sumati* (1914), *Pariṇitā* (1914), *Araśaṇyāva* (1916), and *Devadāsa* (1917). His *Mahefa* 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 *Varanadalā* (1910), *Puspāṭra* (1910), *Saogāt* (1911), and *Vanajyotsna* (1938). Among his novels are: *Srōṭer Phul* (1915), *Dui Tār* (1918), *Pargāčā* (1917), and *Hetphā* (1919). Indira Devi (1880-1922) has to her credit four volumes of original short stories and a novel, *Śparsaνaṇya* (1918). Among her books of short stories mention may be made of *Nirmāνya* (1912) and *Kītakē* (1915). Anurupa Devi's (1882-1958) novels include *Jyotikārā* (1915), *Mantrasakta* (1915), *Mahāniśā* (1919), and *Mā* (1920). Nirupama Devi (1883-1951) wrote some short stories collected in *Āleyā* (1917), and more than a dozen novels including *Annapūrṇā Mandīra* (1913), *Dīdi* (1915), *Śyāmali* (1919), *Ucchṛikkhala* (1920), and *Devatīra* (1927). Saurindramohan Mukherjee (1884-1966) wrote both short stories and novels. Collections of his short stories are: *Śeṭhālī* (1909), *Nirīhara* (1911), *Puspākā* (1913), etc. His novels include *Bandī* (1911), *Janaika*, and *Māṭr-ṛpa*. He also wrote an original play, *Sasvatārā* (1931), on the story of Sāvitrī from the *Mahābhārata*. Rakhaldas Banerjee (1885-1930), an Indologist, wrote three domestic and seven historical novels; amongst them are: *Pāṣāner Kathā* (1914), *Śālākīka* (1914), *Dharmapāla* (1915), *Karūpā* (1917), and *Āśīma* (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. *Uḍyāṇalatā* (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 *Uṣati* (1918), *Śmyṭir Saurabhā* (1918), and *Cirtanī* (1922). Sita Devi's works include *Vajramani* (1918), *Chāyārthi* (1919), and *Rajanigandhā* (1921). Nares Chandra Sengupta (1882-1964) wrote both short stories and novels, the best known being *Deviya Pakṣa* (1919), *Śubhā* (1920), and *Pāṭer Chāpt* (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.
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), *Nāṭimaḍha* (1928), *Kayā-kuṭhi* (1930), *Vadhā-varaṇa* (1931), *Dinnajur* (1932), and *Nārjanma* (1934). Among his novels we may mention *Māṭir Ghar* (1923), *Joyār-bhāntā* (1924), *Anāhita* (1931), and *Aniśarya* (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 Pāncālī* was published in 1929 and its sequel *Aparājyta* 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 *Drśṭi-pradīpa* (1935), *Āranyaka* (1938), *Ādāra Hindu Hotel* (1940), *Devasyāna* (1944), and *Ichāmātī* (1949). His short stories are collected in more than a dozen volumes. Some of them are: *Meghamalāla* (1931), *Mauriphul* (1932), *Kinnardal* (1938), and *Tatra Badal* (1943). The short stories of Bibhutibhusan Mukherjee (b. 1896) have been collected in several volumes, namely, *Rāṣur Prathama Bhāga* (1937), *Rāṣur Dvatīya Bhāga* (1938), *Rāṣur Triyā Bhāga* (1940), *Atah Kim* (1943), *Haimantī* (1944), etc. Among his novels the most popular are: *Nilāṅguriya* (1942), *Viśeṣa Rajāra* (1944), and *Svargādapi Gāryast* (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), *Udāsir Māṭh* (1931), etc. His comic play *Mānamayī 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), *Bhāduḍi Maśṭī* (1931), *Dhūkher Devyālī* (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 *Gāḍḍalikā* (1925), *Kajjali* (1927), *Hanumāner Sāpna* (1937), *Kṣṭyakalī* (1953), etc. He also wrote some thoughtful essays which were collected in *Laghuguru* (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 *Nīśpadma* (1931), *Avikal* (1931), and *Āngarāga* (1937). Among his novels are *Tāyāvar* (1928), *Kajīlattā* (1931), *Priyābāndhārī* (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: Paṇcaśara (1929), Benāmi Bandar (1930), Mrītikā (1932), Mahānagara (1943), etc. Vṛṣṭi Elo (1954) is a book of essays. He has published several volumes of poetry: Prathamā (1932), Samrāj (1940), Pherāri Phauj (1946), Sāgara Theka 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: Vibhāker Ceye Baço (1931), Prācitra O Prāntara (1932), and Urnamātha (1933). Among his books of short stories are: Akāla Vasanta (1932), Double Decker (1938), Jatan Bīhī (1944), Hāḍī Muci 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 Paramā Purusa Śri Rāmakṛṣṇa (1952-53) and Paramā Prakṛti Sāradāmaṇī (1954) have been well received by the reading public. He also produced several books of verse: Āmrā (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. Marma-vāṇī (1925), Bandī Vandana (1930), Prthivīr Pathe (1933), KankavaM (1937), Damayanti (1943), Draupadī Sādī (1948), etc. number among his books of poetry. His short stories are collected in several books, for example, Abhinaya Abhinaya Nay (1930), Rekhācitra (1931), and Pherīola (1940). His critical essays have been published in the books Uttaratini (1945), Kaler Putul (1946), and Sahityacarca (1954). His other prose works include Hathat Alor Jhālkanī (1935), Ami Cāncala He (1936), Samudrātra (1937), and Sab Peyechir Deše (1941). Annadashankar Ray (b. 1904) writes both prose and poetry, but prose is his forte. His short stories are collected in several books, for example, Prakṛtir Parihasa (1934), Mona Parana (1946), Tājna Mrtukā (1950), and Kāminīkāncana (1954). Some of his novels are: Āgūn Niye Kholā (1930), Asamāpikā (1931), Putul Niye Kholā (1933), Satyāsatya (in six parts, 1932-42), Nā (1951), and Kānyā (1953). Pathe Prāvāse (1931) deserves mention as a fine travelogue. Annadashankar has written several books of essays: Tārṇoux (1928), Jīvanaśilpī (1941), Jīvanakāthi (1949), Pratyaya (1951), etc. His books of verse include Rākhī (1929), Ekta Vasanta (1932), Kāmanā Paṇcaviṃśati (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: Chalanāmyā (1936), Jalsāghar (1937), Rasakali (1938), Prasādamālā (1945), etc. Of his novels mention may be made of Cāitāli Ghūrpi (1931), Rākkanāla (1935), Dhārī Devātā (1939), Kālindī (1940), Kavi (1941), Gaṇadevātā (1942), Hāṃsulī Bāṅker Upakhāthā (1947), Arogyaniketana (1952), Nāgīṇī Kānyār Kāhīnī (1952), and Viśāraka (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 *Dīvārāśīr Kāya* (1935), *Jānātī* (1935), *Ataś Māmī* (1935), *Puthūnācer Itikāthā* (1936), *Padmānadīr Mājhi* (1936), *Cdāṇaśīrka* (1948), *Sonār Ceye Dāmī* (in two volumes, 1951-52), *Harapā* (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 Paścama Parvā* (1939), *Brahmār Hāśi* (1948), and *Aśāri* (1951). Among his novels mention may be made of *Padmā* (1935), *Joḍādhiṅghir Caudhūrī Parivāra* (1938), *Kopawātī* (1941), and *Kēṭī Sāheber Munṣī* (1958). Among his comic plays *Rnāt Kṛtva* (1935), *Ghraṁ Pibet* (1936), *Parīha-saṁjālpiṭam* (1940), and *Mauḍākā Dhil* (1948) are popular on the amateur stage. Some of his books of verse are: *Vasantasenā* (1927), *Vidyā-Sundara* (1935), *Hamsa-mithuna* (1951), and *Uttaramegha* (1953). *Rāvīndra-kāyaḥapāhā* (1939) and *Rāvīndra-nātyapranāhā* (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 Chāya* (1889), *Nirmāya* (1891), *Paurāṇikī* (1897), *Mālyā O Nirmāya* (1913), and *Dīpā O Dhūpa* (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), *Mandva* (1902), *Ālekhya* (1907), and *Triveńi* (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: *Vāṇī* (1902), *Kalyāṇī* (1905), *Aṃṛta* (1910), *Abhayā* (1910), *Ānandamayī* (1910), and *Śeṣadāna* (1927). Priyamvada Devi (1871-1935) published a book of sonnets, *Renu*, in 1900. Some of her later poems were collected in three small books: *Patralekha* (1911), *Ānūśu* (1927), and *Campa O Pāṭala* (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 Gāṇa*, the revised edition of which was *Gitigunja* (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 *Veṇu O Veṇā* (1906), *Homaśikhā* (1907), *Phuler Phasal* (1911), *Kuḥo O Kehā* (1912), *Abhra-dvīra* (1916), *Belāṭeṣer Gāṇa* (1923), *Vīḍāya Ārati* (1924), etc. A small collection of his humorous and satirical poems was published in 1917 under the title *Hasantikā*. He excelled in translation. The poems in translation were published in three volumes: *Tirthasālā* (1908), *Tirthareṇu* (1910), and *Maṇipiṇājuṣā* (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 *Lekhā* (1906), *Rekāhā* (1910), *Aparājītā* (1913), *Nāgakeśara* (1917), *Nihārikā* (1927), *Mahābhārati* (1936), etc. Jatindramohan was a lover of rural landscape and his verse is smooth and picturesque. Karunamidhan Banerjee (1877-1955) published several books of verse like *Prasādi* (1904), *Jharāphul* (1911), *Ṣāntijala* (1913), *Dhan-dīrvā* (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 *Ujjānti, Venatulasi, Śatadalā* (all published in 1911), *Nāpura* (1920), and *Śvarṇa-sandhyā* (1948). His style is unpretentious and full of Purānic allusions. Kalidas Ray (1889-1975) produced a number of books: *Kunda* (1908), *Kiṣālaya* (1911), *Parnapūta* (1914), *Haimantī* (1934), and *Vaikālī* (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-operation was the poetry of Kazi Nazrul Islam (1899-1976). His first book of poems *Agniśūrṇa* (1922) was followed by several others like *Dolancāmpā* (1923), *Bīṣer Bānsī* (1924), *Bhāṅgar Gāṇa* (1924), *Pūtṛ Hāṣṭā* (1925), *Sarṇahārā* (1926), *Bulbul* (1928), *Śīndu-hīndola*, 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-
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 Ksumer Masa (1930), Pātālakanyā (1938), Naśṭacānd (1945), Puranāvā (1947), and Chāyār Ālpanā (1951). Janāntike (1949) and Manaṇapavaner Nāo are books of personal essays. Jivana-nanda Das (1899-1954) is one of the most heterodox and original poets after Rabindranath. His first significant book Dhusara Pāṇḍulīpi was published in 1936. His other books of poetry are Vanalata Sena (1942, enlarged 1952), Mahāyughīva (1944), Sātti Tārār Tīmira (1948), Śreṣṭha Kavitā (1954), and Rāpē Bāṅglā (1957). Bishnu Dey’s (b. 1909) books of poetry number more than half a dozen, including Urośi O Artemis (1932), Corābali (1938), Sandišer Car (1947), Nāma Rekhechi Komala-gāndhāra (1953), and Smṛti Sattā Bhaujayat (1963). He has also written several critical essays. Sudhindranath Datta (1901-61) published his first book of poems Tanāī in 1930. This was followed by Orchestra (1935), Krandast (1937), Uttaraphalghum (1940), Saṁvarta (1953), and Daśāmī (1956). His literary essays are included in the volume Svagata (1948). Humayun Kabir (1906-69) is the author of two popular books of poems, Soapna-sādha (1927) and Sāth (1932). Saajanikanta Das (1900-1962) wrote a few good parodies in verse such as Path Calte Ghaier Phul (1929), Aṅgūṣṭha (1931), etc. His serious volumes of verse are: Rājahaṁsa (1935), Ālo Āndhāri (1936), and Paniṭe Vaśākha (1942), etc. He also wrote a novel, Ajaya (1931). Amiya Chakravarti (b. 1901) has a number of books of poems to his credit including Khaḍā (1938), Ekmuṭho (1939), Pāṛāśā (1953), and Pāṭābadal (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), Nāṇākathā (1942), and Tin Punya (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), Aparshchandra 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), Narendranath Mitra (1916-1975), Sukanta Bhattacharyya (1926-47), Bijayal 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).
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 Janus-faced, ‘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 career ing 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
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
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. Kashiprosad 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 Prthviraja and Saṃyuktā. He was deeply influenced by Milton (he was the Bengali Milton, the author of the *Meghanāda-vadha-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,  
Mouldering where memory fond mourner keeps  
Her lonesome vigils sad—to chronicle.
Another pioneering Indo-Anglian poet was Sashichunder 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, Oomeshchunder—contributed to *The Dutt Family Album* (1876) which contains competent effusions in English verse.

With Aru Dutt and Toru Dutt, daughters of Govindachunder 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, Soulary, 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 Sāvitṛi, Prahlāda, Dhruva, Ekalavya, Lakṣmaṇa, 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
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 splendors 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 Vedāṇta 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 Brāhma 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 1895. 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 Rāmāyaṇa (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 1889 in an English translation by C. C. Mookerjee.
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 Vikramâditya 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's 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 Prabhau, 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 unacademic 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 Savitri and Satyavan 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).
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 recordation 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 poetic 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 matriculates 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—*Munugan 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—*ahimsa, satyagraha*, and *saivodaya*.

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 Bhasmasura 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, P. 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. Armando 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
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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, Kama*). 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. Bangarushami (*My Lord Ku Ku Doon Koon*, 1945), and columnists in the newspapers like Pothan 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. Srinivasachari. 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 Rustam Masani, D. F. Wacha, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and S. Natarajan, who have written about Dadabhai Naoroji, J. N. Tata, Gopal Krishna 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), C. Narayana Menon (*Shakespeare Criticism*, 1938), Amiya Chakravarti (*The Dynasts 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 Desires* (1961), *Possession* (1963), *A Handful of Rice* (1966), *The Coffin 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 Princess (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 Hawthorndon 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


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 Rāmāyaṇa (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-kanda of the Tamil classic, Kantha Rāmāyaṇam (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 Gandhiji, 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 *Visva Bharati 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.
GUJARAT, the land of the Gurjaras, 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 Bhṛgu-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 Śaurasenī or Nāgara Apabhṛṃśa which may therefore be safely called the real precursor of Gujarati. Hemacandra (1089-1173), the great grammarian, calls it simply Apabhṛṃśa which seems to have ceased to exist by A.D. 900. During the years A.D. 900-1150 a new kind of Apabhṛṃśa came into existence which can be called Gurjara Apabhṛṃśa. 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

Apabhramśa, 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 (Braja-bhäṣā and Kharī-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, phāgus, bāramāsīs, etc. Rāsas (long poems—heroic, romantic, or narrative) were written either by bhātas and cāraṇas (bards) in praise of rulers, or by Jaina sādhus (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. Bhāratesvara Bāhubalirāsa, 1185, of Śālibhadra Sūrī; Revantagiri-rāsa, 1235, of Vijayasena; Samarārāsa, 1315, of Ambadeva; and Gautama Svāmī-rāsa, 1356, of Vinayaprabha), Jaina poets wrote phāgs or phāgus celebrating love and joyous nature in springtime (vasanta). Sīhulībhadrā-phāgu (1334) of Jinarāmaprāma is one of the first of its kind. Other poems of this genre are Nemināthā-phāgu (1344) by Rājaśekhara, Nemināthā-phāgu (1375) by Jayaśekhara, Ravg sagara Nemināthā-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. Nemināthā Catuspādikā (1140) by Vinayacandra, a Jaina sādhu, is perhaps the oldest and the best among the bāramāsī poems available today. It is heavily loaded with didactic and philosophical
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content. The Jaina śādhus showed admirable skill in describing worldly joys and delights also, as it is evident from works like *Vasanta-vilāsa*. 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 Gujarat. It must be said to the credit of the Jaina śādhus 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, Usā-haroṇa, Siṭā-haroṇa, and Merutuṅga’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 *Kāṇḍadade 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 Jhalora in western Marwar, and he described the courage of Kāṇḍadade, the heroic king of Jhalora, 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 Kāṇḍadade, 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 works\(^1\) 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. Tarunaprabha’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, *Pṛthvicandra-citra* (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 Bāna’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.
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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 a Mohammedan, 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 Kṛṣṇa, to Rāma, to Śiva, or to Śakti. Kṛṣṇa-worship comes within bhakti-marga (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 Kṛṣṇa, immortalized by Jayadeva of Bengal in the twelfth century, came later. Bhakti of the Lord under various names, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Hari, Viṣṇu, and Viṣṇḍala, 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 marga, Narasinhya Mehta and Mirābāī (1498/1503-1546), were uninfluenced by the teachings or preachings of outsiders like Vallabhaśārya (1473-1531) and Caitanya (1485-1533). Though a high-caste Brahmin, Narasinhya 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. Narasinhya 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 prabhātiyās (matutinals). Govinda-gamana, Surata-sangrāma, Sudāma-caritra, etc. show him as a powerful lyricist and as an outstanding exponent of devotional poetry. Narasinhya Mehta’s poems on the love of Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs, for example, Śrīgāṇāmālā, 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 Kṛṣṇa who is Love and the ultimate Reality.

* Narasinhya 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 JīnŚnadeva 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.

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Tradition speaks of the unfortunate married life of Mirābāi, a royal princess, and her emigration from Mewar to Dvārakā in Gujarāt. 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 Gujarāti women and sung all over India with genuine devotional fervour. The original language of these captivating songs was the Marwāri or western form of Rajasthāni, and as a matter of fact, Gujarāti and Marwāri 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 Gujarāti the Kādambari of Bāṇa. It is his greatest work. His other important works include Daśama Skandha (of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa), Nalākhyāna, and Rāmabala-caritra. Bhālaṇa has also written Caṇḍī-ākhyāna, a work on Goddess Caṇḍī 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 Gujarāti 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 Battiti (c. 1480), Rāmāyaṇa, and Rukmāṅgadakathā.

During the sixteenth century literary activities were of a minor nature. Vasto, Vācharāja, Tulasī, Gaṇapati, Bandharāo, Śivādāsa, Madhusūdana Vyāsa, Kuśalalābha (a Jaina sādhu), Nakara (1500-1575), and Viśūdāsa (1564-1632) carried on the work of composition, concerning themselves mostly with ākhyānas based on the epics and Purāṇas. Lāvaṇyasamaya (Vimala-prabandha, 1512) and Nayasundara (Rūpačanda Kumār-rāsa, 1581, and Nala-Damayanti-rāsa, 1609) continued the Old Gujarāti 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 Gujarāti literature. They are Ākho or Aḵsayadāsa (1591-1656), Premānanda Bhāṭṭa (1636-1734), and Sāmala or Śyāmaladāsa Bhāṭṭa (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 śādhus 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 Īśvara. 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 Citta-vicāra-saṅvāda and Anubhava-bindu.

The most outstanding figure of the period under review was, however, Premānanda Bhatta who raised the language and literature of Gujarat 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 Yaśodā when Kṛṣṇa disappears into the Yamunā, the taunts administered by his wife Mandodari and his brother Kumbhakarṇa to Rāvana, the parting scene between Damayanti and her children, the sarcastic way in which Sudāma'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 nagara (city) ladies and their contempt for him, are real gems of Gujarati literature. His works are popular even now, and poems like Ṫukh-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 Ṫukh-haraṇa, the particularly noteworthy ones are: Raṇayajña, Naḷākhyāṇa, Abhimanyu-ākhyāṇa, Daśama Skandha, Sudāma-caritra, and Sudhanvā-khyāṇa.

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 Batrisa-putali, Padmāvatī, Nanda-batiśī, Sūhāsana-batiśī, and Madanamohanā. 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 Peshotan was one of them. He wrote namas or chronicles, Zarathustnama (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 Dhīra Bhagat, Niranța Bhagat, Bhoja Bhagat, and four or five poetesses like Divāl Bāt 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 Rādha. These love-lyrics of unique charm are sung by Gujarati women at various festivals in public. Dayaram was a devoted Vaiṣṇava, and knew Braja-bhaśa and Hindi in which he composed his Satsaiya. 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-poṣaya, 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 Purānic 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 Purānic 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.

*There is considerable influence of Braja-bhaśa on his writings, particularly of the works of the Aṣṭachāpya 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 Girdharbhau 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.7 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-mraha (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 *aloka-kāra-sūstra* (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 Samaj in furtherance of the cult of ekṣeṇaravāda (monotheism). *Īswara Prārthana-nāmaḷā* (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 *Śmaranya Saṅhitā*, an elegy reminiscent of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. His four other volumes of poems written between 1887 and 1935 are *Kusumamālā*, *Hṛdayavīta*, *Nāpusa-jhāṅkāra*, 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 gadya* or rhyming prose. Nanalal's first poem in this style is *Vasantotsava* (1898). His *Citra-dārśana* (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*, *Jaya-jayanta* (1914), *Vīśva-gīta* (1927), *Saṅghamitṛā* (1931), and *Jagat-preranā* (1943). The second is a unique lyrical piece.

Poetry also found devotees, and distinguished ones at that, in the Parsi
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 ‘Kalāpi’ (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, khandakavya, 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 Gujarati 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

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10 Some of his collections of poems are: Kāyvrasīka (1901), Vilāsīka (1905), Prakāśīka (1906), Sandesīka (1925), Bhajāmikā (1928), Kalāmikā (1940), and Nandinikā (1940). His Kaśikā (1926) is a long love poem consisting of 365 stanzas.

11 Some of his attempts in this new poetic form are: Devāyīā, Atijātā, Varanvi-vijaya, and Cabravākā-nātana.
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, *Daksina Aphrikana Satyagrahano Itihasa* and *Atmakathā*, 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 *Gujaratā-no Nātha* (1918-19), *Pṛthivi-vallabha* (1920-21), *Jaya Somnātha* (1940), *Bhagavān Parasurāma* (1946), and *Tapasvini* (1957).

Play-writing began seriously with Ranchhodbhai Udayaram (1837-1923), and his drama *Lalīta 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 Nilkantha (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) *Bhāti 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 *Abhijñāna-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. Dhruva (1859-1938) also translated a number of Sanskrit plays into Gujarati. Other important dramatists of the Modern period are K. M. Munshi, Chandravadan Mehta, Jayanti 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 Umarwadia, Yashwant Pandya, and Pranjivan Pathak.
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 Dhruya (1869-1942) was a sober critic. Ramnarayan Pathak, Visnuprasad Trivedi, Vijayrai 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 Atmakathā are specially to be noted in this connexion. There are also some good biographies by Parsi writers, for example, the life of Malabari by Khabardar. Other titles continue to be added to the list such as Sardar Vallabhabhai by Narhari Parikh and Ravisankara 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 Karana 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 Sarasvatichandra 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 Sarasvatichandra 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',¹⁸ Chun-nilal 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 'Darśaka'. The short story has become an indispensable feature of magazines and newspapers. 'Dhūmaketu', K. M. Munshi, R. V. Desai, Dhansukhalal Mehta, Gulabdas Broker, 'Sneharasmi', Jhaverchand Meghani, Ramnarayan Pathak, Umashankar Joshi, Sundarram, Pannalal Patel, Jayanti Dalal, Chunilal Madia, Shīvkumar Joshi, Kisansinha 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 Gujarāt today as it is elsewhere.

Juvenile literature has continued to develop since the days of Bālamitra (c. 1820), the earliest Gujarāti 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 Dālptram and A. K. Forbes in Ahmedabad, and in Bombay they have been formed by Dādabhai Naoroji and other Parsis and Hindus from the beginnings of Western education. The Buddhi-vardhaka Sabha, the Jnān Prasarak Mandali, the Gujarāti Sabha, the Gujarāti Vernacular Society, and Gujarāti 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 Mānu Subedar.

Modern Gujarāti 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 Gujarāti literature have attained great heights, the literature as a whole is still striving for higher attainment.

¹⁸ 'Dhūmaketu' was the first prose writer in Gujarāti 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-bhasa (the dialect spoken in the Agra-Mathura region), Awadhi (the dialect spoken in Oudh or Awadh) and Khari-boli (the dialect spoken in and around Delhi). Braja-bhasa 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-bhasa, 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 Parsian (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 Sauraseni Apabhramsha. In fact, it took all the metres and other poetic conventions including religious and secular styles and traditions from the Apabhramsha, 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-bhasa), (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 Dakhnī 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-bhasa 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 Apabhraṃśa literature, though the language was much more advanced. All the poetic forms of Apabhraṃśa including the dohās of heroism, love, and mystic experience, the padas or songs of devotional and mystic nature, the paddhāria vandhas 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 Apabhraṃśa was so powerful that some eminent scholars were tempted to call the Apabhraṃśa 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 rāso-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 rāso-kāvyas is Prthvīrāja-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 Sāmbhār, who had deserted her after a quarrel, and of their subsequent reconciliation. The authenticity of the work in its present form, however, is doubtful. Parmal-rāso (c. 1170) of Jaganik, preserved only in oral traditions, tells the story of Ālhā and Īthal, two brave brothers who were very well-known warriors of their time. They are said

* Some believe it to be a huge compilation of the sixteenth century. Others have discovered in it Apabhraṃśa 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 Prthvīrāja. 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 *ālha chanda* after the name of its hero Ālha. This can rightly be called a real *vīra-kāvyā* evoking the lofty ideal of Rajput chivalry. *Hammira-rāśo* by Śārṅgadhara is believed to belong to the fourteenth century. The work, however, is not available.

**OLDEST HINDI MYSTICO-DEVOTIONAL POETRY**

The *padas* and *vāns* 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 *nirguna-mārgī bhaktas* like Kabīr, 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.

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*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 Apabhramša, as the day of Apabhramša was passing away. He employs both the speech of Delhi (*-a dialect*) and the speech of Mathurā (*Braja-bhāṣā*—the *-au 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 Padavali is written in the Maithili language, but his two carita-kāyas, Krittilatā and Kiritipatākā, are in Avaḥattha or the advanced Apabhramśa language. As regards form, metre, and description of war scenes, Kiritilatā can be compared with Prthvirīja-rāso. It gives a very lively and vivid account of the conditions of those days. His Padavali opens a new phase in the field of lyrical songs based on the lilās (sports) of Lord Kṛṣṇa and goptā, his female companions. This tradition was kept up by poets like Sūradāsa, Nandādaśa, 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 Kabīr, 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 Vaiśṇava 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 Kabīr (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 Viṣṇu-svāmin. He was a devotee of Śrī 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 Viśṭhāla Gosvāmin, inspired a number of poets. Rāmānanda was born at Prayāga and preached in Vārāṇaśī, while Vallabhācārya came from the South (Andhra) and made Mathurā his main
Hindi

seat of teaching. There were some other Vaiśnava schools also, which kindled
the light of bhakti (devotion). Well known among these were the followers of
Nimbārka (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
Apabhramśa 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, Nanak, Raidasa, and Dādu

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 Nātha Yogīs and had retained
much of that heritage. Kabir is believed to be a disciple of the great Rāmā
nanda, but he also imbibed virtues of the Nātha Yogīs 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
Rāma of Vālmiki, who is believed by most Hindus to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu) 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 Rāma
and surrender to Him, Kabir's language is sweet and serene, but in the

1 Kabir's approach to God-head was in the main through the path of jñāna (knowledge). In other
words, his God was Nirguna Brahma the Absolute Divinity without any attribute and any personal
form. This aspect of his concept he got from the Nātha Pantha 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 Rāmānanda and the Sufi way of religious perception. On the other hand,
the other disciples of Rāmānanda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries clung to the purely
bhakti school centring round the personality of Rāma as the incarnation of Viṣṇu.—Editor.

2 Kabir is credited with a large number of works, all in verse, but his chief work is Bījak, divided
into three sections. It touches upon many subjects including Vedāntic 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 sādharakṣa bālī, or the speech or diction of wandering mendicants (sādhūs). It is basically
Western Hindi—Bṛjā-bhāṣā in fact, with -a forms from the Delhi speech, and occasionally forms from
Awadhī. 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 Grantha 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 Rāmnānda, 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.9

TULASIDĀSA, SŪRADĀSA, MIRĀBĀI, AND OTHERS

There were other bhākta 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 bhākta 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. His 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.

9 Mention may be made of some later poets in the nirguna tradition: Sundaradāsa (1597-1689), Mālukdāsa (1574-1682), and Aksara Ananya (c. 1653). Sundaradāsa was a disciple of Dādū Dayāl. His principal work is Sundara-nilās. Mālukdāsa's Rainakhan and Jñāna-bodha indicate his mature poetic ability. Aksara Ananya's important works are: Rāja-yoga, Vīshīna-yoga, Siddhāna-bodha, Visvā-dīpikā, and Brahma-jñāna.
He was fortunate enough to find a guru in Naraharidāsa, a disciple of Rāma-nanda who initiated him to Rāma-mantra and made him acquainted with the fascinating story of Rāma, his īśādeva. 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-bhāṣa 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-patikā. 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 Dohāvālī, Kaviyāvālī, Kṛṣṇa-gītāvālī, and Gitāvālī 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: Hitopadeśa, Dhyāna-mañjari, Rāma-dhyāna-mañjari, and Kuṭṭalidāsa. 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. Kesāvadāsa (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 Kṛṣṇa 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 Vallabha-cārya,
though he came into contact with him rather late. A lyricist, he had a remarkable command of Braja-bhasa. One is particularly struck by the musical serenity and sweetness of his *padas*. The theme of *Sūra-sūrāvali* is the same as that of *Sūra-sāgara*. The authorship of *Sāhitya-lahari*, though ascribed to him, has not been definitely established. Nandadasa, a junior contemporary of Sūradāsa, was a disciple of Viṭhṭhalanātha, son of Vallabhācārya. Of his sixteen works now available, mention may be made of *Rāsa-paṇḍādyāyi* and *Bhanwar-gīta*. He was a skilful artist and noted for his ornate use of Braja-bhāṣā. Sūradāsa, Nandadasa, and other bhakta poets of the Kṛṣṇayata school formed a group called *aṣṭa-chāpa* (the eight stamp-seals). Paramānandadasa, author of *Dhruva-carita* and *Dāna-śīlā*, and Kṛṣṇadāsa, author of *Bhramara-gīta* and *Prematattva-nīrūpaṇa*, belonged to this group. But neither could attain to considerable height. Hitaharivamśa (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 *Hita-caurāṭi*.

The name of Mīrābāī (1498/1503-1546) is an immortal one in the history of the Kṛṣṇayata 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 *bhajanās* (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 *Nāsījī Kā Mahēro, Gitagovinda Kī Ṭīkā, Rāgagovinda, Garva-gīta*, and *Rāga-vihāga*.

**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 *Candayān* (c. 1318) deals with

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10 Four other poets of the *aṣṭa-chāpa* school are: Kumbhānandadasa, Caturbhujadasa, Chita Svāmī, and Govinda Svāmī. The following books of Caturbhujadasa (b. 1516) are extant: *Dvadāsa Tāla, Bhakti-pratipāda, Hitu Ke 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 *Mrgavati* in 1501, and Manjhan whose *Madhu-Mālā* was written some time before 1550. The greatest poet of this group is undoubtedly Malik Mohammed Jayasi (c. 1492-1543). *Padmāvat,* his greatest work, is an elaborate narrative in *dohā* and *cauṇḍā* 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 pervades 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.

**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-dohavati, Barve Nāyikā-bhedā, Madanaśṭaka, Śrīgārī Soraṇt,* and *Rāsa-paṇḍālīvāyi.* 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, Prthvirāja Rāḥod of Bikaner (*Veli Kṛṣṇa-Rukmini-Rī,* written in Early Marwari known as Dingal), Alam

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12 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.

13 Jayasi's *Padmāvat,* composed during 1520-40, was rendered into Bengali verse by Saiyad Asol 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 After Jayasi, at least four other Sufi poets made their mark in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They are: Usman (c. 1616, author of *Citravali*), Seikh Nabi (c. 1620, author of *Jistanādiya*), Kasim Shah (c. 1727, author of *Haaṇa-jamalī*), and Nur Mohammed (c. 1740, author of *Indradhāvī* composed in 1744 and *Amrūgā-bābātā,* composed in 1764). The latest writer in the Sufi tradition in Awadhi was Nazir Ahmad of Pratapgarh who composed his romance *Narjaqā,* in 1905.
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(Mādhavānala-kānaka-dālā, c. 1580), Gāṅga (1578-1617), Manohara Kāvi, Balabhadra Mīśra, 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, alaṅkāra, and nāyaka-nāyikā-bhedā, 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 Cintāmaṇī Tripiṭhī (b. c. 1609; works: Kāvyā-viveka, Kavihūla-kalpataru, and Kāvyā-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: Rasarāja), and Padmakara (1753-1833; noteworthy work: Jagadvinoda) 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-raśa (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 mīrūnī of Delhi, in his later life he became a great bhākta. He belonged to the Nimbārka school of the devotees of Kṛṣṇa. His chief works are: Sujana-sāgara, Rāsa-kelivalī, and Kṛṣṇa-kānda. Others like Giridhara Kavirāja (c. 1743), Baitāl (1600), Vṛndā (1643-1723), and Ghagha devoted themselves to didactic dohās and padas. Strictly
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speaking, they are not poets, but, as Ramchandra Shukla calls them, are good sukttikāras, composers of proverbs. There were bhakta 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 dohas and Sujana Raskhan of his savaiyas and kavittas.

Bhūṣaṇa (1613-1712), brother of Matirāma, 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 alaikāras. His panegyrics on Śivāji, the great rebel leader of Mahārāṣṭra, in most musical Braja-bhāṣa verse (like Śivā-Bāvani) 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 Gorerlāl Purohitā (1657-1707) produced a beautiful poem in the bardic tradition in praise of Raja Chhatrasāl of Bundelkhand, Chatra-prakāsa,17 in 1707.

The most popular poet of the Riti school was Bhārī (1603-63), a court poet of Raja Jayasimha of Amber. He wrote a little more than seven hundred couplets (dohās). The anthology of his dohas is popularly known as Bhārī-sātasa and is in the line of Hāla’s Gāhā-sattasaí in Prakrit and Govardhana’s Āryā-saptasaí 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 dohas is śṛṅgātra, though some devotional and didactic ones have also crept in. Bhārī 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 dohas in long verses like savaiyas, kavittas, and kunḍaliyās or to imitate his literary style. He was no doubt the most popular poet in Hindi after Kabīr, Sūradāsa, and Tulasidāsa. He, along with Keśavadāsa, inspired Rajput and Kangra paintings very deeply. His dohas 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.

15 Guru Govinda Simha (1666-1709), the last Sikh guru, was an illustrious writer in Hindi. His Kṛṣṇa-kathā (1688), Rāma-kathā (1695), and Tviā-caritra (1696) remind us of Sūradāsa, Tulasidāsa and Cānd Bardāi respectively. Some of his works are in an old, almost Apabhraṃśa style of Hindi, for example, Viṣṇu-nājaka and Cānd-caritra (written between 1698 and 1703).—Editor.
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 kavitta and sauraiya, 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. Bihari and to some extent Matirama 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 standpoint 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-marga 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 Mihirban (1640-80), Hariji (1680-1720), and Dial Anemi (1720-75). Their works are, however, written in Gurmukhi 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
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 (munsis) of Fort William College, Pandit Laljuji 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-sagara (1803) of Laljuji Lal was not free from the Braja-bhāṣā influence, but Sadal Mishra’s Nāṣiketopākyāna (based on the Katha Upanisad) was less affected. In the twenties of the nineteenth century, Hindi journalism also came into the field. Pandit Jugaikishore Mishra of Kanpur started from Calcutta Udant Mārtaṇḍa (1826), the first known Hindi weekly. It continued only for nine months. Two other later Hindi journals are: Sudhākara (1850) from Banaras and Buddhi-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 Devanāgarī 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 for 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), Badri-narayan 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'.18 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 Sarasvatī (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 Ramnaresh Tripathi wrote poetry in Khari-
boli successfully and convincingly. Among these poets Maithili Sharan Guptā
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 Meghanāda-vadha-kāvyā of Michael Madhusudan Dutt into Hindi.
His long narrative poems like Saketa and Taṣodharā evoke the spirit of ancient

18 Cf. S. H. Vatsyayan’s article on ‘Hindi Literature’ in Contemporary Indian Literature (Sahitya
Ākādemi, 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 chayavada, 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-kirîtiṇi* and *Hima-taraṇîṇî*.

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 ‘Nirala’ (1897-1963; works: *Juhi Ki Kali, Pari-mala, Anâmikâ, Arcana, Árâdhana*, 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. Sumitranand 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, Tuganâni, Grâmya, Svarâñkarâna, Siñâ, and Lokâyatana.*
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 Kamâyani (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 Jharnā, Aṁśu, and Lahar also represent the salient features of the chāyavāda movement. The eminent poetess Mahadevi Varma (b. 1907; works: Nīhāra, Raśmi, Sandhyāgīta, and Dīpāṣikā) 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 'Navīna' (1897-1959), a romantic poet (two significant works: Kvāśi, Aḥalaka); Siyaram Sharan Gupta (b. 1895), an intellectual Gandhist (works: Bāpu, Unmukta, Nakula, and Mṛṇmayi); and Subhadrakumari Chauhan (1904-48, her Jhānāni Kī Rāṣṭi 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-chāyavāda period Ramdhari Singh 'Dinakara' (b. 1908; notable work: Kurukṣetra), Harivansh Rai 'Bachchan' (b. 1907), Bhagavaticharan Varma (b. 1903), Rameshwar Shukla 'Aṅcala' (b. 1915), and Narendra Sharma (b. 1916) are poets of considerable merit. They belong to what may be called pragatīvāda, 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 prayoga-vāda or experimental movement. It witnessed some poets of great talent. S. H. Vatsyayan 'Ajiñeya' (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
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Mathur (b. 1917), Shamsher Bahadur Singh (b. 1911), Gajananmadhav Mukti- bodh (1918-64), Dharmavir Bharati (b. 1926), and Nagarjun (b. 1911). These poets entirely revolutionized the realm of Hindi poetry by working out a complete metamorphosis of subject-matter, language, metre, and style.

MODERN HINDI NOVEL AND SHORT STORY

Modern Hindi literature can be legitimately proud of its achievements in the field of fiction also. Partikṣa-guru of Lala Shrinivas 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 Lavangalatā 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, Nīrmanā, Kāyakalpa, Raṅgabhāmi, Ghaban, and Godāna. His last novel Godāna (1936) has been translated into many languages. During his last days he became a recognized leader of pragatīvāda in Hindi literature. Jayashankar Prasad also distinguished himself as a writer of romantic and historical novels and stories amongst which Chāyā and Akāśadīpa have a lyrical quality. His other works are: Tītī, Kankāla, Mamātā, Pratīdhwani, 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 Kalyāṇā, Sunitā, Tyāgapatra, Sukhadā, Vīvarta, and Vyātīta. Eka Rāt, Vātīyana, Dela Kī Rāja-kumārī, etc. are some of his well-known stories. Siyaram Sharan Gupta’s novels (e.g. Nārit) are characterized by a tender gentleness. Chaturvesh Shastri, a powerful stylist and writer of romances, has written voluminously. Vrindavanlal Varma’s (b. 1888) novels show a skilful blending of history and fancy. Of his works mention may be made of Gad Kunda, Virāt Kī Padmīnī, Kūndalī Cakra, Jhānsī Kī Rāṇī, Kacnar, and Mṛganayanī. 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 Sekhara: Eka Jīvanī is one of his most characteristic works. Yashpal (b. 1904) is a first-rate novelist in the progressive line. His works include Dada-comrade, Deśadrohi, Diyā, and Mamaya Kī Rāpa. Rahul Sankritiyayan (1895-1963), Ilachandra Joshi (b. 1902), Bhagavaticharan Varma (b. 1903), Amritlal Nagar (b. 1916), Upendranath Ashk (b. 1910), Rangey Raghav (b. 1922), Dharmvir Bharati (b. 1926), Nagarjun (b. 1911), Phanshwarnath ‘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-vacanasadhana (1868), the journal of ‘Bhāratendu’, and that of the latter to Dwivedi’s Sarasvatī (1903). Among the earlier essayists, the most powerful are: ‘Bhāratendu’, Balkrishna Bhatta, Pratapnarayan Mishra, Badrinarayan Chaudhuri, Radhacharan Goswami, and Balmukund Gupta. Mahavirprasad Dwivedi, Chandradhar 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, Raghuvamsha, Namwar Singh, Rahul Sankrityayan, Prakashchandra Gupta, Prabhakar Machwe, and many others.

‘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: Prema-yogini, Candravallī, Bhārata-janani, Bhārata-durdaSa, Nilā Devī, Saśi-pratāpa, Andher Nagari, etc. Lala Shriniwas Das’s romantic dramas, Rānapātra-Premamohini and Sanjogita-svayamvara, and Radhakrishna Das’s historical dramas, Durgāoāti 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 Sanskrit-ized. Some of his important historical plays are: Rājyaśrī, Ajātaśatrū, Candragupta, Skandagupta, and Dhruvasvāmini. 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-

20 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 (*Krṣṇārjuna-yuddha*), Bechan Sharma *Ugra* (*Mahātmā Isā*), and Govindvallabh Pant (*Varamāla*). Writers such as Badrinath Bhatt (*Durgāvati, Candragupta*), Seth Govind Das (*Harṣa, Shershak, Pakistan*), Lakshminarayan Mishra (*Rākṣasa Kā Mandira, Muktī Kā Rahasya, and Sindūra Ki Hoī*), Harikrishna Premi (*Rakṣa-bandhana, Svapna-bhāṅgara*), and Udayshankar Bhatt (*Matsyagandhā, Vīṣvāmitra* 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 'Bhāratanāḍu'. Those who have later distinguished themselves in the field are: Ram Kumar Varma, Upendranath Ashk, Jagadishchandra Mathur, Vishnu Prabhatkar, and Bhuvaneshwar Prasad. Jagadishchandra Mathur (*Koṃāka*), Upendranath Ashk (*Alag Alag Rāste*), Lakshminarayan Lal (*Sukhā Sarovora*), Bipinkumar Agrawal (*Tīṇ Āpakhī—*a collection of short plays), Lalit Sehgal (*Hatīya Eka Ākāra Ki*), 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 Rājāhānsa* (1964), and *Ādhā-adhure* (1969). The setting for *Laharon Ke Rājāhānsa* is historical; the plot is based on the *Saundarananda* by Āvaghosha. His *Ādhā-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.
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KANNADA is the official language of Karnataka, 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 Karnataka, namely, Mahāraṣṭra, 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.

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 Halmandi 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 Nṛpatunāga, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa 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 Kāvyādarpa 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 Nrpatunga 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 *Vaddārādhane* 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 renunciation as the highest ideal of life. Some scholars believe that this work is a compilation of several stories culled from one Kannada commentary on *Ārādhana* 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 unparalleled felicity.

**PAMPA AND HIS SUCCESSORS (c. A.D. 900—1150)**

Pampa, court poet of the Cālukya king Arikeśarīn 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 Kārıṇṭaka. His first work, *Ādi Purāṇa*, treats in great detail the life of Vṛṣabha, the first of the twenty-four Tīrthāṅkaras. 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 *Vikramārjuna-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 Arikeśarīn, who is to him more a friend than a master; and second, to summarize the voluminous story of Vyāsa’s *Mahābhārata* 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, Bhuvanaka-Rāmābhuyudana, and Jīnakṣaramāle, the second of which is unfortunately lost. The first deals with the traditional story of Śāntinātha, sixteenth Jaina Tirthankara. Ranna, whose famous Sāhasa-Bhīma-vijayam is more popularly known as Gadā-yuddha (c. 1000), is the third of the ratna-trayas and the second kavi-cakravartin. His other work is Ajita-tīrthaṅkara-purāṇa-tilaka (Ajita Purāṇa), composed in 993. In writing a religious work like Ajita Purāṇa and a secular work like Sāhasa-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 Rāchiṃalla, and famous in the history of Indian art for the colossal statue of Gommaṭeśvara carved out of the living rock at Śravaṇa Belgalā, has written in prose Trīṣaṣṭi-lakṣaṇa-mahāpurāṇa, popularly known as Cāmunḍarāya Purāṇa (c. 978). It depicts the lives of the sixty-three śālaka-puruṣas. His work is a condensation of the Sanskrit Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra. The Kādambarī, Bāṇabhaṭṭa’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.

Durgasimha 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. Durgasimha’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, Mallinātha 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 Pañmacārya. 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 Dharmāṃṭa (c.1117) heralded a new way of thinking and writing
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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 mahāpuruṣas each of whom attained to the higher life by practising one of the gunāvratas. Simple and direct, the poet’s language reflects contemporary life. Brahmaśīva, who probably lived in the latter half of the twelfth century, wrote Samaya-parikṣe, 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 Kānditaka-bhasā-bhusana. Among his other works, Kāṇyāvalokana is a standard work on poetics and Abhidhana-vastuksa is a lexicon. His influence can be traced in subsequent writers on scientific subjects like Janna, and especially grammarians like Kesirāja. Acharṇa’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 Tirthankara.

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 vacanaṇāras 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 Karnāṭaka 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 Viraśaiva 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 Akkamahādevī, 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 Akkamahādevī 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 Siddharama 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. Kāyakate 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 mātra-gaṇa suits the genius of Kannada much better than the aksara-gaṇa which used to be borrowed from Sanskrit. And he composed the major part of his poetry in the ragaḷe 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 monotony. Basavarājadevara-ragaḷe, Nambiyanīya-ragaḷe, and Puspa-ragaḷe are amongst his best works. Besides using this new form of his own creation which may perhaps be called ragaḷe campū, he also used the traditional campū in writing his Girijā-kalyāṇa-mahāprabandham 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 saṭpadi. Indeed, he has been considered the pioneer of saṭpadi. Like his master, he too gave expression to his devotion to God which has an appeal to the common man. His available works are Hariśendra-kāvya, Somanātha-carite, and Siddharāṇa-carite. Two more pieces, also ascribed to him, Sarabha-caritra and Harihara-mahattra, 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 Lilāvatī-prabandham and Nemināṭa-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, Śūkti-sudhārṇava, 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 Anantamāṭha 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
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(c. 1235) who followed the usual campū style but with great deviations both in content and in language. His Kabbigara-kāva, 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 tatsama 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-maṇi-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 satpadi 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. Puruvāra of Nāgaraṇa (c. 1331) contains fifty-two tales from the lives of mythological heroes with a view to illustrating the duties of a householder. Khagendra-maṇi-darpaṇa of Maṅgarāṇa 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 Tīrthaṇkara. Aiva-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 Nārāṇappa, popularly known as Kumāra Vyāsa, who has written in satpadi metre the first ten parvans of the Mahābhārata. He has named his work Karṇāṭaka-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 bhāmī satpadi were fully exploited by Kumāra Vyāsa. His skill in metaphor won him the epithet rūpaka-sāmṛāja-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 Karṇāṭaka have heard, and are familiar 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 Tulasīdāsa and the Kṛttivāsa of Kannada literature.

Cāmarasa, another important poet of the fifteenth century, wrote a popular work, Prabhu-linga-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.
Nijāguna Śivayogin (c. seventeenth century) has seven works to his credit, six of which have come to be known as the Sat Śastras. His Viveka-cintāmani 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 Lakṣmiṇa, whose work is popularly known as Jaimini-Bhārata. Yudhīṣṭhira’s āsvamedha sacrifice is the main theme of this work. The other poet is Ratnākara Varni. Besides his minor works like Ratnakara-tataka, Triloka-tataka, and Aparājītesvara-tataka, he wrote Bhārata-sāṅgha, 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 Viṣṇu, the first Tirthankara. 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.

Nāṇjunḍakavi 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-sāṅga (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. Śaḍāksaradeva is one of them. His Rājaśekhara-vilāsa is written mainly to illustrate the protective power of the Lord’s name. Viṣṇu-bhādripura-vijaya and Śabara-sāṅkara-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 Gīta-Gopāla. Cikupādhyāya, Tirumalārya, and a good number of poets of this period wrote many poems which were of great

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1 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 Viṭṭhala or Hari of Pandharpur 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, *Mitravinda-Govinda*, was written by Śiṅgarārya.

Kannada literature has some women poets of considerable distinction. One of them is Honnamma, a maid-in-waiting in the palace of Cikkadevarāja. Her *Hadībadeya-dharma* (‘Tenets for Chaste and Devoted Wives’) is written in *sāṅgaṭya* metre. It is a work intended to present an ideal of conduct for women in their domestic life. Another poetess of the same period, Hējavanakatге Giriymma, wrote a few smaller works among which the poem on the episode of Candrabāsa 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-padaṇḍu* 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 Tiruvaḷļuvar 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 ‘Muddanṇa’. Kempu Narayana has written in prose the story of Viśakhadatta’s Sanskrit play *Mudrārākṣasa* under the title of *Mudrāmaṇḍya* (1823). This is virtually the first prose work of modern Kannada literature and may be said to be the first historical romance in Kannada. ‘Muddanṇa’ is the pseudonym of Nandaliṅe Lakšmirayananappa. His *Śrī Rāma-Patiṣṭhīṣaka* is in *ṣaṭpadi*, whereas his other two works, *Adbhuta-Rāmāyana* and *Śrī Rāmāvamanādham*, are in prose. His style is rather heavy; it is relieved, however, by delightful humour often blended with exquisite pathos.

Basavappa Sastrī, a poet of the court of Sri Chamaraja Wodeyar III
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(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-Sākuntala* 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 *Māṭīḍuwng Mahārāṭya* 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 Karnataka as 'Śrī'. A professor of English and an accredited scholar not only in English but also in Kannada literature, 'Śrī' was a poet of remarkable merit. Like Harihara of old, 'Śrī' felt convinced that metres of three, four, and five matras together with their permutations would suit best the genius of the Kannada language. He also realized that breaking off from the rather unwieldy satpadiś and vṛttaś, 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 *Gitegalu*, a collection of English lyrics done into Kannada, his original pieces
were published under the title of *Hongapanasagalu*. He wrote the play *Aśvatthāman*, modelled on *Ajax* of Sophocles. He translated the *Persae* of Sophocles under the name of *Pārāsinkarū*. 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 Mangesara Rao, Manjeswari 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. Puttapapa (‘Ku-vem-putu’), Dattatreya Ramachandra Bendre (‘Ambikātanyadatta’), 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-putu’ in its quality, no less than in its quantity, is unsurpassed. His unique gift to Kannada literature is his *Srī Rāmāyana-dārsanam*. This is an epic written in the grand style, in blank verse running to 25,000 lines, on the traditional theme of the *Rāmāyana*. 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 Silābalikeyaru* is a chain of lyrics describing the world-famous images of the dancing damsels at the Hoysala 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 *Srī Rāma-pariśānām*, 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 *Makkul-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'), Kandengodu Sankarabhatta, Anandakanda, V. K. Gokak, 'Madhurac-
chenna', 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 Ratmanpadagalu and Nagaipadagalu,
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 Maisuru 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, Chandras-
sekhar Kambar, 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 renais-
sance 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 Purânic
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-kr'), T. R. Subba Rao ('Ta-
ra-su'), Krishna Murthy Puranik, V. M. Inamdar, 'Triveni', Niranjana, Basava-
raja Kattimani, Korati 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 \textit{Marali Maṇṇige} (‘Back to the Soil’) is almost an epic in prose involving three generations, which reminds one of the \textit{Forsyte Saga} of John Galsworthy. The credit of writing the first great and voluminous novel in Kannada, \textit{Kāṇṭhā Subhanna Heggaditi}, goes to ‘Ku-vem-pu’. In this as well as in his second recent novel \textit{Malegalalli 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 \textit{Grāmāyana}, where a whole generation takes the place of the ‘hero’. ‘Śrīnīvāsa’ (Masti Venkatesa Iyengar), though pre-eminent a writer of short stories, has shown in his two novels, \textit{Vānśa-vyṛṣa} and U. R. Anantamurthy’s \textit{Sāṅśkāra} are notable contributions, both of them having been filmed. Bhyrappa’s recent novel \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{Mahābrāhmaṇa} and \textit{Mahākṣatriya} are good specimens of what may be called mythological novels, while Puttaswamiah’s \textit{Krānti Kalyāṇa} and Virakesari Sitarama Sastry’s \textit{Daulat} and \textit{Nagarada Rāṇi} are historical novels of a high order. Several authors like ‘Trivenți’ have tried their hand with commendable success at the modern psychological novel too. Among Kannada novelists there are a good many women writers including ‘Trivenți’—M. K. Indira, Niladevi, Jayalakshmi, H. V Savitramma, for instance.

\section*{SHORT STORY}

Masti Venkatesa Iyengar (‘Śrīnīvāsa’) 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 Hemavatī and, with his inimitable
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humour, brought to life a whole host of rustic characters. ‘Aṣvattha’, ‘Chadurāṅga’, 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. Srikantha Sastri and Bellave Narahari Sastri, 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 Sastry's *Nāciketā* and C. K. Venkataramiah's *Mandodari* are celebrated original plays relating to this period. *Parasurāma* 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 (*Sañjīvini, Sāvitrī, Kelu Janamejaya*, 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 Koral*, 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-
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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 Ahalya, Sabari, and Harinabhisarga. Haansa-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 Guḍi) has, in several of his plays, tried to introduce the rhythm of spoken prose into the conversation of his characters. 'Parvatavāni', 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 Asadhahbhāti, 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 Tughlaq, Tayāti, 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 Paṅcavaṇṭi is a valuable contribution to Gandhian literature in Kannada. Yamana Bhatta, M. Rama Rao, S. Anantaranarayana, 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 Putappa with his Visekānanda 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 Sastri, T. S. Venkanniah, and T. N. Srikantayya, whose Kāvyā-mimāṃsā is a classic, the like of which is rarely to be found in any other modern Indian language. M. R. Srinivasa Murthy’s Bhakti-bhāndārī-Basavaṇṇanaṇavaru and Vacana-dharma-sāra are valuable critical works on Vīraśaiva 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, Ranga-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 ragaṇes of different writers in this field.

R. Narasimhachar’s Kavicarite is the earliest attempt to present a history of Kannada literature. R. S. Mugali’s short work on the subject entitled Kannada Sāhitya Caritre has since been followed by detailed histories which are being published by the universities of Karṇāṭaka.

S. V. Parameswara Bhatta has brought the whole of Kālidāsa and Bhāsa 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 KODĀGI

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.
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 Brāhmaṇical (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 Rājatarangini of Kalhana (twelfth century).2

The history of Kashmiri literature, as of the language, may be divided into the following three broad periods:

1 It runs thus: Raṭagaśa helu dhanu (or dhana), 'the village of Helu has been given to Ranga', which in Modern Kashmiri would be Raṭagaśa helu dhana.
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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 Apabhraṃśa 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 (āhṇika), there are two verses in some kind of Apabhraṃśa. 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 Mahārtha-mahājāri by Maheśvarāṇanda, which consists of seventy-one distichs in Prakrit (it is not the language of Kashmir but is Māhārāṣṭra Prakrit), and this work has been found in two recensions, both of which have been published, one from Śrinagar 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 Mahānaya-prakāśa by Śitikāṇṭha Acārya. 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 coryāpadās 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 (Sahitya 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 *samāyāsīnt* (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 'Lallā Arīfā', while the Hindus call her 'Lallā Yogīsvāri'. Some 110 poems by Lallā have been edited and translated by G. A. Grierson 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 'Nānda Rśi' (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 *shṛūks* 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 *Rśinama* 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.

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.®

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® The collection was published by the Royal Asiatic Society of London in 1923.


® The *Rājatarangini* of Kalhana, 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
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, Yodhabhatta, and Bhatta Avatāra. Utthasoma composed a series of lyrics in Kashmiri, besides a biography of Zain-ul’ Abidin, and a treatise on music entitled Mānaka. An unknown poet wrote Bāgāsura-vadha, the earliest epic poem so far known in Kashmiri. Yodhabhatta wrote the biography of his patron Zain-ul’ Abidin, Jáina-carita. He also wrote a drama on his patron, called Jáina-prakāśa. Bhāṭa Avatāra, a distinguished Persian scholar, composed Jáina-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 Shdhnama 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 Brāhmaṇical Śaiva mysticism of Kashmir, into a preponderantly 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 Rāgasvāngrī into Persian. Pandit Śrīvara, on the other hand, adapted Persian poet Jami’s romantic poem Yusuf-Zalimkha into Sanskrit and named it Kasthā-kautuka (completed in A.D. 1505).
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 jophā, Sanskrit jyotmā). 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 reclus. 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. Khawajah 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 Kṛṣṇa-avatāra and Janam-carita, both on Hindu Purānic themes. Poetess Rūpabhavānī (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.

Arāṇīmālā, 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 Bhavānidāsa Kacrū, a Kashmiri Brahmin, who was a distinguished Persian scholar and writer. Arāṇīmālā’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. Arāṇīmālā 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 Divākarapraśāsa Bhaṭṭa) who was a contemporary of Raja Sukhātīvana Malla, a Hindu nazir (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-Kuṣa-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, *Samsāra-māyā-mohajāla-sukha-duḥkha-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 Waqyah*.

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 *Yusuf-Zulaikha*. Then 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 Śārada 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 Kaul 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 *Yusuf-*
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Zulaikha, Laila-Majnun, 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 Guirez, a narrative poem on a love theme borrowed from the Persian. He also wrote a satirical account of Kashmir peasant life known as Gurisnama.

Pandit Nandaram alias Paramanand (1791-1879) is regarded as one of the greatest poets of Kashmir. He was influenced by both Lalla and Nuruddin. Taking note of the devotional and mystic 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 Puranas. His Puranic works are Rādhā-svayamvara, Sudāmā-carita, and Śiva-lagan. 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 dictionsthe other drawing upon Sanskrit and the local traditions for idiom and imagery. Paramanand wrote the līlā lyrics. These lyrics are joyful devotional songs treating of the līlās (holy acts of the divinities), usually of Kṛṣṇa. The līlā 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 Rādhā-svayamvarā. He was also the author of Nala-Damayantī, which is an extensive but rather pedestrian work on the story from the Mahābhārata. 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 Śiva-parināya in 1,915 four-line stanzas. Compared with his master’s, his līlā lyrics are less convincing as mystical poetry, but they are more melodious and more captivating. There is yet another Hindu classic in Kashmiri, Kṛṣṇa-vatāra-līlā. 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 Bhāgavata Purāṇa stories about Kṛṣṇa have been beautifully treated in this poem.

Waliullah Mattu belonged to the second stage of the Modern period. He

8 The work was edited and published in Calcutta by G. A. Grierson in 1924 in the reformed Nāgari script devised for Kashmiri, with a Sanskrit chāya by Mns. Pandit Mukundaram Sastrī.

* This was published in 1928 in Calcutta by G. A. Grierson in Roman characters with an English translation.
wrote a lyric romance called *Himal 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 *Shahnamā* of Firdausi, and translated the *Akbar-nāma*, 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 *Gazīyatī-Haqqam*). There were also a number of Sufi mystic poets like Qalandar Shah, Abdul Ahad Nazim, Mohiuddin Miskin, Khwajah Akram Rahmān Dar, and Maulavi Siddiqullah. Maulavi Siddiqullah translated the *Sīkandār-nāma* 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 (*yogīn*) 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 Ambardar. 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 Dai is the author of a very popular poem called *Māič-tulair*. 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,
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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 Kahwath, Râmun Râj, Dayâlâl, and Prahlâda Bhagat are among noteworthy dramas by Nandalal in Kashmiri. Manaju Attar has made a Kashmiri verse translation of the Bhâgavata Purâna. Pandit Dayaram Ganju has to his credit didactic and other poems in Kashmiri, and his little book of advice to the young people, Ghar Vyeznal, is very popular. Pandit Narayan Khar is another poet who has rendered the Bhagavad-Gîtâ 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, Dinanath Nadim, Rahman Rahi, Amin Kamil, Ghulam Rasul Nazki, Abdul Haqq Barq, and Nur Mohammed Roshan besides 'Premî', '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 Tirada, Ba Gyama Az, and Zinda-bad Shyamji breathe a hitherto unknown vigour into Kashmiri verse. In a symbolic opera, Bambur Tambarzal (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

10 Sumrm, one of his verse compositions, won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1956.

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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 *Bei 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 Nāgarīya* (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-Sāha*, '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. Kashmiri 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 *Zuv ta Zolana* as well as his collections of short stories, *Sathsāṅgar* and *Śwanzal. Sathsāṅgar* (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.
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 Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, in the famous Tamil works of the Saṅgam period like Śīlappadikārām, Padirruppātτ, and Maṇimekalai, 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. Kovunni 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. 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.
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 such a neat division 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 evidence of that time is really a kind of folk-epics and folk-tales. Later there occurs a new form with the works of Ezhuttachan (sixteenth century), the most notable figure in Malayalam literature. He was an outstanding writer with set standards for future writers. The popular belief is that Modern Malayalam starts with Ezhuttachan. 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 a famous work Karpa-gathā whose language is nearly as modern as that of Ezhuttachan's works. Karpa-gathā belongs to the fourteenth century. The evolution started by Ezhuttan Namboodiri, the supposed author of Karpa-gathā, was completed by Ezhuttachan! So we may say that the Modern Period in Malayalam literature starts with Ezhuttachan.

**EARLY PERIOD**

- The influence of Tamil language and Tamil literature on the development of Malayalam language can be easily noticed during the formative period. Tamil and Sanskrit have had considerable influence on the literary Malayalam language in this period. There exist three distinct literary streams which have contributed to the moulding of the literary language for Kerala. They are: (1) A Tamil-Sanskrit mixture of Malayalam, with which we mean literary expression in pure Malayalam without any admixture of Tamil and Sanskrit; (2) Tamil and Sanskrit mixture; and (3) Tamil literature and the literary field of Kerala. Besides these three streams, different religious scholars and politicians have always endeavoured to compose songs and ballads of their own. In olden days these songs were not considered to be literature and no one bothered about preserving them. But when a record of which is available now, we are able to get a good glimpse of the social conditions of ancient Kerala and also of the kind of literature that was prevalent in those days. These songs were mostly sung by certain religious ceremonies and with animals and birds 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. Bhadrakāḻi Pāṭṭu, Pulloor Pāṭṭu, Tirāḻu Pāṭṭu, Śatrakāḻi, and Tōṭam Pāṭṭu are a few of the important songs. Vatākkān Pāṭṭukal, 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 Mārgamkāḻi Pāṭṭu which relates the glorious deeds of St. Thomas during his sojourn in the Coḻa 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 Cīrāmaṇ 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 Kaṇṇašāṇi Pāṭṭukaḷ was written by a family of poets who belonged to Niraṇam in Central Travancore. They are popularly known as Niraṇam poets. Kaṇṇašāṇi Rāmāyaṇam is the most important work in the collection, the author being Rāma Paṇikkar, junior most in the line. The other Niraṇam works are the Bhāgavat-Gītā and Bhāratamāḷ. These works belong to the fourteenth century. And perhaps the earliest translation of the Bhāgavat-Gītā in modern Indian languages appeared in Malayalam. The authorship of the Bhāgavat-Gītā is ascribed to Mādhava Paṇikkar, and that of Bhāratamāḷ to Śaṅkara 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 one cannot be the author of the poet as known from the last stanza of the work; but nothing more and nothing less can be said about it.

The authorship of this work is widely accepted as belonging to the thirteenth century. The work is a grammar and rhetoric written in Sanskrit in the aphoristic style. It was first edited by A. K. Paharoot in 1908 and first edited by A. K. Paharoot in 1956. For the present writer's Rāmacaritam and the Study of the Poetic idiom, see the present writer's Rāmacaritam and the Study of the Poetic idiom. (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 mani právālam. The term mani právālam 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 mani (jewel), i.e. Malayalam, and právālam (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 mani právālam form, the work contains discussions on the linguistic features of Malayalam and its differences from Tamil. We have a large number of mani právālam works in Kerala. They may be divided into two branches: the sandeśa-kāvyas and the campūs. The sandeśa-kāvyas are message poems which in technique are modelled on Kālidāsa’s Meghadūta. Among these, the Unnunili-sandeśam is the most outstanding. The message is sent by a king of one of the Travancore dynasties to his beloved, Unnunili. The authorship is unknown. The date accepted by scholars is the fourteenth century.8 The campūs are works written partly in prose and partly in verse. The genre is popular in Sanskrit. The verse in mani právāla-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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8This poem was discovered only in 1893 and first published in book form in 1913 with an introduction by A. K. Pisharoti. 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. Unnunili-sandeśam 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 maniṣpravālam poems. The authorship of this famous classic is still a matter of controversy. But the prevailing opinion is that Ceruśseri Nambūdiri 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 kilippāṭtu (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 Adhyatma Rāmāyaṇam and Bhārata. Valmiki’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 Kirtiṇam, and Cintāraṇam. 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.

**CAMPUS : SANDESA-KÄVYAS : ATTAKKATHAS : TULLLALS**

As already said, the campús and the sandea-kävyas are two important branches of literature which Malayalam has copied from Sanskrit. The campús 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 campús, the number of modern works being nearly one hundred. Rāmāyaṇa-campū (c. A.D. 1550) by Punam and Naśadha-campū by Mazhamanśāgalam (sixteenth century) are the most popular. The major campús were written in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are other campús such as Kāmadahanam, Rājaramāvaliyam, Kaṇisa-vadham, Bhārata-campū, etc. Most of these works were written by the Nambūḍiris of Kerala. The language is usually pedantic, and sometimes out of the way.

The sandea-kävyas 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 Unvnilś-sandesam which has been referred to earlier. Written in the mani-pravālam style, the poem throws light on the history and social conditions of the period to which it belongs. Another message poem, as old as Ununilś-sandesam, is Koka-sandesam. It is the story of a dream which the hero relates to the heroine.

Kathakali, as an art-form, has become world famous recently. What is termed as attakkatha is really the literature which is used for kathakali. There is a popular opinion that the inspiration for the earlier kathakali compositions had come from Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda. The words of the poet are usually given as slokas and those of the characters by way of songs, usually termed as padas. As a form of art, kathakali 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. Rāmaṇīṭam by Koṭṭārakkara Tampurān (seventeenth century) is considered to be the first full-fledged attakkatha. The whole of Rāmāyaṇam is divided into eight parts, each being sufficient for a night’s performance. Koṭṭā-yattu Tampurān is one of the leaders in the field. He has written four attakkathas, namely, Baka-vadham, Kālisa-saugandhikam, Krīmira-vadham, and Kālakeya-vadham. Of these, the Kālakeya-vadham is the best. The next celebrated writer of attakkatha is Unnyi Vārier who belongs to the latter part of the seventeenth century. His Nāja-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 attakkatha. There
are several others\(^6\) worthy of mention and the interest has been well maintained
till the twentieth century.

_Tullal_, 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
Kuñcan Nambiār (b. 1705), who is its unrivalled master. There are three types
of _tullal:_ _parayan, śitanāken, and ottan_. _Tullal_ 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
Purānic 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, Kuñcan Nambiār wrote over
forty pieces of _tullal_. 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 Purānic
stories chosen are more or less pegs on which to hang his satire on contem­
porary life. The Purānic 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 _tullals_. In short, _tullal_ is the literature of the masses, and Kuñcan
Nambiār was surprisingly progressive in his outlook. There are some other
significant works in this branch of literature. Mention may be made of _Nīvāta-
kaavaca-kālakaśya-vadham-śitanāken-tullal_ by Panatottattu Dāmodaran Nambūḍiri.
There are excellent descriptions in this poem. Works like _Gajendra-mokṣam,
Lāṅkā-mardanam, Kṛṣṇājuna-vijayam, Rāvaṇa-vadham_, etc. also deserve notice.
Many of the later works are, however, mere adaptations of the masterpieces of
Kuñcan 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 Kautāliyaṃ_ is an important work in Malayalam prose. An
adaptation of Kautālya’s _Arthasastra_, it was probably written in the twelfth
century. A considerable influence of Tamil is noticed in the language of this
work. _Dūtavākyam, Brahmnāḍa Purāṇam, Ambariśopākhyānam, and Naḷopākhyānam_

\(^6\)One of them is Erayimman Tambi (nineteenth century) whose important works are. _Uttara-
sayamśaram, Daṅkayaśam, and Kvaṅka-vadham_. V. Krishnan Tambi’s _ṭaṅka-vadham_ may be considered
to be a classic. Kilimanur Tampuran, Itirarisa Menon, and Irattakulangara Warrier also deserve
notice.

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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. Brahmānda 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 Sankṣēpa 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, Varttamāna 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 Kalidasa's Abhijnana-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 Kalidasa'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 Umākēraḷam is a mahākāvya. He wrote various poems of which Pūgala and Karmabhūṣanam are the most notable. Kumaran Asan popularized the lyric in Malayalam. His Viṇa Pīṭou (1909), which consists of
only forty-one slokas, caused a sensation among the poets and critics of the day. His Nañini, Lila, Duravastha, and Karupa have attained classic distinction. His Cañdāla 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 Sāhitya-mañjari series. His Magadalana 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-kāvyā 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 (Kaññuniruttulli, Cakrawālam, Oru Mañalitttari, 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, Ramanan, 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 Otakkuzhal 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, Vaiolloppilli Shridhara Menon, and Pala Narayanan 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. Kutiyozhikkal, which is regarded as his masterpiece, reflects the social life of contemporary Kerala. A kind of epic quality is noticed in Kerañam Vañarunu of Pala Narayanan Nair. Among other notable modern poets are N. V. Krishna Warrier (Nīpta Kavitakal, Kocu Tomman), Edasseri Govindan Nair (Karutta Četišcikal), 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 Cintātarangini, Pankipariñayam, and Ambāpāli. He was a versatile writer in Malayalam.
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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 Cherian K. Cherian 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, Kundalata (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 Bahadur, Mārtīrāja Varma, Dharmarāja, and Premā-nṛtāma. 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 Simham. 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 Bālyakālasakhi (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 Raṇṭiṇavazhi, Ēṅippatikaḷ, and Cemmin. The characters of Cemmin are drawn from the humble fisherfolk community. Among others, P. Kesava Dev (Oṭayil Nīnu, Ayalkkār8), S. K. Pottekkad (Viṣakanyaka, Oru Deśattinṭe Kaṭha9), Joseph Mundassery (Professor), R. S. Kurup (Toṭṭi), P. C. Kuttikrishnan (Ummācu, Sundarikaṭum Sundarānmarum10), E. M. Kovur (Kāṭu), and Muttathu Varki (Iṣṭprāvukal) have substantially contributed to the growth of the new fiction in Malayalam in which a proletarian emphasis

8P. 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 Deśattinṭe Kaṭha, 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 Jwikkān Marannupōya Strī by Vettur Raman Nair, Nālukēṭṭu by M. T. Vasudevan Nair, Joālā by K. Surendran, Kaḷḷu by G. Vivekanandan, and Verukāḷ by Malayattoor Ramakrishnan. A few novelists have tried with some success the ‘stream of consciousness’ technique. Mānīṇī by M. T. Vasudevan Nair, Ara Nāṭhika Neram by Parappurathu, and Unnal 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 maniḷpravāḷam was the forte of the Nambūdiri Brahmans, āṭṭakkathā 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 Karoor Nilakanta Pillai, E. M. Kovur, Lalithambika Antarjanam, Ponkunnam Varki, V. Mohammed Basheer, P. C. Kuttikrishnan, S. K. Pottekkad, 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 Kaḷḷāṇī Nāṭakam by Kocchunni Tampuran and Mariyāmmd 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 evidenced 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 Pāṭṭabākki (1938) and M. P. Bhattachiripad’s Rūmāṭi (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 Taṭṭabāṇam.
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(1934) by Kuttanad, Bhagna-bhavanam (1942), Balâbalam (1946), Kanyaka (1949), and Anurañjanam (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 Samatavâdî, K. Surendran’s Bali, and G. Sankara Pillai’s Snehâdîtan are a few examples of recent plays which pulsate with some problems or other. Edasseri Govindan Nair (Kuṭṭu-kṛṣi, 1950), and K. T. Mohammed (Kuṭṭiyan) deal with problems connected with farming during the post-Independence period. Thoppil Bhasi’s Asvamedham (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 Padmanabh Pillai, Kainikkara Kumara Pillai, R. S. Kurup, C. N. Sreekanthan 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 (Pretalakam, 1965; Guerilla, 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 Nâjâka-darppaçaṃ, 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 Sāhiṭya Pañcānana (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. Āṭma-katha by K. M. Panikkar, jīvita-saṃrama by C. Keshavan, Kazhiñña Kāḷaṃ 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. Āpatkaramaśya Tātra by K. M. Panikkar, Indonesiаn
Diary by S. K. Pottekkad, Mexican Natuka'il 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 Kerala 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—Mātrabhumi and Malayāḷa Rājiyam.

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 Bālā-bodha, which replaced the older alphabet called the Moḷī, 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 Māhārāṣṭrī Apabhramśa, 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 Apabhramśa.

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;

The first specimen of Marathi language can be traced to the Marathi inscription dated A.D. 983 consisting of only one sentence: Śrī Cauḍāraya Karaviyale (done by Śrī Cauḍāraya). 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 Saṅdva (A.D. 1202), as well as the Pandharpur inscription (A.D. 1273) of the days of King Śiromaṇi Rāmadevarāv, are in Old Marathi.


The comprehensive Marathi dictionary, Mahārāṣṭra Sahityakosā 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.
EARLY MARATHI PERIOD

The reign of the last three kings of the Yadava period (A.D. 1189-1320) witnessed the growth of quite a large literature both in verse and prose. The Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Pañcatantra 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 Nalopākhyāna and Rukmini-svayamvara.

The sacred books of the Mahānubhāva sect, founded in A.D. 1267 by Cakradhara, originally a Brāhmaṇa from Gujarat, 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 Līlā-caritra and Siddhānta-Sūtra. Līlā-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 Keśavadāsa. The Mahānubhāva writers left a fairly rich literature in verse also which is to be found in seven long poems, namely, Vaccha-haraiia, Rukmini-svayamvara, Śīṭupāla-vadhā, Uddhava-Gītā, Jñāna-prabodha, Sahyādri-varṇana, and Rishipura-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 dhavales (devotional songs) of Mahadāisā, 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 Vāraṅkari Panth. Jñānesvara or Jñānadeva (1271-93) was the first

ii) Middle Marathi period, from A.D. 1350 to 1800;
iii) New or Modern Marathi, after A.D. 1800.
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among the Hindu saints who made the Vedânta 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, Bhâvanârtha-dîpikâ, popularly known as Jñânesvarâ, consisting of 9,000 osti stanzas, forms an erudite commentary on the Bhagavad-Gîtâ. He wrote it in 1290 at the age of nineteen. His Amrtâmubhava is a treatise on the Vedânta philosophy couched in excellent poetry. Variety of imagery and lucidity of diction characterize both the works. Jñânesvara is held in profound esteem as the first great Marathi literary and philosophical genius. Another philosophical poet of note contemporaneous with Jñânadeva was Nâmadeva (1270-1350), who was a tailor by profession. Two of Nâmadeva's devotional poems are found in the Adi 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. Nâmadeva's guru Visobâ Khecara, a grocer by profession, was a poet himself. Other early saint-poets of humble rank were Muktâbâ, Nâmadeva's sister; Janâbâ, a maid-servant; Sâvânta, a gardener; Gorobâ, a potter; and Cokhâ, 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-Nâmadeva period were Narasimha Sarasvatî and Janârdana Svâmi. Both belonged to the Vârakâri Panth. A number of devotional poems are attributed to them.

Ekanâtha Svâmî (1548-99) in the sixteenth, and Tukârâma (1588-1649) in the seventeenth century built up the great structure of the bhakti poetry. Ekanâtha's Bhâgavata (known as Ekanâthi Bhâgavata) and Bhâvârtha Râmâyana, pur, and became a school of Vedântic bhakti with the figures of Visû and Kûsa as personal deities through which the devotees approached the Godhead. Pandharpur became the great centre of this school, and from the word osti, meaning 'the annual pilgrimage (to Pandharpur)', which was enjoined on its followers and which became very popular, the sect got the name of Vârakâri. A number of great religious teachers had become associated with this school of Vedântic bhakti by a.d. 1290. —Editor.

7 By the middle of the fourteenth century two distinct literary forms had been well established in Marathi. One was the osti 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 Mahânânâvâ writers were written in this metre. The other was the abhanga metre which was used for lyric compositions, particularly devotional songs.—Editor.
each having 20,000 ovt 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, Ekanatha was profoundly influenced by Jñānesvara. He redacted Jñānesvari and brought out an authentic version of the text. His renderings of the Purānic stories immensely contributed in rehabilitating the old Hindu culture in Mahārāṣṭra. Among a number of minor poets who followed Ekanatha, Dāsopanta 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 Ekanatha. He had a great love for Marathi and wrote Khṛṣṭa Purāṇa, an extensive work on the Old and New Testament stories in chaste Marathi.

Tukārāma’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 Mahārāṣṭra. Born in a Śūdra family, Tukārāma was a poet of the masses. He was a vehement critic of the hypocrisies of his time and was a great unifying force bringing the masses under one religious banner before the Maratha revival under Śivāji during the second half of the seventeenth century. Among other great poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were: Mukteśvara (1608-60), Samartha Rāmadāsa (1608-82), Vāmana Paṇḍita (1615-78), Raghunātha Paṇḍita (c. 1650), Śrīdhara (1678-1728), and Mayūra Paṇḍita or Moropanta (1729-94). Mukteśvara, son of Ekanatha’s daughter, re-told the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata in Marathi in a vigorous style. Samartha Rāmadāsa, spiritual teacher of Śivāji, wrote Dāsa-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 Śivāji and his followers found their inspiration and incentive to action in Dāsa-bodha. Vāmana Paṇḍita devoted himself to composing narrative poems based on Purānic themes, such as Gajendra-mokṣa, Sītā-svayamvara, and Vēpu-sudhā. Notable also is his commentary, Yathārtha-dīpiḥ, on the Bhagavad-Gītā. Furthermore, he rendered the Bhagavad-Gītā into Marathi under the title Samañjīva-Gītā. He also translated some Sanskrit works into Marathi verse. Raghunātha Paṇḍita’s narrative poem Nala-Damayantī-svayamvara is based on the Nala story of the Mahābhārata. Both Śrīdhara 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 Mahārāṣṭra had emerged as the strongest power in the whole of India. Śrīdhara carried the tradition of Ekanatha, Mukteśvara, and

*[Vāmana Paṇḍita enriched Marathi prosody by introducing new metres based on Sanskrit. Marathi was till then rather poor in this respect.—Editor.*

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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, Gaṅgā-prārthanā, Saṁdyā-nātana-mālā, and Kēkāvali, 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 povāḍā (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 povāḍā is by Agnidāsa on the subject of Aţkal Khan’s meeting with Śivājī, the second by Tulasīdāsa on the capture of the fort of Simhagad by Tānājī, Śivājī’s heroic lieutenant. There was also another form of popular poetry known as lāvāṇi which came into prominence in the eighteenth century. The lāvāṇi songs dealt mainly with earthly love. Honājī Bālā, Prabhākara, Saganbhāu, Parasūrāma, and others were famous lāvāṇi composers during the Peshwa period. The growth of these types of folk-poetry, side by side with the sophisticated and decorative kāvyas, 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 Yādava 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 Śiva-dīgviṣaya (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 Viththal 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 Dīgardaṃ, and by Mahajan with his Prabhākara. Krishna Sastri Chiplunkar’s Vicāra-lahart (1853) was a further milestone in the development of journalism. Among others who followed were Parasuram Tatya Godbole (1799-1874),
MARATHI

Vishnu Bhikaji Gokhale (1825-71), Vishnu Sastri Chipulkar (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 ‘Keśavasaṅkta’ (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 fascination 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 remarkable contemporary poets were: Narayan Vaman Tilak (1865-1919), Ram Ganesh Gadkari (1885-1919), Vinayak Janardan Karandikar (1872-1909), Tryambak Bapuji Thomare (1890-1918), Narayan Muralidhar Gupte (1872-1947), and Bhaskar Ramachandra Tambe (1874-1941), who achieved distinction particularly in the twenties.

The twenties of the twentieth century saw the emergence of a group of poets, called the Ravikirana-maṇḍala, 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. Patwardhan. In 1925 Prahlad Keshav Ate (1898-1968) published a collection of parodies entitled Jhenducī 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-maṇḍala, 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 Cāndrātit (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-kaviitā (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-ani-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: Viśākhā, 1942), Sarat Chandra Mukti-bodh, 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-paryaṭana in 1857. Padmanji represented the social trend, while N. S. Risbud with his novels like Mañjughoṣā (1868) and R. B. Gunjikar with his Mocanagaḍ (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 Lakṣyāt Kōṅ Ghuto, Uṣāhkāla, Kevaḷ Svarājyaśāṭhī, Gaḍ Āḷa Pañ Simha Gela, Śūrya-graḥaṇa, Vajrāghaṭa, etc. Vaman Malhar Joshi (1882-1943) has to his credit a few popular novels: Rāgiṇī (1915), Sudilekā Deva (1930), and Indu Kāle Āṇu Saralā Bhoḷe (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 Jāḍugār. His three other important novels are Pravāśī, Udbhāra, and Jhelam. The novels of Khandekar stand in contrast to those of Phadke. Ulka, Kraunca-vadha, and Yayāti are among his best works. Another popular writer, Gajanan Tryambak Madkholkar, 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 Candraṇāvṛtī, 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 Palikade and Viṣāla 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 (‘Vibhavārī Sirurkar’) has made herself distinguished in the field, and her Bāṭī (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. Pendse8.

Fiction in Marathi assumed new directions in the sixties with Bhalachandra Nemade’s Kōstā, 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 Bhaū Paddhye’s Vāsunākā and Chandrakant Khot’s Ubhyāṁnayā Avyaya. There are also popular historical novels based on important personalities. Among them Ranjit Desai’s novel on Śīvāji, Śrīmān Yogi, Gangadhar Gadgil’s novel on Lokamanya Tilak, Durdamya, B. D. Kher’s novel on Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Tajā, and

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8 One of Pendse’s novels, Rathacakra, won the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1963.
Mrinalini Desai’s novel on Mahatma Gandhi, *Hā Putra Māṇavācā*, all deserve special mention.

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. Khandolkar, Sadanand Rege, V. S. Pargaonkar, 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 *kuravandi*, exercised a deep influence on the early Marathi drama known as *lāṭī* in its initial phase of development. In the realm of modern Marathi drama, Vishnu Amrit Bhave was the pioneering figure. His Purāṇic drama, *Sītā-svayamvara*, was staged in 1841. He wrote some more plays based on Purāṇic 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 *Sakuntalā* (1880), *Saubhadra* (1882), and *Rāma-rāja-vīyoga* (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 Sāradā, 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, Kīcaka-vadha (1910), was banned by the British Government, as Kīcaka and Bhima 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 Pūnya-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 Sastri 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 Vitthal 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 Apurva Vanīgal (1953) and Bhūmi-kanyā Śītā (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 Lagnācī Bēḍī, 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 Āndhaḷyānā Śītā (1933) was an adaptation from B. Bjørnson, 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 Rāyagaḍāḷa Jenkō Jāg Yate 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 Darvhekar, S. G. Sathe, Ratnakar Matkari, and Vidyadhar Gokhale, who are giving of their best to enlarge the horizon.
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

The new drama is to a great extent concerned with sex and violence and the hypocrisy of modern life. Vijay Tendulkar’s plays like *Sakharam Bāindar* and *Ghāṭrām Kotvāl* and a recent play *Vāsanā-kāṇḍa* by Mahesh Elkunchwar created a lot of stir among connoisseurs as also among ordinary spectators. Drama is freely borrowing from folk-forms like *tamāla* and *lalita*. 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 Gadkari 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 Phaḍanavis (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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20 *Tamāla* is a kind of dance-drama with songs and music, which became popular in Maharashtra in the eighteenth century. In those days young boys dressed as women used to sing vulgar and even obscene lītāps in the *tamāla* 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. Warekar 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. Kalelkar 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-vyavahāra-kaśa was compiled, up to Chitrav Sastri’s more recent Prācīna-caritra-kaśa. Mahārāṣṭra Jñānakaśa 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 Nibandha-mala (1874). Literary criticism has had a varied record, and amongst modern critics G. T. Deshpande, K. N. Watwe, R. S. Jog, S. K. Kshirsagar, 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 Mukti-bodh 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 Devdhari. G. D. Khanolkar’s Ravindra-vigā and B. B. Borkar’s Anandayatri 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.
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.
ORIYA

LANGUAGE : ITS ORIGIN

ORIYA 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 Māgadhī 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-Māgadhī and Śaurasenī 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, Māgadhī, 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 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

\[ \text{The anglicized words 'oriya' and 'orissa' are derived from 'ōra' and 'ōra' both of which again are derived from 'ōra (or udra) and 'ōra-śiṣya > ośiṣṭa respectively. The Oḍras, an ancient aboriginal tribe, still survive as a cultivating class in the deltaic areas of Orissa. They are now called 'Oḍas'. Oḍra-deśa thus signifies the land of the Oḍras or Uḍras. The word 'ōra or ośiṣṭa is supposed to have an association with the act of 'tilling' in the Dravidian tongues. The other two tribes associated with the names of ancient Orissa, the Utkalas and Kaliṅgas, seem to have gradually lost their supremacy and assimilated with the other insiders in the course of time.} \]
much closer to Modern Oriya. ‘It is almost an Ode on military conquest and imperial grandeur, written in a befitting grand manner’. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang’s (seventh century A.D.) reference to the language of this region as somewhat differing from the speech of Mid-India definitely indicates that Oriya, which took its modern regular shape by the thirteenth century, had developed as a distinct speech by that time. The first major literary specimens of ancient Oriya literature may be traced in the Buddhist caryopadas and dohas of the seventh-ninth centuries. These poems are the natural outcome of the influence of Buddhism which was prevalent in Orissa for over a millennium. Arguments claiming these compositions as their own have, however, been advanced on behalf of other literatures (viz. Bengali, Assamese, Hindi, and Maithili) also. After Buddhism, Sāivism spread in Orissa and influenced its literature; Saktism came closely after. Cautisās (poetic compositions in thirty-four stanzas, each successive stanza beginning serially with a consonant of the Oriya alphabet) were composed in this age depicting in most cases the divine delectations of Siva and Parvati. Vatsa Dasa’s Kaḷastā-cautisā, Avadhūta Nārāyaṇa Svāmī’s Rudra-sudhānīdhī (both belonging to the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries), and a few anonymous votive tales in prose, vratakathās, such as Somanātha-vratakathā and Nāgala-caturthi-kathā, bear testimony to the spread of Sāivism in Orissa. Vatsa Dasa’s Kaḷastā-cautisā is a noteworthy specimen of lyric poetry which exhibits the finesse of a pure Oriya style of the romantic order. Avadhūta Nārāyaṇa Svāmī’s Rudra-sudhānīdhī is accepted as one of the finest examples of poetic prose in Oriya and is claimed as unparalleled in the prose literature of the whole of India during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is again the earliest complete prose work in Oriya. The language of Rudra-sudhānīdhī is chaste and forceful. With contents of Yogic, Tantric, and Vedāntic philosophies, the work is as charming as Bāṇabhāṣṭa’s Kīṭāmbārī.

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— Haraprasad Sastri’s Introduction (p. 17) to his Bengali book (Ed.) Bauddha Gōṇa O Dohā (Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, 1323 b.s.). See also Mayadhar Mansinha, op. cit., pp. 22-25. The date of these compositions, however, is still a controversial issue.
— With the conquest of Aśoka in the third century B.C. Orissa or Kalinga became a stronghold of the noble Dhamma (religion) of Lord Buddha.
— Oriyas had a long tradition of prose writing from ancient times and, strangely enough, the prose pieces seem to have been the older literary specimens than regular poems. But these prose pieces are mostly of the nature of grants or inscriptions. Oriya prose, as found in some ancient temple inscriptions and copper-plate grants, reveals that the language was already mature enough to convey all forms of thought. The Mahālīmīśvara inscription of A.D. 950, the Mukkalīnīśvara inscription of A.D. 1035, and the Bhuvanēśvara stone inscription of Narasimha Deva of A.D. 1249 may be cited as examples. The palm-leaf chronicle of the Jagannatha temple known as the Madiša Pañhit also offers some valuable specimens of Old Oriya prose. It is a highly controversial book in Oriya literature. Many scholars ascribe this prose chronicle to the twelfth century, while, according to Dr H.K. Mahatab, it is a sixteenth century work.

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The influence of Śāktism centring round the worship of Female Energy (Sakti) is clearly seen in the epic poetry of Sāralā Dāsa7 (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) which comprises the Mahābhārata, Vilanka Rāmāyaṇa, and Cauḍī Purāṇa. In his Mahābhārata Sāralā Dāsa invokes the grace of Goddess Sāralā, a famous deity of Orissa, before he undertakes to write, and ascribes his poetic merit to her blessings and guidance. It is interesting to note that some poets of Orissa have kept up the tradition of Sāralā Dāsa in praying for the blessings of Goddess Sāralā as a prelude to their creative enterprises. Sāralā Dāsa’s Mahābhārata, his masterpiece, is a high watermark in the realm of epic poetry in Oriya. It is the most popular among the four or five versions of the Mahābhārata in Oriya. The story of the conflict between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas ending in the victory of the latter is in no way original, but in the hands of the Oriya epic poet it has received a new colour. By giving this brief version of the Mahābhārata (in 700 verses), Sāralā Dāsa brought the theme of the great epic within the reach of the common man at a period when Sanskrit had become inaccessible and almost unknown to the ordinary people. The Oriya Mahābhārata bearing the unmistakable stamp of the local atmosphere and the time-spirit reflects the contemporary socio-economic conditions in Orissa. Sāralā Dāsa’s Vilanka Rāmāyaṇa has as its theme the killing of the thousand-headed Rāvana by Sītā, when Rāma and his brother Laksmana as well as Hanūmān failed in their attempt to encounter him in battle. His third work, Cauḍī Purāṇa, glorifies Goddess Durgā. This work is the first of its kind in Oriya. Sāralā Dāsa was the most modern of all the poets in Old Oriya literature and a feminist in the true modern sense.

Mārkanda Dāsa’s lyrical ballad Keśava-koi̊ji is a famous work of the fourteenth century. It depicts the grief of Yaśodā when Kṛṣṇa, her foster child, departed from Vṛndāvana to Mathurā. Keśava-koi̊ji, a poem of thirty-four verses, is still very popular in Orissa. It combines both caustiśā and kośī patterns in it. Under the influence of Sāralā Dāsa, Arjuna Dāsa (fifteenth century) composed an episodic poem, Rāma-bibhā. This marked the beginnings of the Kāvyas in Oriya literature, which swept the whole land a couple of centuries later. Among other poets of the fifteenth century, Nilāmbara Dāsa’s name deserves mention. He translated the Jaimini Mahābhārata and the Padma Purāṇa into Oriya.

The Middle period in Oriya literature witnessed the spread of Vaiṣṇavism (in its twin branches of Rāma cult and Kṛṣṇa cult sometimes also called Jagannātha cult), the last and the most fruitful religious influence that left a far-

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7 Sāralā Dāsa flourished during the reign of King Kapilendra Deva (1435-66), founder and the greatest ruler of the Solar dynasty in Orissa.
reaching impact on the literature and people of the land. Five outstanding poets, known as the pañca sakhas 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 pañca sakhas advocated Vaiśnavism, 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 pañca sakhas, 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 Sitā existing in the language. Like Sāraḷā 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.

Jagannātha Dāsa’s Bhāgavata Purāṇa has a greater and wider appeal for the

* 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 Sitā, 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 Jambudvīpa,
At Dvāraka, 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)
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reading public of Orissa than even Sārālā 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 bhāgavata metre, it has since then turned out to be the handiest metre 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’.8 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 Harivaṇaḥśa 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 sakhaḥ, a group of religious poets and poetesses wrote poems solely on the love theme of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. They were Rāya Rāmānanda, Mādhavi Dāsi, Śīśu Śaṅkara Dāsa, Mahādeva Dāsa, Murāri Rāya, Čāndakavi, Dāmodara Campatiṛāya, 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. Śrī 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 Sārālā Dāsa and the pañca sakhaḥ, several poets created a vast mass of Purānic literature in Oriya. Among them Mahādeva Dāsa,10 Pitāmbara Dāsa,11 and Kṛṣṇacarana

10 Mahādeva Dāsa was the most prolific of the three. His works include the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, Viṣṇukelari Purāṇa, Padma Purāṇa as well as Kārttika-māhātmya, Vaiśākha-māhātmya, Māgha-māhātmya, Āśāha-māhātmya, Duṣṭārit-māhātmya, and Nīlāśāri-māhātmya.
11 Pitāmbara Dāsa wrote only one Puranic epic, Nṛsiṃha 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 Sinha’s *Mahābhārata* which is fairly accurate in its translation of the original. *Vicitra Rāmāyaṇa* of Viśvanātha Khunītā and Ṭīkā 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 kāvya-yuga, 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-bīdhā* of Arjuna Dāsa. Some gems of this genre belong to the latter part of the sixteenth century. They are: *Uṣābhīṣaṇa* by Śīṣu Śaṅkara Dāsa, *Rahasya-mañjīrti* by Devadurlabhā Dāsa, *Śaṁsenā* by Pratāpa Rāya, and *Śāṅtrekāhā* by Padmanābha Śrīcandana. Rāmacandra Paṭṭanāyaka in his *Hārāvalī* (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{18} 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 *Kalpaṭalā* by Arjuna Dāsa. It was followed by *Premālocaṇā* by Viṣṇu Dāsa, *Lilāvatī* by Raghunātha Haricandana, *Kāṇcanaḷatā* by Śrīdhara Dāsa; a number of fictional, historical, and devotional poems including *Kūṇī-Āveri* by Puruṣottama Dāsa, *Caitanya Bhāgavata* by Īśvara Dāsa, *Jagannātha-caritāṃrtta* by Divākara Dāsa, *Kolāvatī* by Pārtha Śrīcandana, *Ratnāmaṇjīrī* and *Raghunātha-vilāsa* by Dhanaśīja Bhaṅja, *Jagamohana-chanda*, *Rasa-kallola*, *Ārta-trāṇa-cautiśa*, and other poems by Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa,\textsuperscript{14} *Sarloga-sundari Citaratā* by Lokanātha Vidyādhara, and *Premā-paṇḍīmṛta* by Bhūpati Paṇḍita. *Rasa-kallola*, Dīnakṛṣṇa’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, Sadāśīva, Śīṣu Īśvara Dāsa, Vṛndāvana Dāsa, and Kāhānu Dāsa. Vṛndāvana Dāsa’s *Rasa-vāridhi* is an excellent adaptation of Jayadeva’s *Gitagovinda*. Kāhānu Dāsa’s *Rāma-rasāṃrta-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} Kṛṣṇacarana Paṭṭanāyaka had to his credit two works, *Vāmana Purāṇa* and *Kāli Purāṇa*. But they were not as popular as the works of the other two writers.

\textsuperscript{14} Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa was a follower of the Jñāna-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 Bhañja (1670-1720) and was adopted by Sadānanda, Abhimanyu, and Mandāradhara. Dīnakṛṣṇa, Upendra Bhañja, and Abhimanyu were the outstanding poetic geniuses of this period, and Upendra Bhañja 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. Lāvanyapati, Vaidehiśa-vilāsa, and Koṇi-brahmāṇḍa-sundari are his masterpieces. Of his numerous other works, Rasika-hārāvali, Premasudhānīdhi, Subhadrā-parinaya, Kalā-kautuka, Abannā-rasa-taranīg, Rasa-pañcaka, and Gttābhidhāna 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 Sāmantasirhārā and a remarkable contribution to the realm of Oriya Vaiśnava poetry of the ornate type. Some of the cantos of this Kāvya 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 Sulakṣaṇā, Rasavati, Premakalā, and Prem-cintāmaṇi deserve special mention.

The poetic tradition of Upendra Bhañja, Dīnakṛṣṇa, and Abhimanyu was followed by a number of poets: Bhaktacarana Dāsa (Manobodha-cautiṣā and Mathurā-vaṇgala), Yadumāni Mahāpatra (Prabhandha-pūrṇacandra), Kṛpasindhu Bhikhāri Dāsa, Cakrapāṇi Paṭṭanāyaka, ‘Kavisūrya’ Baladeva Ratha, Bana-mali, Gopalakrishna Pattanayak, and others. Their poems are simple and graceful; but the stamp of artificiality can be traced there. Kītara-candrāṇanda-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 cautiṣā 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

18 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 Vaisnava 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 Vaisnava 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 paśca sakhās, 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-cintīmanī are still very popular in Orissa. Arakshita Dasa is the author of the well-known Mahimcūḍala-Gitā. Both of them advocated the worship of, and faith in, Brahman 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 Baḍajena (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 Mahindra Bahadur, king of Dheknānal, over the Marathas under Cimanji Bhonsla. 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 kāvya 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, pāḷa, boṣi, padi, gitā, saṁhitā, janāna, bhajana, vrata, mānasā, krittana, prasaṅga, citāu, doḥā, gāṇa, ṭikā, campū, paṭala, avakāṣa, vilāsa, gujjarī, ogāṣa, kavaca, and nirnaya.

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 Senapati (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 Shiv.10

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 novels in Oriya and his works include Chamana Athaguntha, Mamu, Priyabrata, 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 Ātītajivanacarita, 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 Gitā, the Harivaṃśa, and the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, the author has to his credit such original poetical works as Utkala-bhramaṇa (1892), Puspmālā, Upahāra, Avasara-vāsare, and Baudhāvata-kāya (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

10 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 Ramasankar Ray, father of modern Oriya drama. Vinodini, 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 Cilikā 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 Cilikā are: Kudāra-Gaurī, Candrabhāga, Nandiketoari, Tāyāi-kesari, Uṣā, and Pāravati. They have a sensuous character about them.

Mahārāṣṭrian 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 Samaj, 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 Kusumāṭjali, a collection of devotional poems, ‘embody some of the highest flights of his imagination in the realms of Truth, World and Time’. His Himācale Udaya-uchāva is an outstanding Nature poem. Utkala-gāthā containing songs and poems on Orissa, forcefully reveals Madhusudan’s patriotic fervour. His Rṣiprāne 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 Uttara Rāmācarita. 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, Tapasmini and Kīcaka-vadha, are among the rarest gems in the whole range of Oriya literature. His Sitā 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 Sītā, the ideal woman. But nothing in the whole of Oriya literature can surpass the beauty, charm and grandeur of Sītā 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 Pranaya-vallari, Indumati, Utkala-lakṣmī, Kavitā-kallola, Arghya-thāli, Bhāratī-bhāvanā, Padmāni, and Kṛṣaka-saṅgīta.

Nandakishore Bala, familiarly known as a pali-kavi (poet of the village), has immortalized rural Orissa in his Palli-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 Nānā Bāya Gīta 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 Vikramādītiya 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, Harirha 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), Bandira Atmakatha and Dharmapada, clearly bring out the man and the literary genius. Māyādevi, Koñārake, and Khāravela are the three chief historical kāyas of Nilakantha, of which the second is his magnum opus. He excelled also in adaptations. In Dāsa 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 Ārya-jiva is a collection of essays interpreting in a scintillating style the Brāhmaṇic ideal of life and society. His Odiya Sāhityara Kramapariṇāma 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-

standing works in prose are *Koñāraka*, *Bārabāṭi*, and *Utkala-itiḥāsa*. 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 Satyavādi 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, *Yugavina*. 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, Haribara Mahapatra, Harishchandra Badal, and Sarat Chandra Mukherjee. Annadasankar’s poem *Kamala-vilāsira Vidāya* and Baikunthanath’s sonnet-sequence *Mrītikā-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 *Pañḍuliṇi* (1947) and *Kavītā* (1962), both being collections of
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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 Nišatkuntā, 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 Kanta O Phula. There are others like Kunjabehari Das, Baikunthanath Das, Krishnachandra 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 Harihara Mishra carried on the classical Sanskrit tradition. Ramasankar wrote nearly thirty plays of different types: historical, mythological, social, and farcical. Kāči-Kāverī (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 Konāraka, Kālapāhāda, Hindura-ramaṇi, and thirty other plays. Kalicharan Pattanayak wrote more than twenty plays including Abhitīna, Cakrī, and Phaṭā Bhuin. 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 Purusottama Deva and Mukunda Deva of Godavarish Mishra of the Satyavāḍī 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 (Śītā-viśāha), Kalindicharan Panigrahi (Priyadarsi), Baikuntha Pattanayak (Muktīpathe), 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, Raghunath 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, Syam-sundar 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. Oḍiyā Bhāṣātattva (1927) and Šabda-tattvabodha (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, Brajehari 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 Pūṇacandra Oḍiyā Bhaṣākoṣa (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, Durgamadhwaj Mishra, Brajanath Rath, Praharaj Satyanarayan Nanda, Benudhar Rout, Ramakanta Rath, Sitakanta Mahapatra, Umasankar Panda, Kailas Lenka, Rajendra Panda, Saubhagyα 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 *Sarîtṛpa*, *Samudra-māna*, and *Śabdāra 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 *Uttarāyana* and *Śurya 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, *Vāsanta* (1927) and *Māṭira Māniṣa* (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 Kanhučaran Mohanty (*Kā, Ṣāśiti*), Gopinath Mohanty (*Parajā, Amṛtāra Santāna, Māṭi Matāla*), Nityananda Mahapatra (*Hidamāti, Bhāṅgāhāda*), Chandrashekhar Rath (*Yantrārūḍha*), Vaishnabcharan Das (*Mane Mane*), Rajkishore Pattanayak (*Calābāta*), Kamalakanta Das (*Bau*), Upendra Kumar Das (*Malājāna*), Harekrushna Mahatab (*Pratibhā*), Basanta Kumari Pattanayak (*Amaḍābāta*), Surendranath Mohanty (*Nilāśaila*), Bibhuti Pattanayak (*Nāyikāra Nāma Śrāvaṇi*), Mahapata Nilamani Sahu (*Tāmaś Rādha*), Santanu Kumar Acharya (*Nara-kinnara*), and Govinda Das (*Amāvasāyāra Candra*). Both the Mohanty brothers, Gopinath and Kanhučaran, and Surendranath Mohanty won the Sahitya Akademi Awards. 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,

* Gopinath Mohanty was honoured with the Award for his novel *Amṛtāra Santāna* (based on the tribal life of Orissa) in 1955. Kanhučaran received the Award for his *Kā* in 1957 and Surendra Mohanty, for his *Nilāśaila* in 1969. Gopinath Mohanty was further honoured with the Jnanpith Award for his novel *Māṭi Matāla* in 1975.
THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

Surendranath Mohanty, Rajkishore Ray, Rajkishore Pattanayak, Brahmananda Panda, Bibhuti Bhusan 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 Kāhānti. 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.

Considerable progress has also been noticed in literary criticism. Among the literary critics who occupy a distinctive position are Nilakantha Das, Binayak Mishra, Artaballabh Mohanty, Sudhakar Pattanayak, Mayadhar Mansinha, Chittaranjan Das, Harekrushna Mahatab, Paramananda Acharya, Surendra Mohanty, Natabar Samanta Ray, Chintamani Behera, Sarbeshwar Das, Kunjabehari Das, Chintamani Das, Kanhucharan Mishra, Gourikumar Brahma, Bansidhar Mohanty, Gopal Chandra Mishra, Janakiballabh Mohanty, Pathani Pattanayak, G. C. Udgata, Krishnacharan Behera, Murari Jena, Nityananda Satapathy, Gangadhar Bal, K. C. Sahu, Narendra Mishra, Debendra Mohanty, Nilamani Mishra, Brindaban Acharya, Dasarathi Das, Srinibas Mishra, Bibhudatta Mishra, Asit Kabi, Dolagovinda Shastri, Khetrabasi Nayak, and B. M. Padhi. Krushna Chandra Panigrahi, Sudarsan Acharya, Kedarnath Mahapatra, and Satyanarayan Rajguru have immensely contributed to the critical study of the history and culture of Orissa. The post-Independence Oriya essay had a very interesting development reminding readers of G. K. Chesterton, Robert Lynd, and others. Writers like Govinda Tripathi (Baṭṭa), Gopal Praharaj (Bhāgavata Tuṅgīre Sandhīya and Narāṇāka Bāstāni), Chandrasekhar Rath (Mana-aranya), Nityananda Mahapatra (Patra O Pratimā), Ramachandra Mishra (Herēti), Chittaranjan Das (Tarātiga O Ṭadīt), Chaudhury Hemakanta Mishra (Niṣiddha Pustaka), and Chintamani Mishra (Deoadevarika Dugati) have created a new style, combining the humorous with the serious.

As a testimony to the wide varieties of experience, Oriya writers can boast of first rate travelogues like Dairira Kiyadahta by Jalandhar Dev, Patśimapathika by Mayadhar Mansinha, Vipulā Ca Prthi by Srijharsa Mishra, Deśa-videśa by Govinda Das, and Lankāyārt 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 Arupya-phastala 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 Kunjabehari 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 Prthim Bahare Manisa 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. Kunjabehari 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 Apabhramśa of the region. It has been said that from Sanskrit originated Prakrit, whence the Apabhramśa language.

Therefore, the characteristics of Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhramśa 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, Bhattiani, 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 Darśan*, has come to the conclusion that they are closely related to each other, just as Majhi and Malwai. He has asserted

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PUNJABI

LANGUAGE : ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH

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Translated from German by Subhadra Jha, p. 1.


PUNJABI

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.7 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,8 because it is nearer to Punjabi than Hindi. Classical Sanskrit evolved from the Vedic is the main source of Punjabi vocabulary and Śauraseni Prakrit is nearest to Classical Sanskrit. Dr S. K. Chatterji has remarked that Śauraseni Apabhraṃśa (which originated from Śauraseni 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 sānt-bhāṣā or sādhukagati-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 Kaikeyī Apabhraṃśa.12 But Dr Gune says that Lahndi is the outcome of Paiśācī.13 According to Dr Mohan Singh, Paiśācī Bhākhā, Bhūt Bhākhā, Avahat, and Jatī 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 Paiśācīs as mentioned by Mārkaṇḍeya, namely, Kaikeyī, Śauraseni, and Pāṇcāla.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,

8Ibid., p. 23.
9Suniti 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 Nanak 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 sānt-bhāṣā (sādhukādi). 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 Kabīr visited the Punjab for some time; therefore, we find a tinge of Punjabi in their hymns written in sānt-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 ślokas of Baba Farīd. His poetry is rich in imagery. He conveyed

16His Gurumukhi Līpī da Jnam te Vikāi (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 samsāra. 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 Ādi 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 Ekādāsi Mahātām. The famous epigraphist, Dr B. C. Chhabra, has deciphered the script of the manuscript as Devaśeṣa, a stage of development between Śāradā and Gurumukhi. 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 Candi-di-oar 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 Japī 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 Hindi, 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 Hindi 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 *stolkas* 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), *sukhans* (in prose), *qissas* (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 *kafis* and *siharfs* have a significant place in the realm of Indian mystic poetry. As opposed to the sayings of Baba Farid, they present a note of revolt. The third movement was with regard to *qissa* poetry. Dāmodara, a contemporary of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), was the first in this line. He composed the first Punjabi *qissa* dealing with the story of Hīr and Ranjha. Pilu (late seventeenth century), Hafiz Barkhurdar (probably a disciple of Pilu), Muqbil

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*Kafis* are short lyrical and generally mystical poems and *siharfs* are poems based on the (thirty) letters of Persian alphabet.—Editor.

*The love story of Hīr 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, paramārathas, parchis, uthāṅkās, 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-sakhi, namely, Janam-sakhi by Bālā (sixteenth century), Purātana Janam-sakhi, Śambhuṇāṭha Vālī Janam-patri, Janam-sakhi Meharban, and Jānā-narāṯāvaḷī or Janam-sakhi by Mani 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 Rājīt 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 qīṣā poetry in Waris Shah. The kāfs of Bulhe Shah and the qīṣā treating the Hir-Ranjhā story by Waris Shah 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 Mīnās 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 Kimiyāe-Sadat of the great Muslim scholar, Imam Ghazali.

This qīṣā 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.
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 var 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 Arya Samaj 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 *śṛṅkaṇḍi 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 Nānāk (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*, *Satwant Kaur*, and *Bābā Naudī 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*, *Kēśar Kīārī*, *Nava Jahan*, and *Sufī Khana*. Kirpa Sagar is particularly famous for his long romantic poem, *Lākṣmī Devh* (1920-21). He also wrote a historical play, *Ranjit Śiṅgh* (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 Narinder 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 Jallianwala 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.
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 Batalvi. Traditionalists like Hazara Singh Gurdaspuri, 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

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 Nānak and his successors and Sufis like Baba Farid Shakarganj, 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 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 Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Delhi. In Pakistan, Sindhi is spoken in the Sind and Las 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 Vrācaṇa 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. 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 Rajasthani 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).

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

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its boundary extended up to Saurāṣṭra in the south. 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’. There are references to Sind in ancient Sanskrit documents as the country of ‘Sindhu-Sauvira’. It has been depicted in the Mahābhārata as an important province, the ruler of which was Jayadratha who sided with Duryodhana in the battle of Kuruksetra and was vanquished and killed by Arjuna. Jayadratha was matrimony related to Duryodhana, being the husband of the latter’s sister, Duḥśālā. In the days of the Mauryas, Sind constituted a part of their kingdom. Around 100 B.C. the Śakas 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’ 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.

LITERATURE

It seems exceedingly likely that literature in Old Sindhi started from the late Apabhraṃśa period. It would appear that before A.D. 1000 there was an Old Sindhi work on the ancient history of Sind, which was translated into

* For a detailed geographical account of ‘Sindhu-desa’ (the province of Sind) in the centuries immediately before, as well as after, the Christian era, see Dr Bratindra Nath Mukherjee’s article in Our Heritage, Vol. XV, Part II (Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1967), pp. 3-12.
* Vide his Languages and Literatures of Modern India, p. 349.
* Ibid.
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 *Upanisads* and the *Bhagavad-Gita*. 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 Vedantic overtones and marked by a note of serene contemplativeness and soothing melody. There were, besides, the Vedantic poetry of Dalpat (1769-1841) and the Vaishnava lyrics of Rohal (d. 1780). Hamal Laghari (1815-79), Murad Fakir, Daryakhan, 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, Sasai-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

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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 \textit{bhakti} movement of northern and central India during the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries has influenced Old Sindhi literature (poetry) to a great extent. The Hindi poetry of Kabir, Nānak, Śrūradāsa, Tulasīdāsa, and Mīrābāī left a great mark on Sindhi culture as well as literature. The poetical form cultivated was also principally the \textit{dohā} like that of the poetry of Hindi and other North Indian languages. Dādū Dayāl, a prominent saint-poet of Hindi, wrote in Sindhi as well.

\textbf{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 Sindhi became the medium. This heralded a fresh growth of the literature of the land. The introduction of the Arabic-Sindhi script in 1852 facilitated the process.

\textbf{POETRY}

The period as a whole witnessed a flood of Sindhi \textit{ghazals}, \textit{masnavis}, \textit{rubaiyats}, \textit{musaddases}, \textit{mukhamases}, and \textit{qasidas} composed in imitation of Persian models. The role of Khalīfa Gul Mohammad (1809-56), popularly known as ‘Gul’, was that of a pioneer so far as Sindhi poetry in the Persian pattern is concerned. \textit{Diwan} of ‘Gul’ contains 175 \textit{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 Sindhi 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, Lekhraj Kishinchand ‘Aziz’, Parsram Hiranand ‘Zia’, H. I. Sadarangani, Sobhraj Nirmaldas, and Ghulamali Rahimbux. N. V. Thadani’s verse-translation of the \textit{Bhagavad-Gītā} appeared in 1923. Although written in Sanskritized Sindhi, it strictly followed the Persian prosodic model. Menghraj Kalwani, Mulchand Lala, Chainrai Bulchand, and T. L. Vaswani also translated the \textit{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 Thanwertas, Akhund Abdur Rahim, Asmal, 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 Sindhi 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
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 Gaṅgā Jum Lahrun 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 (Kod, 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-chāhbuk (1923-26). It was a landmark in Sindhi poetry in many respects. Hariram Mariwala’s translation of Rabindranath’s Fruit-gathering in Phala-chund 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, Pūrāva Sandeṣa or Buddha-jīvna (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 Kālīdāsa’s Meha-dūṭa which, however, did not prove to be a successful attempt. M. U. Malkani’s translations of Rabindranath’s Gardener (Prit-ja-gīta, 1940) and Gītānjali (1942) attracted quite a large audience. Some other names of the later British period which deserve mention are: Narain ‘Śyāma’, 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 Thawerdas, 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 Narumal 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. Ratnavali (1888), Aryana-caritra (1905), and Radharani (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 Magalat 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 Rustam 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 Sakuntala (1896), Hasma Dildar (1897), and Shah Elia (1900), the first being a translation of Kalidasa'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.
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), *Gītā-jo-sāra* (1893), and *Yoga-darsana* (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 *Samvada 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 Peraoi* (1923) which is an elegant translation of *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas A 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 in Sindhi till today. His *magnum opus*, however, is the biography of Abul Fazl and Faizī, which appeared in 1936. The literary fame of Nirmaldas Fatehchand mainly rests on his two works of fiction, *Sarojim* (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 Jogendra 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 *Latīf 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 Purav 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 Kishni-jo-Kasht (1917) and Coth-jo-când (1947). Some literary historians believe that the English novel Mrs Haliburton’s Troubles might have furnished material for the former. The author, however, denied the validity of this speculation. Of the biographical works to his credit, the following may be mentioned: Mohammed Rasul Allah (1910), Rāma Badshah10 (1912), Shahamn Shah (1914), and Sunhoro Sacai (1916). He was a successful playwright too, and when performed on the stage, his Umar Marui (1925) earned for 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, Āstroāda (1933) and Dādā Šyāma (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 Qaidi (1943), Sharmila (1944), and Latīfa (1945); Naraindas Bhambhani’s Malhin (1942) and Vidhāv (1943); and J. D. Ahuja’s Rāni (1947). The stories of Gobind Punjabi (Sard Ahun, 1941) and Gobind Malhi (Registani 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, Šarāt 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), Wadhulam Gangaram (Pangati Inqilab, 1940), Gobind Bhatia (Warq, 1940), Tirth Basant (Chingun, 1940), and Lekhrāj 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 (1923-31) 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-Damasyanti (1894), Lilaram Singh Watamnall’s Hariscandra (1895), and Shewasing Ajwani’s Kanishi (1902). The Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana, and Sheridan’s Pizarro were the respective sources of these plays. The plays of Mirza


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 Amardinoma'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 'Syama', and H. I. Sadarangani, 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 kavītā*) in Sindhi literature towards the end of the fifties. An obsession with sex distinguishes many of the new poets.
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, Sugan 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 genres, 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, Chetan Mariwalla, Lalsingh Ajwani, Kalyan Advani, M. U. Malkani, Lekhraj ‘Aziz’, Bhograj 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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4 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 togaī), 'arousa' 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 drāviḍa 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 Piṅgalandai, 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 Nāyānmaṛs and Āḷvārs (c. A.D. 600-900), the period of literary revival (c. A.D. 900-1200), and the period of exegetical, philosophical, Purāṇic, 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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6 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 Piṅgalandai, a Saṅgam work, to indicate a list of the goods imported on the shores of the Coja port-capital Kāvirippūṟam. 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 Martimer Wheeler, Ancient India, Vol. II, pp. 17 ff.


9 Immaiyum mrmaiyum tamizh enalavum.—Piṅgalandai, X. 580. Tam, a reflexive pronoun, has given rise to a very interesting class of words like tam-appan (father), tāy or tam-āy (mother), tam-āvam (elder brother), tam-akkaṇ (elder sister), tam-kaṇ (younger sister). Izh, which means sweetness, is the root of izhm or izhum, izhudu, 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. Āṭiriyappā (ahaval), kālippā, venbā, and vāncippā 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, tāndakam, 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, Vaiṣṇavites, 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: iyal (belles-lettres), iśal (music), and nājakam (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 ‘Aval’ or ‘Kūdal’.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.11 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 śūtirams (aphorisms), it is in three parts—ezhuttu (orthography), *sol* (etymology), and porul (literary conventions and usages)—each with nine sections. While the first two parts are interesting from both linguistic and philological points of view, the third, poruladhikāram, 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 *Etṭuttagai* (eight anthologies) and *Pattupāṭtu* (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 Auvaliyār 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: *kurinī* (mountainous region), *mullai* (forest region), *marutam* (agricultural region), *nrytal* (coastal region), and *pālai* (desert region). True love, which is either *karpū* (wedded) or *kaḻau* (furtive), is considered under five aspects, namely, *puyartal* (union), *pirital* (separation), *irutal* (patience in separation), *iraṅgal* (bewailing), and *ūdāl* (sulking), and these are made to correlate with *tinai*, the fivefold physiographical divisions.

*Etṭuttagai* consists of *Narriṇai*, *Kuruntogai*, *Aṅkurunērū*, *Padiṟṟuppatu*, *Pariṟṟaḷ*, *Kalittogai*, *Ahaṉāṟūṟu*, and *Puranaṉūṟu*. A collection of 400 verses in *ahaval* metre, *Narriṇai* deals with the five *tinais* on the theme of love. These poems were compiled at the instance of the Pāṇḍya king Māraṇ 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 Purikko. An ancient gloss on

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11 Vide 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 Panampāranār’s introductory verses (*pāyiram*) to this work, it seems that the author Tolkāppiyar was a predecessor of Pāṇini (c. fifth century B.C.).
by Peräsiyiar is lost and Naccinärkkiniyar wrote another dealing with only twenty verses of the work. Ainkuruniiru, 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 ahaval metre. Orambogiyrä, Ammuvanärä, Kapilarä, Odalândaiyärä, and Peyanäär are said to be the respective authors of hundred verses each on marutam, neyal, kuriicci, päläi, and mullai tiñais. Kûdalur Çizhär is the compiler of this work. Padiruppattu 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'. This work is a store-house of historical acts about the Cera kings. A true picture of the political conditions of the Tamil and about two thousand years ago is beautifully portrayed in it. The first und last series of poems of this work are lost.

Paripädal (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 Tirupparañkunram (one of the six houses of Lord Muruga). A commentary on it by Parimelazhagar is available. A collection of one hundred und fifty exquisite lyrics in kali metre, Kalittogai dwells on the theme of love. It also contains many moral maxims. Perunkadungo, Kapilar, Marudan Ijanägranär, Coja Nalluttiran, and Nallanduvanär are the poets of this anthology. It is the general belief that one of these five poets, Nallanduvanär, was the compiler. It has a gloss written by Naccinärkkiniyar. Ahanäniru or Neñuntogai is a collection of 400 poems on love and is divided into three sections: kaisiriyii-rai-nirai (array of male elephants), maximidaipavalam (string of corals interspersed with gems), and nittilakkovai (necklace of pearls). Containing contributions of as many as 145 poets, this work was compiled by Uruttirañanmanär under the patronage of the Pândya king Ukkirapperu Vazhudhi. Puranäniru 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 Ahanäniru 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: Tirumurugárruppaññi, Porunarárruppaññi, Cîrupáññárruppaññi, Perumpáññárruppaññi, Mullaiïppattu, Maduraikkâncii, Neñunaiñadai, Kuriïcippattu, Patîninappâlai, and Malaiïpâdukaññâm. These idylls are short poems describing mostly pastoral scenes or events. Tirumurugárruppaññi by Nakkîrar is in praise of Muruga and the various shrines in which he is worshipped. The life of ancient Tamils is also

depicted therein. Naccinärkkinirayar has commented upon this idyll. *Porunarakkuppadaï* by Muţattămakkankañiyar is in praise of the wisdom and martial glory of the Cola king Karikalan. Sung by Nattattanår, *Cirupaṅarruppaï* extols the chieftain Nalliyakkodan. Descriptions of cities and villages and of the life led by the people there abound in this poem. *Perumpāṅarruppaï* by Uruṭtiraṅkañnanår is a poem similar to *Cirupaṅarruppaï*. It glorifies Tondaimān Iļantiraīyan, 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 Nappūtanår and generally supposed to have been composed in praise of the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuṅcezhizhiyan.

*Maduraikkānci*, written by Māṅguḍi Marudanår, 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 Neḍuṁcezhizhiyan, hero of the Talaīyāṅkānam battle. *Neṭumalvodai* by Nakkirar, written in praise of the same Pāṇḍya king Neḍuṁcezhizhiyan, has a fine description of winter. The title is very apt, meaning ‘the tedious but favourable cold north wind’. *Kurinippattu* 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 Uruṭtiraṅkañnanår, author of *Perumpāṅarruppaï*, to glorify the Cola king Karikalan. Torn between love and the call of the battle drum, the hēro finally decides to remain with his beloved. It gives a very graphic picture of Puhār or Kāvirippūmpatṭiṇam, great port-capital of the Cola kingdom, and has valuable information regarding trade relations of the Tamil land with foreign countries. *Malaiapadukadūm*, 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 Perunkauśikanår, it extols the chieftain Nannan 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’.13

TIRUKKURAL

There is a collection of eighteen ‘minor works’ known as Padinen-kiţhk-kañakkuk14 which deals mainly with moral virtues. Some of these works are assigned to the third Sañgam, while the others belong to a much later period. They are, however, grouped together in Tamil literature and called kiţhkkañakkuk 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 Tiruvalluvar’s “(c. first century B.C.)15 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-vei-ba 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’.18 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:

- (1) Nāloṭiyūr
- (2) Nāmavayi-kājikai
- (3) Kūr-nāṟpatu
- (4) Kālacakri-nāṟpatu
- (5) Iyṟṟṟnu-nāṟpatu
- (6) Iyṟṟṟnu-nāṟpatu
- (7) Aṅtiṟṟṟai-nāṟpatu
- (8) Aṅtiṟṟṟai-nāṟpatu
- (9) Kīḷaiyūralai-nāṟpatu
- (10) Pāyaiyūralai-nāṟpatu
- (11) Kāṇamkīḷai
- (12) Pāyaiyūralai
- (13) Tirukkural
- (14) Ācārak-kovai
- (15) Pātaiyūralai
- (16) Chēṟṟṟai-kovai
- (17) Mudumūḻai-kōṭīri
- (18) Elādī.
15 Though the period of Tiruvalluvar is the most disputed question, it is generally admitted on the basis of internal evidences that his Tirukkural may have been composed later than Tolkāppiyam (c. 500 B.C.) but earlier than Silappadikāram (c. second century A.D.).

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of the path of renunciation. The thoughts of Kural in its second part (porutpāl) centre on polity and administration, including citizenship and social relations, in an admirable way. The third part (inbattupāl or kāmattupāl), 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-cintōmaṇi, Valaiyāpati, and Kundalakesi—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, iiai, and nātakam, it has been designated as a muttamizhk-kāppiyam. 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 Iṭaṅko Aṭikāḷ, younger brother of the Cera king Čeṅkuṭṭūrvaṇ (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 vīṇā). It contains beautiful specimens of vāri, kuraṇaiv, ammānai, īṭai, 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 Cattanār, 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-cintōmaṇi (c. tenth century A.D.). It is also called Muḍi-poruḷ-iṭai-nilai-ṭeyyai, 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, I.1.2 (Translated by G.U. Pope). Cf. K. Appadurai, The Mind and Thought of Tiruvalluvar (Sekar Pathiippagam, Madras, 1966), p. 19.

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Only fragments of the last two epics, \textit{Vajaiyopati} and \textit{Kuṇḍalakesi}, are available. Besides these major epics, there are five other minor works probably by Jaina authors. They are: \textit{Cūḷāmaṇi}, \textit{Perunkathai}, \textit{Nilakesi}, \textit{Yaśodara-kāvīyam}, and \textit{Nāgakumāra-kāvīyam}. Among these \textit{Cūḷāmaṇi} and \textit{Perunkathai} deserve special mention, since they are notable specimens of literary elegance. The influence of Sanskrit is clearly noticeable in them. In \textit{Cūḷāmaṇi}, written by Tolāmozhittevar, \textit{vīruttam} metre is employed with facile grace. An adaptation of \textit{Brhatkathā}, \textit{Perunkathai} or \textit{Udayanāṇ-kathai} is composed by ‘Konkuvelir’ (lit. chieftain of the Konku country) in \textit{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, \textit{Śilappadikāram} and \textit{Maṇimekalai}, there was a long period of darkness (\textit{kaḷabhra}) which continued till about the end of the sixth century A.D. when the Nāyānmaṛs (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 Jīnānasambandhar, Appar, and Sundarar—three of the sixty-three Nāyānmaṛs. The collection of the hymns of these Śaiva ācāryas is called \textit{Devdram}. Jīnānasambandhar 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 Jīnānasambandhar, 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 \textit{Tiru-murai}. The eighth \textit{Tiru-murai} consists of \textit{Tiruvācakam} and \textit{Tirukkovaiyar} of Saint Māṇikkavācakar (? ninth century), the fourth great Śaiva ācārya. \textit{Tiruvācakam} relates in rapturous melody the different stages of the author’s spiritual experience and appears to be a manual on mystical theology. In \textit{Tirukkovaiyar}, \textit{śṛngāra-rasa} (erotic sentiment) serves as a thin veil to sublime and great truths. The ninth \textit{Tiru-murai}, \textit{Tiruvilāppā}, consists of the hymns of other saints of a later period. The tenth, known as \textit{Tirumandiram}, contains

\textsuperscript{18} Kamil Zvelebil, \textit{Introducing Tamil Literature} (Madras, 1968), p. 10.
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3,000 mystic songs by Tirumular who is supposed to have lived earlier than all other Nayanmars. A great mystic and a spiritual reformer, Tirumular composed this highly abstruse work containing the essence of Saiva Siddhanta philosophy in a language devoid of superfluities. The eleventh Tirumurai is an anthology of poems by different devotees. All these eleven Tirumurais were compiled by Nambi Anand Nambi (c. eleventh century) whose own hymns occur in the eleventh book. Sekkizhar’s (twelfth century) Periya Puranam or Tiruuttohdar Puranam is considered as the twelfth Tirumurai. A remarkable and composite work of hagiology consisting of the lives of sixty-three Nayanmars in seventy-two cantos having 4,286 verses, it is regarded as a great classic analogous to Kalidasa’s Raghuvamsha.

What the Nayanmars did for Saivism, the Alvars did for the Vaishnava faith. The latter wove their songs of mysticism around Visnu. These songs, 4,000 in number, were compiled by Saint Nathamuni (824-924) in the anthology Divya Prabandham or Nalayira 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 Alvars—Poygai Alvar, Bhutattalvar, and Pey Alvar—are said to have belonged to the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. Of the rest, the great names are Andal (eighth century) and Nammalvar (Saatakopar; ninth century). Andal or Goda or Nacdyar, the only woman-saint among the Alvars, like Mirabai, practised madhura bhava (worship of God with the attitude of a lover). Lord Kannan or Sri Krsna was the object of her divine love. She yearns for an eternal union with her beloved Kannan through her mystic and devotional songs. Nammalvar’s Tiruvaymozhi, the third book of Divya Prabandham, is said to be a quintessence of the Upanisads. The songs of these Alvars 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, Ottakkuttan, and Pugazhendi. Greatest of the court poets of Kulottunga Coja III (1178-1218), Kamban adapted the Valmiki Ramayana in Tamil in his Kamba Ramayanam 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 onomatopoeias,

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, Ōṭṭakkūttan excelled in metrical compositions (antādi, kovai, ulā to name only a few). He wrote Uttara-kāṇḍam (which completes Kamba Rāmāyaṇam), Takka-yāgāp-paraṇi, Mūvar-ulā, etc. Pugazhendi, the last of the trio, was a versatile poet famous for his work Naḷa-veṇbā, written in veṇbā metre. A poetess of the same name as Auvaiyar of the Saṅgam period is said to be a contemporary of Kamban. Her works, Ātticcūdi, Konraivendan, Mūdurai, and Naḷovazhi, are marked by simplicity and practical wisdom. Periya Purāṇam, already mentioned, also belongs to this period. Jayaṅkoṇḍān (c. A.D. 1100) is well known for his paraṇi, Kaliṅgattuttparaṇi, which describes the conquest of Kaliṅga by the Coḷa king Kulottunga I (c.A.D. 1070-1120).

The theme of clandestine love has been depicted in Iraiyanār’s Ahapporuḷ or Kaḷaḷiyai (c. eleventh century), which is a grammatical work consisting of sixty sūṭṭirams. Kaḷḷāḍanār’s Kaḷḷāḍam relates the divine sports of Śiva and the glories of Madurai. Aiyāṇa Itanār’s Purāḷḷoruḷ-veṇbā-māḷai (c. eleventh century) is a compilation of Tamil verses of the Saṅgam period in veṇbā metre dealing with war and other connected subjects. Narkāvī Naṃbi, a Jaina scholar, in his Ahapporuḷ-viḷakkam treats of various aspects of love. Tāḷḷaparāṇkalai and Tāḷḷaparāṇkalak-kāṛigai are works on Tamil prosody written respectively by two contemporary Jaina ascetics, Guṇasāgarar and Amutasāgarar. Guṇavīra Paṇḍitar’s Nemināḍam is a work on orthography and morphology. The same author has to his credit another grammatical work called Veṇbāppṭṭiṭṭṭai. Other notable works of the period include Viracozhiyam by Puttamittiranār, Naṃṭil by Pavaṇanti, and Divākaraṇaṇaṇaṇi by his son Piṅgalaraṇa. 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

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 Vidyaḷayam, Tirucirirambalam), p. 118.

21 Paraṇi 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 (kaṇḍikai, short; and virutti, 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 Iḷampūraṇar. Nakkirar (c. twelfth century), bearing the same name as that of the Saṅgam-poet, has written a very scholarly and critical commentary on Iraiyanār Ahapporu. Iḷampūraṇar’s commentary on Tolkāppiyam is also a remarkable work. Among other commentators mention may be made of Perāsiriyar (dealing with Saint Māṇikkavācakar’s Tirukkovaiyār), Śenāvaraiyar (dealing with Tolkāppiyam), Naccinārkkiniyar (dealing with Tolkāppiyam, Pattuppāṭu, Jivaka-cintāmaṇi, part of Kuruntogai, etc.), Aṭṭiyārkkku Nallār (dealing with Śilappadikārām), and Parimelazhagar (dealing with Tirukkurai). 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, Meykanḍār (d. A.D. 1223) and other Śaiva apostles started developing Śaiva Siddhānta thought. Meykanḍār’s Śivajñāna-bodham is the most noted of the Śaiva scriptures, wherein Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy is codified. Śivajñāna Svāmigaḷ’s Dirāviḍa-mahābhāṣya is an elaborate commentary on it. Similarly, Vaiṣṇava apostles wrote commentaries on Divya Prabandham in the maṇipravalam 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, Paṭṭinattār, and Bhdragiriyar 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 Aruṇāgarināthar’s (c. fifteenth century) Tiruppukazh was one such composition, where the language and the metre are of a mixed variety. A master of  śīla (pūrṇ, Kālameghappulavar wrote Tiruvānāikāṟūḷ. 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 Bhārataṉ, composed during the régime of the Pallava king Nandivarman III (c. 826-49), has not come down to us in its entirety. Villippuṭṭūrā, a contemporary of Aruṇāgarināthar, wrote Bhāratan which is an adaptation of the Mahābhārata and is reckoned as a great epic in Tamil. Two translations of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa by Cēvaiccudūvār and Varadarāja Aiyāṅkār (both of the sixteenth century), Piramottira-kāṇḍam (Kūrma Purāṇa) and Naiṭam (Naiṣadha-carita by Śrihāra) by Adivirāramān, Kāṅk-kāṇḍam (Kūrma Purāṇa) by Varatūṅkan, Macea Purāṇam (1647; Mātṣya Purāṇa) by Vaṭṭamalaiyappā Pīḷḷai, and Kanda Purāṇam (c. 1625; Skanda Purāṇa) by Kacci-
yappa Śivācāryar are some of the notable works of this genre. The popular story of Nala and Damayanthī has been retold in Naḷa-vēṇbā by Pugazhendi (thirteenth century) and that of Hariścandra by Virarāghavakkavī (c. sixteenth century) in Ariccandira Purāṇam. Aruṇācala Kavirāyār's (c. 1712-79) Rāma-nāṭakam, 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 Bhagavat-Gitā, 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. Paraṇcotī’s Tiruvilaiyāṭal Purāṇam (adaptation of Halāśya-māhātmya), Śivajñāna Svāmīgall’s Kaṅcipp Purāṇam, and Kacciyappa Śivācāryar’s Taṇṭikai Purāṇam are, however, a few works of this category noted for their literary merit.

The Śaiva monasteries (maṭams as they are called) took active part in spreading religion through literature. Kumaraguruparar and Śivappakāśar are two of the eminent poets of the seventeenth century who wrote on devotional and didactic themes. The former’s works include Kandar-kalivenbā, Minaičip-piḷḷaiṭṭamīzh, Maduraik-kalambakam, and Nitineri-viḷakkam. The latter’s Naṭvar-nāṭāṇiṭṭamīlai and Nanneri are well known throughout Tamil Nadu. The songs of the philosopher-poet Tāyumānavar (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 Kaniyan Pūṇkunranār of the Saṅgam period. Interspersed with Sanskrit words, Tāyumānavar’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 cittiuk-kavi (epistles in verse), for instance, made its appearance during the period. Virali-vidu-dītu, Kūḷappā Nāyakkan-kādal, and Varuṇa Kūḷṭittan-maṭal are examples of this kind of poetry which, according to Dr Meenakshisundaram, “in spite of the command over the language, the charm of its style and striking similes . . ., shows more of

**The Tamil original runs as follows:**

Ellūrum inhurru irukkakka ninaiṭṭatam
Allṭānal verurum ārīyam parṭikaram.—Tāyumānavar’s Parṭikārakkaṇṭai, v. 221.

**Tāṭum īrē yēdaram kalēr:** All towns are one, all men our kin.—Kaniyan Pūṇkunranār (Purāṇāṇōri, v. 192).
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the weakness of the decadent age than the vigour and life of a new age. 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 Sivappuranam 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 Vanṇakkaḷañciyappulavar who wrote Muhaidin Puranam (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, Tembāvari, 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 Tirukkural and Tiruvēcaṅkam. Two notable native Christian writers were Vedanayagam Pillai (c. 1824-89) and H. A. Krishna Pillai (1827-1900). Besides writing poetical works like Nimūnd and Sarvaśamayak-kirttanaika, the former produced the first novel in Tamil, Piratāba Muddiyār-carittiram (1875). The latter was the author of Iraṭcanyaya-vāttirgam, 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 Aruttā*, are remarkable for their inner glow, perfectness, and musical language. His *Jivakarunya Ozhukkam* and *Manumurai-kanda-vacakam* are among the best prose works written during the last century. Gopalakrishna Bharati's *Nandanār-carittirak-kirittanaikaṭ* 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 cirrilakkiyat in highly chaste classical Tamil. It is he who inspired the great Tamil scholar Dr U. V. Swaminathayyar in the latter's literary pursuits. Arumuga Navalar (1822-76), C. W. Damodaram Pillai, and Murugesu 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 *Silappadikaram* wherein occur a few lines in prose. In Perundevanār's metrical work, *Bharatam*, some prose passages are found. The first prose writing as such is, however, Nakkiar's commentary on *Iraiyanār Ahapporul*. 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

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**Kamil Zvelebil, op. cit., p. 20.**

**Ninety-six types of poetical compositions in Tamil literature are grouped under the general title cirrilakkiyan (minor literature). A few notable types of this group are: antādi, madhai, ulū, tatakal, paranī, paḷḷu, kuraṇṭai, kovai, paḷḷaiṭṭamiez, and kalamkakam.**

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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 *Pāṭalī Sabadām* 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 pariahs, 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 Āḻvārs and Nāyānmaṁs is found in Bharati’s religious songs. His hymns to Goddess Śakti in *Kāḷīṭhāṭṭu* and to Śrī Kṛṣṇa in *Kavaṇā-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. Chidambaram (1872-1936) composed, besides his autobiography, a few poetical works on ethical and philosophical themes (*Meyyarivu; Pāṭal Tirattu*, 1935). ‘Kāvimaṉ’ Desikavinayagam (1875-1954) wrote *Malarum-mālaiyum, Umarkayyām-pāṭālakaḷ* (translation of Omar Khayyām’s *Rubaiyat*), *Āḷiyajoti* (adaptation of Edwin Arnold’s *Light of Asia*), etc. Tiru. Vi. Kālyanasundaram (‘Tiru. Vi. Ka.’; 1883-1954) wrote *Podumai Vettal* (1942) in simple *ahaval* metre dealing with the harmony of all religious and sectarian thoughts. Besides his two poetical works *Tamizhan Idayam* and *Saṅkoli* (1953), ‘Nāmakkal Kaviṉar’ Ramalingam (1888-1972) has versified a love story, *Avaḷum Avaṉum* (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 Kāthaiyal* (1947), belong to the Gandhian school of thought in one way or other. Yogi Suddhananda Bharati is the author of *Bhārata-mahāśakti* 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 *Aṭhakī Sīrīṭṭu*. His Pāṇḍiyān 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 *Kuṭumbā-
vilakku and the opposite picture is depicted with remarkable clarity in Irunda Vad. His Itayamatu and Naathi Ilakkiyam have beautiful maxims for the young. Other works of ‘Bharatidāsan’ include Purāṭi-kavi, Kuričitītiṇṭu, and Śaṅcītu Parvatattin Cārāl. His fame, however, in later years suffered on account of his espousal of the Dravidian movement. Durai Manickam (‘Pāvalar Peruṅcittīraṇār’; b. 1933) is one of the worthy successors of ‘Bharatidāsan’. He has written many songs in the Saṅgam tradition, and made new experiments dealing with modern philosophical ideas. Aiyai, Nārāśīryām, Koyyākkani, Enḻuvai Enṭbatu (1969), and Pāviyakkottu (1969) are a few of his outstanding works. Pulavar Kulaṇḍai’s Rāvaṇa-ṟāviyam (1946) is an epic written only to glorify Rāvaṇa of the Rāmāyaṇa. Many poets like M. L. Thangappa (Andai-pāṭṭu), ‘Muḍiṭyaraṇā’ (Pāṭṭodi), and ‘Ezhilmutalvant’ (b. 1940; Inikkum Ninaivukal, 1976) have written on new themes in a charming style following ‘Bharatidāsan’.

There were also poets who adhered to the old pattern, metre, and ideas. N. Kanaṅkaraṇa Iyer in his Marainta-māṅagar and R. Raghava Iyengar in his Pāri-kātai (1937) employed fully the traditional style. ‘Vāṇidāsan’ (b. 1915; Tīṭita Yāṭṭirai), ‘Muḍiṭyaraṇā’ (Virakāviyam), ‘Śurāḍā’ (Sakti Pirakkutu, 1948), and similar other poets drew upon the old classics. Their treatment is, however, modern. Some academicians like A. Sriniṅvaryaghaṅhan (1905-75), ‘Śolai Iḷantiraiyān’ (b. 1930), and ‘Tamizhaṅḷaṅ’ have contributed to the development of modern Tamil poetry. Veḷḷaipparravai (1967), a collection of poems written by A. Sriniṅvaryaghaṅhan, 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 (Gandarava-gāṇam, 1967), Periyasamy Thuran (Enrum Padināru), ‘Sadhu. Su. Yogi’ (Manitanaip-pāṭṭuven), ‘Śurabī’ (Ṣattiyā Šodanai), Al. Valliyappa (an eminent children’s poet; Malurum Uṭṭam, 1954), ‘Kaṅṇadāśan’ (b. 1926; Māṅkani, 1970), and ‘Tamizhaṅhagāṅ’. ‘Kaṅṇadāśan’ 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.27 Promising young poets like ‘Abi’ (Maunattin Nāvukal, 1974), ‘Gangai-konḍān’ (Kūṭṭippuzhukkal, 1974), M. Rajendran (‘M. Rā.’; Kanavugal + Karpanaigal = Kāṅṭilangal), and N. Mehta (Kaṅṭippukkal, 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 *Paramārtta Guru-kathai* written by ‘Viramamunivar’ in the eighteenth century. *Piratā바 Mudaiyar-carittiram* by Vedanayagam Pillai (nineteenth century) marked the next stage in the growth of the novel. This was followed by *Kamalāmbū-carittiram* (1896) by Rajam Ayyar. A further development took place in the early twentieth century with Madhaviah’s (*c.* 1870-1925) *Padmāvatī-carittiram*. After him came Vaduvur Duraiswamy (Menakā, Bālāmaṇi), Arani Kuppuswamy (Rattāpurirahasyam), Shankara Ram (Maṇḍaṇa, Kariyadarisi), ‘Nāraṇa Duraikkanṉan’ (Śīmāṭi Kārttiyāyini, Uiyroviyam), and other authors. ‘Nāraṇa Duraikkanṉan’ is an eminent novelist of the post-Independence period also. R. Krishnamurthi (‘Kalki’; 1899-1954) wrote *Pārttipan Kanavu* (1942), *Śivakāmiyin Śabadam* (1944), and *Ponnīyin Śelvan*—all historical novels depicting the glorious past of Tamil Nadu. These set a pattern which was followed by such post-Independence writers as ‘Śāṇḍilyan’ (b. 1910; ‘Yavana-rāṇi; Kaṭal-pūrā, 1967), ‘Jagaccirpiyan’ (b. 1925; ‘Titucirciramālam; Nandīvarman Kādāli, 1958) ‘Govi. Maṇīśekhaṇar’ (b. 1927; ‘Śembiyān Śelvāi, 1959; ‘Nilamalikka’, and ‘Akiḷaṇ’ (b. 1925; ‘Vēngaiyin Maindan, 1961). Their novels are based on the anecdotes of ancient Tamil kings. *Pālmaraṇkāṭṭile* (1977) is the latest novel of ‘Akiḷaṇ’, 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), *Karittunḍu* (1953), *Śentāmarai*, and *Maṅkudīśai* are some of his popular works. He was a recipient of the Sahitya Akademi Award (1961) for his *Ahal-oḻimalku* (1958). Distinguished politician C. N. Annadurai (‘c.* 1908-69) was a novelist of distinction. Two of his important works are *Nallatambi* and *Rangoon Rādhā* (1952). He also wrote a number of short stories advocating Dravidian movements. *Pāsoai-viḻakkāi* and *Cittirappāai* (1968) by ‘Akiḷaṇ’ 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 Jānāpith Award in 1976, is his *magnus opus* wherein the conflict between the precept and practice of ‘art for art’s sake’ is the theme. ‘Aṇuttamā’ (b. 1922; ‘Kēṭṭavaram, 1951), ‘Lakṣmī’ (‘Penmanam), Jayalakshmi Srinivasan (‘Pusparāham, 1944), and Kodainayaki Ammal (‘Tiyā-ūḻam, 1951) are some of the women writers who became famous in the forties and fifties. *Saṃudāya Vidi* (1968), *Kurinći-malar* (1961), *Pon-viḷakkuv* (1964), and *Kapāṭa-puram* (1967) are a few important novels of N. Parthasarathy (‘Maṇiṉaṇṇu’; 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, Maṇukataṇi*, and *Tiyāgabhāṁi* by ‘Kalki’; Murugan
Or Uzhavan by K. Venkataramani; Maṇḍil Teriyutu Vānum (1969) by Chidambara Subramanyam; and Kallukkuṟ Iram (1969) by R. S. Nallaperumal. Alaiyoḷai of ‘Kalki’ received the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1956 posthumously.

New experiments in novel-writing were tried by Jayakantan (b. 1934) in his Oru Naṟṟakai Nāṟṟakai Pāركkirāl (1971) and Śīḷa Nerāṇkāṟūl Śīḷa Manīṟākai (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 Tantirabhūmi (1969), Kurutippunai (1974), and Tiwūkai (1976), are based on Freudism. Sundaram Ramaswamy’s Oru Puḷḷiyamarattin Kathai (1966) is a distinguished work of fiction so far as its technique is concerned. T. Janakiraman’s (b. 1921) Mohamūl (1961) interprets the complications in social and family life from the psychological standpoint. P. M. Kannan’s (b. 1910) Pen Deivam (1943) and other novels provide realistic pictures of family life. Oru Nāḷ (1950) and Poyteeru of Ka. Naₙ Subrahmanyam are two remarkable productions of the post-Independence period from the stylistic point of view. Raghunathan’s Paṇicum Paṣiyum (1953) is a novel with a socialistic slant. Among the new fiction writers who have become prominent are ‘Nakulan,’ ‘Asokamitran’ (b. 1935), ‘Sujātā’ (b. 1935), R. S. Nallaperumal (b. 1931), U. Subbayya (b. 1930), ‘Pūṉṟā Tāṅkatturai’, Jothirlatha Girija (b. 1936), Sivasankari (b. 1942), ‘Kīṟṟutīkā’ (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. Kumaraswami, 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; Vasanṭan, 1941), ‘Tumilān’, (b. 1904, Anurādhā, 1961), ‘Nāṭōṭi’ (Mauṇaṉ-Piḷḷaiyār), ‘Devan’, ‘Cāvi’, and other writers have contributed to the Tamil literature of this particular genre. From Rajam Ayyar’s Kamalāṃbāḷ-carittiram (1896) to T. Janakiraman’s Mohamūḷ (1961) and Neela Padmanabhān’s (b. 1938) Talaimuraigal (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; Maṅgaiyarkaraṭṭiṉ Kādaḷ). 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 Kāṁcanai (1943), Širraṇai (1950), and
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Śāba-vimocanam. ‘Vindan’ (Pālum Pāvaiyum, 1951), Chidambara Raghunathan (b. 1923; Idaya Oli, 1951), G. Alagirisamy (b. 1925; Tavappayan, 1956), T. Janakiraman (Veyil), R. Chudamani (b. 1931; Manattukku Iniyaval 1960), ‘Mu. Va.’ (Viṭutalaiyā), ‘Arvi’ (b. 1920; Anaiyā-vilakkku, 1956), ‘Cāvi’ (Tirukkuralkaṭhaikal), and ‘Maniyan’ (Ātticcūḻuk-kathaiKal) have contributed much to this branch of literature. Jayakantan’s short stories (Inippum Kanppum, 1960; Unmai Sudum, 1964) are true reflections of life with interactions of men and women in varied situations. The short stories of ‘Akillan’ are more than 150 in number (Sakotarar Anro, 1963; Sattiyā Avetam, 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, kūṭtu as they were called, must have been a popular resort of the public during the period of Imperial Colas. 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, Aruṇācala Kāvirāyā wrote a drama, Aśomukī-nāṭakam, besides an opera type piece, Rāma-nāṭakam, Sundaram Pillai’s (1855-97) Manonmaṇiyam (1891), a poetic drama, gave a new dimension to the dramatic literature in Tamil. V. V. Suryanarayana Sastrī alias ‘Paritimal Kalaiñār’ (1870-1903; Rupāvati, 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) Sabhāpāti (1931), Manohara, and Ratnañāvai became very popular. Saṅkuntala-nāṭakam (1907; translation of Kalidāsa’s Abhijñāna-Saṅkuntala) by ‘Maraimalai Adikāl’, Kuzhandai Rāmu (1929) by R. S. Desikan, Aṭṭappār-nāṭakam (1934) by M. Balasubramaniam, and Paṭitta Peṇkal (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 Auvaiyar and Rāja Rāja Coḷān. Dramatists like T. K. Pavalar wrote plays (Katarin Verri, Deśiyak-kōṭi) with the freedom movement as their background during the pre-Independence period. ‘Bhāratidāsan’ has presented a Saṅgām theme in his Geraiṭāṅgavam (1949). His Pīṣrāṇḍaiyar, which won posthumously the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1969, has for its theme the life-story of a Saṅgām poet, Pīṣrāṇḍaiyar. K. Appadurai’s Āṇḍi-māṭam (1952), Periyasamy Thuran’s Manakkukai (1955), B. S. Ramayya’s Ter Oṭṭiyin Makan (1957), T. Janakiraman’s Nāluveī Nilam (1959), R. Chudamani’s Iruvar
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Kandanar, K. A. P. Viswanatham’s Tamizhecchuwai, M. Varadarajan’s Kādal-erike, and Vāzhul Inbam by ‘Aklan’ 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. Chidambarnathan distinguished themselves as eminent writers of prose. ‘Maraimalai Adikai’ (1879-1950), who led the puritan movement in Modern Tamil, wrote in a chaste and charming style using pure Tamil words only. Cintanavāk-kaitu-raikal (1908), Tolaivilunartal (1935), and Tamizhar Mutam (1941) are some of his important prose works. The writings of Tiru. Vi. Kalyanasundaram (Pennin Perumai; Manita Vāzhkkaiyum Gāndhi Adikālum; Uṭṭoṭi, 1942; Tamizhecocolatei, 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 (Viyasar Virundu) and the Rāmāyana (Cakkaravarttit-Tirumakan). His Śri Rāmakṛṣṇārūpa Upaniṣadam (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 Śri 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 Moṇhiyamutam by Swami Paramatmananda, Svaṁi Vivekānanda by R. Ganapathi, and Tiruvaruṇmozhi in this connexion. The Tinnevelly Śaiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society has made significant contributions to the development of religious literature in Modern Tamil. The writings of Śwami Chidbhavananda expound the immortal philosophy of life in a simple, rational, and soul-elevating manner. He gives a critical analysis of the life of Śri Ramakrishna in Paramakṛṣṇa Perumai (1959), which is a unique exposition of practical Vedānta. Besides lucid commentaries on the Bhagavad-Gītā, Tiruvācakam, and
Tâyumānava Svāmīgaḷ Pāḍālkal, Swami Chidbhananda has produced many other literary works that are companions to spiritual aspirants—Etirkāla Indiyā (1953), Dinaṣāri Dhiyānam (1960), and Gāyatri (1973) being a few among them.

Apart from some earlier critical works like Bhagavad-visāyam (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 Āḍikāl’ (Tiruvalluvar Kālam, Pāṭṭināppāḷai Ārāycei), ‘Nāvalar’ Somasundara Bharati (1879-1950; Tirukkural, Kamba Rāmāyaṇam), M. Raghava Iyengar (1878-1950; Ārāycci Tokusi), S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (Ilakkiyac-cintanāikai), ‘Pāṇḍitamaṇi’ M. Kathiresan Chettiar (Tiruvācakam), and R. P. Sethu Pillai (Tamilizham—Urūm 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: Auvai Duraśāmy (expositions of the Saṅgam and Śaiva Siddhānta literature), K. V. Jagannathan (b. 1906; Viṇar Ulagam, 1966), M. Varadarajan (Ovaceyti, 1952), K. Appadurai (b. 1907; Kumerik-kaṇḍam Allatu Kaḍal Kanda Tennāṭu, 1951), M. Rajamanickanar (Pallavar Varalūr, 1952), C. Ilakkuvanar (Pachantamizh, 1962), K. A. P. Viswanatham (Tirukkural-kaṟaṅgam), ‘Tirukkural!’ Munusamy (Tirukkural-ṉaṉam), V. S. P. Manickam (Tamilk-kaḷāl), ‘Tamilizhaṇṇaḷ’ (Oppiyal Oru Ārimugam), ‘Śālai Iḷantiraḷaiyan’, A. M. Paramasivanandam, ‘Iḷavazhahanai’, 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), Sollārāyecck-kaṭṭuraikāl (1949), and Diraviṭṭattāy (1964) are significant philological works. But for his researches in philology, the purity and antiquity of Tamil might have remained a myth. His Paṇḍitai Tamilaiyar Paṇḍai Nāgasikamun (1966), Tamizh Nāṭṭu Viḷaiyāṭṭukkal (1954), and Tamizhai Matam (1972) reveal the glory of Tamil culture. Swami Vipulananda (1892-1947) has written a research work, Yāzh-nūl, on the ancient Tamil iṭai (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 Śri Rāmānujaṇar by ‘Pi. Śrī’, which received the Sahitya Akaṇmī Award in 1965. Pudumaippittam Varalūru (1951; biography of Pudu-маippittam) by Chidambra Raghunathan, Puraṭṭippāḷai (biography of Bhāratidāsan) by Durai Manickam, Śivakāmiyin Śelvan (biography of Kamaraj) by ‘Cāvi’, and Maraimalai Aṭikāl Varalūr (1959; biography of ‘Maraimalai Aṭikal’) by M. Thirunavukkarasu are a few other important works of this genre. U. V. Swaminathayyar (En Caritam), ‘Tiru. Vi. Ka.’ (Vāzhkkai-kurppukkaḷ), ‘Nāmakkai Kaviṇaḷ’ 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.’ (Tân Kaṇḍa Itaṅkai), ‘Somale’ (Māvaṭṭa Varīṣai), Mi. Pa. Somasundaram (b. 1921; Akkaraić-cimaiyil, 1961), and ‘Maniyan’ (Idayam Pēsukiratu) 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, Kaṇṇan, Puṇcōlai, Karumbu, and Gokulam. While journals like Ānanda Vikaṭan, Dīpam, Kaḷaiṁagal, and Kaḷki are popularizing fictional literature in colloquial Tamil, Centamizhc-mvi, Tenmōzhi, Tamizham, Tamizhp-pozhil 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 Detabhaktas in 1917, which played a very commendable role in facilitating the growth of the Tamil language.
TELUGU

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 Mahārāṣṭra 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 Andhra-bhasa or the language of the Andhras. To derive the word telugu, or the older forms telugu and tenugu, some scholars unconsciously relate them to Sanskrit words like trilinga (country of the three lingas), trikaliṅga (country of the three Kaliṅgas), or trinaga (land of three mountains). Telugu is perhaps connected with ‘Teliṅga’, the name of a tribe that must originally have lived in the region. This assumption is supported by the existence of Telagas, a major agricultural community in Andhra, and Telagānyas, a sub-sect among the Andhra Brahmins, and also by the name Telangāṇa, 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 Andhras 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. Megasthnes refers to them as a political power in the south-eastern Deccan. It is, therefore, possible to suppose that the Andhras 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 Andhra 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 Andhras 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
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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 Mahabharatamu is the earliest extant literary work in Telugu. But we have inscriptional 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
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, Mahābhārataamu (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 deśī (indigenous) metres like taruwoja, akkara, sisamu, etc. References are also available to show that deśī kavītā 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 deśī, Nannaya through his Mahābhārataamu pioneered the mārga (Sanskrit) tradition in Telugu. He borrowed freely Sanskrit words and expressions and also used liberally the different mārga metres along with deśī metres in his work.

During the pre-Nannaya times, the vāṃśadīra1 practices and the Cārvāka2 and Kāpālika3 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 Rājarājā Narendra (1022-63) took upon themselves the great task of reviving the varṇaśrama 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 Śaktta school had numerous ramifications in the course of time with various forms of worship or dārās, such as dakṣipāda, vāṃśadīra, kulaśāra, and vīraśāra. For the philosophy of vāṃśadīra, 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 Śruti 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 Śaiva cults with somewhat gruesome practices. Chief among these were cults of the Kāpālikas and Kālāmnukhas. Kānti, Tiruvanenteswar, Melpaṇi, and Koḍumbalūr 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 *Vanaparvan*. The rest of the *Mahābhārata* remained unfinished for the two centuries that followed. *Ganita-sāra*, a mathematical treatise of Mahā-vīrācārya in Sanskrit, was translated into Telugu by Pāvulurī 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., Ándhra-deśa (land of the Ándhras) witnessed major political, social, and religious changes. The feudatories in Ándhra 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 Karṇātaka and the Ándhra 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-sambhavamu* in twelve cantos is a great *kavya* of high merit written in the *campū* form. Pālakuriki Somanāṭha (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 *Paṇḍitārādhya-caritra*, written in *dvipada* metre dealing with the biographies of the two Śaiva prophets, Basaveśvara and Paṇḍitārādhya, respectively. Somanāṭha was also the pioneer in creating new literary genres like *gadya*, *ragaḍa*, *sataka*, 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 *Raṅgāṇātha Rāmāyaṇam* (c. 1250). Though he was not a Śaiva poet, he was influenced by the writings of Somanāṭha in using *dvipada* metre for his work.

Tikkanna (c. 1220-1300) heralded a new era in Telugu literature by making

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5The school of Vīraśaivism or the Lingayata 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.
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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 Andhra-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-Śaivaita schools of Telugu poets who were obsessed with religious dissensions. His first work was Nirvacanottara Rāṃyaṇamu written in the kāvyam style. Tikkanna took upon himself the great task of completing the translation of the Mahābhārata left unfinished by Nannaya. Commencing with the Viśāṭaparvan, he completed the remaining fifteen parvams 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 Mahābhārata 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. Daśakumāra-caritra, a free poetical rendering of Daṇḍin’s famous prose romance in Sanskrit, by Mūlaghawksa Ketana (1220-60) was dedicated to Tikkanna. Ketana has to his credit a grammatical treatise of Telugu, known as Andhra-bhaṣa-bhāṣanamu. The author claims it as the first of its kind in the language. The Telugu version of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa by Māraṇa and Keśūrākshas-caritramu, a poetical rendering of the Sanskrit Viddhāṣṭālā-bhaṣyakā, by Maṇcanna were notable works of this period. Kṣṇamācārya of this period wrote Sinhagiri 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 Kākatya empire (1081-1323). The feudatories became independent and established small kingdoms. The eastern part of Andhra was ruled by the Reḍḍi kings during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (1323-1450), and they extended patronage to literature and other fine arts. Errāppregga or Errana (c. 1280-1350) was the first court poet of the Reḍḍi 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 kavītraya, 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 kavītraya. Errana was the first poet to render the Hariyamśa into Telugu. He was also the author of a Telugu Rāṃyaṇa, which is lost to us. His Nṛshīṅha Purāṇamu is considered a landmark, as it initiated a literary type called pra-bandha 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-HarivamSamu 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 kanakābhīṣeka. 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-naśadhamu, Hara-vilāsamu, Bhīmēsvara Purāṇamu, Kāśi-khandaṇamu, and Palanāṭi-vīra-caritramu—a popular ballad cycle in desī 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 Purāṇas of the kavitraya with the age of prabandhas of the later period. A contemporary of Purāṇas of the kavitraya with the age of prabandhas of the later period. A contemporary of Śrīnātha, Potana (c. 1400-1475) was the author of Mahābhāgavatam, a free and enlarged rendering of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa 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 Mahābhāgavatam. The Abhiṣīna-Śakuntala of Kālidāsa was adapted with some changes into a kāvya form by Pīṇavirabhadrudu (c. 1450-80), a disciple of Śrīnātha, in his Śakuntalā-paraṇyam. He had to his credit several renderings of the Purānic stories also, of which Jaimini Bharatamu, is only available today. Telugu works of translation, such as Padma Purāṇamu, Vāśīṭha Rāmāyāṇamu, and Nāciketopākhyanamu, appeared during this century. The Paṇiṭantra was adapted into Telugu verse by Dūbaguṇṭa Nārāyaṇa (1450-1500). Annamācārya (1408-1503), a bhakta poet, composed thousands of sankirtanas (devotional songs) of high literary and musical value. His wife Timmāmba, believed to be the first Telugu poetess, wrote Subhadra-kalyāṇam in the dvipaḍa metre. The Vṛdha Purāṇa and Prabodha-candrodaya were rendered in the campū form jointly (c. 1480) by Nandi Mallaya and Ghanṭā Śiṅgaya. 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 Mahābhāgavatam. He wrote the bulk of the poem undoubtedly, but there are portions which had been written by his disciples, Veligandala Nārāyaṇa, Ganganārāya, and Ercūrī Śiṅganna.
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tendencies in the evolution of the kāśya 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-dīggaṇa (eight learned poets) in his court, namely, Allasāni Peddana, Nandi Timmanna, Rāmabhadra Kavi, Mādava-gāri Mallana, Piṅgaḷi Sūranna, Bhāṭṭumūrti, Dhūrjaṭi, and Tenāḷī Rāmakṛṣṇa.7 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 kavya. It is a remarkable literary type original to Telugu literature. Though it apparently resembles the Sanskrit kāśya, 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.

Allasāni 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. Rāmabhadra Kavi made an admirable epitomization of the Rāmāyaṇa in his Rāmābhuyadayamu (c. 1550). Rājaśekhara-caritramu (1513) of Mādava-gāri 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. Piṅgaḷi Sūranna (c. 1520-80) wrote three poems of remarkable merit: Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyamu (1545), Kalāpūrgodeyamu (1550), and Prabhōati-Pradyumnamu (1555). Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyamu is a tour de force with each verse containing two meanings, one pertaining to the Rāmāyaṇa and the other to the Mahābhārata; Kalāpūrgodeyamu is an original poetic romance with characters from the Purāṇas; and Prabhōati-Pradyumnamu is a prabandha with a Purāṇic story. Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyamu is the first dayarthi kāśya (poem with double meaning) in Telugu. Sūranna’s gift of inventiveness and poetic genius is greatly reflected

*Modern researches, however, indicate that Piṅgaḷi Sūranna and Bhāṭṭumūrd 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 *mahākāvyā* and a novel in verse. Bhaṭṭumūrti, also known as Rāmarāja Bhūṣaṇa, was a contemporary of Sūranna. He was the author of *Vasu-caritra* and *Harīscandra-Nalotpākyānāmamu*. In *Vasu-caritra*, magnum opus of Bhaṭṭumūrti, the Telugu *prabandha* reached its high watermark. That *Vasu-caritra* was translated into Sanskrit is a great testimony to its poetic merit. *Harīscandra-Nalotpākyānāmamu* is a doyarthī kāvyā like Sūranna’s *Rāghava-Pāṇḍa-vīyāmamu*. Though *Kājahastīvara-māhātmyamamu* of Dhūrjaṭi and *Pāṇḍurangā-māhāt- myamamu* of Tenālī Rāmakṛṣṇa are not *prabandhas* in the real sense, they bear a few of the *prabandha* characteristics. Cintalapūḍī Ellanārya (1510-60), who was patronized by Kṛṣṇadevarāya, is the author of two noteworthy poems, *Rādhā-Mādhavamamu* and *Tārakabrāhmaṁarāṭhyāmamu*, the former being his masterpiece. Nṛsiṁha 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, *Kavikarṇa-rasayanarmamu*. *Rāmāyaṇamamu* 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 *śataka* writers, who probably belonged to the sixteenth century. He composed hundreds of verses of ethical and didactic import in a *deśī* metre known as *āṭapavelaḍī*, 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. *Tapati-saṁyayamamu* (1565) and *Tayati-caritramamu* (1578) are two celebrated *prabandhas* written by two court poets of Sultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah, Addanka Ganḍādharā Kavi and Ponnīkaṇṭi 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). Kandukūrū Rudra Kavi, who earned appreciation from Ibrahim Qutub Shah, has to his credit a fine poem, *Nīraṅkutopaḥkhyāṇama*-mu written in mixed verse and prose. *Ṣaṭakaravarti-caritramamu* of Mallā Rṛḍḍi (c.1550-1600), who is said to have been patronized by Ibrahim Qutub Shah, also deserves mention. *Vaiṣyayaṁśi-nilāsamaṇamu* of Sūruṅgu Timmanṇa, court poet of Quli Qutub Shah, is an excellent poem of love. Elakuci Bālasarasvatī’s
(c. 1600-1640) Rāghava-Yādava-Pāṇḍavīyamu is a noted tryarthi kāvya of the first half of the seventeenth century narrating the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa, 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 was 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 dvīpada metre, his Acyutābhyyudayamu 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-caritra and Vālmiki-caritra. His son, King Vijayarāghava Nāyaka (1633-73), was a prolific writer of the yaksāgānas, over twenty in number, in Telugu. The yaksāgāna 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 yaksāgāna in Telugu was Sugriva-vijayamu written by Kandukuri Rudra Kavi around 1568. Vijayarāghava Nāyaka with his love for music, dance, and drama popularized the yaksāgānas by having them staged in his presence. Given to a life of merry-making, he seemed to have converted his court into a centre for fine arts. Koneti Diṅkṣa Candra’s yaksāgāna Vijayarāghava-kalyāṇamu (c. 1680) has for its theme Vijayarāghava’s marriage with Kāntimati. Cemakura Venkaṭa Kavi, court poet of Raghunātha Nāyaka, ranks high as an original poet. Sarangadhara-caritra and Vijaya-vilāsamu (1630) are two of his famous works, the latter being his masterpiece. Vijaya-vilāsamu 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. Krṣṇādhvari, a voluminous writer in Sanskrit as well as Telugu, wrote a remarkable tryarthi kāvya in Telugu, Naisadha-pārijātyamu. From the stylistic point of view, this poem is considered as a much better work than its earlier counterparts composed by Sūramma and Bhaṭṭumūrti. Cengalvakāla Kavi, court poet of Vijayarāghava, composed Rājagopāla-vilāsamu, a love romance on Krṣṇa 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—Mannarudasa-vilāsamu and Usā-pariṇayamu. Madhuravāṇī, Rāma-bhadrāmba, Muddu Paļānī 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, Rāyavācakamu was written by Sthānapatī 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 Kāmeśvara Kavi (1623-70), is devoted to the glorification of the cow. His Satyabhāmā-sāntvanamu marks the beginning of the erotic sāntvanam kāyas in Telugu literature. Jaimini Bhāratamu and Sārāṇgadhara-caritraamu of Samukham Veṇkaṭa Kṛṣṇappa are two works in prose written under the patronage of Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha (1706-32) who was himself a writer in Telugu. Rādhukā-sāntvanamu and Abhalyā-saṅkrandanamu of Samukham Veṇkaṭa Kṛṣṇappa are two more representative poems of this period in which the poet indulged in the description of love ad nauseam. Mitra-vindā-pariṇayamu of Veṇkatācalapati, 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 Vijayaraghuṇātha Tondamān (1730-69) of Pudukkottai, a Telugu lexicon in verse known as Āndhra-bhāgārnavamu was written by Mudurupāṭi Veṇkanāryuṭu. The Pudukkottai king Rāyaraṅgānātha Tondamān (1769-89) was himself a talented poet and his Pārati-pariṇayamu is regarded as ‘a poem of high poetic conceits’. King Vijayaraghuṇātha, successor of Rāyaraṅgānātha, also patronized Telugu poets. His court poet Gonasuru Nārāyaṇaguru translated Bhānu Miśra’s Sanskrit work Rasamahījāti 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 Vīraraṇu and Halāyama-māhātmyamu of his son Naṅjarāṇu 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 pādas and śatakas 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-vijayamu 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 dvipada or prose versions of earlier Telugu classics like Mahābhārata, Mahābhāgavatam, and Rāmāyanam. A few poets, however, attempted to show their originality by writing in aesa 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 kāvyā 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 Kūcimaṇci Timma Kavi (1690-1757), Āḍidamu Sūra Kavi (1720-85), Kūcimaṇci Jagga Kavi (younger brother of Timma Kavi), Kankaṇṭi Pāparājju (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.
Ibid, 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, kāvya, prabandha, sataka, yakṣagaṇa, udāharaṇa, sathkirtana, vacana, dandaka 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 Telangaṇa 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
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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 Satakam (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 Ramamurti (1851-1900) in his Citra-ratnākaram, 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 Kṛṣṇārjunacaritra. The latter is a dyarthi kāya. Matsa Venkata Kavi (1856-1903) wrote Sudhāndhra Niraśrama-nīrostya Kuśa-Lava-caritra (1893) in pure Telugu. Composed in a very artificial style, it narrates the story of Lava and Kuśa from the Rāmāyaṇa. Two more kāyas of the period, Bhadrā-pariṣayam and Bhāratābhhyudayam,
were composed by Allamaraju Subrahmanyam (1831-92) and Madabhushi Venkatacharya respectively. A new form of poetry known as *avadhānam* (a feat in extempore poetry and memory) was originated by Madabhushi Venkatacharya; this found enthusiastic practitioners in Subbaraya Sastri (1853-1909), Krishna Sastri (1856-1912), Allamaraju Rangasayi (1860-1936), Oleti Venkatarama Sastri (1883-1939), Vedula Ramakrishna Sastri (1889-1918), Kopparapu Venkata Subba Rao (1885-1932), Kopparapu Venkata Ramana Rao (1887-1942), Divakarla Tirupati Sastri (1871-1919), and Chellapilla Venkata Sastri (1870-1950). *Sravanānandam* and *Buddha-caritram*, two major works of the twin poets Divakarla Tirupati Sastri and Chellapilla Venkata Sastri, 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 Sastri (1863-1940), Akondi Vyasamurti (1860-1916), Vavilala Vasudeva Sastri (1851-1897), Pundla Ramakrishnayya (1860-1904), Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu (1842-1915), Janamanchi Seshadri Sarma (1882-1953), and Tripurana Venkata Suryaprasada 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 Brāhma 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. *Hāṣya-saṅjaîini* (1876) and *Satthita-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 Râjaśekhara-caritram (1878, based on Goldsmith’s Vicar of Wakefield) one of the earliest novels in Telugu. His Harikandam 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 grânthika-bhāṣā (old literary language) as against vyavahārīka-bhāṣā (modern spoken language), similar to that between the sādhū-bhāṣā and calita-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 Mutyălasaramulu (1910). His Kanya-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-kavitvam—the poetry of imagination. Rayaprolu Subba Rao (b. 1892; Trpanākṣapam, 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; Saśikalā), Tallavajjhala Sivasankara Sastri (1893-1977; Hṛdayavīr), Vedula Satyanarayana Sastri (1900-1976; Dīpānāṭi), 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
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; Sādhuraksana Satakam), Silam Subhadramma (1876-1947; Rāmāyaṇa), Kanchanpalli Kanakamma (b. 1893; Jīnavātrā), Gudipudi Indumati Devi (b. 1892; Ambariṣadvijayam), and Kolluri Visalakshamma (b. 1901; Bhārata-kathāmṛtam). Tallapragada Vishwasundaramma (b. 1900), Basavaraju Rajalakshamma (b. 1904), and Chavali Bangaramma (b. 1900) made themselves distinguished in the field of bhāva-kavītā.

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 (Śrī Rāganāja-caritra, 1872), it is Viresalingam who gave in his Rājasekhara-caritram (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-mohini (1901) by Dharianipragada Venkata Siva Rao, Rāṇi Saihyukta (1908) by Veellala Subba Rao, Mālapalli (1921) by Unnava Lakshminarayana, Nārāyaṇa Rāv by Adivi Bapiraju, Veyi Padagalu (1934) by Viswanatha Satyanarayana, Assamarthuni Jīnavātrā (1945) by Tripuraneni Gopichand, and Nārāyaṇabhāṣṭu 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 Māṭī-manti. Other prominent figures who specialized themselves in the field are Gudipati Venkatachalam (b. 1894), Chinta Sankara Dikshtulu (b. 1891), Mokkapati Narasimha Sastri (b. 1892), Munimanikeyam Narasimha Rao (b. 1898), Malladi Ramkrishna 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 Narakāśura-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
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_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 _Maṇjarī Madhukarīyatam_ (1860) and Vavilala Vasudeva Sastri’s _Nandakarāyjam_ (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 _Pratāparudrīyatam_ (1897), Balijepalli Lakshmikantam’s _Hariścandra_ (1912), Kopparapu Subba Rao’s _Roshanāra_ (1921), Muttaraju Subba Rao’s _Śrī Kṛṣṇa-tulābhāram_ (1922), and Gundimeda Venkata Subba Rao’s _Khilji-rājya-patamam_ (1931) are some of the popular plays of this period. Popular Bengali dramas like _Candragupta_, _Shahjahan_, and _Durgādāsa_ by D. L. Roy were also translated into Telugu and found successful on the stage. Social plays came into vogue with _Kanyā-suḥkam_ of Gurajada Appa Rao. _Kanṭṭhābharaṇam_ (1917) of Panuganti Lakshmi Narasimha Rao and _Tappevaridi_ (1929) of Pakala Venkata Rajamnarr (b. 1901) became popular on the stage. Rajamnarr wrote a number of one-act plays also, of which _Deyyālu Laṅkā_ (1930) and _Emi-magavālī_ (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 Muddu Narasimha Naidu for his _Hitasuci_ (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 Prabakara 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 Subbaya, and Swami Chirantanananda. The autobiography is entirely a new thing in Telugu literature, first attempted by Viresalingam in his _Stīpa Carītra_ (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.
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 ‘Śrī Śri’. Anisetti Subba Rao, Bhagavatula Sankara Sastri (‘Ārudra’), 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 ‘Śrī Śri’, K. V. Ramana Reddi, and other veterans. Poets like Umamaheshwar, Sriprangam Narayana Babu, and Pattabhi have made a mark by their revolt against Classical as well as Romantic poetry. C. Narayana Reddi and Dasarathi from Telangana 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 Rana Rao have made successful experiments in vacana-kaviā 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, Rāmōyana-kalpaṇvām, 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—rigorous 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 Paramāvīra
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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 Andhra-sāhityam in twelve volumes (1965-68) by ‘Arudra’ 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 I Nadu (1948) of Acharya Atreyya and Eka Deśam (1947) of K. Gopalaraya Sarma. The plays of Sunkara Satyanarayana (Bhūmi-kosam, 1954) and Vasireddi Bhaskara Rao (Pothu Gadda, 1953) are motivated by the principles of class conflict. The problems of the middle class are reflected in Atreyya’s Kappalu (1954), K. Gopalaraya Sarma’s Nyayam (1947), and Pinisetti Srirama Murti’s Atmiyulu (1956). There is an element of Ibsenesque satire in Kirtiśeṣulu (1960) of B. Radhakrishna. Maro Mohenjo-Dāro (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, 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 Hindvi, 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 Vedantic 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-ka Jhonpra at Ajmer. Some early Muslim writers in Abh-ramSa like Abdur Rahman (Addahamana), author of Sandea-raño, and Fariduddin Shakarganj (1173-1266) of Pakpattan 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 pahelis (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 qawwali 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 Gujari, 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 chiefs, 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, *Merajul 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 *masnavi,*2 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 *Merajul Ashiqin* is now considered as spurious.
2The *masnavi* may be broadly defined as a long narrative poem. Besides giving allegorical and ethical tales, *masnavis* have romance, war, mysticism, and religion as their major themes. Most of the *masnavi* 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.
Ushhaq (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 Alinama, Wajhi's Qutub Mushari (c. 1609), Ghawwasi’s Tustinama (1639) and Saiful Muluk-wa-Badiul-Jamal (c. 1616), and Muqumi’s Chandrabadan-wa-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\(^\ast\) 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

\(^\ast\)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 *Bakram* 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 *Bustan-i-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-bhāshā; 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 haji4 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, haji, qasida, marsiya, masnavi, wasokht6 and shahr ashobs6 also gained currency side by side with prose writings as represented by Fazli’s Karbalkahta (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

4A kind of poem, haji has satire as its predominant element.
5A popular form of Urdu poetry composed in praise of historical emperors and other characters of real life.
6Shahr ashaps are poems of short length. Mir Taqi Mir and Rafi Sauda wrote some of their famous poems in this form.
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) Sahruul 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 imaginary; 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 rekhti.
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(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 Afsos, Bhadur Ali Husaini, and Mirza Ali Lutf. Written as it was in colloquial unornamental 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,8 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-Jazi-i-Islam set a tradition without which the great poetry of Iqbal would have been inconceivable. Hali’s works include Barkharut, Ummeed, and Insaf, 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

8 Patron of Urdu literature, Emperor Bahadur Shah was himself a poet of considerable merit.
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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 *Mwazina-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-Waqi* are mirrors of social conditions of the period. A host of other important writers—Mohsinul Mulk, Viqarul 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. Rampuri and Hyderabad soon developed as important centres of traditional poetry. Mirza Dagh (1831-1905), Amir Minai (1828-1900), Zamīn 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 *Rāmāyana* 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 acha 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 compeling 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 *Gosha-i-Afiyat* 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, *masnavi* 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 Makhdom 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 Hait* 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, Khuishid 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-Maqfil* 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 *Andaz*, 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


dIVĀŚI AND FOLK 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. 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 adiväsi languages of this country.

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

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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-eastern 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 Kiratas. 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.8 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 speeches 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

*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 speeches 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-Polynesian speeches of the Austric 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 *burānjīt* which is an Ahom word—the Sanskrit word *itihāsa* is not so current. Some of the Ahom *burānjīts* 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 Austric 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 Burma 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 Ն. 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-kāpā, 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 *Poivreiton Khunthok*, a prose work describing the settlement of some Meithei tribes, is the oldest work in Manipur going back to the third century A.D. It is said that there is a copper-plate inscription of King Khongtek, invoking Śrī Hari (i.e. Viṣṇu with Lākṣmi), 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. *Ceithārol 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. *Nūghān Pomā Luvābā* narrates the legendary history of the hero, after whom the book is named, and of his beloved wife Koubru Namíno. 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 Leikhōron* 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 Thoibī, 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 Lōyāmka. 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-Thoibī Šeireig*, of 34,000 lines by a modern Meithei poet, Hijom Anganghal Singh, about 1940.

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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.

5 As 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 Csithārol Kumbābā. A most interesting work is the romantic tale of Prince Nompokningthau and Princess Pānthoibī, daughter of King Cing Ningthau. 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 paraktyā 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—Ādi, Viśrṣṭi, and Āśvamedhika parvans—were also rendered into Manipuri. The older literary tradition suffered a setback owing to an ill-conceived action of a Rāmānandī missionary, Santadasa Gosain, 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 Lāngan. It is of the nature of Nīti literature in Sanskrit and has been recently published.

King Bhāgyacandra Singh 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 Śija Lāioibī, who was a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa (she has been called the 'Mira-bābā' of Manipur), raised the Manipuri folk-dance lāthāraobā, 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 Tantric works on the cure of diseases, besides works on astrology. These all show Brahmanical 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, Šaṅgāl Phamāṅ. 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 Itihasa, 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 Gītagovinda, the Gopāla-sahasranāma, and the Cāndi. He translated portions of the Rg-Veda.
and the entire Śrāvakāta 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 Vāsudeva-carita, a long poem of 12,000 lines on the life of Kṛṣṇa. Haobam Iboiyaima 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 Aścademi, New Delhi.

An important figure in the field of creative literature of the Modern period is Lamabam Kamal Singh whose romantic-realistic social novel Mādhavi 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 Ibemmā deserves special mention. But he was particularly famous as a poet. Besides Khambā-Thoibi Šeirei (already referred to), he has several other volumes of poetry to his credit. R. K. Shtaljit 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, Lavāgalati, 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, *Pāgālini*, 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, Lairenmayum Ibun-gohal 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 Sikkimese, 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 Niśādas. Some of their tribes were also called Bhillas and Kolls (modern Indian Bhils and Kols), besides Pulindas, Mātaṅgas (modern Indian Mangs), Sāmanapalas (modern Indian Saontals or Santals), Muṇḍās (modern Indian Mundaris) and Punḍras (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.

Adivāśi 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 adivāśi 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
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 adivasi 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 Nāgarī 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 \textit{Hor-ko-ren Mars Hapram-ko-rek 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-vamśa Dharam-pathi* 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 Ghatsi 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 Ghatulia, 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.*

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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: Naeke Mangal Chandra Soren, Sarada Prasad Kisku, Balkishor Baske, Aditya Mitra Saontali, Babulal Murmu, Bhagavat Murmu, ‘Tade Sutam’, Raghuban 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-paniśa Dharam-puṭki, 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.
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 Munda 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 Austro-Munda 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
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 Khasis 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 Khasis 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 Caje 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 Khasis, 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 ĀDIVĀSI LANGUAGES

The ādivāsi or primitive languages of India belong mainly to the Sino-Tibetan and Austrofamilies. 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 Maharashtra; 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-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 Nāgārī 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, Maharashtra, 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.

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.

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 rhythmic 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


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,

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On the way let the palanquin
Drink honey and clarified butter.5

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:

_Hunkā_ says _gaḍgaḍā_, _kalte_ says ashes,
The preceptor looks at the _water of hunkā_
And says, thou art now free of poison.
_O_ the poison of Netāi, the washerwoman,
_O_ the poison of Kālakūṭa,
Go off by the way of the wound,
At the grace of _Mother Manasā_.6

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 _Ramayana_ and the _Mahābhārata_, especially the _Ramayana_ 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 _Ramayana_, and every brother has his ideal in Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata, and so on.


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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 bora.
The navel-string has been cut by the nurse,
Auspicious sounds are made at Kaśalyā’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:

Gunja 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.
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 Ganga,
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 Lanka,
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 lamentations. 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

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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 Gajan 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

Bāramāśīs 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 Bāramāśī song collected from the Simla Hills in Himachal Pradesh:

The month of Jēṭh 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 Rādā, 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 Rādā 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

14Prafulladatta Goswami, op. cit., p. 18.
15Devendra Satyarthi, 'Five Songs from Simla Hills', Man in India, Vol. XXIII, p. 35.
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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 Gupādhya’s Brhatkathā, stories of the birth of Buddha in the Jātaka, Dhammakahā of the Jains, Somadeva’s Kathāsarit-sāgara, Daṇḍin’s Daśakumāra-carita, Viśṇu Sarman’s Pāñcatantra, and Nārāyana’s Htōpadēśa 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.

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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 Sàntal 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 Sàntal 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. Bodding’s *Sàntal 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
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? 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?

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.

The answer is ‘hailstone’. A riddle from Bihar says:

Legs up, head down.

Ibid., p. 277.
Ibid., p. 296.
Ibid., p. 303
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,
Hariḍi is the village we live in.
The bamboo belongs to the clump of Rāma,
The arrow belongs to the clump of Lakṣmaṇa.
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.

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
A Collection of Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases in the Persian and Hindusthani Languages. In 1832 Drṣṭānta-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 Gopîcandra, who was asked by his mother Mayunâmatî 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 Gadâdhara Śiṅha became king in A.D. 1681. Her son Rudra Śiṅha, 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 wifely 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 Rasâlu Kuâr 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. Rasâlu, according to the legend, was the son of King Śâlivâhana 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:

Rasâlu meets a princess by the side of a well. She has some attendants with her. Rasâlu 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

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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. 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: Bakhararbarar Gita, Padum Kuvār Gita, Maṇṣūra Na Devar 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 Maṇṣūvarar Gita, Phulkwār Gita, and Janāgābar Gita. The last is the Assamese version of the Bengali ballad Goptcandrī 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 Bāramā, 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 Bhārū or Bahā. Strictly speaking, they cannot be called ballads in view of the fact that they have no

Prafulladatta Goswami, Ballads and Tales of Assam (Gauhati University, 1960), pp. 17-56.
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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 *Maimansimha-gitikā* by Calcutta University in 1923. Another volume was also brought out by the same editor under the title *Pūrva-vaṅga-gitikā* (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 *Mahuya* 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 Kāmamama and Sanyāsamma, who sacrificed their lives on the funeral pyre of their husbands, have been dealt with in these ballads. There are also ballads of Vira Rājamma, Laksmamma, and Pal 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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**Notes:**


beliefs, etc. The purpose of myth is to explain... matters in the "science
of a pre-scientific age".39 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.”81

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-literature 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-yāṭra and the more modern type as
only yāṭra. In most cases yāṭra 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 bhāgyāṇi, in Assam as aikhya, in Karṇaṭaka
as bayaḷata, in Tamil Nadu as terukkittu, in Andhra as kuravaṇji, and in Mahā-
rāṣṭra as tamāśā. 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.

39Maria Leach (Ed.), Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, Vol. II (Funk and

40Verrier Elwin, Myths of Middle India (Oxford University Press, London, 1949), p. 94.
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 Kautilya's Arthasastra, where he speaks of two kinds of Nepalese blankets, Bhīngisi and Apasāraka, being sold in Pātaliputra. Buddhism was carried to Nepal by the missionaries of Aśoka who himself visited this land accompanied by one of his daughters, Carumati. The latter is traditionally believed to have settled down in Nepal. All the historical dynasties of Nepal—the Licchavis, the Ṭhākuris, the Kārṇātakas, 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 Prājāṣṭi (verse 22) of Samudragupta that Nepal was 'an autonomous frontier state, paying tribute and yielding obedience to the paramount Gupta power'. According to Bāṇa's Harsacarita (Chapter III), King Hārṣa 'exact 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 Dhīmaṇ and his son Vītpāla, 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 Sāntarakṣita, 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 Musalman invaders, Maithila rulers could seek refuge in Nepal so easily... Maithilas gained decided ascendancy 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’.8

INFORMATION 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 Takṣaśilā, Nālandā, Vārāṇasī, Mithilā, Vikramaśilā, and Odantapūrī 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, Kutiḷa, 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 Kāraṇṭaka and Khasa-ḍeṣā (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-

7 Lokesh Chandra, loc. cit.
NEPAL

The greatest 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, Saddharmapundartka, Gandavyūha, Daśabhūmiśvara, Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, Astasāhasrikā 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, Darśanas, Kavyas, Vyākaranas, Kosas, Alankāra-śāstras, Śilpa-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, Swayambhu, 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
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found in Nepal and published their accounts. The contributions of Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri deserve special mention in this connexion. Among his important works are: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts 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 Catuḥśataka by Āryadeva (1911), Discovery of Abhisamayālankāra by Maitreyanātha, Nepalese 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 Āśvaghoṣa, 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. Mr. Sastri did some original research in this direction and opined that these songs were examples of Old Bengali. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji analysed the linguistic and philological aspects of these songs composed and sung by the various siddhācāryas and established that they were no other than Old Bengali in their rudiments. These songs are sung to the accompaniment of dance and music by the Newars under the guidance of their vajracāyas (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, embrafng Mithila, 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. Although the list consists mostly of Buddhist texts, there are also quite a few important Brahmansical 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 Amarakoṣa, Naiṣadha-carita, Hitopadeśa, Raghuvamśa, 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 Amśūvarman who ruled about A.D. 650. The inscriptions of Amśuvarman prove that he was a great devotee of Lord Śiva. In the Harigaon inscription, for example, which is one of the earliest inscriptions of Amśu-
varman’s reign, he calls himself bhadgavata-parama-hattvaraka-pahupati-padiwu-
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-Brāhmi characters. In fact,
Nepal has preserved more numerous Gupta-Brāhmi 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 patro­
nized by the Malla kings. Bhupatindramalla’s (A.D. 1695-1722) Bhāṣā-gītā
preserved in the Durbar Library is a remarkable collection of Maithili songs.15
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 Ranajitamalla (c. A.D. 1722-72) com­
posed 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 manu­
script form. Dramatists generally took their stories from the Rāmāyaṇa, 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-sivāha (A.D. 1629) by Jagajjyotirmalla (A.D. 1617-33),
Gītā-digambara (A.D. 1655) by Varṇamāṇika Jhā in the reign of Pratāpamalla
(A.D. 1641-74), Prabhavati-harana (c. A.D. 1656) by Jagatprakāśamalla, Bhārata-
ātakam by Jitāmitramalla (A.D. 1682-95), and Andhakasura-padha-upākhyāna
(A.D. 1768) written under the patronage of Raṇajitamalla.16 Varṇamāṇika’s
Gītā-digambara is a very famous dramatic work written ‘in imitation of Jaya­
deva’s Gītāgovinda. But it has a hymn to the united form of Hara and Pārvatī

14 Lokesh Chandra, φ. cit., p. 212.
15 This manuscript of the Durbar Library is a find of Mr. Haraprasad Sastri 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.
16 For a detailed description of the Maithili dramas in Nepal, see Jayakanta Mishra, φ. cit.,
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in Hindi which has a ring of Tulasidasa'.17 There are some dramas either in Bengali or in mixed Maithili-Bengali. For example, Gopicandra-nāṭaka (A.D. 1690) by Jitāmitramalla is in Bengali, whereas Kṛṣṇa-kailāsa-yātra-upākhyāna, Rāmāyaṇa-nāṭaka, and Rāmacarita—all written under the patronage of Rānajitamalla—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 Mahārāvaṇa-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-jātismarana-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), Bhiravāṇananda-nāṭaka by Manīka, court poet of Jayasthitimalla, and Pāṇḍava-vijaya-nāṭaka by Jayarāṣṭrala (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, Bhiravāṇananda-nāṭaka, the hero of the piece being Bhirava 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—Siddhi-sāra (A.D. 1412) by Jyotirmalla (A.D. 1409-29), Graha-darpaṇa (A.D. 1740) by Bālānanda during the reign of Rānajitamalla, and Ganiṇa-mahājāri (A.D. 1766) by Rānajitamalla; Purāṇa—Svayambhū Purāṇa probably written during the reign of Yakṣamalla (A.D. 1428-82), Paśupati Purāṇa (c. A.D. 1504), and Nēpāḷa-mahābhūtmya (c. A.D. 1583); Tantra—Kālikulār-nava Tantra (c. A.D. 1747); Kāvyā—Kṛṣṇa-carita by Vaiśamāṇi; Politics—Kuśopadeśa-ṭīkā (A.D. 1524) by Bāndhavasena; Erotics—Nāgara-sarasva-ṭīkā by Jagajjyotimalla; Āyurveda—Yogamaṇḍari (A.D. 1726) by Vardhamāṇa; Music, Dance, and Histrionics—Sangīta-candra by Jagajjyotimalla, and Hastamuktāvalī-ṭīkā (A.D. 1765) by Ghanāśyāma.

Many Sanskrit texts were translated into Newari. Of them the following deserve mention: the Nārada Smṛti, the Hitopadeśa, the Vṛttā-la-paṇcavinhāti, the Amarakoṣa, the Madana-vinoda, the Cāṇakya-sāra-saṅgraha, the Śuka-saṃhitā, 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, *jyotirāja-karaṇasya* (A.D. 1421), *Nepāla-bhāṣā-cikitsā* (A.D. 1441), *Svarodaya-dāsa* (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 *Daśakumāra-carita*, a part of the * Hitopadeśa*, etc., had been translated into Nepali. The greatest figure in Nepali literature of the period, Bhanubhakta Acharya, wrote the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* based on the *Adhyatma Rāmāyaṇa*. Nepali poets drew inspiration from Sanskrit for the purification or elevation of the language.

The Malla kings of Nepal had knowledge of the Vaiśṇava 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 Karha-nārāyaṇa (A.D. 1496-1527), last king of the Ainivāra 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, Awadhi, 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 ‘Nepāla-bhāṣā’. Both Nepali and Nepāla-bhāṣā (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. 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'. Because of the intimate connexion of the Nepalese scholars with the learned people of Vārāṇasī 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 acar, 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 Devanāgarī 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 Sarada here and there. Just a cursory glance at the scripts of Gomu, Bhujimu, Raṣijana, 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 Devanāgarī 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 Devanāgarī script which has been recognized as the national script of Nepal.

\[\text{Cf. D. R. Regmi, } \text{Ancient Nepal, p. 39.}\]
\[\text{Medieval Nepal, Pt. II, p. 625.}\]
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, Khirgizia, 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 Agnidesa (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 Kuṣāṇa 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 KHAROṣṬHĪ 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 Gāndhāri Prakrit, agrees closely with the language of the post-Aśokan 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 ḵna, ḳmy, etc.) and modified forms of several letters (ṛa, 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 Sarvāstivādin were active


6 John Brough, op. cit., Introduction. Several Chinese translations of the Dhammapada are known to us. Of these Fa-hsi-ch’ing (Dhammapada-Sūtra, translated in A.D. 224) and Fa-hsü-yü-ch’ing (Dhammapada-pāda-buddha-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.

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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 \textit{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 Yüeh-chihs, four An-hsis (Parthians), three Sogdians, and six Indians. Many of them might have hailed from the Yüeh-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 Sangha. 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 \textit{Sukhāvatīvyūha} (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 \textit{Dirghāgama} point to their originals having been in Prakrit (Gāndhārī Prakrit). If the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{6}

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

\textsuperscript{6} \textit{BSOAS}, XII, p. 754; XXVIII, p. 609; XXIV, p. 527 and \textit{Asia Major} (Old Series), Vol. II, pp. 270-71.

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is indicated by the Dasht-e-Nawur record in Afghanistan, inscriptions on gold slabs discovered at Dalverzin Tepe in Uzbekistan, etc.7

USE OF BRAHMI SCRIPT

Brāhmi 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. Brāhmi 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 Brāhmi. 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 Saivastivāda school consisting of more than 200 leaves written in the Brāhmi of about the fifth century A.D. The use of Brāhmi is also corroborated by the find at Zang Tepe of fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts (dealing with Saṅgha, Dharma, bhikṣu, dāna, etc.) written in the Brāhmi 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 Brāhmi 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, Brāhmi was regularly used for writing not only Sanskrit, but also Kuchean (=Tokharian B, language of Kuchi or Kucha), Agnean (=Tokharian A, language of Agnideša 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 Tūmshuq, the Kucha region (Qizil, Qumtura, Kirish, Achiy-Illak, etc.), Shorchuq, the Turfan oasis (Xocho, Yarxoto, Murtuq, etc.).

8 B. Y. Stavisky, Novye Nahodki na Kara-Tepe v Staryom Termase (Moscow, 1975), p. 70. For an evidence of the use of Brāhmi in c. fifth century A.D. in the Dilverdzhin area, situated in northern Afghanistan and not very far from Soviet Central Asia, see Drevnya Baktriya (1976), pp. 170-71.
10 One Šaka language or dialect called Hvatanau or Hvamano (<Hvatanaka=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 kāteke of document No. 8?) was used in Tūmshuq and Murtuq in the same period.
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Sāngim, Bāzāklik, Tuoq, 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.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 route12 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 Śaka manuscripts were written in Chinese Central Asia.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 Agnideśa 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.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 ducus, the North Central Asian type of script betrays a slanting style of writing. The basic consonants, as in Indian


12 On this route were, as indicated by Hou-han-shu, regions like Ku-shih anterior (Yar-Khoten not far from Turfan), Yen-ch’i (Agnideśa or Karashar), Kuei-tzu (Kutsi, Kuchi, or Kucha), Ku-mo (Bharuka or Aksu), Wen-su (Uch-Turfan), and Su-lo (Kashgarh).


Brāhmī, have an inherent a. But there are in this form of Brāhmī special signs which have an inherent ā. In Kuchean and Agnean, Sanskrit sounds like k, t, p, s,  ś, s, n, m, r, and l are somewhat attenuated and hence the corresponding Brāhmī signs are underlined in manuscripts. In writing Agnean and Kuchean, 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 Kuśāna 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 Kharoṣṭhī script. Kharoṣṭhī and Prakrit were 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 Kharoṣṭhī script. Kharoṣṭhī and Prakrit were 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 Kharoṣṭhī script. Kharoṣṭhī and Prakrit were 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 Kharoṣṭhī script. Kharoṣṭhī and Prakrit were
used in Khotan, Shan-shan, etc., before Brāhmī became popular.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.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 Taqī 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.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 Hiuen 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.20 Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced into Khotan, Kaśghar, and Kucha in the fourth century A.D. Its literature was also in Sanskrit.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 Arśi Kāntwa or the Arśi (Central Asian

17 P. C. Bagchi, ICA, p. 93; D. Diringer, op. cit., p. 351.
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 ẋ, which is not known to have been used in writing Brāhmī in India excepting in writing the names of Ysamotika, the father, and Damysada, a grandson, of Śaka Cañāna of the first/second century A.D., indicates Cañāna’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 ẋ in a certain mystic alphabet mentioned in Buddhist texts as Arapachana. Interestingly enough, Arapachana is also the name of a form of Mañjuśrī, Buddhist god of transcendental wisdom. According to a theory, the Khotanese variety of Brāhmī influenced the origin of the Tibetan alphabet.
19 M. A. Stein, Innermost Asia, Vol. III (Oxford), plate CXXV; Serindia, Vol. IV (1921), plate CIII.
20 P. C. Bagchi, ICA, p. 94; Thomas Watters, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 53 and 60.
21 P. C. Bagchi, ICA, p. 94. A Kharosthi inscription (No. 390) discovered by M. A. Stein in southern Sinkiang and datable to third/fourth century A.D. referred to Mahāyāna.
Prakrit \textit{ar	extsc{a}}, Sanskrit \textit{\textsc{\textalpha}r	extsc{y}a) language. The language called ‘\textit{Wkw Kwys\textsuperscript{n}} in the colophon of a Uighur-Turkish translation of the work called \textit{Dashkrmapuda’ awtanamal} (\textit{=Dasakarmapath\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}vad\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}n\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}m\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}d}}}}) was probably the same as Sanskrit. It was called ‘\textit{Wkw Kwys\textsuperscript{n}}=\textit{Oku Kus\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}n}} (\textit{wkw}=\textit{oku} being a Turkish word for Kuchean \textit{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}k}} or \textit{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}k}}, possibly based on some such word as \textit{baka} or \textit{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}ga}}, 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 Kus\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}n} or Kuchean (Tokharian B), the local language of Kucha. A Uighur-Turkish colophon refers to \textit{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}ryacandra} as having composed the book \textit{Maitrisimit (Maitreyasamatit)} out of the ‘\textit{n} tk\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}k}’ (or \textit{An\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}tkak}) till or ‘the Indian language’. Hiuen Tsang, as noted before, used the expression ‘language of India’ to denote Sanskrit.\textsuperscript{82} 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 Kuchean or Agnean or (\textit{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}ka})-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 Kuchean 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.\textsuperscript{83} Discoveries of several manuscripts of the \textit{K\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}tantra Vy\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}karana} suggest that Central Asian students had to study Sanskrit grammar according to the \textit{K\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}tantra system.}

\textbf{SANSKRIT BUDDHIST CANONICAL TEXTS}

The statements of Hiuen Tsang about learning of the S\textit{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}tra} teachings and the Vinaya regulations by the Sarv\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}stiv\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}dins of Agnide\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}Sa} and Kucha, and also the fragments of a large number of Sanskrit manuscripts recovered from different sites of Central \textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}sa} indicate that once there was a complete Sanskrit Trip\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}ka} of the Sarv\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}stiv\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}da school. It consisted of the S\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}tra Pi\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}ka}, Vinaya Pi\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}ka}, and Abhidharma Pi\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}ka. The S\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}tra Pi\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}ka included Agamas corresponding to Nik\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}yas of the Pali Tip\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}ka. We have manuscripts of the Sang\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}ti-S\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}tra and A\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}na\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}ya-S\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}tra of the Dirgh\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}gama, the Up\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}li-S\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}tra, and S\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}ka-S\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}tra of the Ma-

\textsuperscript{82} BSOAS, VII, pp. 895 and 909-12; B. N. Mukherje\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}e, ‘Wkw Kwys\textsuperscript{n}—Oku Kus\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textalpha}n’, Indian \textit{Journal of Linguistics,} Vol. II, No. II, pp. 47ff.

dhyamāgama, and the Pravāraṇa-Sūtra, Candrapāma-Sūtra, Śakti-Sūtra, Nidāna-
Sūtra, Kokanada-Sūtra, Anāthapindāda-Sūtra, Dīrghanakha-Sūtra, Sarabha-Sūtra,
Parivarjaka-sphavira-Sūtra, and Brāhmaṇa-satyānāhu-Sūtra of the Sāhyuktimāna.
The Vinaya Piṭaka is represented by a complete text of the Pratimokṣa-Sūtra
(found at Duldur Aqur in Kucha), portions of Bhiksuni-pratimokṣa (found also
in Kucha), and other fragments of manuscripts. It is interesting to note that
the text of the Pratimokṣa-Sūtra agrees closely with the Chinese translation made
by Kumārajīva in A.D. 404. Fragments of texts of the Abhidharma Piṭaka have
also been discovered. We may specially refer to Saṅgītīparyāya, 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-
vasu, Karmavacana, and Vinaya-vibhanga of the Mūlasāvastivāda Vinaya. The
Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra belonging to the same Vinaya is known from fragments
recovered at Shorchuq near Turfan and Tumshuq near Maralbashī. 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-
sāvastivāda Vinaya was known only from the Chinese and Tibetan translations
and from the famous Buddhist treatise called Divyāvadāna. The Mūla-
sāvastivāda 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 Sarvās-
tivāda 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 Saṭṭhabuddhaka, Mahāvibhāsā-Sūtra,
Daśabala-Sūtra, etc. From Chinese Central Asia Grūnwedel and Pelliot
recovered almost the complete text of Sanskrit Udānavarga, 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 Udānavarga is attributed to a Sarvāstivādin teacher called
Dharmatrāta, a contemporary of Kaṇḍakā I.

Texts of the Mahāyāna school have also been discovered in Central Asia.
Among them we may mention the Vajracchedikā, Ratnasūri-Sūtra, Ratnakravajjā-
Sūtra, Candragarbha-Sūtra, Candrapāla-Sūtra, Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra, Saddharma-
puṇḍartika-Sūtra, Daśabhūmiya-Sūtra, Dharmarātra-Sūtra, Gaṇḍavyūha-Sūtra, Sa-ta-
sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Svārānakrāhāsa-Sūtra, and Saṃādhivāja-Sūtra. Texts
on dhāraṇī or magical formulas, belonging to later Mahāyāna, have come to
our knowledge. Among them we can refer to the Mahāmyāti-vidyārājñī, Ananta-
mukha-dhāraṇi, Suraṅgama-samādhi, Sitālāpatra-dhāraṇī, Mahāpratyāṅgira-dhāraṇī,
and Vajraṅāti-samukhaśāna-dhāraṇī. Prior to these discoveries, several of these
Mahāyāna texts were known only from their translations in Chinese, Tibetan,
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 Kusana Brahmi 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), Dhṛtī (Steadfastness), and Kirtti (Fame). The third is the Śāriputra-prakarāṇa 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 Kanīśka 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-prakarāṇa, 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.26 Another poetical work in Sanskrit, manuscripts of which have been recovered from Kucha and Turfan, agrees with the Chinese translation of Aśvaghōsa’s Sūtra-lakṣāra done by Kumārajīva in the early fifth century. In the colophon of the work concerned, the name of the book is given as Kalpanā-mañḍitikā or Kalpanā-mañḍitikā-dṛṣṭāntapankti and that of the author as Kumāralāta. H. Liiders thinks that the Chinese version wrongly attributed to Aśvaghōsa a work of Kumāralāta. The latter was a famous Buddhist scholar of the Sautrāntika school and founder of the Dārśāntika branch. Also known as Kumāralabdhā, he was a native of Takṣaśāla. His fame as an author and founder of a school was so great that he was taken by force to Kie-p’ān-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’.


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Numerous manuscripts of hymns like *Satapaññāśatikā-stotra, Varnārha-varṇa-stotra (Varnārha-varṇe Buddhastotre Catuḥśatakam), Anāparāddha-stotra*, etc. have been found in the areas of Tumshuq, Kucha, Shorchuq, Turfan, and Tunhuang. These are attributed to Mātrceţa, who is either identical with Āśvaghoṣa 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 *Jātakamālā* is represented by manuscripts found at Murtuq, Toyoq, etc. The *Chaudovīcīti*, 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 Agnideśa 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 Sāmānyā 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 *naksatras* named after twelve animals. E. Chavannes found the cycle of twelve animals mentioned in a portion of the *Mahāsaṃpiṇḍa-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, Hārīta, Jātukarna, Parāsara, Sūruta, and others. These texts and translations of Indian medical treatises like the *Yoga-***

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šataka and a few others in Kuchean and those like the Siddha-sāra and Jīva-
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. 58

TRANSLATIONS AND AMPLIFICATIONS

Translations indeed formed an important branch of regional literatures in
Central Asia. We know of Kuchean translations of the Pratimokṣa, Udānavarga,
Udānaśotra, Udānaśākara, Karmavibhanga, Swarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra, etc. There are
Agnean versions of Punyaśanta Jātaka, Saḍḍanta Jātaka, Araṇemi Jātaka, Maitre-
yasamiti-nājaka, etc. We have, besides, (Śaka)-Khotanese renderings of the
Vajracchedikā, Aparimitayuh-Sūtra, Bhadracaryādeśanā, Swarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra (?),
Maitreyasamiti-nājaka (?), etc.; and Sogdian translations of the Vessantara Jātaka,
Dirghakarṇa-Sūtra, Vimalakirti-nīrdeśa, Dhyāna-Sūtra, Dhūta-Sūtra, Nilakantha-
dhāraṇī, Padmacintāmani-dhāraṇī-Sūtra, etc. 59 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 Kumārajīva of Kucha. A son of an Indian father and a
Kuchean mother, Kumārajīva learnt Buddhist literature and philosophy in
Kashmir, and then lived first in Kucha and later in China proper. Admirably
suited to interpret Indian Buddhist thought, he translated a number of Sanskrit
works into Chinese.

Ibid (1893-1912). See also P. C. Bagchi, ICA, pp. 104-6. The name jīvaśastra 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

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-nātaka*, *Suvarnaprabhāsa-Sūtra*, the *Sūtra* of Kalyāṇākara and Pāpanākara, 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 *Dashkrmapudāavatanamāla* (= *Dasakarmapathāvadānamālā*), which was first rendered from *Wkw Kwys’n* (= Sanskrit) into Tojāri or Toxari (= Tokharian = Kuchean), and from Toxari 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 Ajātaśatru (mentioned in Uighur-Turkish source), Asoka (mentioned in Khotanese documents), and Kanīška (referred to in Khotanese, Kuchean, Agnean, Sogdian, and Uighur-Turkish texts) were popular in different parts of Central Asia. A manuscript (No. Pelliot 2787), which contains two legends about Kanīśka, 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 *Mahāsannipāta-Sūtra*, *Avatamsaka-Sūtra*, *Vaipulya-Sūtra*, *Ratnakūta-Sūtra*, *Lāṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*, *Śāriputradhāraṇī*, *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*, *Āṣayāhasrikā 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 *Candrāgarbha-Sūtra* and *Sūryagarbha-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 Dharmāraṇa 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,
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 *dhyāna*. It appears that Indian settlers, traders, and missionaries 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 Gândhārī 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 Kuchean, 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 *pwtyst*) ‘came into Middle Persian and Chinese through Sogdian’.85

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

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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 Saṅgīta-pāryāśya in a cave at Bamiyan. Though the manuscript (written in the 'north Turkestanese' 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 Mahāmāyūrī-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 Manichaeeans followed the Buddhists. Parthian texts also borrowed such Buddhist terms as Shqm bnš=Sākyamuni Buddha, Shmn= śramaṇa, hyx=bhiṣu, mytrg=Maitreya, nybn=nirvāṇa, 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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87 P. C. Bagchi, ICA, p. 97; *East and West*, Vol. IX (1956), p. 276. Aioka seems to be the earliest of the Indian monarchs whose epigraphy 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 Paropamisadæ 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 for 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 Buddhistic 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 Ganga 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 Sroṅ-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 Kuṭila during the middle of the seventh century A.D. by Thon-mi-sam-bhoṭa, minister of King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po. Thon-mi-sam-bhoṭa 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 Thon-mi-sam-bhoṭa who first translated into Tibetan Buddhist texts like the Ratnamegha-Sūtra, the Kāraṇḍavyūha, and the Abhīṣicanti-dhāraṇī under the patronage of Sroṅ-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. Rahulā Sankritiya-yana found numerous texts preserved in original Sanskrit in the Zhalu 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, Devavidyāsirīha, Śaṅkara Brāhmaṇa, and Śīlāmaṇḍu. 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-hgyur (Buddha-vacana—Word of Buddha) and the Bstan-hgyur (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, mandala, and mudrā, which were practised by the followers of the later Mahāyāna forms of Buddhism in India (i.e. cults like the Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna, 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. Vajramantrābhisandhimula Tantra, translated by Padmasambhava in collaboration with the Tibetan scholar Dpal-gyi-seṅge (Vairocana), was one of those texts.

BKAḤ-HGYUR COLLECTION

The authorship of all the texts preserved in the Bkaḥ-hgyur 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 Pratimokṣa-Sūtra, Vinayavibhanga, Bhikṣuṇi-pratimokṣa-Sūtra, Bhikṣuṇi-vinayavibhanga, Vinaya-kṣudrakāvāstu, Vinaya-uttaragrantha. The Tibetan version of the Pratimokṣa corresponds to the Sanskrit Pratimokṣa found at Kucha in Central Asia. The Pali Patimokkha is considerably smaller in size. The Sūtra section consists of the Prajñāpāramitā, Avatārājaka,

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* These two great collections, which took centuries to develop through the joint labours of both Indian and Tibetan monk-scholars, are popularly known as Kanjur and Tanjur. The former contains 1,108 texts and the latter about 3,458. They are, in the words of F. W. Thomas, the Śruti and Smṛti of Tibet. The Tibetan collections of translation of Indian texts are much larger than the Chinese both in accuracy and volume. The credit for compiling them goes to Bu-ston (a.d. 1290-1364), an eminent scholar and authoritative historian of the country.


* The Chinese translation made by Kumārajiva, the Sanskrit Pratimokṣa excavated from Kucha, and the original Mulasarvāstiva Vinaya discovered in Gilgit speak about the sources of Tibetan translation.
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Ratnakūḍa, 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 Avatāmśaka 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 Avatāmśaka-Sūtra under the heading Hua-yen. The Ratnakūḍa-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 Parīta texts in Pāli 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, Caryā 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-hgyur Collection

The Bstan-hgyur collection or the collection of Śāstra works, comprises the commentaries and philosophical texts written by great Buddhist saint-scholars, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Diṇnāga, Dharmakirtti, 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-hgyur 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-hgyur 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, Alankāra, Vyākaraṇa, Jyotiṣa, Ayurveda, etc. The works translated include the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa, the Kāvyādāra of Daṇḍin, the Nāgāṇanda of Śrīharṣa, the Asṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, the Kāṭāntra Vyākaraṇa, the Nīti texts ascribed to Cāṇakya, Mayūrākṣa, and Vararuci, the Candra-
chando-ratnakara, the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya Saṃhitā, the Amaraṇaśa with its Kāmadhenu commentary, the Veda-paścavatarāhūtan, and the Sarveśvara-rasāyana.*

TRANSLATION OF INDIAN TEXTS

The spread of Indian literature in Tibet, which was started by Thon-mi-sam-bhoja under the patronage of Sron-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-sron-lde-btsan (A.D. 755-97), a descendant of Sron-btsan-sgam-po. He brought a new vigour to the spread of Buddhism in Tibet by establishing the Sam-ye monastery where the Indian teachers Sāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava preached the old Tantras and founded the Rnin-ma school. King Ral-pa-can (c. A.D. 824-36), grandson of Khri-sron-lde-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-ses-sde, Dpal-brtsegs, Jam-dpal-go-cha, and Chos-kyi-skhyon. The Indian teachers included Bodhimitra, Dānāśila, Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Śilendrabodhi, and Prajñāvarman. The eminent Tibetan scholar, Ye-ses-dbari-po, presided over the said conference. Nam-mkha’-snn-po, Ye-ses-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, Vinaya-vibhanga commentary by Vinñādeva, Vinaya-Sūtra commentary by Dharmamitra, and Vinaya-prāśna-kārikā of Kalyāṇamitra; Sūtra texts—Bhadra-kalpika-Sūtra, Dharmasaṅgīti-Sūtra, Saṃādhi-rāja-Sūtra, Bhadrayā-panjīdhāna and its commentary by Alaṅkabhādra, Ratnacandra-paripṛchchā, and Ratnajāla-paripṛchchā; Prajñāpāramitā texts—Ṣaṭa-sāhasrikā, Daśasāhasrikā, Saṭṭha-sātikā commentary by Kamalaśīla, Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya, and its commentary by Vimalamitra, and Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā; Philosophical texts—Hetucakrādaṃsau of Diṃmāga, Abhidharmakoṣa with its commentary, Pratītyasamutpāda commentary, Daśabhūmika commentary by Vasubandhu, Hetubindu and Sambandha-parīśkṣā of Dharmakīrti, Yaśomitra’s commentary of Abhidharmakoṣa (Sphuṭārtha), Nāgārjuna’s Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā, Aṇmaṇera-kārikā, and Yuktisāṣṭi-kārikā with its commentary by Candra-kirtti, Vinñādeva’s commentaries on Nyāyabindu and Hetubindu, Āryadeva’s Skhalita-pramardana, Buddhāpālita’s commentary of Mūlamadhyamaka, Asaṅga’s

* Details may be found in V. Sastri, Bhūta-prakāśa (Calcutta, 1938); Rahula Sankriyayana, Tiṃde Bodhidharma (Allahabad, 1940); Nalakascha Dutt, The Gilgit Manuscripts (Srinagar/Calcutta, 1939-59); and S. K. Pathak, Indian Nitisāstras in Tibet (New Delhi, 1973).
Abhidharma-samuccaya, Mahāyāna-saṅghera, and Sūtrālankāra with its commentary, Śāntideva’s Śiksā-samuccaya and Bodhicaryāvatāra, Śāntarakṣita’s Madhyamakālankāra and its commentary by Kāmalāśīla; Tantra texts—Dūkinijhaṭāyālā Tantra, Vajramantrālā or Vajrasedanāgūhyā-saṃvāda 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-drags pa byed pa (Mahāvyutpatti). 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 Siddhāśṭhara 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 Dipāṅkara (A.D. 982-1054), a distinguished teacher of the Vikramaśilā monastery of India.

In the history of Indo-Tibetan cultural contact, the visit of Dipāṅkara Śrījāna or Atīśa may be considered as a landmark. Dipāṅkara 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 Śākya Ye-ses, Śākya’od, and Nima greg-po 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-sambhara-parivartta and Bodhicittotpāda-sama-dānavid of Jetari; Sūtra—Sumagadhāvadāna; Prajñāpāramitā—Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā revised by Rin-chen-bzan-po and Indian pundit Subhāṣita; Philosophical texts—Āśvaghoṣa’s Paramārtha-bodhicitta-bhāvanā, Āryadeva’s Hastabala-prakaraṇa, Māṭrce-ta’s Caturāṣṭa-kathā, Haribhadra’s Abhisamayālāṅkārāloka, Āsaṅga’s Mahāyānottara Tantrarāma; Dipāṅkara’s Bodhipatrapādi, Bhavaviveka’s Madhyamaka-hṛdaya and his commentary of Nāgarjuna’s Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā, Jñānaśrīmitra’s Kāryakāraṇabhāvanāsiddhi, Vasubandhu’s Dharma-dharmatā-vibhaṅga, Prajñākaramati’s Abhisamayālāṅkāra-vṛtti, Dharmakīrtti’s Nyāyānubhāyānubhāya and Pramāṇa-viniścaya, Candrakīrtti’s Mūlamadhyamaka commentaries, Nāgarjuna’s Mahāyānāvīśeṣa, Yuktisāṣṭi-kārikā, Dharmottara’s Apohapraṇakaraṇa, and Ratnakīrtti’s Apohasiddhi; Tantra texts—Kālacakra Tantra, Yoginī Tantra, Hevajra Tantra, and Vajrāloka Tantra. The secular texts translated into Tibetan during this period include Vimala-prasnaḥ-tāmālāvatāra, a Niti text ascribed to King Aṃoghavāraṣa; Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya Saṃhitā, an Ayurvedic text ascribed to Vāgbhaṭa; Aśvāyurveda, a work on veterinary science by Śālīhotra; and Subhāṣiṭa-ratna-karṇaṇḍa of Śrīhārṣa.

The patronage of the Sa-skya monastery, founded in c. A.D. 1071, to the
leading Indian pundits like Alaṅkādeva, Dharmadhara, Kṛtticandra, Śākya-
śrībhadra, Mitravṛtī, Laksāmikara, and Sumanaśāri resulted in the production
of many important translations of Indian texts. Besides the Buddhist
texts like Ārya Śuṅga’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 Pratinīmāṇa-
lakṣaṇa on iconography, Amarasiṅha’s lexicon Amarakośa with its commentary
Kāmadhenu, dramas like the Lokānanda of Candragomin and the Nāgānanda of
Śrīharṣa, Kālidāsa’s poetical composition Meghadūta, Dāṇḍin’s work on poetics
Kāvyāddhāra, and Durgāśīṅha’s commentary Kāśyapartha on Kāśyapa 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-kośa commentary by Sthiramati
and Nāgārjuna’s Bṣaṭ-yātrī-vyākaraṇa were translated together with many
Indian secular texts, which include Kālacakra-gaṇita, Sārasvatī Vyākaraṇa, and
Maṇjūśrī Saṃsāra-lakṣaṇa and its commentary ascribed to Bhavyakīrtti, king of
Kaliṅga. 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 Pāli) 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, Śākyavaṃśa and Narendrayaśas in the sixth-seventh centuries A.D. It is said that Kun-ga-rgyal-mtshan or Śākya Paññita (A.D. 1182-1252) of Tibet instructed Godan, successor of Chingiz Khan, in the teachings of Buddha. Ṣphags-pa Blo-dros-rgyal-mtshan (A.D. 1235-80), a nephew of Śākya Paññita, 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 Nalimaksha Dutt (Ed), Pravṛttis (Gangtok, 1961), Foreword.

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The greater portion of the Tibetan canonical texts was translated, revised, and blockprinted in Mongolian during the time of the Chinese emperor K'ang Hsi (A.D. 1662-1722). Subsequently, Lcan-skya Rolpa'i rdo-rje and Blobzañ btsan-pa'i-šim was commissioned by the Chinese emperor Chien Lung to translate the texts of the Bstan-hgyur collection. During his reign forty-two sūtras ascribed to Mātaṅgakāśyapa, preserved in Chinese but lost in the original, were translated by a Mongolian scholar whose Sanskritized name was Prajñodayavāsa.

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 Saptarsināṣṭra-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 Āvadāna 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-istre’), the latter corresponding to the Swarnaprabhāsā-Sūtra preserved in the Bkah-hgyur collection. It is said that this book was translated during the time of Gusri Khan (c. A.D. 1581). A similar work, Cindamaṇī-kārikā (‘Wreath of Jewels of Wisdom’), was translated into Mongolian on the basis of the stories narrated by Dīpāṅkara 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 Kundūbūlika Arūgakī Manuhari under the patronage of Dsasaktu Hung-taiji by the end of the seventeenth century. A story named Sudhanāvadāna from the Dīśyāvadāna and the Āvadāna-kalpalatā resembles that of Manoharī. Even a scene of Kālidāsa’s Vikramoravaśya (Act IV) strikingly corresponds to this story. The Mongolian translation of Dvātrīnāśatputtalikā was made with the title Atji Borji. The story mentions a King Kṛṣṇa 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 Pañcatantra 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 Tulkigur (‘Key to Understanding’) is one such work available in Mongolian. A gāthā text, Toba-yin ggasu-u-logji, 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 Subhāṣīta-

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8 See P. Mukherji, ‘Buddhist Literature in Mongolia’, Sino-Indian Journal (July, 1947); Kowalewsky, Mongolische Crestomathes, Vols. I and II.
ratna-saṅgroha (‘Collection of Elegant Sayings’) ascribed to Śākya Paṇḍita of Tibet. The Mongol tradition of writing Niti 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, Bkah-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 Damamukanāmā-Sūtra made in the seventeenth century may be mentioned. Siddhikūr, corresponding to the Vēṭāla-pāṇḍavaṁśati, was another important specimen of the Kalmyk Mongolian translation from Sanskrit. The Tibetan version of the Vēṭāla 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 Zamcarano, 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...
TIBET, MONGOLIA, AND SIBERIA

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 Tāntric 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, Maitreyā, and others, besides the Sūtra and the Vinaya texts like the Āksayamati-nirdesa-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-ḥgyur) and 220 volumes of Danjur (Tibetan Tanjur or Bstan-ḥgyur). It may be noted that this monastery has its own rare collection of the Naratana 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 scribining 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.

18 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 Lokesch Chandra's Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature (1963) and B. Runchen's Four Mongolian Historical Records (1959).
CHINA, KOREA, AND JAPAN

I

CHINA (A): LITERATURE OF BUDDHISM

INDIA and China had knowledge of each other from pre-Ašokan times, though active contacts between the two countries began during the first century A.D. with the introduction of Buddhism into China. 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’. 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 Dharmaraksa, 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, but also the first authentic translator of the Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya which he discovered in a monastery of Pātaliputra 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. Hsüen 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

3The reference to China as ‘Chīn’ in the Mahābhārata can be accepted as one of the pointers to this belief.

4The 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.


4In 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.

SUTRA, ŚASTRA, AND VINAYA

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.

SUTRA TEXTS

Of the sūtras of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, there are several classifications. The sūtras of Hinayāna consist chiefly of the āgamas (viz. Dirgha, Madhyama, Saññyukta, 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 Udana (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-puṇḍarīka, Nirvāṇa, and Vaiśṇūya.

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-sāstra, 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 chüans.

*In the Chinese collection, the Abhidharma Piṭaka is known as the collection of Śāstras.
and corresponds roughly to the Śatasahasrikā 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 Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Avatāra-sūkta, 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 Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-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 Saddharma-puṇḍarīka school. To the T’ien-t’ai school the Nirvāṇa-Sūtra is fundamental. It accepts the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra 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 Avatāra-sūkta or Buddhāvataṃsaka-Sūtra, basic text of the Avatāra-sūkta group, has three different versions counted separately as large, medium, and short. One of the sections in the Avatāra-sūkta-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 Daśabhūmikā-vāra-Sūtra, the sūtra on the ten bhūmis. This Sūtra has a commentary by Vasubandhu, famous philosopher of Vijnānavāda. 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 mainstream of the Avatāra-sūkta school. The Yogācāra-bhūmi-sūtra 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 Hīuen Tṣang. While the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra 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 vijñāna as the all-inclusive reality. Thus it assumes an idealistic trend and has been regarded as a basic text for Vijnānavāda.

The group called Vaiśūpalya 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 Sūtra-samuccaya and the ‘Great Collection’ or the Mahāsannipata. The sūtras of the group called Rotnakūta, which itself may be counted separately, also form a part of the Vaiśūpalya. Among the important sūtras of this group, mention may be made of the Vimalakirti-nirdeśa which is one of the foremost. It is an extremely
absorbing text, short in length but equal in profundity to the Prajñāpāramitā. 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 Dhyanā) school. Then there are in the Vaipulya group, the Laṅkāvatāra and the Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtras. These are basic to the Fa Haiṣaing (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 Āmitāyus-Sūtra (or the Āmitābha-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 Āmitāyus-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.

SĀSTRA OR ABHIDHARMA TEXTS

All the seven Śāstra or Abhidharma texts (viz. Jñāna-prsthāna, Saṅgīti-paryāya, Prakaraṇapāda, Vijñānakāya, Dhātukāya, Dharmakandha, and Prajñāpti-sārapāda) 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 Jñāna-prsthāna-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 Huen 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 Trīṃśikā 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
that prevailed in China as the Kośa school was later absorbed into the Fa Hsiang school. Another school based on the text Satyasiddhi-śāstra 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 Sarvāstivāda, 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-śāstra and the Dvādaśamukha-śāstra of Nagarjuna, and the Śata-śāstra (or Catuḥśataka) of Āryadeva. Based on these texts along with the Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra, 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 śūnyatā. Later it was absorbed into the T’ien-t’ai school which accepted the śūnyatā teaching as well as its positive import so well expounded in the Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra.

Among the Mahāyāna texts in the Śāstra class, the Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra and the Togārā-bhāmi-śāstra 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-sraddhāpāda-śāstra, Mahāyāna-samparigraha-śāstra, and Vijnaptimātratā-siddhi-śāstra. All these are idealistic in their approach to, and in their presentation of, the nature of ultimate Reality. The Sraddhāpāda-śāstra is recognized even in the T’ien-t’ai and Hua-yen (Avatamsaka) schools, while the Vijnapti-mātratāsiddhi 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 Mahijjasakas, 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
Yogacara-bhumisutra and the Dasabhumiika-Sutra 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 Mahayana, making use of the alaya-vijñana, a conception that is central to the Vijñanaavāda.

TANTRAYANA OR MANTRAYANA SUTRAS

There are in the Chinese collection also a number of sutras that together form the source of the esoteric school of Buddhism known as Tantrayana or Mantrayana, which grew in India around the eighth century A.D. largely under the influence of Brahmanical Tantricism. The basic philosophy of two groups of these sutras, with the Mahāvairocana-Sutra and the Vajrasekhara-Sutra as their centres, is that of Mahayana. The mystic forms included in the Tantrayana school are Vajrayana, Kalacakrayana, Sahajayana, etc. Of these, only the texts of the Vajrayana variety are available in Chinese, while those of the other forms are not. Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghavajra, two Indian monks, carried the Vajrayana works to China and translated about 150 of them into Chinese between A.D. 720 and 774. Subhākarasimha, 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 Mahāvairocana-Sutra. Two other Indian monks, Dharmadeva and Dānapāla (?), rendered into Chinese about 200 Vajrayana texts towards the end of the tenth century A.D. Many of these Vajrayana works are in the form of mantras, dhāranis, and sādhanas relating to the deities of the Mahayana 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 Brāhmi called Siddham or Siddhamātrkā, 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 Mantrayana school. This script was used in China during the eighth and tenth centuries A.D. for writing Sanskrit mantras and dhāranis. Several manuscripts have dhāraṇī 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
District of China. It contains a version of the *Usnisa-vijaya-dhāraṇi* 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 Sangha, 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 *Dirgha-gama* 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 Śilpa-sāstra 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-p’ien-uen-ching (‘The Brahmin Astronomical Manual’), Po-lo-men-chie-ch’ie hsien-jen-p’ien-uen-shuo (‘The Astronomical Theories of the Brahmin Sage Chie-ch’ie’), Po-lo-men-p’ien-ching (‘The Brahmin Sutra on the Sky’), Mo-teng-ching-huang-tu (‘A Map of the Sky in the Matangi-Sutra’), 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, 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. Between A.D. 718 and 729, Indian astronomer Siddhartha (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-chang-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, Navagraha-siddhanta. It is usually believed that this calendar was similar to the material contained in the Paṭa-siddhāntikā of Varāhamihira. The Chiu-chih, as it is called in Chinese, introduced Greek astronomical terms adopted in Indian books. As A. Wylie has shown, li-to, a minute (Sanskrit लिप्त), is originally a Greek word. So also is the case with

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*Ch. P. C. Bagchi, op. cit., p. 170.*

*There were three Indian astronomical schools at Ch’ang--ngan during the seventh century, viz. Ch’ut’yan (Gautama), Chiaych (Kāśyapa), and Chumolo (Kumāra).*

*P. C. Bagchi, op. cit., p. 169.*

*Ibid. 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-ngan (Joseph Needham, op. cit., p. 203, f.n. ‘d’).*

*Joseph Needham, op. cit., p. 175, f.n. ‘i’.*

*Ch. P. C. Bagchi, op. cit., p. 169.*

*Ibid. 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-ngan (Joseph Needham, op. cit., p. 203, f.n. ‘d’).*

*Joseph Needham, op. cit., p. 175, f.n. ‘i’.*

*Ch. P. C. Bagchi, op. cit., p. 169.*
Sanskrit *hora*, 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; *wnxan*, Tuesday; *tir*, Wednesday; *wrmzt*, Thursday; *maxid*, Friday; and *kewan*, Saturday), the titles of the texts in which they occur point to their Indian origin. The book entitled *Fan-t'ien-huo-lo-chia-yao* (*The hora of the Brahma and the navagraha*) was falsely attributed to I-hsing, but in reality it was not translated before A.D. 874. The *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-tsa-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-jo-shan-ngo-su-yao-ching* (*Sūtra 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 Pu 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

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13Ch'en Hsüan Ching's joint declaration with Ch'ü't'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. 209.
16Ibid., p. 204. -
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 Tao 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'an-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-yü-ming-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 Pharmaceutics"). The Yin-te Index No. 10, however, mentions three Indian books on pharmaceutics. 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 Samhitā, a celebrated Āyurvedic 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 Malananda, 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. Wuncheuk (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 Avatamsaka 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 Hungchuns 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 Vajrayana variety, because in one place *vajra* has been compared with *śūnya*. The poems ’Tosolka’ 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.
compose a biography of Buddha. The prince accordingly composed Sokpo Sangiol 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 Sunkwa was written by Kim Si Sup (A.D. 1435-93). It contains five independent stories of which one is entitled Manboksé Chap'ō Ki (‘Game with Buddha’). The Buddhist ideal inspired also another work called Kim 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 Brāhmī 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.²² (It may be mentioned here that the earliest

²²Hajime 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 Saddharmapundarikā-sūtra, the Mālādevī-simhanāda-sūtra, the Vimalakṛttri-nirdeśa-sūtra, etc. His commentaries are still extant. In a little over fifty years, Hettuvidyā or Buddhist logic was also introduced into Japan. It has been stated of Dosho (d. A.D. 700) that he went to China to study the Viṃjñānāmīrtatā (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 Abhidharma 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.88

The scope for studying Buddhist scriptures was expanded during the Nara period, as it included the study of the Vinaya as well as the Abhidharma of Vasubandhu, the Satyasiddhi of Harivarman, the works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, besides works on Buddhist idealism like Dharmapāla’s Viṃjñānāmīrtatāśiddhi, and the Avataṁsaka 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 Saddharmapundarikā-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 Shōmu, 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 Shuyei wrote in A.D. 770 an eulogy on his

88Ibid., 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 Saddharmapundarika-Sutra)’. 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 Jiu, 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 Sukhāvatīvyūha-Sūtra, Bhadracarita-nāma Arivya-Samantha-bhadra-pranidhāna, Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-Sūtra, and Prajñāpāramitānaya-Sūtra. The corpus of study included, in addition to such important Buddhist texts, many Sanskrit dhāraṇīs, 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-sanmitsu which is an authoritative text on the Sanskrit studies in the country. He also edited some Sanskrit dhāraṇīs. Jiu was a great Buddhist scholar and a prolific writer. Juzen-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. 784,88 the Kojiki (A.D. 712) and the Nihonki (A.D. 720), and the first

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84Ibid., p. 48.
88Earl 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:

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 Siddhamātrka 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 dhāranis, etc. More important than Kobo’s work was the text *Shittan-zo* (‘Siddham Ratnakara’), 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 Heian period: A.D. 794-1185;
(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.

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27Ibid.
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 Śaṣānka (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,

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38 Lokesh Chandra and others (Eds), *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture* (Madras, 1970), p 363.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 In the text called Gun-Engi, it has been stated: 'There is a kingdom to the North of India named K'yuse. Its king is named Goro-Tenno (Ox-Head-Heaven-King)....'
43 Cf. Lokesh Chandra, loc. cit.
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one may recall the Indian Purānic story of the sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga who had never seen the face of woman and was ultimately seduced by Śantā, 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 Brāhmanical.

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 niki 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 Saddharma-pundarika-Sutra. 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 Tripitaka including the

44Literally, the name means ‘the Antelope-horned’. As the sage had one horn on his head, he was also called ‘Ekaśṛṅga’, i.e. ‘Unicorn’ or ‘Monoceros’.
45Hajime Nakamura, op. cit., p. 4. For the drama rendered into English, see Lokeš Chandra, op. cit., pp. 364-68.
46Lokeš Chandra, op. cit., p. 369.
47Ibid.

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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 Ghomei (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. Acalānātha).’

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 poet-ess 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 Tai-shakuten), the god of success Ganeśa (Japanese Shoten), the god of wealth Vaiśravaṇa or Kuvera (Japanese Bishamon), the goddess of learning Sarasvati (Japanese Benten or Benzaiten), the goddess of fortune Lākṣmī (Japanese Kichijoten), Mahākāla or Śiva (Japanese Daikoku), the divine architect Viśvakarman (Japanese Bishukatsuma) are also quite well known. In the annals of the Todaiji temple, it has been stated that the worship of Sarasvati and Lākṣmī was first introduced in Japan in A.D. 722 and continued down the centuries. In *Bessom Zāktī* (‘Description of Gods’), written in the twelfth century in the Siddham

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48 B. Nanjio entered in his famous Catalogue as many as 1,662 texts classified into four divisions, namely: (i) the Sūtra Pīṭaka, (ii) the Vinaya Pīṭaka, (iii) the Abhidharma Pīṭaka, and (iv) Miscellaneous. Hobogurin, in a still later Catalogue, includes 2,194 texts printed in fifty-five volumes of the Taisho edition. Supplementary texts written in Japan and China are included in another twenty-five volumes.

49 Donald Keene, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-207.

50 For some of the stories see *ibid.*, pp. 213 ff.
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script, a corrupt Sanskrit mantra reads: Sarasvatai svāhā namo sarasvatyai mahā-devyai svāhā, namo bhagavati mahādevi sarasvati sidhyatu mantrapadami svāhā. A description of Sarasvati occurs in the voluminous text Asabasho by Shocho (A.D. 1205-82) and the rituals connected with her worship have been recorded by Ryoson (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 prosody is not discernible anywhere, but the vocabulary has received many words of Sanskrit origin.

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61 It is preserved in the Nunnaji temple of Kyoto; images and their description occur in fifty-seven scrolls.

62 Shintoism has been designated by some scholars as the Japanese version of Hinduism.—Cf. Chaman Lai, op. cit., pp. 145 ff.
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', was introduced into the island from India during the reign of Devanampiya Tissa (247-207 B.C.) by Asoka's son Mahinda and daughter Sañghamittā. The earliest records of Ceylon are in the Brāhmi script of Asoka's time noticed specially in the inscriptions of Western and South India. 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 Māgadhī. The Pali literature of Ceylon, which flourished in the island after the establishment of Buddhism, is vast in range and depth. 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 Pātaliputra during the reign of Asoka, 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 Mahāvaṃsa. 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 Vaṭṭagāmaṇi 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.

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3. For the origin of Pali, see p. 185 of this volume.

*This article has been edited by Dr D. C. Sircar (DCS).*

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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 atthakathās (commentaries) thereon written in Old Sinhalese were gradu­
ally drawn up locally for exegetical needs and, whenever necessary, these
were retranslated into Pali. It is usually believed that upon these atthakathās
were based the two famous Pali chronicles of Ceylon, the Dipavaṃsa and the
Mahāvaṃsa, 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 Cūlavaṃsa,
a supplement to the Mahāvaṃsa, was composed by Dhammakīti in the thir­
teenth century. The style of these two texts reminds one of the Sanskrit kāvyas.
A commentary on the Mahāvaṃsa called the Mahāvaṃsa-ṭikā 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
Buddhaghosa, 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 Samantapaśīdikā, 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 Sīhala-atthakathās into Pali.⁸ Among
his other important works mention may be made of the Visuddhimagga, Suman­
galavilāsini, Pāpiṇcasūdant, Sārathapakāsini, and Manorathapūraṇi. His scholarly
works in Pali established the language firmly in the Buddhist world. Buddhadatta,
believed by many to be a contemporary of Buddhaghosa, was the author
of a commentary on the Buddhavaṃsa called Madhuratthavilāsini and of several
works on the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma. Besides Buddhadatta, other com­
mentators 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 Polun­
naruva-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 Vinayasangaha which offers a summary of the Vinaya Piṭaka. Commentaries
on the Atiguttara Nikāya and the Majjhima Nikāya also came from his pen. His

*The Sinhalese commentaries translated by Buddhaghosa are not extant now.
magnum opus was, however, the Sarathadipani, a sub-commentary on Buddhaghosa’s Samantapādikā on the Vinaya Piṭaka. All his works in various degrees bear the imprint of his knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature. The Mahābodhiyana or the Bodhivamsa 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 Dāthāvamsa, written in five cantos by Dhammakitti in A.D. 1211, is also Sanskritized Pali. The Thidavaṁśa, available in both Pali and Sinhalese recensions, was probably composed in the thirteenth century by Vācissara. Kalyaniya’s poetical work Telakaṭhagāthā, exhorting people to lead the good life, is assigned to this period. A commentary on the Mahāvaṁśa called Vaṁsatthapakāsini 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 Sāraṭha-saṅgraha by King Budhadāsa. 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 (Candra Vyakarana) assiduously studied in Ceylon, but also used by Moggallāna as a model for his famous Pali grammar. Sāriputta of the Polonnaruwa-Dambadeniya period composed a concise Sanskrit grammar called Pādāvotāra and also a commentary called Pañjikālaṅkāra on Ratnairijnana’s Pañjikā which again is a commentary on Candra Vyakarana. In a mixed Sanskritic style, he also composed the Abhidharmārtha-saṅgraha-sannaya which gives a word-for-word explanation of the Pali text attributed to Ananda. A great scholar of the time of King Parākramabahu I (A.D. 1153-86) was Dimbulagala Mahaṅkaṭaṇḍaṇa 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 Amarakosa. 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 Kavibhārati came to Ceylon and was converted to Buddhism. He received the title of ‘Buddhagama Cakravarti’, from King Parākramabahu 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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The poem is comparable to the sarana works in Sinhalese of almost the same period, such as But-sarana, Dahamsara, Sangasarana, etc. The same author is also credited with the composition of the Vṛtta-ratnakara-panjika, which is a commentary on the famous Indian Sanskrit text on prosody called Vṛtta-ratnakara by Kedara 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 dhāraṇīs or brief mystic forms of prayer or spells, dating mainly from the ninth century, in the eastern Indian script of the Pāla period.8

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.9 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.10 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’.11 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.12 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 Siyabas-alakāra, a text on poetics composed in the ninth century after the Kāyādāraka of Daṇḍin. It is attributed to King Sena I (A.D. 831-51). Works of Kālidāsa were very popular in Ceylon. His masterpieces like the Abhijnana-Sakuntala, Raghuvamsa, and Meghadūta were ‘regarded as models of poetic composition and were an inspiration to Sinhalese writers and poets...’.13 Sikavalanda Vinisa

1M. Winternitz, op. cit., p. 379. Such māhāmya texts extolling the merciful bounties of Buddha were composed by the Mahāyānists. Other works of this nature are the Buddh-gaṭiya, the Anuruddha-bataka, etc.
2For their texts, see N. Mudiyanse, Mahāyāna Monuments in Ceylon (Colombo, 1967), pp. 99-105.
3M. D. Raghavan, op. cit., p. 80.
4Ibid., pp. 85-87. 
5Ibid., p. 86.
6Ibid., pp. 85-87.
7Ibid., p. 86.
8Lokesh Chandra and others (Eds), India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture (Madras, 1970), p. 205. See also CHI, Vol. I, p. 72.
9M. D. Raghavan, op. cit., p. 41.
and *Heranasika Vinīsa*, 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-āṭṭhakathā* which offers meanings for different words and phrases occurring in the Pali *Dhammapada-atthakathā*. 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-āṭṭhakathā*, *Mahābhodhivamsa-āṭṭhakathā* as well as *Vesaturudā-sama*. 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 Līlāvatī. Another poem of the period was *Mudeva-dāvata* dealing with the theme of the Pali *Makādeva Jātaka*. The famous work called the *Amāṣānta* 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-pradīpikā*, a Sinhalese commentary on the Pali *Mahābhodhivamsa*. Both the texts were probably composed towards the close of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth. King Parākramabahu II composed a Sinhalese paraphrase of Buddhaghośa’s *Visuddhimagga*. Another work written during his reign is *Pujavaliya*. 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 *Kavsilumina*, 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-āṭṭhakathā*, written by Rājamurāri, and *Karma-vibhāga* have also been assigned to this period. The most important prose text of the succeeding Dambadeniya period is *Saddharma-ratnavaliya* based on the *Dhammapada-atthakathā* 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 *Pansiyapalana-jātaka-pota* by Virasīha 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 Alagiyavanna Mohotatā (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.14

A novel feature in the late medieval Sinhalese literature was the introduction of the *sandēsa-kāyya* after Kālidāsa’s *Meghadūta*.\(^5\) 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-kāyya* in Sinhalese, *Tīsara-sandesaya*. *Mayūra-sandesaya* 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,\(^6\) and in Siamese, the number of Sanskrit and Pali words would be 1,362 in a total of 40,000.\(^7\) 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

\(^5\)M. D. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
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, Campā, 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 kārya 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 anuṣṭubh and the upajāti-indrawaṇḍaupendravajrā group. They also exhibit different forms of alavāka including upamā, ślaṣa, etc. Some of the inscriptions are written in the gaudī 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 Sūryavarman II (A.D. 1116), Prince Sūryakumāra (A.D. 1186), and Queen Indrdevī. A number of Kambuja rulers were adepts in Vedic learning. Thus King Sūryavarman 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 Brahmans. A Śaiva Brāhmaṇa called Śākravāmin figures in an inscription of A.D. 713 as being well versed in the Vedānta and the Taittirīya. 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 Panini, Māmsa, Nyāya, the Purāṇas, the Dharma-sāstras, etc. was also pursued vigorously. King Yaśovarman (A.D. 899-900) is said to have composed a commentary on the Mahābhārata of Patañjali. There are quotations from Pāṇini (I. 4 58-59 and
80). A Brāhmaṇa named Vidyāviśeṣa is said to have mastered, besides grammar, the Vaiśeṣika system of Kaṇṭha, the Nyāya system of Gautama (Aksapāda), the Sāṁkhya 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 Dharma-śāstras’. Chapters VIII-IX of the Manu Saṁhitā, with some modifications, still constitute the basis of the legal system of modern Cambodia. The Dhanurveda (archery), Ayurveda (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 Rāmāyaṇa, a complete copy of the Mahābhārata, and also a copy of a Purāṇa for daily recitation before the deity named Tribhuvanesvara. In the following century, a manuscript of the sambhava section of the Ādi-parvan of the Mahābhārata was deposited in the temple of Bhavajñāna. Scholars proficient in the recitation of the Rāmāyaṇa 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 Harivamsa are found in the inscriptions. Among the scholars specially proficient in the study or recitation of the epics were Śivasoma, Vāgīśvarapaṇḍita, and Kavindrapaṇḍita. 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-Tantric pantheon were especially honoured in Kambuja. The Sdok Kak Thom inscription of Udayādityavarman II speaks of the study of some Tantric 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 Pāṇḍavas and of the Vaiaśavite sect of the Pañcarātras by competent instructors. Among other treatises, the Śiva Saṁhitā, the Śaivite Yoga manuals, Śivadharma, and Gukya-tīkā have been mentioned in local inscriptions. It is
interesting to observe in this connexion that the reputation of many Indian authors travelled to Kambuja. The inscriptions of Yaśovarman make particular reference to such authors as Vātsyāyana, Guṇāḍhya, 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 Pratītyotpādana, Brahmaghoṣa, and Saddharmasabha. A commentary on the Tattva-saṅgraha and the texts called Madhyavibhāga and Pārami Tantra have also been referred to. Yajñavārāha, 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. CAMPA (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-vṛtti, and the Uttarakalpa of the Śaivas as well as the Dharma-sāstras. The inscriptions attest to the great popularity of the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas in Campā. We learn from an inscription of King Prakāṣadharma (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
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 inscriptive 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 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 Makuta of Thaton to surrender the Tripitaka and other sacred texts, Anoratha marched on Thaton and carried away 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 Kālicki, 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 Cāpana 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 Cāpana, that Sinhalese Buddhism came to predominate in Burma. The Sinhalese recension of the

69The reference seems to be to the Maunggun gold-plate inscriptions (Epigraphia India, V, p. 101; D. C. Sircar, op. cit., pp. 462ff.)—DCS
70The name Makuta was formerly read as 'Manuha' (Journal of the Burma Research Society, XXXII, 1948, p 89).
Tripitaka in its Pali version naturally occupies a place of honour in Burma. Capaṭa made a substantial contribution to the Pali literature of Burma. He wrote the *Vinayagūṭhathadīpāṇi* which explains difficult passages in the Vinaya Piṭaka. He is credited with several other works also. Ariyavarṣa, a monk of the Capaṭa sect, who had settled at Ava during the reign of Narapati (A.D. 1442-68), wrote the *Maṇisārāmaṇjūśā*, which is a commentary on the *Abhidhammāṭṭhābhāvāṇi*. He has also other works to his credit including *Jātakaṃvīṣodhāna*, a study on the jātakas. Among the seventeenth century monks of Saggaing, a Thera named Tilokaguru wrote a *ṭīkā* on the *Pāṭṭhāṇa*, the most important book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, while another monk wrote the *Viśuddhimaggaṃgantiḥpadatthā* and the *Gūṭhāṭṭhāṭṭhāṭṭhāṇi*. 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 *Gandhāvarṇāṇa*, written in the seventh century by Nandapaṇiṇā, gives us the history of the Pali canon. In writing grammatical works, scholars of Burma were the equals of those of Kambuja and Indonesia. Aggavarṣa wrote the *Saddanīṭi*, 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. Capaṭa, mentioned above, was the author of the famous *Suttanīḍdesa* or *Kaccāyanaśrīnīḍdesa* which explains the suttas of Kaccāyana, the great Pali grammarian. Saddhammasiri’s *Saddatthāṭṭhāṭṭhāṭṭhāṇi* is based partly on Kaccāyana’s Pali aphorisms and partly on Sanskrit authorities. There are several famous commentaries on jṭ. King Kyaswa (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 *Samantapāsādikā* of Buddhaghoṣa, which was itself a commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka. Another work on Pali grammar is the *Saddasāraṭṭhajālinti* by Nagitā, written under the same king’s patronage. Saddhammakitti compiled the famous vocabulary *Ekakkharakosa*. The *Vācakopadesa* of Vijitavī 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 *Kanisāra*, a treatise on metre, was composed by Dhammaduddha of Pegu in the fourteenth century. Saddhammaṇiṇā wrote the *Chandosāraṭṭhavikāśānti*, a commentary on the *Vuttodaya* which is a Pali work on metre, and the *Chāpaccayaṭṭhāṇi*, a work on prosody. He is also said to have rendered the *Kīṭāntara Vāyākaraṇa* 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 *Sāsanavamsa*, the famous Pali chronicle of Burma, written in 1861. The Talaing monk Sāriputta Dhammadvīlaśa wrote the juridical text entitled *Dhammadvīlaśa Dhammasatthā* 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 Dhammavilāsa, 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 Vārāṇasi. 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 Kāṭāntara school, the *Kāśikā*,

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83Ibid., p. 33.
84Ibid., p. 89.
87Ibid., p. 50.
lexicography, Niti texts, etc.57 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...'.58 However, by 'Veda' the Burmese scholars of the seventeenth century may have meant Brahmánical texts on astrology, astronomy, medicine (Ayurveda), and sciences in general, texts on magic, manuals on love and sex, and so on.59 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.60 The Hitopadesa 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 Muggha-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.61 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 Bráhmans who inherited the traditions of Angkor. The Burmese law code called Wagaru Dhammasattha, which largely drew upon the Manu Samhipt, was introduced into Thailand. Ritualistic poems are said to have been composed by the court Bráhmans brought from Cambodia after her defeat in the thirteenth century. In A.D. 1345 Lu Thai, grandson of the famous Rama Khambaeng, composed the Traibhámikáthá (‘Story of the Three Worlds’), a voluminous text on Buddhist cosmology, and it has come down to us in a Siamese translation.62 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.63 A poem entitled Liti Tuen P’ay, which is full of Sanskrit words, was composed during the reign of King Paramatrailokanatha (A.D. 1448-95). A session of the Great

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67Ibid., pp. 101 ff.
68Sasanagaha, pp. 68, 110 117.
69Mabel Haynes Bode, op. cit., p. 51.
70Sasanagaha, p. 154.
71Among 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 Nalanda. 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 Mahajati, based on the Vessantara Jataka, 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 Mangaladispani and Dhammapada-āṭṭhakathā. 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 Sugrīva and Daśaratha’s advice to Rāma, both based upon the Rāmāyaṇa. The first-known Siamese version of the Rāmāyaṇa called Rāmakien (Rāmakirttī), 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). The 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. 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 Pāñcatantra consisting of four collections of stories. The Laotian work, entitled Maṅgalasutta, by Sirimangala 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. The Trengganu (A.D. 1326-27 or A.D. 1386-87) and Pasai (A.D. 1380) stone inscriptions contain many Sanskrit words. 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

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64 Nicolas, ‘Le Rāmāyaṇa siamois analysé’, Extrême Asie (1928), No 19, p. 297; No. 21, p. 409; No. 23, p. 565; No. 25, p. 21.
65 Prince Dhani Nivata, Selected Articles, II (The Siam Society, The Fiftieth Annual Commemoration Volume, Bangkok), pp. 177-78.
66 The earliest inscription discovered in Malaysia contains Buddhist tracts engraved on a pillar by Mahānāma Buddhagupta of Raktamrūka 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 Rāmāyanā, many have been traced in the Kathāsant-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 Rāmāyanā, 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 Dhul-Karnān and Hikayat Amīr Hamzah, also betray the influence of the Rāmāyanā 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 Pasai in prose contains a tag translated from the Tamil Maṇimekalai. Sejarah Melayu ("The Malay Annals") shows familiarity with Sanskrit and Tamil as well as with the Rāmāyanā and the Bhagavad-Gītā. Hikayat Merang Mahāvaṇsa ("The Kedah Annals"), based on local folklore, bears the stamp of the Rāmāyanā and the Jātaka stories. The shadow plays of Malaysia drew their themes from the Rāmāyanā and the Mahābhārata, and they were presented by invoking the deities of the Hindu pantheon like Śiva and Gānēśa as well as important figures of the two great Indian epics like Rāma, Rāvana, Viṣṇu, Indrajit, and Arjuna.

VI. INDONESIA

The earliest records of Java, such as the inscriptions of King Pūṇavārman (fifth century A.D.) of West Java, of Tuk Mās, of Canggoal (A.D. 732), and of the Śailendra rulers, are all written in Sanskrit. No Old Javanese text is available prior to the ninth century. 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 Amaramālā, which refers to King Jitendra of the Sailendra dynasty, and the Vajrayāna text Sang Hyang Kama-hāyānikan, a part of which is called Sang Hyang Kamahāyāna Mantranaya, belong to a period prior to the beginning of the tenth century to which the Old Javanese Rāmāyana 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) Kānda (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), tantri (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 Sāmavedaśiras, 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-saṁhitā-kīrṇa 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 gāyatrī 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, Vāsuki, 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-kakawin or Pṛthu-vijaya, was composed by Aṣṭaguna in eighteen cantos probably in the twelfth century. Many works written in the Pūrānic style and of a

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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 Agastyaparwa containing some Sanskrit stanzas and Agastya’s answers to the questions of his son Drdhāsya. Tattva Savang Swung and Ādi Purāṇa deal with cosmology and allied topics. Manik Maya, a later work, is also written in the Purānic style.

AGAMAS AND DHARMA-ŚĀSTRA

Among the works which constitute the Āgamas and Dharma-śāstras, Bhuvanakoṣa and Bhuvanasaṁkṣepa of the Śaiva Tantric school contain some Sanskrit stanzas. Tattva Sang Hyang Mahāśāna expounds the implications of liṅga worship and Vṛhaspatitattva (also perhaps called Śivatattva) contains many Sanskrit verses and discusses various doctrines of Śaiva theology. Gaṇapatiitattva 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 Kuṭijārakarṇa, an Old Javanese text composed between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, recounts how the yakṣa Kuṭijārakarṇa sought the advice of Vairocana for gaining rebirth as a higher being. The story of the previous births of the two yakṣas, Kuṭijārakarṇa and his friend Puṇṇavijaya, is narrated in the Old Javanese text Bhuvanatattva-paricaya. Sāra-samuccaya, another text of the Niti class, has about 517 Sanskrit slokas, of which 321 have already been traced in the Mahābhārata, Pāñcatantra, and Hitopadesa. It was so important that an Old Javanese legal text called Pūrṇādhiṣṭama (also called Śivāśāna) refers to it among the texts which a prāvīṇa (prāvīṇaka, judge) must study. Vraśīśāna (c. thirteenth century) and Ślokāntara have thirty-seven and eighty-three Sanskrit slokas respectively, each having an ethical base. Of the books on statecraft and allied matters, mention should be made of the Rajapatigundala of King Bhaṭṭati or Kṛtanagara, Rāja Kapa Kapa, and Navanaṭya. Ethical matters mixed with statecraft form the subject of the Nitisāstra-kākavīn (second half of the fifteenth century) and Kāmadakā Rājaniti which can be considered either as a fragment of the Sanskrit Kāmadakīya Nitisāra or as part of an anthology. In the Old Javanese text called Nitiṣṭraya, Sage Vyāsa plays a leading role. A large number of Old Javanese texts, such as Kuṭārāmāṇana, Svarajambu, Aṣṭādaśa-vyavahāra, and Adīgama, belonging to the Śāsana or Smṛti literature of Java and Bali, are based upon the Maṇḍu Sanhitā. Kuṭārāmāṇana claims to have been promulgated by Bṛgu in the tretā yuga. Pūrṇādhiṣṭama, which has been already referred to, contains Sanskrit slokas.

KĀṇḍA WORKS

Svaravyanjana, Ādīsvara, Kṛtavasa, Sukṣavasa, and Kāraka-saṅgraha are works on grammar. The references to Pāṇini and Kātantra Vyākaraṇa in Kāraka-saṅgraha and to Candra Vyākaraṇa in the inscriptions of ancient Java seem to be indicative of the tradition of the study of Sanskrit grammatical literature in Java. 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 Vṛttasaṅkṛtya, written by Mpu Tanakung probably in the twelfth century. It deals with more than a hundred Sanskrit metres and refers to Pīṇgala and the Pṛṭigala-chandah-sūtra. The impact of Sanskrit rhetoric on the Old Javanese kakavins is considerable. These remind one of the Buddha-carita, Raghuvanśa, Kumārasambhava, Śīśupāla-vadha, etc. Some works dealing with medicine, astrology, and astronomy have been found in Java, which contain many words of Sanskrit origin.

ITIHĀSA 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 Yogīśvara, whose real name, according to Balinese tradition, seems to be Rājakusuma or Kusumavijaya. 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 Bhāṭṭa-kāvyā. The story broadly follows Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, but ends with the return of Rāma, Śītā, Lākṣmaṇa, and their entourage to Ayodhya. The Old Javanese Uttararākṣaṇa is not part of Yogīśvara's Rāmāyaṇa, but constitutes an independent work. There are also later recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa, such as Rāma Kīng, Serat Kandra, 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. 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 Hariśraya. 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 Arjunasahasrabahu's fight with Rāvaṇa. The story of Hariśraya is based upon the Old Javanese Uttararākṣaṇa 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, Virāṭa, Udyoga, and Bhīṣma parvams were composed under orders of King Dharmavarmāśa

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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 Aśvatthāman, 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 Rukmini. The same theme is handled by Mpu Triguṇa in Kṛṣṇa-viṣṇava composed in the beginning of the twelfth century. The Old Javanese Bhagavad-Gītā, which contains many Sanskrit slokas, is an abridged version of the original. Of the many kakavins belonging to the Mahābhārata cycle of stories, Arjuna-vivāha was composed in thirty-six cantos by Mpu Kaṇva during the reign of King Airlangga (A.D. 1019-42). Hari-vījaya describes some episodes from the Ādi-parvan, 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-vījaya. Ghaṭotkacāśraya or Ghaṭotkacāśarana describes the fight between Abhimanyu and Lakṣmānakumāra over the beautiful maiden Cītisundarī, and relates how Ghaṭotkaca assists Abhimanyu to win the girl. Indra-vījaya handles the themes of the assassination of Triśūla, Indra’s loss of paradise, and the rule and downfall of Nāhuṇa, while the Old Javanese prose ext called Koravārachana 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 parvams of the Mahābhārata excluding the Svarga-rohaṇaparvan. Navaruci, probably of the fifteenth century, describes Bhīma’s adventures in his search for the elixir of life.

Smaradhana, 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-vījaya, deals with the fight between Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa, while Rāma-vījaya describes, in sixty-three cantos, he fight between Jamadagni and Angāraparṇa. Bhokakāyya, 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 ear, was hiding in a vīlva tree and accidentally caused a leaf from the tree to fall on a Śivalīgā 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 Harṣa-vījaya. In the field of tantri or fables, the most important text is Tantri Kāmāndaka, which is principally based upon the Pañcatantra and Hitopadesa. 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 Hitopadesa as well as in 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 Saka, which records a tradition of the art of writing having been introduced in Java by a Brāhmaṇa 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 Prapafica 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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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 it 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 Maranao 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.

85Vide 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.'

88"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 Kōi inscriptions. In subsequent centuries, some forms of Brāhmaṇical 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. 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. 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, Varuna, Indra, and the Nasatyas.

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 Manichaeans.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, Aditya, Vēyu, and Viṣṇudharmottara. 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, Togavāsiṣṭha, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Bhagavata 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 Brahmacāvārtha Purāṇa, Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, Vṛaja-māhātmya, Gaya-māhātmya, and Kāśī-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 Śāṅkhya texts (especially the Śāṅkhya-kārikā of Īśvaraśrava), the Yogo-Sūtra of Patañjali (he had used a different version which has not yet been discovered), the Nyāya-Sūtra of Gātama and Nyāya-bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana, the Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra of Jaimini, the Agastya-mātā (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 Suvruta (Sasrod), the Nidāna (Yedan), and the Aṣṭāṅga of Vāgbhaṭa. The Caraka was translated by Abdullah, while the name of the translator of the Suvruta was Mankh (Māṇikya or Māṇika), 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 (Cāṇakyā?), 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.⁶

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 Alfasari. 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-khaḍyaka of Brahmagupta, which

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⁶A. M. Shushtery, Outlines of Islamic Culture (Bangalore, 1954), pp. 247ff
*Ibid., p. 67.
were translated into Arabic. It was thus that the Arabs first became acquainted
with a scientific system of astronomy. Alkhwarizmi (A.D. 859) based his widely-
known astronomical tables (zij) on Alfażarī’s translation mentioned above.
He made an abridgement and translation of the *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta* (popularly
known as *Sind-Hind* in Arabia) of Brahmagupta. Alkhwarizmi was the first
exponent of the use of numerals, including the zero, in preference to letters.
These numerals he called *hindī*, 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 Āryabhata II and Śridhara
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 *śulba* 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 bor-
rowed 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,
many legends of the *Talmud* and *Midrash* were directly or indirectly adopted from Indian sources. In the *Quran*,18 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 Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist, and Jaina speculations.14 The myth of Shemhazai 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 *Panca­tantra*, 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-Maquffa. 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. *Ajāivaghoṣa*’s *Buddha-carita* was edited and modified by Arab writers. The *Śūkasaptati*, 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 *Tutinama* by Nachshabi, a contemporary of Hafiz, in a.d. 1330. Through this version, which included a part of the *Vetāla-pañcavīmīśati*, many Indian fables found their way to Europe.15 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.16

**AFRICA**

The fundamentals of ancient Egyptian culture were known even to the Vedic Indians. This is proved by a Upanisadic reference to mummification.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.

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during the Kuśāna 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 Kuśāna gold coins of Kings Kadphises II, Kanşika I, Huviška, 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 Erythrean Sea (c. A.D. 78), led to the adoption of a small but significant group of loan-words 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 Kharoṣṭhī 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 Kharoṣṭhī 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

18 Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, pp. 124ff.
19 JRAS (1904), p. 399. See also Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Languages and Literatures of Modern India, p. 292 and R. C. Majumdar, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 626.
20 Suniti Kumar Chatterji, India and Ethiopia (Calcutta, 1968), p. 49.
21 Ibid.
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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.22

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.23 The philosophy of Pythagoras, who lived in the sixth century B.C., was probably derived from the Sāṃkhya system of India.24 According to a Greek tradition preserved by Eusebius, Aristothenes (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.25 H. G. Rawlinson cites examples from Plato’s Republic which have very close bearing on the Indian doctrines of Karma, Māyā, etc.26 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 Sāṃkhya system.27 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.28 The neo-Platonist philosophy, which came into existence in the first century A.D., was presumably influenced by the Sāṃkhya system.29 Plotinus (A.D. 204-69), chief of the neo-

22Ibid., p. 55.
29A. A. Macdonell, op. cit., pp. 422-23.
Platonists, depended upon the Indian Yoga system for his philosophic doctrines.80 There is reference to Appolonius and Plotinus as looking towards India as the home of wisdom.81 The Christian doctrine of Gnosticism, which flourished in the second and third centuries A.D., owed much to Indian philosophy, particularly to the Śāmkhya system.82 The conception of many heavens propounded by the Gnostics is drawn from 'the fantastic cosmogony of later Buddhism'.83

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.84 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).85

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 tridoṣa or tridhatu 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.'86 Indian medical science also made its way to Rome where Indian herbals were one of the principal imports. Lithotomy, which was one of the

80Ibid., p. 423.
81J. W. McCrindle, op. cit., pp. 183-84.
82A. A. Macdonell, op. cit., p. 423.
83Ibid., p. 424.
84M. Eliade, Yoga, Immortality and Freedom (New York, 1950), pp. 432ff
85A. 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. \textit{Āryabhaṭīya} of Āryabhāṭa 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.

\textit{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 \textit{Gesta Romanorum}. Other Indian legends also reached Europe, and can be traced in \textit{Gesta Romanorum} and in the stories of Boccacio, Straparola, Chaucer, and La Fontaine. The \textit{Pañcatantra} was introduced into Europe through its Arabic version made about A.D. 750 by Ibn-i-Maquffa, 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 \textit{Pañcatantra} of which 200 versions arose in more than fifty languages, three-fourths of which are non-Indian’.\textsuperscript{7}

\textit{Interest in Indological Studies:} The first Englishman to learn Sanskrit was Charles Wilkins who published in 1785 an English translation of the \textit{Bhagavad-Gītā}. This was followed by the English version of the \textit{Hitopadeśa} in 1787, and of the \textit{Śakuntalā} episode of the \textit{Mahābhārata} in 1795. His \textit{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 \textit{Abhījñāna-Śakuntalā} (1780), \textit{Ṛtusahāra} (1792), and \textit{Manu Smṛti} (1794). His English version of the \textit{Abhījñāna-Śakuntalā} 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 \textit{Faust} he modelled it on that of Kālidāsa’s work. H.T. Colebrooke edited the \textit{Amarakoṣa}, \textit{Āśṭādhyāyī}, \textit{Hitopadeśa}, and \textit{Kīrātārjuniya}, and translated a number of inscriptions also. The German poet Friedrich

Schlegel translated some passages from the *Rāmāyana, Manu Smṛti, Bhagavad-Gītā*, and *Abhijnana-Sakuntala*. 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 *Mahāvahṣa*, the *Dhammapada*, the *Jātaka*, the Vinaya Pīṭaka*, 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.

38For further details, see *ibid.*, pp. 149 ff. and V. Raghavan, *Sanskrit and Allied Indological Studies in Europe* (Madras, 1956).
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