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Ancient India[1]

BY

SYLVAIN LEVI, D.LITT.

My first words must be words of thanks to the University of Calcutta, which has been so good as to confer on me the degree of Doctor, and—in association with the Viśva-Bhāratī of Śāntiniketan—to summon me from a distant country as a visitor, a guest, and a colleague among colleagues. I deem it one of the highest privileges of my life that these two invitations were extended to me through the instrumentality of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee and Rabindranath Tagore, the two most efficient makers of this new India which no one could foresee when I first came here, one quarter of a century ago. It has been said that countries abroad are an anticipation of posterity; then I have some right to state that the names of these two great men, united in the same work, will live in the memory of men—whatever may be their other merits—as two *Śakakartṛis*, starters of a new era full of hope and promise.

Now thirty-nine years have elapsed since I devoted myself to the study of the past of India; I have given to these researches, with an enthusiasm which has never diminished, the best of my time and my endeavours; in the solitude of the study I have wrestled to save names, deeds, joys, sorrows from the oblivion threatening to overcome them; I have shared sincerely with the men of times gone by those vicissitudes of grandeur and suffering which have been, in all the course of time, the lot of the human race. I had but one ambition: to

[1] Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University, by Prof. Sylvain Levi, D.Litt., on the 15th August, 1922.

serve science, and by serving science to serve the truth. The chair at the Collége de France to which I was called by the Republic had seemed to me the finest and loftiest reward. I had never dared to hope that I might come some day, at the express invitation of two Indian Universities, to address an audience of Indian students about questions of Indian history. Still I had read in one of your poets:

द्वीपादन्यस्मादपि मध्यादपि जलनिधेर् दिशोऽप्यन्तात् ।
आनीय झटिति घटयति विधिर् अभिमतम् अभिमुखीभूतः ॥

Ratnāvalī, I, Prolog.

"Even from another continent, even from the midst of the ocean, even from the end of the world, suddenly the kindness of destiny brings you your happiness."

The poets are prophets. But the poet Harṣa from whom I have borrowed this verse—a verse as elegant as it is judicious, —was not a mere dreamer. Sovereign of a great empire that extended over the whole of Hindustan, concerned in the political life of all Asia, he knew the realities of life and his wisdom came to him by experience. Engaged in a conflict with a redoubtable adversary, King Pulikeśi who had barred his way to the Dakkhan, he had welcomed joyfully to his court the ambassadors of China as heralds of an alliance that was to secure his triumph. Beyond the barriers of India, he had had a glimpse of those manifold links which crossing one another from country to country, establish the deep-lying unity of the human race. It is this unity which our more accustomed eyes perceive clearly now-a-days in the whole domain of history, and of this unity even my presence here is, in its humble way, a symbol.

It is not simply from the need of idle amusement that there arises between men separated in appearance by language, customs, beliefs, institutions, the need to know, to understand, to draw nearer to one another. It was possible

for a philosopher in the throes of pessimism to declare once: "Man is a wolf to man." Nature, it is true, more cruel than man, seems to delight in apportioning her gifts with capricious inequality, in sowing far and wide the seeds of hatred and causes of enmity. But man is great and noble enough to rise up against nature and bend to the service of good those very forces which seemed destined to work evil. The war that looses the fury of the present time brings about the fruitful *rapprochements* of the time to come. The Median invasions in which Greece at one moment believed that she must perish with her civilisation, her arts and her liberties, opened out to Hellenic activity a widened world. Alexander's campaign in the Panjab welded India finally together with the whole mass of countries which were soon to be covered by the one name "Roman." The history of wars, that may seem, only too easily, to sum up the whole of human history, does but mark the violent phases of a process by which humanity has come together. In the rear of the slaughtering army have come the trader, the missionary, the *savant*, the inquirer, all those agents whose anonymous work is lost to history, obscure fashioners working sometimes unwillingly and often unwittingly for a better future.

It is true that a childish prejudice tends to represent each people as the exclusive author of its own civilisation, and each single civilisation as the exclusive work of one people. Too many minds, lingering behind their time, halting at the stage of old-world humanity, believe that the barbarian countries begin at the frontier of their own native land. Think of these rudimentary maps which around the special country represented, have just a blank space, without names or signs. As if the national honour would have to suffer, should the least share of influence be accorded to neighbouring nations! The love of country, like the love of God, can degenerate into stupid fanaticism. Nothing will satisfy those afflicted with the mania of Chauvinism, but the belief

that all arts, sciences, discoveries and inventions have sprung from the privileged soil that has the honour to bear them. Reality protests against this childish conception. Civilisation is a collective work in which each one labours for the advantage of all.

To go no further back in the annals of the past, which science in our days is busy in deciphering, let us glance at Greece, benefactress of the world, dispenser of beauty, wisdom and truth. There is not a people on all the face of the earth that is not her debtor. But as for her, from whom did she not borrow ? She herself has admitted that she received writing from the Phœnicians, philosophy from the Egyptians, and we, whose knowledge of her past is greater than hers, we have now penetrated beneath classic Greece to come upon an Ægean civilisation steeped in Oriental influences. The doctrine of spontaneous generation thrust out from the biological sciences by the experiments of Pasteur cannot hope to find a refuge in the historical sciences.

Let no one refute this truth by the argument that we know little with certainty of the distant past; the times nearer to our own reveal this same truth to us very clearly. I will content myself with one example: French literature. In the sixteenth century it was the study of Greek and Latin models that inspired the masterpieces of the Renaissance; a little later, it was Italy that impressed upon French mind her own taste with its subtlety and affectations ; next, Spain triumphed in the nervous and grandiose art of Corneille; then the work of Racine devoutly brings together Euripides and the Bible. England, mother of political liberty, takes the lead with us in the eighteenth century ; after the Revolution follows the German romantic movement. And quite recently the Scandinavian drama and the Russian novel have left their impress on the French mind. Does that mean that a national genius does not exist ? Far from it! On the contrary it is in this process of absorption that it manifests all its power. What

indeed is national genius if it is not the harmonious blending of the tastes and tendencies of the various groups which taken all together form the nation, selecting in them those features which are most permanent, most universally humane, debarring them of their narrow local or temporary fashions? To bring a nation into existence, it is not enough to make the frontiers of territories touch one another, to subdue them to the sole authority of a common ruler; a brutal conqueror may found an empire by such means; his ephemeral work disappears with him. In order that a multitude of men may come together in that higher unity that constitutes a nation, that multitude must, by triumphs and by losses, have grown conscious of a profound *raison d'être* which is the sum of its experiences, its hopes and its aspirations. There is no question here of a mystical unity, but of an actual fact. Amid all those chance groupings that the caprice of history has attempted, a national consciousness has caused only those unions to endure which were real unions, sincere, normal and deep. The temporary separations, brought about by violence, only intensify, by that very trial of suffering, the clear and vivid sentiment of national unity. The mutilated country feels the blow struck at the necessary balance of its living forces. Within an organism so powerfully constituted, a common stock of thought is soon formed by the very play of the forces of life. As occasion arises and doctrines or works are submitted to the test of public opinion, agreement or disagreement finds expression and reveals a residue of general preferences which take final shape in a choice of works or ideas established thenceforward as "classic."

Thus the function of a national genius is essentially that of criticism; creation must remain the privilege of exceptionally gifted personalities. Still, we must recognize that even in this domain of creations, society exercises its influence in some degree, since the preferences that it expresses tend to prepare beforehand a certain framework within which creative invention shall work.

Thus vanishes the antinomy that some have attempted to assert, between national genius and foreign contributions. In that perpetual movement of exchanges by which all products of human activity pass into circulation, national genius selects with the sure judgment born of experience, that part which it deems useful to assimilate, and it eliminates the rest. It enriches its own store without alteration of its character, at least so long as it remains free to act according to its own proper taste; bound up as it is with the existence of the nation, its fate must be to disappear with the nation to which it has given self-expression. Greece conquered had been able—according to the celebrated phrase of the poet Horace—"to conquer her fierce conqueror" (*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit*), but the Greek genius did not long survive the independence of Greece. Yet, if its productive force had vanished, a fecundating power, so to speak, persisted even in its lifeless body. And when rediscovered by the Christian West after centuries of oblivion, Greece gave her the Renaissance and changed the course of history.

India, however, to all seeming, has escaped the general law. Her traditions, preserved in the immense literature of the Brahmans, hold no precise knowledge of the world around her. Nature herself seems to have delighted in marking round about her a frontier of splendid isolation. An unbroken line of colossal mountains bars the way on the North; to the East and West a perilous Ocean bathes the inhospitable coast; between the sea and the mountains, a desert of moving land serves as a defence of the threshold lying open along the course of the Indus. One might say that some malicious divinity had wished to attempt here, in ideally favourable conditions, some experiment on humanity in a hermetically sealed vessel. Society, for its part, has set itself to aid nature in her work. It would be difficult to find elsewhere a system of institutions so resolutely planned to exclude the stranger. I need not lay stress on the originality of the caste-system. One may

extol the services that it has rendered to India or pass judgment on its grave drawbacks; whatever opinion one may hold on the subject, it must be admitted that, in principle, it has raised round about India an impassable barrier. Elsewhere it is possible to aspire to the *droit de cité*, to naturalisation; here you must resign yourself to remaining for ever outside, if chance has not automatically thrown open the door to you by right of birth. These singular conditions combined to effect the production of a type of humanity unique in its composition, and which we scarcely know how to define. India is not a unity in the ethnological sense. There is not a people that reveals so clearly as India extraordinary diversity of origin. India is not a unity in the linguistic sense, the languages of India are even more numerous than races. And yet India is not a mere geographical expression devoid of human value, determined only by the nature of the ground, by elevations and depressions.

No one can dispute the existence of an Indian civilization, characterised by the predominance of one ideal, of one doctrine, of one language, of one literature and of one social class. From the Himalaya to Ceylon cultured minds and simple souls alike believe in the same transcendental law—the "Dharma" bound up with eternal transmigration "Samsāra" and the inevitable recompense of acts from existence to existence "Karman." Religions and philosophies agree in preaching the nothingness of the individual and the vanity, the illusion of things. Sanskrit, the language of the gods, has enjoyed a prestige for two or three milleniums. Vyāsa, Vālmīki, Kālidāsa, are unanimously held to be models of taste, of poesy and of style. The Brahmin is everywhere venerated as a sort of divinity on earth. But India is a proof of the fact that a civilisation is not enough to form a nation. A comparison with the great peoples of classic antiquity will show only too clearly what is wanting in India. And when I speak of "India" it is of ancient India that I mean to speak; I must refuse resolutely

to take any part in the controversies and the passions of the present moment. The science that desires to remain faithful to the sincere worship of truth must hold aloof on those serene heights "*templa serena*," extolled by the Latin poet—or to borrow the language of Buddhism on "the plane of laws"—"*dharmadhātu*" where phenomena, sublimated as it were, lose these potentialities of defilement and disturbance that are by nature inherent in them. You all remember that admirable scene in Śakuntalā where King Duṣyanta comes down again from the Paradise accompanied by Mātali in Indra's chariot. He is still thrilling with the battle just waged against the demoniac *asuras*—his heart still throbbing at the thought of the well-beloved consort whom he had refused in a moment of forgetfulness, the overwhelming tumult of passions stirring the very depths of his soul.

But the chariot in its airy flight draws near to the sacred hermitage where the ascetic Kāśyapa practises and imparts wisdom; and suddenly the king is aware of an inward peace that has never before had any hold on him. Then he is worthy of making his way into the refuge of the wise, where he is to receive a supreme favour at the hands of the Destiny. And we too, on the threshold of that domain where radiant science holds her sway—we must leave behind us all vain unrest, if we are to make ourselves worthy for beholding at least something of the bright light of truth.

As I have said, India though united by a common civilisation could not become a nation. This vast body had been wanting in the hierarchy of functions which in the higher organisms directs, controls, and distributes the movements of life; the nation, like the individual, has a heart and a brain, centre of a perpetual exchange of collective activities,—the centre where they converge and from which they radiate. Nothing essential can be done save through them. The most distant accidents that befall the organism, are registered in them and re-act upon them; the shocks that

disturb them affect injuriously the vigour and power of endurance of the whole.

Greece, divided up into innumerable cities, dispersed, as it were, in fragments, far and wide across the seas, from the Asiatic sea-board to Sicily, gathered around Athens; strike out Athens and the history of Greece is but dust. The Roman Empire, though extending from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, is bound up indistinguishably with the capital; the last classical poet Rutilius Namatianus summed up the work of Rome in the striking phrase: "that which was formerly 'the world' that thou hast made 'the city'"—*Urbem fecisti qui prius orbis erat.* It would be idle to point out here what London is for the British nation, and Paris for the French nation. With these names before us, names that are, so to speak, synthetic, where shall we look for the centre of India? At Benares, the very heart of intense religious activity, but which has played no part in the political life of the country? At Pāṭaliputra, at Kanyākubja, at Ujjayinī, at Puṣkalāvatī, at Pratiṣṭhāna, at Kāñā—so many capitals that have shone with ephemeral splendour to sink later into *banal* mediocrity? Like the phosphorescent flames that kindle and flicker out, at haphazard, in the silence of the vast night, these names have vanished ere they could arrest the chronicler's gaze. And it is this that reveals yet more cruelly, the woeful incoherence of this mighty mass.

India has no history. A nation, like a family, has her archives in which she stores up and watches with zealous care those titles of nobility that are the honour of her past and the guarantee of her future. She has her annals, which, while the fleeting generations pass, assert the conscious continuity of a collective task. She has her great men in whom she delights to embody her ideal; she venerates them as her guides and protectors in the perplexing ways of the time. She defends their memory zealously from the threatenings of oblivion; she gathers up like precious relics even the smallest

hints that are distinct in the memory. India has indeed saved some great names of her past, religious or literary, but she has only saved them to drown them in the mist of dreams or in the contradictory fantasies of fiction. She has had a Śankara, as great, perhaps as a Luther. What has she made of him? A hero of common miracles or scholastic tournaments, so dull, so colourless, so flaccid, so unreal, that she has shifted him hither and thither anyhow from millenaries before Christ to the first millenary of the Christian era. Not one name, not one fact to fix with exactitude his place in the succession of centuries. And yet we have here a commanding personality, a personality that marks one of the decisive phases of human thought and survives still stamped upon the soul of the India of to-day. India has had a Kālidāsa, an exquisite poet and ingenious creator of forms and images, harmonious interpreter of the most noble emotions. What has she made of him? A hero of witticisms and spiteful tricks whom she attaches indifferently either to the court of a King Vikramāditya, relegated to the first century before the Christian era, or else to the court of King Bhoja who reigned ten centuries later. As a compensation she has most abundant details on the Pāṇḍavas, on Rāma, on the innumerable figures of epic legend, figures which she may be justly proud to have created since she has made them depositaries of a magnificent ideal; but, wrapt in her own dreams, she has chosen to yield herself up to them by fleeing from the less pleasing spectacle of the reality. And by an anomaly unexampled in the rest of mankind, it is from foreign teaching that India has begun to know her true greatness. She had forgotten the greatest of her sons, the Buddha. While Tibet, China, Corea, Japan, Indo-China piously repeated the story of the Master's life with gaze turned towards his birthplace, India that had given him birth, no longer knew anything about him. In vain did Nepal preserve in her valley the Sanskrit originals of the sacred texts; in vain did Ceylon despite

revolutions, invasions and conquests, preserve faithfully for more than 2,000 years the three Baskets of Buddhist scriptures compiled in an Indian dialect, the Pali language, younger brother of Sanskrit; the name of the Buddha execrated at first by Brahmanism in its day of triumph had soon disappeared amid universal indifference without once calling forth a single effort of sympathy or curiosity. It is Europe that has given back the Buddha to India. Europe by her travellers, missionaries and scholars had discovered all the way from the Tibetan plateau to the shore of the Pacific the splendid traces of Buddhist activity. She desired to know more. Both Hodgson and Burnouf contributed to knowledge, the one supplying materials, the other, facts. And India, astounded, was taught by the admiration of the world, the greatness of the son that she had scorned.

Among the kings of India there is one who eclipses even the most glorious: that one is Aśoka the Maurya. Lord of a mighty empire, founded by his grandfather, enlarged by his conquests and extending over the whole of India, he had assumed the task of practising and propagating righteousness: his edicts, graven on rocks and pillars in all the provinces under his dominion, preach in simple and familiar language the loftiest lessons of goodness, gentleness, charity and mutual respect that humanity has ever heard of. But, for long centuries the characters in which his edicts were written were but lifeless letters; it needed a Prinsep to wring their secret from the stones grown mute and to bring to light that splendid period in which Hindu policy, encouraged and sustained by an active faith, claimed influence extending even to Cyrenaica, even to Epirus, on the confines of the Roman and the Carthaginian world. Amid the teeming abundance of Sanskrit literature, India gave birth to an exceptional genius, born to lead in every sense, and to dare all things: Aśvaghoṣa. He stands at the starting point of all the great currents that renewed and transformed India, towards the beginning of the

Christian era. Poet, musician, preacher, moralist, philosopher, play-wright, tale-teller, he is an inventor in all these arts and excels in all; in his richness and variety he recalls Milton, Goethe, Kant and Voltaire. But thirty years ago there was not even a bare mention of Aśvaghoṣa in the literary history of India. Aśvaghoṣa is in the fullest sense a conquest of Western learning. It is superfluous to prolong the list; it affords with sufficient clearness a glimpse of all that India in the awakening of her consciousness owes to Europe. It shows—to the disadvantage of India, certainly—to what perils is exposed a people that claims to hold itself aloof from the movements of universal civilisation.

But has India ever truly realised that conception of aloofness? Since the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni, after the year 1000 of the Christian era, facts give only too clear an answer. India, offered up as a prey to greed, to contention and rivalry on every side, is riveted to the history of Islam and the destinies of Europe. Again, if we go back to the remote past, this mirage of isolation vanishes in the light of facts. The first ray that illumines the threshold of Indian history proceeds from a cuneiform text discovered in the neighbourhood of Armenia. The documents of Babylon and Persia help us next to cast a few gleams of light on the dense darkness of distant centuries. Then arises Greece and her radiant genius seems to bring a definitive awakening to the world. Without her the history of India could be only enigma and confusion; by her, order and precision are brought into the history of India. The identity, recognised by William Jones, of the Indian Chandragupta and the Sandrocottos of the historians of Alexander, remains the corner-stone of all Indian chronology. During a period of a thousand years, the history of India is to a great extent the history of the knowledge possessed by the Greeks concerning India.

From this prolonged contact we have the problem of reciprocal influences, which puts the question of the originality

of the Indian genius. Towards the beginning of the Christian era China, in her turn, comes into touch with India and for a thousand years religious zeal, political and commercial relations draw the two countries together. The exchange takes place along by two ways, the land-route which skirts or crosses the heights of the Pamir and, proceeding from oasis to oasis passes over the sandy deserts of Turkestan; the sea-route which, by way of Insulindia, connects the Indian ports with the Chinese ports. The meeting of the two civilisations produces, on either side, a strange amalgamation: on the one hand "Serindia" as the Greeks said in the time of the Emperor Justinian, on the other hand Indo-China, as we say to-day, both being equivalent terms which point to the zone of unstable balance between two rival tendencies, two rival languages and rival societies. In this concealed struggle India appears to triumph for a fairly long time. Recent explorations in Central Asia have revealed unexpected annexations to the Indian world; rather earlier, but also in recent times, study of monuments and inscriptions has brought to light the existence of Hindu colonies in Indo-China and Insulindia, faithful guardians of the arts, the religions and the literary works of India. Finally, in the seventh century Indian Buddhism conquers yet another field for Indian culture: in the highlands of Tibet a rude and barbarous population sees monasteries rise where zealous missionaries translate from the Sanskrit the enormous mass of the canonical texts.

Thus from the Mediterranean to the Pacific ocean, nations near and far gather round India and bring together converging rays to shine upon the voiceless night of her past. The picture that emerges is not, to be sure, as clear and complete as we could wish; too often the documents say nothing or break off just at the moment when curiosity is on the track; too often, besides, the portions upon which light is thrown give us minute details which, by

their seeming insignificance weary and discourage the student. However it is, this is the work which I am pressing you to pursue, for the sake of truth and of your own country. Some people may tell you that it is an idle and useless work, and that the crying need of the present is for chemists and engineers. I do not at all belittle their work, in so far as it can make that painful human life easier and smoother. But we have been taught of late by a dreadful instance how much the most technical civilisation can be foreign to real civilisation, civilisation of the mind. Never has the beautiful saying of Buddha proved so deeply true as now:

मनःपूर्वंगमाधर्मा मनःश्रेष्ठा मनोमयाः

"Mind takes the lead of the world; mind excels the whole world; the world is a creation of mind."

In this time of sky-scrapers and gigantic bridges, mind only can build and will build a safe bridge for India to cross over the ocean of darkness and storms and to reach that "other shore" of peace and dignity for which she has been longing through centuries. India wants you to be her *Tirthankaras*; but how can you show her the way forward if you have not traced back the steps which have brought her to her present stage? You wish your motherland to stand honoured and respected among the nations, but how tremendous the experimental stages you have to pass through, if you are not fully aware of the genuine forces which allowed her to play, long ago, such a big part in the development of Eastern civilisation? Old India, the mother of numberless children, who has passed through days of triumph and ages of sorrow, the ever-rejuvenating mother of numberless children to come, is standing before you, anxious about her way. It is not enough to worship your mother. Help her!

The Text of Kāvyāloka-Locana IV

BY

DR. SUSHIL KUMAR DÉ,

Lecturer, Calcutta University

The notice in the recent *Descriptive Catalogue*[1] of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, of two manuscripts (A and B) in Devanāgarī character of Abhinavagupta's commentary[2] on the fourth *uddyota* of the *Dhvanyāloka* or *Kāvyāloka* first drew my attention to this missing chapter[3] of the well known work, the existence of which was brilliantly conjectured long ago by Prof. Jacobi.[4] I applied for a loan of these Mss. through the India Office in 1920; but as I was given to understand that the rules of the Library did not allow such a loan, and as a rotograph transcript was impossible, I had to be

[1] Madras, 1918, Vol. XXII, pp. 8666-7, nos. 12893-4.

[2] The full title of this work (commonly known as *Locana*) as given in the different Mss. is *Kāvyāloka-locana* or *Dhvanyāloka-locana*. Abhinava himself in the present text calls the original *Kāvyāloka*. The *Ānandavardhanīya-kāvyālaṁkāra-kāmadhenu-ṭīkā*, entered by Aufrecht (I. 49) as Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Dhvanyāloka* involves a two-fold error, due perhaps to Oppert's inaccurate entry. In the first place, the term *Ānandavardhanīya* is an incorrect designation; in the second place, by *kāvyālaṁkāra-kāmadhenu-ṭīkā* is probably meant the commentary of the same name (ed. Benares Sansk. Series, 1908; Śrīvāṇīvilāsa Press, 1909) on Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṁkāra* by Gopendra Tripurahara (or Tippa) Bhūpāla, mixed up through a confusion with the *Locana* commentary of Abhinava.

[3] The Kāvyamālā (ed. Nir. Sāg. Press, Bombay, 1911) prints only the first three *uddyotas* of the *Locana*, which were the only ones known to Bühler (*Kashmir Report*, pp. 66 and xvii). Other Mss.: Burnell, *Tanjore Cat.* 55[a]; Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Rep.* 100, also *Lists of Mss. purchased in 1869-78*, 20; Oppert, 2692-3. 2996. 5513; Bhandarkar, *Rep. 1887-91*, 593; *India Office Cat.* 1008; Stein, *Jammu Cat.* 62; Kāśināth Kunte, *Lahore Rep.* 8. Most of these Mss. are described as 'complete,' but it cannot be determined whether they include the fourth *uddyota*.

[4] *ZDMG*, 1902, p. 404, footnote 1. In addition to the arguments adduced therein, it may be pointed out that Abhinava at p. 12, ll. 19-20 (ed. Kāvyamālā) promises to dilate upon a certain point at the end of his work (*granthānte vakṣyāmaḥ*), a promise which he bears out towards the end of the present text.

content with certified copies forwarded to me by the Curator of the Library through the kindness and courtesy of Dr. Thomas of the India Office Library. When I came to Bonn in 1921 to work with Prof. Jacobi, I brought these copies with me, and at his suggestion prepared the present text, which he very kindly revised and encouraged me to publish. On my return to India, I made another attempt to obtain a loan of the Mss. through the University; but as there was no chance of success in this direction, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, to whom I submitted my difficulties, very kindly directed Pandit Ananta Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī to make fresh copies personally. His efforts happily resulted in the discovery of a fresh manuscript in the possession of his friend Pandit S. K. Rāmanāth Śāstrī of the Madras Oriental Mss. Library, with which also (C) I have collated the present text. Although still deficient in many places, on which probably a sight of the original Mss. might have thrown some light, I venture to publish the text in its present form, not only out of consideration of its importance, but also with the hope of drawing to it the attention of interested scholars, who may have access to other Mss., and can thereby help to determine some of the difficulties left unsolved here.

Apart from the inherent interest of the present text as supplying the missing part of the learned commentary of this champion of the Dhvani School, there are several points to which attention may be drawn here. As in the other parts of his commentary,[1] Abhinava appears to distinguish here between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra of the original text by directly opposing them, a fact which further supports Jacobi's contention[2] that

[1] Pp. 1, 12, 59, 60, 71, 78, 104, 123, 130-1, etc

[2] First suggested by Bühler, *Kashmir Rep.*, p. 65. See *ZDMG*, *loc. cit*, p. 405, ff., and my article on the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. i, 1920, pp. 1-9.

the author of the *kārikā*, the so-called Dhvanikāra, was different from Ānandavardhana, the author of the prose *vṛtti*. Abhinava uses the term *vṛtti-grantha* in contradistinction to the *kārikā*, and in one place especially, points out that the question as to the source of the endless variety of *artha* imparted to poetry is mentioned by the Vṛttikāra although not touched upon by the Kārikākāra.[1] Towards the end of the present text, Abhinava gives his own reading of some of the *kārikās* ; and his remarks apparently show that the Vṛttikāra, in several places, reads the *kārikās* by splitting them up (*khaṇḍīkṛtya paṭhitā*)—a procedure which is not likely if we suppose a common authorship of the *kārikās* and the *vṛtti*.

There are two *gāthā* verses in the present text (*Bhaavihala*° and *Cāiaṇa*°), one of which is ascribed to Abhinava himself in one of the Mss.,[2] the sense and construction of which do not seem very clear from the obviously corrupt text. The first verse is baffling and obscure as to sense and metre in all the Mss. The next verse is clearer, and its *chāyā*, as I propose to read it in the text, may be put tentatively thus :

Tyāgi-jana-kara-paraṁparā-sañcāraṇa-kṣaya-niḥsaha-śarīrāḥ
Arthāḥ kṛpaṇa-gṛha-sthāḥ sārthād vyastāḥ sravantīva.

" Riches, enfeebled of body through decay caused by passing to and fro through a succession of hands of bountiful folk, melt away, as it were, separated from their company and lodging in poor men's houses." This reading, which was first suggested through a discussion of this point with Dr. Barnett, may not be faultless and is perhaps capable of being improved upon ; but in the main it may be accepted in the absence of anything better, and there

[1] यद्यप्यर्थानन्त्यमात्रे हेतुर्वृत्तिकारेणोक्तस्तथापि कारिकाकारेण नोक्तः ।

[2] Two other verses are cited as Abhinava's own in the present text.

is nothing in it incompatible with the context. The difficulty lies in the two words *savanti* and *satthāvatthāḥ*. The emendation *vasanti* is very natural and tempting, but it is supported by none of the Mss.; while *svasthā-vasthāḥ*, instead of *sārthād vyasthāḥ*, is attractive, although *svasthāvasthāḥ* > *sotthāvatthā*.

In this connexion attention may be drawn to two Deśī verses in the original text at p. 240, ll. 6-7 and p. 243, ll. 21-2, which are unintelligible as they stand, but which may now be reconstructed in the light of the interesting *chāyās* given by Abhinava. Pischel[1] gives the latter *śloka* somewhat differently thus:

Mahu mahu tti bhaṇantaaho vajjai kālujaṇassu
Tō vi ṇa dēu Jaṇaddaṇau gōarihōi maṇassu.

It is interesting to note that Abhinava in his gloss on this verse calls Apabhraṁśa Saindhava-bhāṣā, thus confirming the modern tradition that Apabhraṁśa originated in Sindhu-deśa.[2]

Another point of interest is the mention by Abhinava of a work, called *Tattvāloka*, by Ānandavardhana, in which the latter is said to have discussed in detail the relation between *śāstra-naya* and *kāvya-naya*. This work yet remains to be recovered.

In one of the concluding verses, as in the invocatory *śloka* at the beginning of the first *uddyota*, Abhinava mentions the name of his *upādhyāya*, Bhaṭṭendurāja; but here he couples this name with that of another teacher of his, called Śrī-siddhi-cela, who is not mentioned elsewhere in any of his known works. From Siddhi-cela he probably learnt philosophy. The reference to *asmad-upādhyāya* Bhaṭṭendurāja occurs also at pp. 25, 43,

[1] *Mat.*, p. 45, cited in Jacobi, *Sanatkumāra*, p. xxi.
[2] See Jacobi, *loc. cit.*

116, 207, 223 of the printed text, and in one place (p. 160) he is adorned with the grandiloquent epithet *vidvat-kavi-sahṛdaya-cakravartin*, which, together with the fact that in the present text Abhinava apparently indicates that he learnt *kāvya* from this teacher, will go to support the conjecture that this Bhaṭṭendurāja was probably a poet and critic held in high esteem by his great pupil. Although chronology does not stand in the way, there is hardly any definite means to decide whether Abhinava's teacher Bhaṭṭendurāja was identical with Pratihārendurāja, the commentator of Udbhaṭa.[1] From Abhinava's commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*,[2] we learn that Bhaṭṭendu was the son of Śrībhūtirāja and grandson of Saucuka of the Kātyāyana *gotra*; but Pratihārendurāja's genealogy is unknown. The only facts known about the latter is that he was a native of Koṅkaṇa and a pupil of Mukula,[3] probably the same Mukula who was the son of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and author of *Abhidhā-vṛtti-mātṛkā*,[4] and who is placed by Bühler,[5] on the authority of *Rājataraṅgiṇī* V. 66, in the reign of Avantivarman. Two plausible reasons, however, will lead one to the opinion that the two Indurājas were probably different persons. To begin with, Bhaṭṭendurāja appears essentially as a poet, who wrote, as Abhinava's own quotations show, in Sanskrit as well as in Prakrit, and whose verses supplied a ready source of poetic illustrations in his pupil's work, probably inspired by himself. Had he been, like Pratihārendurāja, a writer on Poetics as well as a poet, his views would very likely have been cited

[1] As Peterson (*Subhāṣ*, p 11) seems to suggest.

[2] Bühler, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 80 and cxlvii.

[3] *Kāvyālaṁkāra-sāra-laghu-vṛtti* (ed. Kāvyamālā), pp. 1, 86

[4] Ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 22. It is curious that this treatise, which deals with the grammatico-rhetorical question of the functions of word and its sense, is not cited at all by Abhinava.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 66, 78; see Pischel, *Śṛṅgāratilaka*, p. 12.

and discussed in the usual course by Abhinava. It is also remarkable that Abhinava cites his teacher always as Bhaṭṭendurāja and never as Pratihārendurāja, although Bhaṭṭa and Pratihāra, being mere titles, need not make any difference. The conjecture is not unlikely that Abhinava's teacher may have been the poet Bhaṭṭendurāja, who is quoted under the same designation in Kṣemendra's two works, *Aucityavicāra*[1] and *Suvṛtta-tilaka*,[2] as well as in the poetical anthologies[3] of Śārṅgadhara, Vallabhadeva and Jalhaṇa. The commentator Pratihārendurāja, on the other hand, was never known for his poetical pretensions, and was chiefly a writer on Poetics, who obviously belonged to the older Alaṁkāra School, and did not, like Abhinava, believe in the newly established doctrine of *dhvani*, with which, however, he appears to be fully conversant. Referring to this new theory, Pratihārendu, following the views of the ancient writers of the Alaṁkāra and the Rīti Schools, states, in one place, that what is known as *dhvani* and taken to be the 'soul' of Poesy by some thinkers is included by his author, Udbhaṭa, in the treatment of some of the *alaṁkāras* under discussion, and therefore need not be separately considered.[4] The standpoints of Pratihārendurāja and Abhinava in the realm of Poetics are so divergent—in fact they belong to totally different schools of opinion—that it is difficult to admit any spiritual relationship between the two; for the former was in no

[1] Under *śl.* 20, 31.

[2] Under II. 2, 24, 29, 30.

[3] The verse *parārthe yaḥ pīḍām*, ascribed to Indurāja in the *Paddhati* of Śārṅgadhara (no. 1052) is quoted anonymously twice by Ānandavardhana (pp. 53, 118), a fact, which, however, is not decisive; because Abhinava's commentary is silent as to the authorship of this verse, and the same verse occurs in *Bhallaṭa-śataka* 56 and is ascribed to another poet Yaśas in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* no. 947.

[4] ननु यत्र काव्ये सहृदयहृदयाह्लादिनः प्रधानभूतस्य स्वशब्दव्यापारास्पृष्टत्वेन प्रतीयमानैकरूपस्यार्थस्य सद्भावस्तत्र तथाविधार्थाभिव्यक्तिहेतुः काव्यजीवितभूतः कैश्चित्सहृदयैर्ध्वनिर्नाम व्यञ्जकत्वभेदात्मा काव्यधर्मोऽभिहितः, स कस्मादिह नोपदिष्टः? उच्यते, एवंवादिरीत्यन्तर्भावात्। (*Op. cit.*, p. 79.)

way a subscriber to the teachings of the Dhvani School, of which Abhinava was a recognised advocate.

Jacobi has already negatived[1] Pischel's contention[2] that in three passages (pp. 37, 183, 214) Abhinava speaks of Ānandavardhana himself as one of his *gurus* or *upādhyāyas*. It is more likely that the reference is to one or other of Abhinava's many preceptors, mentioned in his *Locana* as well as his numerous treatises on Kashmir Śaivaism. One of these is Bhaṭṭa Tauta, cited at p. 178, on whose work, called *Kāvya-kautuka*, Abhinava had, as he himself tells us, written a *vivaraṇa* before he wrote his *Locana*. Nothing is known of this Bhaṭṭa Tauta (also Bhaṭṭa Tota); but it appears that Abhinava's commentary on Bharata was written at the instance of this teacher, who is reverently cited therein, just as his *Locana* was probably inspired by Bhaṭṭendurāja. The *Kāvya-kautuka* is also referred to in the *Vyaktiviveka-vyākhyāna* (p. 13); and Hemacandra[3] quotes three verses from Bhaṭṭa Tauta, while in his own commentary on the same work[4] he reproduces, after Abhinava's commentary on Bharata, Tota's opinion in connexion with the theory of *rasa*.

Sometimes Abhinava refers to his numerous preceptors generally as *asmad-guravaḥ*. In his *Locana* (p. 30), however, as well as in his *Pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī laghu-vṛtti*,[5] Abhinava refers to Utpala as his *parama-guru*, the teacher of his teacher. This Utpala, son of Udayākara, is well known in the history of Kashmir Śaivaism as the author of the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā*, on which Abhinava wrote, besides the *laghu-vṛtti* referred to above, a *bṛhatī*

[1] *WZKM.*, iv. pp. 237-8, and *ZDMG.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 404, footnote 2.
[2] *Śṛṅgāratilaka*, p. 22.
[3] *Kāvyānuśāsana*, p. 316.
[4] *Alaṁkāra-cūḍā-maṇi*, p. 59.
[5] Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. clxi.

vṛtti, and is assigned by Bühler[1] to the first half of the 10th century. It is interesting to note that while commenting on the word *pratyabhijñā*, occurring in *Dhvanyāloka* I. 8, Abhinava discusses this term and refers to what is said on this point by Utpala (*yad uktam asmat-parama-gurubhiḥ śrīmad-utpala-pādaiḥ*, p. 30). From what Abhinava himself says in his numerous works on Kashmir Śaivaism, we can indicate the line of spiritual succession (*guru-paraṁparā*) thus: Somānanda→Utpala →Lakṣmaṇagupta→Abhinavagupta, Somānanda being probably a pupil of Vasugupta, the earliest founder of the Pratyabhijñā-śāstra.

In the concluding portion of his *Parātriṁśikā-vivaraṇa*, Abhinava gives us an interesting personal and genealogical account in which he tells us that he was the son of Kāśmīraka Cukhala[2] and grandson of Varāhagupta, and had a brother named Manorathagupta. That Abhinava was Śaiva is abundantly shown, here as elsewhere, in the invocatory and concluding verses of the present text. It may be noted in this connexion that at the end of each *uddyota*, Abhinava invokes the different manifestations (*vivarta*) of Vāc. In the first, it is *pratibhā*; in the second, *paśyantī*; in the third, *madhyamā*; and in the fourth *uddyota*, he simply speaks of the 'fourth' manifestation (*turyā śaktı*), implying thereby presumably *vaikharī*. These manifestations, however, are usually enumerated as three, and not four, although different writers differ as to the particular name attached to individual manifestations in succession. Thus Ruyyaka speaks of Vāc as *trividha-vigrahā* (p. 1), which both Jayaratha and Samudrabandha explain as constituting in

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 79-80. Also Bhandarkar, *Rep.*, 1883-4, pp. 76 ff.; Eggeling, *India Office Cat.*, iv, p. 835; Chatterji, *Kashmir Śaivaism*, pp. 19-40.

[2] Bühler's Ms. has *kāśmīraka viculaka* (p. clv) as well as *cukhala* (p. clvii).

succession *paśyantī* (*parā* or *vimarśa-rūpā*), *madhyamā* and *vaikharī*. This agrees substantially with Abhinava's enumeration with the exception of *pratibhā*, which is probably Vāc itself and not one of its *vivartas*.

The date of Abhinavagupta, which forms a central landmark in Alaṁkāra literature, is easily settled from his relation to Utpala and Ānandavardhana as well as from the indications given by himself in some of his works. His *Krama-stotra* was written in A.D. 991.[1] His *Bhairava-stotra* is dated A.D. 993,[2] and his *bṛhatī vṛtti* on Utpala's *Pratyabhijñā* bears the date of A.D. 1015.[3] We may therefore place Abhinavagupta with great certainty towards the last quarter of the 10th century, and he certainly lived into the first quarter of the 11th.

My hearty thanks are due to Prof. Jacobi not only for carefully looking over this text while it was in preparation, and helping me with his suggestions, but also for his genial kindness and hospitality during the time I worked with him at Bonn. It is a matter of regret that the necessity of publishing the present text in the *Journal* did not allow me, as I had planned, to send the final proofs to him and thus profit by his further suggestions. To Dr. Thomas, who has also laid me under obligation in many other ways, and to the Curator of the Madras Oriental Library as well as to Pandit Ananta Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī and his friend Pandit S. K. Rāmanāth Śāstrī, I am indebted for copies of the Mss. To Dr. Barnett, to whom I am grateful for many acts of friendly kindness, I take this opportunity of offering my thanks for his interest in the present work and his suggestions as well as for his unfailing courtesy and kindness to me during my

[1] Intro. to *Dhvanyāloka*, ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 2, footnote.

[2] Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. clxii.

[3] Bühler, *ibid*, p. clix, also p. 80.

sojourn in England. I must also thank Mr. A. C. Ghatak, Superintendent, Calcutta University Press, for his able management of the work while it was in the press. I am also under deep obligation to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, whose zeal in the advancement of Sanskrit learning is too well known to require any mention, for his personal interest in this little contribution and for his permission to include it in the publications of the University.

॥ श्रीः

श्रीमदभिनवगुप्तोन्मीलितं

काव्यालोकलोचनम् ।

चतुर्थ उद्योतः ।

कृत्यपञ्चकनिर्वाहयोगेऽपि परमेश्वरः ।
नान्योपकरणापेक्षो यया तां नौमि शाङ्करीम् ॥[1]

उद्योतसंगतिं विवक्षुर्वृत्तिकार[2] आह l. 3 एवमिति । l. 3-4 प्रयोजनान्तरमिति P. 234
यद्यपि "सहृदयमनःप्रीतये" (I. 1, p. 3, l. 3) इत्यनेन प्रयोजनं प्रागेवोक्तं, तृतीयोद्योतावधौ च "सत्काव्यं कर्तुं श्रोतुं वा" (III. 46, p. 231, l. 6) इति तदेवैषत्[3] स्फुटीकृतं, तथापि स्फुटतरीकर्तुमिदानीं यत्नः । यतः सुस्पष्टरूपत्वेन

N. B.—The references are to pages and lines of the text in the Kāvyamālā edition, 1911 (no. 25).

[1] B reads two verses before this which really belong to the end of Chap. III (see p. 233, ll. 22-25): श्री ॥ काव्यालोके प्रथां नीतान् ध्वनिभेदान् परामृशन् । इदानीं लोचनं लोके कृतार्थान् संविधास्यति ॥ अमूवितानां भेदानां स्फुटतापत्तिदायिनीम् । विलोचनप्रियां वन्दे मध्यमां परमेश्वरीम् ॥

[2] उद्योतान्तरं प्रदर्शयितुं वृत्तिकार—A.; उद्योतसंगतिं विरचयितुं वृत्तिकार—C

[3] एतदेवैषत्—A omitting इति

P. 234 विज्ञायते अतोऽस्पष्टनिरूपितात्[1] स्पष्टनिरूपणमन्यथैव प्रतिभातीति
l. 3-4
प्रयोजनान्तरमित्युक्तम्। अथवा पूर्वोक्तयोः प्रयोजनयोरन्तरं विशेषोऽ-
भिधीयते। केन[2] विशेषेण सत्काव्यकरणमस्य प्रयोजनं[3] केन च सत्काव्यावबोध[4]
इति विशेषो निरूप्यते। तत्र सत्काव्यकरणे कथमस्य व्यापार इति पूर्वं
Kārikā 1 l. 5
वक्तव्यम्। निष्पादितस्य ज्ञेयत्वादिति। तदुच्यते ध्वनेर्य इति।
ननु[5] ध्वनिभेदात्प्रतिभानामानन्त्यमिति व्यधिकरणमे[6]तदित्यभिप्रायेणाशङ्कते
l. 8
कथमिति[7]।

Kārikā 2 l. 9
अत्रोत्तरम् अतो ह्रीति। आसतां तावद्बहवः[8] प्रकाराः, एकेनाप्येवं
l. 11
भवतीत्यपि-शब्दार्थः। एतदुक्तं भवति, वर्णनीयवस्तुनिष्ठः प्रज्ञाविशेषः
प्रतिभानं, तत्र वर्णनीयस्य पारिमित्यादाद्यकविनैव स्पृष्टत्वात्सर्वस्य तद्विषयं
प्रतिभानं[9] तज्जातीयमेव स्यात्। ततश्च काव्यमपि तज्जातीयमिति[10]
भ्रष्ट इदानीं कविप्रवाहः[11]। उक्तिवैचित्र्येण तु तएवार्था निरवधयो
भवन्तीति तद्विषयाणां प्रतिभानामानन्त्यमुपपन्नमिति। ननु प्रतिभानन्त्यस्य
l. 10
किं फलमिति निर्णेतुं वाणी नवत्वमायातीत्युक्तम्। तेन वाणीनां काव्य-
वाक्यानां[12] तावन्नवत्वमाभाति, तच्च प्रतिभानन्त्ये सत्युपपद्यते, तच्चार्थानन्त्ये,[13]
l. 14
तच्च ध्वनिप्रसादादिति। तत्र प्रथममत्यन्ततिरस्कृतवाच्यान्तरमाह स्निग्धमिति।
ll. 14-17
मधुर-विभव-सरस-किसलयित-परिमल-[14]स्पर्शनान्यत्यन्ततिरस्कृतानि
तरनाहृतसौन्दर्यसर्वजनवाङ्मयाच्चीर्णप्रसरत्वसन्तापप्रशमनतर्पकत्वसौकुमार्य-
सार्वकालिकतत्संस्कारानुवृत्तित्वयत्नाभिलषणीय[15]संगत्वानि ध्वन्यमानानि

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[1] अतो स्पष्टनिरूपितान्—B [2] Omitted in A [3] Omitted in A and B
[4] सत्काव्यपूर्वावबोध—B [5] Omitted in A and B
[6] व्यधिकरणभेदमे°—A व्यधि-करणभेदे—B [7] तदिति—A [8] आसत तो बहवः—B
[9] तद्विषयतत्प्रतिभानं—B [10] तज्जातीयमेवेति—B
[11] कविप्रयोगः—A [12] काव्यपाकानां—B [13] तद्वानन्त्य'—C ; तद्वान्य—A
[14] The text reads परिकर [15] °लक्षणीय—B

यानि तैः स्मितादेः प्रसिद्धस्यार्थस्य स्थविरकविवेधो[1] विहितधर्मव्यतिरेकेण P. 234
धर्मान्तरपात्रतां[2] यावत् क्रियते[3] तावत्तदपूर्वमेव संपद्यत इति
l. 18 l. 21-22
सर्वत्र तन्मन्तव्यम्। अस्येति "अपूर्वत्वमेव [प्रति][4]भासत" इति दूरेण संबन्धः,
l. 23
सर्वत्रैवास्य नवत्वमिति संगतिः। द्वितीयः प्रथम-शब्दोऽर्थान्तरेऽनपा[5]करणी-
यत्वप्रधानत्वसाधारणत्वादिव्यङ्ग्यधर्मान्तरे संक्रान्तं स्वार्थं व्यनक्ति। एवं
l. 24
सिंहशब्दोऽपि वीरत्वानपेक्षत्वविस्मयनीयत्वादौ व्यङ्ग्यधर्मान्तरे संक्रान्तं
स्वार्थं ध्वनति। एवं प्रथमस्य द्वौ भेदावुदाहृत्य द्वितीयस्याप्युदाहर्तुमा-
l. 3 l. 5 l. 5
सूत्रयति विवक्षितेति[6]। निद्रायां कैतवी कृतकसुप्त इत्यर्थः। वदने विन्यस्य P. 235
वक्त्रमिति वदनस्पर्शजमेव[7] तावद्दित्यं सुखं त्यक्तुं न पारयतीति अतएव
l. 5 l. 5 l. 6
प्रियस्येति। वधूर्नवोढा। बोधत्रासेन प्रियतमप्रबोधभयेन[8] निरुद्धो हठात्[9]
प्रवर्तमानः, प्रवर्तमानोऽपि कथञ्चित् क्षणमात्रं धृतसुम्बनाभिलाषो यया[10]।
l. 6 l. 6
अतएवाभोगेन[11] पुनः पुनर्निद्राविचारनिवर्णनयापि[12] लोलं[13] कृत्वा स्थिता।
न तु सर्वथैव चुम्बनात्[14] निवर्तितुं शक्नोतीत्यर्थः। एवंभूता एषा यदि
l. 7
मया परिचुम्ब्यते तर्हि लज्जा विमुखा भवेदिति तस्यापि प्रियस्य परिचुम्बन-
l. 8
विषये[15] निरारम्भस्य हृदयं साकाङ्क्षप्रतिपत्ति नामेति। साकाङ्क्षा साभि-
लाषा प्रतिपत्तिः स्थितिर्यस्य तादृशं कङ्कतिकाकदर्थितं न तु मनोरथ-
l. 8
संपत्ति[16]चरितार्थं यद्यपि हृदयम्, किन्तु रतेः परस्परजीवितसर्वस्वाभिमान-
l. 8
रूपायाः परिनिर्वृतेः[17] केनचिदप्यनुभावेनालब्धावगाहनायाः पारं गतमिति[18]

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[1] विकविरेवधो ?—A ; स्थविरवेधो—B [2] धर्मोन्तरपात्रता—B [3] °धृते—B
[4] Omitted in A, B, C : but in the text. [5] नवाकरणीयं°—A and B
[6] Abhinava apparently accepts here the reading of ग in the text.
[7] वदनस्पर्शनमेव—A
[8] प्रियतमप्रबोधेन—B [9] हारात्—A [10] ययौ—B
[11] अतएव भोगेन—B [12] निद्रापि चारुनिर्वर्णयापि—A
[13] न लोलं—A ; निवर्णनया विलोलं—B [14] चुम्बनं—A
[15] समये—A and B [16] °सापत्ति—B
[17] परिनिर्वृतो—B ; परनिर्वृतेः—C [18] पारं पारं गतमिति—B ; परां गतिमिति—A

P. 235 परिपूर्णभूत एव शृङ्गार इत्यर्थः। ll. 10 ff. द्वितीयश्लोकेन तु परिचुम्बनं संपन्नम्। l. 13 लज्जास्वशब्देनोक्ता तेनापि च सा परिचुम्बितेति यद्यपि पोषित एव शृङ्गारः, तथापि प्रथमश्लोके परस्पराभिलाषप्रसरनिरोधपरम्परापर्यवसानासंभवेन या रतिरुक्ता[1] सोभयोरपि[2] एकस्वरूपचित्तवृत्त्यनुप्रवेशमाचक्षाणां रतिं[3] सुतरां पोषयति।

एवं मौलं भेदचतुष्टयमुदाहृत्यालङ्क्यक्रमभेदेष्वति[4]देशमुखेन सर्वोप-
Kārikā 3 भेदविषयमतिदेशं करोति l. 16 युक्त्यानयेति[5]। l. 16 अनुसर्तव्य इति उदाहर्तव्य इत्यर्थः। l. 19 यथोक्तमिति

तस्याङ्गानां प्रभेदा ये प्रभेदाः स्वगताश्च ये।
तेषामानन्त्यमन्योन्यसंबन्धपरिकल्पनम्[6]। (III. 13, p. 83)

इत्यत्र प्रतिपादितम्। l. 24 चेतदिति च-शब्दोऽपि-शब्दस्यार्थे[7] भिन्नक्रमः। एतदपि प्रतिपादितम् "भावानचेतनानपि चेतनवच्चेतनानचेतनवत्" (p. 222,
P. 236 l. 9) इत्यत्र। l 2 अतथास्थितानपि तथासंस्थितानिवेति[8] इव-शब्देन एकतर-विश्रान्तियोगाभावादेव सुतरां विचित्ररूपानित्यर्थः। l 2 हृदय इति प्रधानतमे समस्तभावकनकनिकषस्थान इत्यर्थः। l. 2 निवेशयति यस्य यस्य हृदयमस्ति तस्य तस्याचलतया तत्र तत्र स्थापयतीत्यर्थः। अतएव ते प्रसिद्धार्थेभ्योऽन्य एवेत्यर्थविशेषाः संपद्यन्ते। हृदयनिविष्टा एव च तथा भवन्ति नान्यथेत्यर्थः। l. 3 सा जयति परिच्छिन्नशक्तिभ्यः प्रजापतिभ्योऽप्युत्कर्षेण वर्तते। l. 3 तत्प्रसादादेव कविगोचरो वर्णनीयार्थो[9] l. 3 विकटो निःसीमा संपद्यते।

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[1] स्थिति°—B [2] सोऽभयो°—B [3] रतिः—B
[4] भेदांश्चेष्वति—A and B [5] The text reads दिशानया°
[6] The text reads °परिकल्पने [7] °शब्दोऽर्थे—A
[8] बहिःस्थिताश्चितानिवेति—A ; बहिस्तथा°—B [9] वर्णनीयो—A

प्रतिभानां वाणीनां चानन्त्यं ध्वनिकृतमिति[1] यदनुद्घिन्नमुक्तं तदेव P. 236
कारिकया भङ्ग्या निरूप्यत इत्याह l. 5 उपपादयितुमिति। उपपत्त्या
निरूपयितुमित्यर्थः। यद्यप्यर्थानन्त्यमात्रे हेतुर्वृत्तिकारेणोक्तस्तथापि
कारिकाकारेण नोक्त इति भावः। यदि वा l. 5 उच्यते संग्रहश्लोकोऽयमिति
भावः, अतएवास्य श्लोकस्य वृत्तिग्रन्थे व्याख्यानं न कृतम्। l. 6 दृष्टपूर्वा इति। Kārikā 4
बहिः[2] प्रत्यक्षादिभिः प्रमाणैः प्राक्तनैश्च कविभिरित्युभयथा नेयम्।
l. 7 काव्यं मधुमासस्थानीयम्। l. 15 स्पृहां लज्जामिति l. 19 रागवतामुत्कलिका इति
च शब्दस्पृष्टेऽर्थे[3] का हृद्यता। एतानि चोदाहरणानि वितत्य पूर्वमेव
व्याख्यातानीति (pp. 102, 106) किं पुनरुक्त्या। सत्यपि प्राक्तनकविस्पृष्टत्वे
नूतनत्वं भवत्येवैतत्प्रकारानुग्रहादित्येतावति तात्पर्यं हि वृत्तिग्रन्थस्याधिकं
नान्यत्।

ll. 7–8
करिणीवैधव्यकरो मम पुत्र एकेन काण्डेन विनिपातनसमर्थः। P. 237
हतस्नुषया तथा कृतो यथा काण्डकरण्डकं वहति॥

इत्युक्तान[4] एवायमर्थः। l. 6 गाथार्थस्यानालीढतैवेति[5] संबन्धः।
l. 23 अत्यन्त-ग्रहणेन निरपेक्षभावतया विप्रलम्भाशङ्कां परिहरति। l. 24 तृष्णीनां Kārikā 5
P. 238, l. 2 परस्परक्षयः, पाण्डवानामपि महापथक्लेशेनानुचिता विपत्तिः, कृष्णस्यापि
व्याधादिध्वंस इति सर्वस्यापि[6] P. 237, l. 24 विरसावसानमिति। ll. 3-4 मुख्यतयेति यद्यपि P. 238
"धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च मोक्षे च" इत्युक्त[7] तथापि चत्वारश्चकारा एवमाहुः,
यद्यपि धर्मार्थकामानां सर्वस्वं ताट्टङ्नास्ति[8] यदत्र न विद्यते तथापि

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[1] वानन्त्यध्वनिकृतमिति—B
[2] The text reads अपि
[3] रागवतामुत्कलिकामिति च शब्दः स्पृष्टेऽर्थे—B; रागवतामुत्कलिकाशब्द इति च स्पृष्टेऽर्थे—A
[4] इत्युक्ता न—A and B
[5] गधार्थस्य नालीढतैवेति—B
[6] B omits अपि
[7] धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ।
यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न तत् क्वचित्॥
[8] सर्वस्वन्ना दुर्मनास्ति—B

P. 238 पर्यन्तविरसत्वमत्रैवावलोक्यताम्। मोक्षे तु यद्रूपं तस्य सारतात्रैव विचार्यतामिति। l. 7 यथा यथेति लोकैस्तत्प्रमाणं यत्नेन संपाद्यमानं[1] धर्मार्थकामतत्साधनलक्षणं वस्तु भूततयाभिमतमपि येन येनार्जन-रक्षणक्षयादिना प्रकारेण[2] l. 7 सारवत्तुच्छेन्द्रजालादिवद्विपर्येति l. 7 प्रत्युत विपरीतं संपद्यते। आस्तां तस्य स्वरूपचिन्त्येत्यर्थः[3]। तेन तेन प्रकारेणात्र लोकतन्त्रे l. 8 विरागो जायत इत्यनेन तत्त्वज्ञानोत्थं[4] निर्वेदं शान्तरसस्थायिनं सूचयता तस्यैव सर्वेतरासारत्वप्रतिपादनेन प्राधान्यमुक्तम्। ननु शृङ्गारवीरादि-चमत्कारोऽपि तत्र भावीत्याशङ्क्याह l. 12 पारमार्थिकेति। भोगाभिनिवेशिनां लोकवासनाविष्टानामङ्ग[5]भूतेऽपि रसे तथाभिमानो यथा शरीरे प्रमात्व-त्वाभिमानः प्रमातुर्भोगायतनमात्रेऽपि। l. 22 केवलेष्विति परमेश्वरभक्त्युप-करणेषु तु न दोष इत्यर्थः। l. 21 विभूतिषु रागिणो गुणेषु[6] च निविष्टधियो मा भूतेति संबन्धः। l. 22 अग्र इत्यनुक्रमण्यनन्तरं यो भारते ग्रन्थस्तत्रेत्यर्थः। ननु वसुदेवापत्यं वासुदेव इत्युच्यते, न परमेश्वरः परमात्मा महादेव

P. 239 इत्याशङ्क्याह l. 9 वासुदेवसंज्ञाभिधेयत्वेनेति।

बहूनां जन्मनामन्ते ज्ञानवान्मां प्रपद्यते।
वासुदेवः सर्वम्[7] (Bhagavadagītā VII. 19)

इत्यादौ अङ्गि[8]रूपमेतत्संज्ञाभिधेयमिति निर्णीतं[9] तात्पर्यम्। l. 13 निर्णीतश्चेति शब्दा[10] हि नित्या एव सन्तोऽनन्तरं काकतालीयवशात् तथा सङ्केतिता इत्युक्तं ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्चेत्यत्र (Pāṇini IV. 1. 114)। l. 15 शास्त्रनय

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[1] संपाद्यमांधर्मामां—A
[2] A omits प्रकारेण
[3] स्वल्पचिन्ते°—A ; स्वरूपाले°—B
[4] तत्त्वज्ञानार्थं—A
[5] लोकवासिना पिष्टानामङ्ग°—B : A reads अंश instead of अङ्ग
[6] गुणे—A
[7] वासुदेव उच्यते नः सर्वम्—B
[8] अंशि—B and C
[9] निर्णीत—A
[10] शब्दो—A, which reads एव after this.

इति तत्रास्वादयोगाभावे पुरुषार्थ इत्ययमेव[1] व्यपदेशः सोदरः, P. 239
चमत्कारयोगे तु रसव्यपदेश इति भावः। एतच्च ग्रन्थकारेण तत्त्वालोके
वितत्योक्तम्, इह त्वस्य न मुख्योऽवसर इति नास्माभिस्तद्दर्शितम्।
l. 18 l. 19
सुतरामेवेति यदुक्तं तत्र हेतुमाह। प्रसिद्धिश्चेति च-शब्दो यस्मादर्थे, यत
इयं लौकिकी प्रसिद्धिः। अनादितो भगवद्व्यासादीनामयमेवा[2]स्वशब्दाभि-
धाने आशयः। अन्यथा हि क्रियाकारकसंबन्धादौ नारायणं नमस्कृत्येत्यादि
शब्दार्थनिरूपणे च[3] तथाविध एव तस्य भगवत आशय इत्यत्र किं प्रमाणमिति
l. 19
भावः। विदग्धविद्वद्ग्रहणेन काव्यनये शास्त्रनय इति चानुसृतम्[4]।
"रसादिमय एतस्मिन् कविः स्यादवधानवान्" (IV. 5, p. 237, l. 14)
इति यदुक्तं तदेव प्रसंगादागतभारतसंबन्धनिरूपणानन्तरमुपसंहरति
l. 20 l. 22 l. 23
तस्मात् स्थितमिति। अत इति यतएवं स्थितमतएवेदमपि यल्लक्ष्ये[5]
l. 23
दृश्यते तदुपपन्नम्, अन्यथा तदनुपपन्नमेव[6]। न च तदनुपपन्नं चारुत्वेन[7]
प्रतीतेः, तस्यास्यै तदेव कारणं रसानुगुणार्थत्वमेवेत्याशयः। अलंकारान्तरेति
अन्तर-शब्दो विशेषवाची। यदि वा दिक्षिते उदाहरणे[8] रसवदलंकारस्य
विद्यमानत्वात् तदपेक्षयालंकारान्तरशब्दः। ननु मत्कच्छपदर्शनात्प्रतीय-
मानं यदेकचुलके जलनिधिसन्निधानं ततो मुनेर्माहात्म्यप्रतिपत्तिरिति न
l. 26
रसानुगुणेनार्थेन छाया पोषितेत्याशङ्क्याह अत्र हीति। नन्वेवं प्रतीयमानं
जलनिधिदर्शनमेवाद्भुतानुगुणं भवत्विति रसानुगुणोऽत्र[9] वाच्योऽर्थ इत्यस्मिन्नंशे
l. 3
कथमिदमुदाहरणमाशङ्क्याह क्षुण्ण हीति। पुनः पुनर्वर्णननिरूपणादिना यत् P. 240
पिष्टपिष्टत्वादति[10]निर्भिन्नस्वरूपमित्यर्थः। बहुतरलक्ष्यव्यापकं चैतदिति
l. 4 II. 6-7
दर्शयति[11] न चेत्यादिना। रथ्यायां तुलाग्रेण काकतालीयेन[12] प्रतिलग्नः

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[1] पुरुषेणेत्यर्थः; तत इत्ययमेव—A पुरुषेणार्थत इत्ययमेव—B
[2] भगवद्व्यासप्रभृतीनाप्ययमेवास्वशब्दाभि°—B and C
[3] Omitted in B
[4] वानुसृतम्—A
[5] यल्लक्ष्यते—A and B
[6] तदुपपन्नमेव—A
[7] तदनुपपन्नाचारुत्वेन—B
[8] उदाहरणेन—A and B
[9] °गुणो ऽत्र—B
[10] °पिष्टत्वादि—A
[11] Omitted in—A
[12] तुलग्न=काकतालीय, Hemacandra, *Deśī-k.* V. 15.

P. 240 सांमुख्येन स पार्श्वोऽद्यापि सुभग तस्या येनास्यतिक्रान्तः[1] । l. 8 रसप्रतीतिरिति परस्परहेतुकशृङ्गारप्रतीतिः । अस्यार्थस्य रसानुगुणत्वं व्यतिरेकद्वारेण दृढ़यति l. 8 सा त्वामित्यादिना । "ध्वनेर्यः सगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यस्याध्वा प्रदर्शितः" इत्युद्योतारम्भे यः[2] श्लोकः[2] (IV. 1, p. 234, l. 5) तत्र ध्वनेरध्वना कवीनां प्रतिभागुणोऽनन्तो[3] भवतीत्येष भागो व्याख्यात इत्युपसंहरति l. 10 तदेवमित्यादिना । l. 11 सगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यस्येत्यमुं भागं व्याचष्टे l. 11 गुणीभूतेत्यादिना । त्रिप्रभेदो[4] वस्त्वलंकाररसात्मना यो व्यङ्ग्यस्तस्य यापेक्षा वाच्ये गुणीभावस्तस्येत्यर्थः । तत्र सर्वे ये ध्वनिभेदास्तेषां गुणीभावादानन्त्यमिति तदाह l. 12 अतिविस्तरेति[5] । l. 13 स्वयमिति तत्र वस्तुना व्यङ्ग्येन गुणीभूतेन नवत्वम्, सत्यपि पुराणार्थस्पर्शे, यथा[6] ममैव[6]

भअविहलरक्खणे कल्लमल्लसरणागआण अत्थाण ।
खणमेत्तण पिणादिआ वीसामकले त्ति जुत्तमिणम् ॥[7](?)

त्वमनवरतमर्थान् त्यजसीति[8] औदार्यलक्षणं वस्तु ध्वन्यमानं वाच्योपस्कारकं नवत्वं ददाति, सत्यपि पुराणकविस्मृष्टेऽर्थे । तथा हि पुराणे[9] गाथा

चाइअणकपरंपरसंचारणखअणीसहसरीरा ।
अत्था किवणघरत्था सत्थावत्था सवन्तीव ॥[10] (?)

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[1] येनान्यायेतिक्रान्तः—A [2] Omitted in A [3] न पर्याप्ती—C

[4] Abhinava apparently accepts the reading of क and ख in the text.

[5] The text reads अतिविस्तार° [6] Omited in A

[7] B reads : भयविहलरक्खणे किसलमल्लसरणगआण यत्थाण । खलमेत्तं पिणणाभिणणा विस्सामकलेल्लिजत्तमिणम् । C reads भिणदिणणा and वीसाम° in the second line.

[8] खजसीति—B [9] पौराणी—B

[10] चाइअणकरपरम्परसञ्चारणखअणीसहसरीरा । अर्था किंवणतुबरत्था सत्यावत्था सवन्ती—A ; इअणकरपरंपरसञ्चारणखेअणीसहसरीरा । अर्त्था किवणघरर्त्था सर्त्यावर्त्था सवन्तीव—B. C reads किं वणतु पत्था in the second line.

अलंकारेण व्यङ्ग्येन वाच्योपस्कारेण[1] नवत्वम्, यथा ममैव P. 240

वसन्तमत्तालिपरम्परोपमाः
कचास्तवासन् किल रागहृद्यैः[2]।
श्मशानभूभागपरागभासुराः[3]
कथं तदेते न मनो[4]विरक्तये॥

अत्राक्षेपेण[5] विभावनया वा[6] ध्वन्यमानाभ्यां वाच्यमुपस्कृतमिति[7] नवत्वम्, सत्यपि पुराणार्थयोगित्वे; तथा[8] पुराणः श्लोकः

क्षुत्तृष्णाकाममात्सर्यमरणाच्च महाभयम्।
पञ्चैतानि विवर्धन्ते वार्द्धके विदुषामपि॥

इति। व्यङ्ग्येन[9] रसेन[10] गुणीभूतेन वाच्योपस्कारेण नवत्वम्,[11] यथा ममैव

जरा नेयं मूर्ध्नि ध्रुवमयमसौ कालभुजगः
क्रुधान्धः[12] फुत्कारैः स्फुटगरल[13]फेनैः प्रकिरति।
तदेनं[14] सम्यश्यत्यथ च सुखितंमन्यहृदयः
शिवोपायं नेच्छन् बत बत सुधीरः खलु जनः॥

अत्राङ्गतेन व्यङ्ग्येन वाच्यमुपस्कृतं शान्त[15]रसप्रतिपत्त्यङ्गत्वा[16]च्चारु भवतीति नवत्वम्, सत्यप्यस्मिन् पुराणश्लोके

जराजीर्णशरीरेऽस्मिन् वैराग्यं यन्न जायते।
तन्मूनं[17] हृदये मृत्युर्दृढं नास्तीति निश्चयः॥

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[1] वाच्योसकारे—B [2] °हृत्तये—A [3] °पांसुना—B
[4] मनाः—A; मना—B [5] अत्र त्राक्षेपेण—B and C
[6] Omitted in—B [7] °मुपस्कृत्य तमिति—B
[8] This sentence and the following verse omitted in A.
[9] व्यङ्ग्ये—C [10] रसे—C [11] This line is omitted in A.
[12] धान्धः—A; क्रुधान्ध—B [13] °तरल°—B [14] तदेतान्—B
[15] °मुपस्कृतशान्त°—A [16] °रसव्रतपत्यङ्गत्वात्—A [17] तमेनं—A and B

P. 240. Kārikā 6.

l. 16 सरस्वतीत्यादि कारिकाया उपस्कारः[1]। त्रीन् पादान्[2] स्पष्टान् मत्वा तुर्यं पादं व्याख्यातुं पठति l. 16 यदीति[3]। विद्यमानो ह्यसौ प्रतिभागुण उक्तनीत्या भूयान्भवति, नत्वत्यन्तासन्नेवेत्यर्थः। l. 16 तस्मिन्निति अनन्तीभूते प्रतिभागुणे। l. 17 न किंचिदेवेति सर्वं हि पुराणकविनैव सृष्टमिति किमिदानीं वर्ण्यं यत्र कवेर्वर्णनाव्यापारः स्यात्। ननु यद्यपि वर्ण्यमपूर्वं[4] नास्ति तथाप्युक्तिपरिपाकगुम्फ[5]घटनाद्यपरपर्यायवन्धच्छाया नवा नवा भविष्यति यन्निवेशने काव्यन्तराणां संरम्भ इत्याशङ्क्याह l. 17 बन्धच्छायापीति। l. 17 अर्थहृद्यं[6] गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यं प्रधानभूतव्यङ्ग्यं[7] च। l. 19 नेदीय इति निकटतरम्, हृदयानुप्रवेशो न[8] भवतीत्यर्थः। अत्र हेतुमाह l. 19 एवं सतीति। l. 19 चतुरत्वं समाससंघटना। l. 19 मधुरत्वमपारुष्यम्। l. 22 तथाविधानामिति अपूर्वबन्ध[9]च्छायायुक्तानामपि। परोपनिबद्धार्थ[10]निबन्धने परकृतकाव्यव्यवहार एव स्यादित्यर्थस्याप्य[11]पूर्वत्वमाश्रयणीयम्। कवनीयं काव्यं तस्य भावः काव्यत्वम्। न त्वयं[12] भावप्रत्ययान्ताद्भावप्रत्यय इति शङ्कितव्यम्। l. 23 प्रतिपादयितुमिति प्रसङ्गादिति शेषः।

Kārikā 7. P. 241.

यदि वा वाचं तावद्विविधव्यङ्ग्योपयोगि, तदेव चेदनन्तम्, तद्बलादेव व्यङ्ग्यानन्त्यं भवतीत्यनेनाभिप्रायेणेदं प्रकृतमेवोच्यते l. 2 शुद्धस्येति। व्यङ्ग्यविषयो यो व्यापारस्तत्स्पर्श[13] विनाप्यानन्त्यं स्वरूपमात्रेणैव, पश्चात्तु तथा स्वरूपेणानन्तं[14] सद्व्यङ्ग्यं व्यनक्तीति भावः। ननु सर्वथा तत्र व्यङ्ग्यं नास्तीति मन्तव्यम्, आत्मभूततद्रूपाभावे काव्यव्यवहारहानेः। तथा[15] चोदाहरणेषु

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[1] उपस्काराः—B; C is not available after this. [2] पिपादान्—A

[3] यदिति—B; यदि—A [4] वर्ण्यं पूर्वं—A [5] °गुम्भ°—A and B

[6] अर्थहृद्या—A [7] Omitted in B. [8] °प्रवेशेन—B

[9] °संवन्ध°—A [10] परोपनिवन्धार्थ°—B: A simply reads परोपनिवन्धने

[11] स्यादिर्थस्यापि—B [12] त्वया—B [13] तव स्पर्शनं—B

[14] स्वरूपेणानन्तरं—B [15] तदा—B

P. 240, l. 15 l. 3-4
रसध्वनेः सद्भावो[1]ऽस्त्येव। आदि-ग्रहणं व्याचष्टे स्वालक्षण्या[2]चेति स्वरूपा- P. 241.
देवेत्यर्थः, यथा रूपस्पर्शयोस्तौल्यैकावस्थयोरेकद्रव्यनिष्ठयोरेककालयोश्च।

ll. 14-15
न च तेषां घटतेऽवधि[3]र्न च ते दृश्यन्ते कथमपि[4] पुनरुक्ताः।
ये विभ्रमाः प्रियाणामर्था वा सुकविवाणीनाम्॥

l. 14 l. 14
चकाराभ्यामतिविस्मयः सूच्यते। कथमपीति प्रयत्नेन विचार्यमाणं
l. 15
पौनरुक्त्यं न लभ्यमिति यावत्[4]। प्रियाणामिति बहुवल्लभो हि सुभगो राधा-
वल्लभप्रायस्तास्ताः कामिनीः परिभोगसुभगमुपभुञ्जानोऽपि न विभ्रम-
पौनरुक्त्यं पश्यति। तदा एतदेव प्रियात्वमुच्यते यदाह[5]

क्षणे क्षणे यन्नवतामुपैति
तदेव रूपं रमणीयतायाः। (Māgha iv. 17)

इति। l. 15
प्रियाणामिति चासंसारंप्रवहद्रूपोऽयं[6] कान्तानां विभ्रम[7]-
विशेषः स[8] नवनव एव दृश्यते। न ह्ययं अग्निचयनादिवदन्यतः शिक्षितः,
येन तत्सादृश्यात्पुनरुक्ततां गच्छेत्। अपि तु निसर्गादुद्यिमानमदनाङ्कुर-
विकासमात्रं तदिति नवनवत्वम्। तदत्यरकौयशिक्षानपेक्षनिजप्रतिभागुण-
l. 10
निष्यन्दभूतः काव्यार्थ इति भावः। तावदिति उत्तरकालं व्यङ्ग्यस्पर्शनेन P. 242.
विचित्रतां परां भजतां नाम तावदिति[9] तु स्वभावेनैव सा विचित्रतेति
l. 18
तावच्छब्दस्याभिप्रायः। तन्निमित्तानाञ्चेति ऋतुमाल्यादीनां स्वानुभूत-

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[1] सम्भवो—B [2] स्वालक्षिण्या—A and B [3] विधिः—B
[4] °पौनरुक्त्यं पश्यति तथा एतदेव प्रियात्वमुच्यते यदा न लभ्यमिति यावत्—B, a confusion with the lines which follow.
[5] B omits, due to the above confusion, the sentence from तदा to यदाह.
[6] प्रवाहरूपो योऽयं'—A [7] विभ्रम—A [8] Omitted in A [9] तावति—A

P. 242 परानुभूतानां यत्सामान्यं तदेव विशेषान्तररहितं तन्मात्रं तस्याश्रयेण। l. 20
न[1] हि तैरिति कविभिः। एतच्चात्यन्तासंभावनार्थमुक्तम्। प्रत्यक्षदर्शनेऽपि हि

शब्द'[2] सङ्केतितं प्राहुर्व्यवहाराय स स्मृतः[3]।
तदा स्वलक्षणं नास्ति सङ्केतस्तेन तत्र न[4]॥

इत्यादियुक्तिभिः सामान्यमेव स्पृश्यते। l. 25 किमित्यसंवेद्यमानार्थपौनरुक्त्य'[5]
l. 25—P. 243, l. 2
कथं[6] प्रामाणिकै[7]रङ्गीकार्यमिति भावः। तमेव प्रकटयति न चेदिति।
P. 243 l. 8
उक्तिर्हीति[8] पर्यायमात्रतैव यद्युक्ति[9]विशेषस्तत्पर्यायान्तरैरविकलतदर्थो-
पनिबन्धे[10]ऽपौनरुक्त्याभिमानो न भवति, तस्मादिशिष्टवाच्यप्रतिपादकतैवोक्ते-
र्विशेष इति भावः। l. 11 ग्राह्यविशेषेति[11] ग्राह्यः प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणैर्यो
विशेषस्तस्य यो भेदः। तेनायमर्थः, पदानां तावत् सामान्ये वा[12]
तद्इति वापोढे[13] वा यत्र कुत्रापि वस्तुनि समयः[14]। किमनेन वादान्तरेण।
वाक्यात्तद्विशेषः[15] प्रतीयत इति कस्यात्र वादिनो विमतिः[16]। अन्विताभिधान-
तद्विपर्ययसंसर्गभेदप्रतिपादि[17]वाक्यार्थपक्षेषु सर्वत्र विशेषस्याप्रत्याख्येयत्वा-
दुक्तिवैचित्र्यं च न पर्यायत्वमात्र[18]कृतमित्युक्तम्। अन्यत्तु यत्तत्प्रत्युतास्माकं
l. 15 l. 17
पक्षसाधकमित्याह किं चेति। पुनरिति भूय इत्यर्थः। उपमानं हि निभ[19]-
प्रतिमच्छलप्रतिबिम्बप्रतिच्छायातुल्यसदृशभासादिभिर्विचित्राभिरुक्तिभि[20]-
र्विचित्रीभवत्येव। वस्तुत एतासामुक्तीनाम[21]र्थवैचित्र्यस्य विद्यमानत्वात्

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[1] Omitted in A
[2] शब्दाः—A and B
[3] व्यवहारासमर्थतः—A
[4] सङ्केतस्तत्र न...—A
[5] °संवेद्यमानमर्थपौनरुक्त्यमित्यर्थः—A
[6] Omitted in A
[7] प्राकरणिकै—A
[8] उक्तिर्भीति—A
[9] ध्वन्युक्ति—A
[10] °निबन्धेऽपि अपौनरुक्त्ये—A
[11] The text reads वाच्यविशेष°
[12] व—A
[13] वाचोढेवा—A
[14] वस्तुसमयः—B
[15] वाक्यात्तु विशेषः तस्य यो भेदः—B
[16] वादिनोऽपि मतिः—B
[17] °प्रतिभा°—B
[18] मात्र—B
[19] निकट°—A
[20] विचित्राभिः युक्तिभिः—A
[21] एतासां सूक्तीनां—B

नियमेन भान[1]-योगाद्वि निभ-शब्दस्तदनुकातरया प्रतिम-शब्द इत्येवं सर्वत्र P. 243
वाच्यम्[2]। केवलं[3] यौगिक[4](?)काव्यटीका[5]परिशीलनदौरात्म्यादेषु पर्यायत्व-भ्रम इति भावः। एवमर्थानन्त्य[6]मलंकारानन्त्यं च भणितिवैचित्र्याङ्गवति। अन्यथापि च तत्त्वतो भवतीति दर्शयति l. 19 भणितिश्चेति। प्रतिनियताया l. 20 भाषायाः गोचरो वाच्यो योऽर्थ[7]स्तत्कृतं यद्वैचित्र्यं तन्निबन्धनं[8] निमित्तं यस्य। अलंकाराणां काव्यार्थानां चानन्त्य[9] तत्कर्मभूतं[10] भणितिवैचित्र्यं कर्तृभूतमापादयतीति संबन्धः। कर्मणो विशेषणच्छलेन[11] हेतुर्दर्शितः।

ll. 21-22
मम मम इति भणतो व्रजति कालो जनस्य।
तथापि न देवो जनार्दनो गोचरो भवति मनसो मधुमथनः॥

इति। योऽनवरतं भणति तस्य कथं न देवो मनोगोचरो भवतीति विरोधालंकारच्छाया सैन्धवभाषायां मह मह इत्यनया भणित्या समुन्मीलिता।

अवस्थादिविभिन्नानां वाच्यानां विनिबन्धनम्[12]। P. 243-44
भूम्नैव दृश्यते लक्ष्ये[13] तत्तु भाति[14] रसाश्रयात्॥ Kārikā 8

इति कारिका[15]। अन्यस्तु ग्रन्थो मध्योपस्कारः। अत्र च पादत्रयस्यार्थमनूद्य चतुर्थपादार्थोऽपूर्वतयाभिधीयते l. 4 तत्त्विति l. 8 आदि। शक्तीनामित्यन्ततः कारिकयोर्मध्योपस्कारः[16]।

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[1] नियमेऽनुभान°—B [2] वाच्या—B [3] केवलं वा—B; कैवल—A
[4] योगि—A [5] °काव्यादिका—B [6] एवमर्थनित्य°—A
[7] गोचरैरवाच्यो—A; B omits यो after वाच्यो and reads वाच्योऽर्थः
[8] निबन्धननिमित्तं—A and B [9] चानन्त्यस्य—B
[10] तद्भूतं—B [11] °जलेन—B [12] सन्निबन्धनं—B
[13] लक्ष्येत—B [14] भारतो—A
[15] Omitted by B. The *Kārikā* reads differently in the text.
[16] Abhinava's reading of the text here is interesting.

P. 244 Kārikā 10-11

द्वितीयकारिकायास्तुरीयं पादं व्याचष्टे यथा होति। संवादाख्यिति[1] कारिकाया अर्धम्, नकरूपतेति द्वितीयम्। किमियं राजाज्ञेत्यभिप्रायेणाशङ्कते कथमिति चेदिति

संवादो[2] ह्यन्यसादृश्यं तत्पुनः प्रतिबिम्बवत्।
आलेख्याकारवत्तुल्यदेहिवच्च शरीरिणाम्॥ Kārikā 12

इत्यनया कारिकया। एषा खण्डीकृत्य वृत्तौ पठिता। शरीरिणामित्यय[3] च शब्दः प्रतिवाक्यं द्रष्टव्य इति दर्शितम्। शरीरिण इति पूर्वमेव प्रतिलब्धस्वरूपतया प्रधानभूतस्येत्यर्थः।

तत्र पूर्वमनन्यात्म तुच्छात्म तदनन्तरम्।
तृतीयं[4] तु प्रसिद्धात्म नान्यसाम्यं[5] त्यजेत्कविः॥ Kārikā 13

P. 245 इति कारिका। अनन्यः पुर्वोपनिबद्धकाव्यादात्मा स्वभावो यस्य तदनन्यात्म[6]। येन रूपेण भाति तत्प्राक् विसृष्टमेव[7]। यथा स्वेन रूपेण प्रतिबिम्बं भाति तेन रूपेण बिम्बमेव, तत्स्वयं तु तत्कोटशमित्याह तात्त्विकशरीरशून्यमिति। न हि तेन किंचिदपूर्वमुत्प्रेक्षितम्, प्रतिबिम्बमप्येवमेव। एवं प्रथमं प्रकारं व्याख्याय द्वितीयं व्याचष्टे तदनन्तरन्विति। द्वितीयमित्यर्थः। अन्येन साम्यं यस्य तत्तथा। तुच्छात्मेति अनुकारे ह्यनुकार्यबुद्धिरेव चित्रपुस्तकादाविव न तु सिन्दूरादिबुद्धिः स्फुरति। सापि न चारुत्वायेति भावः। एतदेवेति तृतीयस्य रूपस्य न त्याज्यत्वम्।

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[1] B is corrupt here and reads सापादख्यिति कारिकेत्यभिप्रायेण शङ्कते कथमिति चेदिति

[2] संपादो—B

[3] शरीरिणामिति अन्यं—B; शरीरिणामित्यं च—A

[4] तृतीयः—B

[5] प्रसिद्धात्मना अन्यसाम्यं—A: प्रसिद्धात्मा नान्य°—B

[6] तदनन्यात्मा—A and B

[7] तत्स्पृष्टमेव—B

[8] अनुकारेऽनुकार्ये°—B

आत्मनोऽन्यस्य[1] सद्भावे पूर्वस्थित्यनुयाय्यपि । P. 245
वस्तु भातितरां तस्याः[2] शशिच्छायमिवाननम् ॥ Kārikā 14

इति कारिका वृत्तौ खण्डोक्तत्य पठिता। केषुचित्पुस्तकेषु कारिका अखण्डिता एव दृश्यन्ते। आत्मन इत्यस्य शब्दस्य पूर्वपठिताभ्यामेव तत्त्वस्य सारभूतस्येति पदाभ्यामर्थो निरूपितः। ससंवादानामिति[3] पाठः, संवादानामिति[4] तु पाठे वाक्यार्थरूपाणां समुदायानां[5] ये संवादास्तेषामिति। वैयधिकरण्येन सङ्गतिर्वस्तु-शब्देन[6]।

एको द्वौ वा त्रयो वा चतुरादयो[7] वा पदानामर्थाः। Kārikā 15
तानि त्विति अक्षराणि पदानि च तान्येवेति तेन रूपेण युक्तानि, मनागन्यरूपतामनागतानीत्यर्थः। एवमक्षरादिरचनैवेति दृष्टान्तभागं व्याख्याय दार्ष्टान्तिके योजयति तथैवेति। श्लेषादिविषयानि(नो)ति[8] श्लेषादिस्वभावानि(नो)त्यर्थः। सहृत्ततेजस्विगुणद्विजातयो (?) हि शब्दाः[9] पूर्वपूर्वैरपि कविसहस्रैः श्लेषच्छायया निबध्यन्ते, निबद्धाश्च चन्द्रादयश्चोपमानत्वेन[10]। तथैव पदार्थरूपाणीत्यत्र नापूर्वाणि घटयितुं शक्यत इत्यादि विरुध्यन्तीत्यन्तं प्राक्तनं वाक्यमनुसन्धनीयम्।

लोकस्येति व्याचष्टे सहृदयानामिति। चमत्कृतिरिति आस्वाद- Kārikā 16
प्रधानबुद्धिरित्यर्थः। अभ्युज्जिहीत इति व्याचष्टे उत्पद्यते उदयतीत्यर्थः। बुद्धेरेवाकारं[11] दर्शयति स्फुरणेयं काचिदिति।

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[1] The text reads तत्त्वस्यान्यस्य [2] The text reads तन्व्याः
[3] ससंप्रदायानामिति—B ; संवादानामिति—A
[4] ससंवादानामिति—A ; संवादानामिति—B
[5] Abhinava apparently accepts the reading of ग in the text.
[6] सङ्गतिरवस्तु—B [7] Repeated by—A
[8] The text reads श्लेषादिमयानि. A reads यानि after this?
[9] °जातयोहि शब्दतः—A [10] चन्द्रादयावमानत्वेन—A [11] बुद्धेराकारं—B

P. 245
Kārikā 16

यदपि तदपि[1] रम्यं यत्र लोकस्य किंचित्
स्फुरितमिदमितीयं बुद्धिरभ्युल्लिहीते।
अनुगतमपि पूर्वच्छायया वस्तु तादृक्
सुकविरुपनिबद्धन्निन्द्यतां[2] नैव याति[3] ॥

इति कारिका खण्डीकृत्य पठिता।

P. 246
Kārikā 17

1.6
स्वविषय इति स्वयं तात्कालिकत्वेन स्फुरित इत्यर्थः। परस्वादानेच्छेत्यादि द्वितीयं श्लोकार्धं पूर्वोपस्कारेण सह पठति।

1.7
परस्वादानेच्छाविरतमनसो वस्तु सुकवेः

इति तृतीयः पादः। कुतः खल्वपूर्वमानयामीत्याशयेन निरुद्योगः परोपनिबद्धवस्तूपजीवको वा स्यादित्याशङ्क्याह 1.11 सरस्वत्यैवेति। कारिकायां 1.7 सुकवेरिति जातावेकवचनमित्यभिप्रायेण व्याचष्टे 1.11 सुकवीनामिति[4]। एतदेव स्पष्टयति 1.11 प्राक्तनेत्यादिना 1.12 तेषामित्यन्तेन। 1.13 आविर्भावयतीति सृजतीत्यर्थः। 1.14 इतीति कारिकावृत्तिनिरूपणेनेत्यर्थः।

Concluding verses. ll. 15-18

1.15
अक्लिष्टा रसाश्रयेण उचिता ये गुणालंकारास्ततः[6] शोभा या तां बिभर्ति काव्यम्। उद्यानमप्यक्लिष्टो यो रसः सेकादिकृतस्तदाश्रयस्तत्कृतो यः गुणानां सौकुमार्यकषायावत्वसौगन्ध्यप्रभृतीनामलंकारः पर्याप्तताकारणं तेन च या शोभा तां बिभर्ति। 1.16 यस्मादिति[7] काव्यादुद्यानात्। 1.16 सर्वं समीहितमिति व्युत्पत्तिकीर्तिप्रतापलक्षणमित्यर्थः। एतच्च सर्वं पूर्वमेव वितत्योक्तमिति श्लोकार्धमात्रं व्याख्यातम्। 1.16 सुकृतिभिरिति[8] ये कष्टोपदेशेन विनापि तथाविध[9]फलभाजः तैरित्यर्थः। 1.17 अखिलसौख्यधान्नीति अखिलं दुःखलेशेनाप्यननुविद्धं यत्सौख्यं तस्य धाम्नि[10] एकायतन इत्यर्थः।

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[1] Omitted by B. [2] निबद्धं नित्यकान्—A [3] The text reads नोपयाति
[4] The text reads सुकृतीनां कवीनां [5] निरूपणद्वारेण—A
[6] खतो—A; B is corrupt and reads खतेजा··· [7] अस्मादिति—B
[8] सुकृतिजः...B, which drops this line from here to the end of तैरित्यर्थः।
[9] °देशेनापि तथा विफलभाजः—A; B omits this line. [10] धामनि—B

सर्वथा प्रियं सर्वथा च हितं दुर्लभं जनयतीति[1] भावः। 1.17 विबुधोद्यानं नन्दनं[2] P. 246
सुकृतीनां कृतज्योतिष्टोमादीनामेव समीहितासादननिमित्तम्। विबुधाश्च
काव्यतत्त्वविदः। 1.17 दर्शित इति स्थितः,[3] एवं सन् प्रकाशितः, अप्रकाशितस्य
1.18
हि कथं भोग्यत्वम्। कल्पतरुणा[4] उपमानं यस्य तादृङ्महिमा यस्येति
बहुव्रीहिगर्भौ बहुव्रीहिः। सर्वसमीहितप्राप्तिर्हि काव्यादेकायत्ता[5]।
एतच्चोक्तं विस्तरतः।

सत्काव्यतत्त्वनयवर्त्म चिर[6]प्रसुप्त- II. 19-22
कल्पं मनःसु परिपक्वधियां यदासीत्।
तद्व्याकरोत्सहृदयोदयलाभहेतोर्

इति संबन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनोपसंहारः। इह बाहुल्येन लोको लोक-
प्रसिद्ध[7]सम्भावनाप्रत्ययबलेन प्रवर्तते। स च सम्भावनाप्रत्ययो नामश्रवण- See Locana, p. 12, ll. 19-20
वशात् प्रसिद्धान्यदीयसमाचारक[वि]त्व[8]विद्वत्वादिसंस्मरणेन भवति।
तथाहि, भर्तृहरिणेदं कृतम्, यस्यायमौदार्यमहिमा[9] यस्यास्मच्छास्त्र[10] एवंविध-
स्कारो दृश्यते तस्यायं श्लोकप्रबन्धः, तस्मादादरणीयमिति लोकः प्रवर्तमानो
दृश्यते। लोकश्चावश्यं प्रवर्तनीयः। ततः[11] शास्त्रोदित[12]प्रयोजनसंपत्तये
तदनुग्राह्यश्रोतृजनप्रवर्तनाङ्गत्वात् ग्रन्थकाराः स्वनामनिबन्धनं कुर्वन्ति।
1.22 1.22
तदभिप्रायेणाह आनन्दवर्धन इति। प्रथित-शब्देनैतदेव प्रथितं यत्तदेव
नामश्रवणं केषांचिन्निवृत्तिं करोति। त[13]न्नात्मर्यविजृंभितं नात्र गणनीयम्।
निःश्रेयसप्रयोजनादेव हि श्रुतात् कोऽपि राधान्धो[14] यदि निवर्तते किमेता-
वता प्रयोजनमप्यव्यक्तमेव स्यात्। तस्मादर्थिनां[15] प्रवृत्यङ्गं नाम प्रथित-
मिति[16] सिद्धम्।

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[1] जानातीति—A [2] चन्दनम्—B [3] स्थितिः—B [4] °करुणा—A
[5] काव्यादेकागत्ता—A [6] °वीर—A. The text reads सत्काव्यतत्त्वविषयं स्फुरित°.
[7] प्रसिद्धा°—A and B [8] °समाबालकवित्व—A [9] यस्यायमेतादृशमहिमा—A
[10] यस्मिन् शास्त्र—B [11] Omited by—B [12] शास्त्रोक्ति—B
[13] यस्मात्°—A [14] को विरोधान्धः—A [15] °अर्थानां—B [16] प्रार्थितमिति—A

स्फुटीकृतार्थवैचित्र्यबहिःप्रसरदायिनीम् ।
तुर्यां शक्तिमहं वन्दे प्रत्यक्षार्थनिदर्शनीम् ॥

आनन्दवर्धनविवेकविकासिकाव्या-
लोकार्थतत्त्वघटनादनुमेयसारम् ।
यत्रोन्मिषत्सकलसद्विषयप्रकाशि
व्यापार्यताभिनवगुप्तविलोचनं तत् ॥
श्रीसिद्धिचेल[1]चरणाब्जपरागपूतो
भट्टेन्दुराजमतिसंस्कृतबुद्धिलेशः[2] ।
काव्यप्रमाणपदवेदिगुरुप्रबन्ध-
सेवारसो व्यरचयद् ध्वनिवस्तुवृत्तिम् ॥
सज्जनात्कविरसो न याचते
ह्लादनाय शशभृत्किमर्थितः ।
नैव निन्दति खलान् मुहुर्मुहुः
स्वीकृतोऽपि न च शीतलोऽनलः ॥
वस्तुतः शिवमयं हृदि स्फुटं
सर्वतः शिवमयं विराजते ।
नाशिवं क्वचन कस्यचिद्दच-
स्तेन वः शिवमयी दशा भवेत् ॥

इति महामाहेश्वराभिनवगुप्तोन्मीलिते[4] काव्यालोकलोचने चतुर्थउद्योतः ।
व्यवसितं च काव्यालोकलोचनम् ॥

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[1] श्रीमल्लिसिद्धि—B [2] °लेशम्—A [3] माहेश्वरा°—A [4] °गुप्तविरचिते—B

The Epochal Sothic Rising-point on the Spheroid

BY

H. BRUCE HANNAH.

A Correction.

Glancing through my paper on "B.C. 2782 in Ancient Romic Chronology," as appearing in Vol. VIII of this *Journal* (the opening paper of the Vol.), I find that there is a serious flaw in the argument as therein set forth; so I hasten to call attention to it, and to rectify it.

At p. 7 of Vol. VIII I tabulate two important Cycles with which the ancient Romiū seem to have been acquainted—one (which, for reference sake, I call the Great Phœnix Cycle) a Cycle said to be recorded on the *verso* of the "Ebers Medical Papyrus," and the other the Cycle known as the Sōthic Cycle.

As presented to us, the Great Phœnix Cycle (sometimes called the Cycle of the Solar Year) starts with the year therein styled B.C. 4470, and the Sōthic Cycle starts with the year B.C. 4242. Between the two there is thus a difference of 228 years—assumedly years of modern reckoning, and therefore similar to those found on the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid, but really "unity" years of the old 360° Spheroid.

Nevertheless, *both* Cycles, as given on the back of the Papyrus, actually unroll in stages of 1460 years—a

period which belongs exclusively to the 365° Spheroid. At pp. 9 and 10 I say—

"We have seen that the difference between the Papyrus Cycle and the Sōthic Cycle was 228 ordinary years. On the 365-degree Year-form with which we are just now concerned, which had a Cycle of 1460 years, a Rising at Aroēris, completed, or say nominally at 0-1 Thoth, meant, in Sōthic Time, a difference of 60 spheroidal days of $1\frac{1}{73}$ ordinary days each" (Here, instead of "ordinary" days, I should have said "days of the original old 360° Spheroid", and I should have explained that, by "0-1 Thoth," I meant the calendrical equivalent of 0-1 Cancer, zōdiacally) "$=243\frac{6}{18}$ spheroidal years," etc.

Then I go on to say—

"Accordingly, in order to square Sōthic Time with Great Phœnix Time, the former had to be advanced 228 ordinary years. This seems to have been done, on the Theban 365-degree Year-form, by deducting $243\frac{6}{18}$ from 1460" (by a clerical error this appeared as 1440), "the full tale of the years of the 365°" (this was inadvertently put at 360°) "Year-form cyclically. Thereby one Sōthic Cycle was shown as ending, and another as beginning, at A.M." etc.

As the object of the paper was to fix the Epochal Rising-point on the Spheroid (the point on the Fixed Clock of Nature indicating where one Sōthic Cycle ends, and whence another Sōthic Cycle begins), the above-quoted remarks clearly beg the whole question. I cannot now account for it; but they assume that the point referred to was 60 spheroidal days deducted from 1440 years, completed, on the 360° Spheroid, *i.e.*, 30 Ariēs-1 Taurus, zōdiacally, or 30 Paōni-1 Epiphi, calendrically, on the Fixed Clock. Obviously, however, this is illegitimate, as I have no right to assume the very thing I propose to ascertain. Moreover, this particular point, F. 30 Paōni-1 Epiphi, appears to be wrong. It only stood for the Feasts.

As we shall see, the true Sōthic Epochal-point on the Fixed Clock for the actual Risings, is 3 Epiphi, or 3 Taurus, representing A.M. 1212 on the original old 360° Spheroid.

To say that, between the Great Phœnix Cycle, starting zōdiacally with 1 Cancer at the Celestial Summer Solstice, *i.e.*, calendrically with F. 1 Thoth, and the Sōthic Cycle, wherever that starts from, there is a difference of 228 ordinary years, is as much as to say that the Sōthic Cycle arrives at the Celestial Summer Solstice on the opening of the 229th year after the Great Phœnix Cycle has left it. In other words, while the Great Phœnix Cycle starts with F. 1 Thoth, corresponding to 1 Cancer, the Sōthic Cycle, after the lapse of 228 years, starts (not from F. 30 Paōni, or 30 Ariēs, but) from F. 3 Epiphi, corresponding to 3 Taurus. Note *from*, not *with*.

Further, just as, by the old apparently wrong calculation—when we took F. 30 Paōni, or 30 Ariēs, as the spheroidal Epochal-point—there were 60 days, or, on the 360° Spheroid, 240 spheroidal years, lying between F. 1 Thoth, or 1 Cancer, and F. 30 Paōni, or 30 Ariēs, so here, on the same 360° Spheroid, there are only 57 days, or 228 spheroidal years, lying between the same F. 1 Thoth, or 1 Cancer, and F. 3 Epiphi, or 3 Taurus.

The Fixed Clock is the spheroidal record of Natural Time. Both the Solar Cycle and the Sothic Cycle represent Natural Time. On this Fixed Clock each of the artificial spheroids—the 360°, the 364°, the 365°, and the 365¼ spheroids—can be placed as Epicycles, revolving round the Fixed Clock at different speeds. Thus arose which is called the "Vague Year."

Formerly, as regards the 360° Spheroid, 240 deducted from 1440, completed, brought us into touch with F. 30 Paōni, and gave us A.M. 1200 for that date, as representing the point *at* which one Sōthic Cycle ended, and *from* which another Sōthic Cycle commenced. Now, however, 228 deducted from 1440, completed, brings us into touch with F. 3 Epiphi, and gives us A.M. 1212 instead of A.M. 1200.

On the 364° Spheroid, 228 spheroidal years are represented by $230\frac{2}{4\,5}$ spheroidal years, and that, deducted from 1456, gives us A.M. $1225\frac{1}{4\,5}$, instead of A.M. $1213\frac{1}{6}$.

On the 365° Spheroid, 228 is represented by $231\frac{1}{5}$, and that, deducted from 1460, gives us A.M. $1228\frac{4}{5}$, instead of A.M. $1216\frac{2}{3}$.

Lastly, on the $365\frac{1}{4}$° Spheroid, 228 is represented by $231\frac{1\,5\,4}{4\,8\,0}$, and that, deducted from 1461, gives us A.M. $1229\frac{3\,1\,4}{4\,8\,0}$, instead of A.M. $1217\frac{1}{2}$.

I take this opportunity to make another correction—this time in my paper on "The Problem of the Sōthic-Rising dates as reported by the Egyptian Priests—II" (*Journal*, Vol. VIII, pp. 312-326).

At p. 316, lines 6 and 7 from the top, delete the full-stop after "result," and substitute a comma. Also delete the words "And this is the correct year date, as."

On the same page, line 19 from top, delete "If," and insert the following—

"At the same time, when, in connection with the $365\frac{1}{4}$° Spheroid, we speak thus of its day being $1\frac{7}{4\,8\,0}$, we must always bear in mind that this is as measured by the day on the old original 360° Spheroid, whose day represented unity. Hence, we must apparently still continue to multiply our shiftage of days by only 4 (the 4 of the 360° Spheroid)—to get our spheroidal years on the $365\frac{1}{4}$° Spheroid. Here, therefore, if,"

Lastly, on the same page, line 21, between the words "the" and "Rising-date," insert the words "more correct."

Problem of the Reported Sothic-Rising Dates, as recorded by the Egyptian Priests

The Solution

BY

H. BRUCE HANNAH

III

The matters discussed in previous papers on this subject can, I think, be put more clearly and concisely than I have already attempted to put them.

In the General List of Sōthic Rising-Dates, or Feast-Dates, and also in the related General List of *Sed* and *Hunti Hebs*, or Festivals, referred to in my original pamphlet on *Ancient Romic Chronology* (in particular the Lists based on the $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ Spheroid), there is one date of outstanding importance—that associated, in what I am calling Petrie's List of Reported Sōthic Risings, with the calendrical datum "21 Epiphi." It was, we are told, not only a *Sed Heb* year, but also Hatshepsūt's 16th, and Thothmēs III's 3rd, regnal year—a wonderful triple conjunction of conditions! As such, it can only be A.M. $2526\frac{5}{16}$, or B.C. $1477\frac{11}{16}$, in the General Lists. Hence it is a "Clinch"-date, and governs the entire situation. In other words, the remaining serially-stated calendrical data in Petrie's List, if expressed in terms of modern reckoning, may be assigned to dates spaced out at regular intervals of exactly $30\frac{7}{16}$ spheroidal years before or after

B.C. 1477$\frac{11}{16}$. But—apart altogether from the General Rising and *Heb* Lists—is there any method by which we can independently arrive at this Controlling Date, and indeed at all others in Petrie's List? There is.

The Reported Dates, I have suggested, are all arranged in accordance with a priest-invented scheme *based, as regards the days of the month, on the Luni-Osirian Spheroid of 364°*. This has a Year-form of 13 months of 28 days each; a day of $1\frac{1}{80}$ days on the original old 360° Spheroid; a Cycle of 1456 spheroidal years, being $360\times4\frac{4}{80}$, or 364×4; and a *Sed-Heb* period of 28 of its own spheroidal years.

The sequence of calendrical data in Petrie's List, for each Luni-Osirian month, is obviously 7, 14, 21, 28; each such stretch of 7 days representing, on the Cycle, 28 Luni-Osirian spheroidal years ($7\times4=28$), corresponding to the Luni-Osirian *Sed-Heb* period of 28 years—the equivalent, on the 360° Spheroid, of 30 spheroidal years; on the 365° Spheroid, of $30\frac{5}{12}$ spheroidal years; and, on the $365\frac{1}{4}$° spheroid, which gives us our modern reckoning, of $30\frac{7}{16}$ spheroidal years. This, as a matter of fact, is the *meaning* of *Sed*. It signifies simply "30"—but only with reference to the 360° Spheroid. All other alleged meanings vaguely hazarded by our Egyptologists—*e.g.*, that connected with the heirship of the Crown Prince as the "Tail" of the Pharaonic "Lion"—are fanciful and baseless. So, too, *Hunti* simply means "120"—but again only with reference to the 360° Spheroid. Both are exact mathematical subdivisions of that Spheroid, and metamorphose automatically into higher values when other Spheroids come into play. Dates, miscalled "B.C.," can, of course, be worked out to a fraction on the exclusive basis of the 360°, the 364°, or the 365° Spheroid; but naturally they do not fit in with the system of reckoning now in vogue with us. That is based on the

365¼° Spheroid, with its wholly different mathematical divisions.

When, therefore, our object is to express results in terms of modern reckoning, we must betake ourselves to this very differently constituted 365¼° Spheroid, as an auxiliary. There, the day is $1\frac{7}{480}$ days on the 360° Spheroid; the year has 12 months of nominally 30, really $30\frac{7}{16}$, days each; the Cycle is one of 1461 spheroidal years; and the *Sed-Heb* period consists of $30\frac{7}{16}$ spheroidal years.

Now, as regards the Scheme in Petrie's List of Reported Dates, we must remember that the "21" of "21 Epiphi," in that List, is not 21 of the "unity" days on the 360° Spheroid; nor is it 21 days on the 365° Spheroid—$1\frac{1}{73}$ "unity" days each; nor is it 21 days on the 365¼° Spheroid—$1\frac{7}{480}$ "unity" days each. *It is 21 Luni-Osirian days.* A Luni-Osirian day, as we have seen, is $1\frac{1}{96}$ "unity" days on the 360° Spheroid. Hence, to get the correct expression of this "21 Epiphi" in terms of modern reckoning, *we must treat* $1\frac{1}{96}$ *as if it were "unity,"* and multiply it by $1\frac{7}{480}$. This gives $1\frac{111}{48200}$ as the equivalent on the 365¼° Spheroid of $1\frac{1}{96}$ regarded as "unity." Thus—multiplying that in turn by 21—"21 Epiphi" is seen to be really "$21\frac{2334}{4320}$ Epiphi" by modern reckoning. To find what this represents in spheroidal years, we multiply by 4, which gives us $86\frac{74}{48}\frac{28}{200}$. Thereby we at once side-step from *month* "Epiphi" on the 364° Spheroid to the higher plane of *month* "Epiphi" on the 365¼° Spheroid. To these years for Solar "Epiphi" must now be added the number of spheroidal years represented by all the Calendar days preceding that month, *i.e.*, from 0-1 Thoth to 30 Paōni, completed. On the 365¼° Spheroid these amount to 1217½. The sum aggregates $1303\frac{28}{48}\frac{02}{200}$, and this, deducted from B.C. 2781 (Coincidence Epoch at this stage for the 365¼° Spheroid), presents us with the final result, B.C.

$1477\frac{44}{45}\frac{11}{20}\frac{1}{0}$. True, this fraction is not $\frac{11}{16}$, the B.C. equivalent of $\frac{5}{16}$ as found with A.M. 2526 in the Heb and Rising Lists for the Cycle, but the *year* is exact.

By the foregoing method all the other dates in Petrie's List, before and after "21 Epiphi" (B.C. $1477\frac{11}{16}$), provided they really belong to this priest-invented scheme, fall into place precisely as they should in relation to the controlling date—*i.e.*, *exactly, as regards the years*, though not exactly, as regards the fractions. Seeing, however, that we are dealing combinationally with 2 quite differently constituted Spheroids, and therefore with two quite different Calendars and Cycles, this appears to be as satisfactory an approximation to the chronological truth as may reasonably be expected at present. Possibly it is only my *logistic* that is at fault.

We can even work out the date of the *Kahūn* Sōthic Feast by this method, *i.e.*, taking the reported calendrical data as Luni-Osirian, and then expressing our results in terms of modern reckoning, or according to the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid. Hitherto I have been assuming that calculations regarding this date must be based on the 365° Spheroid, and on a Calendar and Cycle starting from the Celestial Summer Solstice, the initial *zero*-point seemingly then in vogue. However, I now incline to think that it is much more likely that, even for this remote event, the reporting priests, or the "Egyptian" record-keepers, had in mind their own Luni-Osirian Spheroid, Calendar, and Cycle, rather than the 365° Spheroid supposed to be of *Kahūn* days and the Calendar and Cycle belonging to it. Here is the application of my method in this connection.

The reported calendrical datum is "the 15th day of the 8th month," *i.e.* (counting from 0-1 Thoth) 15th Pharmūthi. It is not stated as "15th Pharmūthi," possibly because in *Kahūn* times the later "Egyptian," or Hellenized, nomenclature for the months was not in use—

indeed, not known. The spheroidal day, remember, is $1\frac{1117}{432000}$ "unity." That, $\times 15$, is $15\frac{16855}{432000}$ Pharmūthi. Multiplied again by 4, to get spheroidal years, it gives $61\frac{24620}{432000}$. Add $852\frac{10800}{432000}$ for all preceding spheroidal years up to end of Phamenōth, according to modern reckoning, and we obtain $913\frac{354450}{432000}$. Subtract this from B.C. 2781 (Coincidence Epoch), and the final result emerges as B.C. $1867\frac{77550}{432000}$—say $\frac{1}{6}$, or $\frac{80}{481}$—true date of the *Kahūn* Rising, and probably exact, at least as regards the year. Whether the extra fraction is accurate, or only approximate, is not of much consequence.

As regards all the foregoing calculations, it would really make no difference in the results if, instead of the date from which the *Feasts* began, we were to take the date of the *actual Rising* on the Fixed Clock as the Epochal Point indicating on the Spheroid where one Sōthic Cycle ended and whence the next Sōthic Cycle began. We would only have to manipulate our *logistic* differently.

A word of explanation in connection with the "side-stepping," referred to *supra*, from the month of one spheroid to the month of another.

Naturally, the months on the two Spheroids ($365\frac{1}{4}°$, with its 12 months, and 364°, with its 13 months) do not dovetail into each other. For instance, on the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid, Solar Epiphi coincides for only 8 days with Luni-Osirian Epiphi, these 8 beginning with the 21st of that month. The balance of Solar Epiphi's nominal 30 days corresponds to 22 days of succeeding Luni-Osirian Mesorē. Hence, "21 Epiphi," in the List of Reported Feasts, is seemingly 1 Epiphi on the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid. That, however, by itself, without taking into account what the calendrical data in the Report List really mean, when considered in the light of the higher plane of the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid, is unworkable with the *Heb* and Rising Lists

for the Cycle. The inventors of the suggested Scheme, therefore, seem to have taken their month-names from the $365\frac{1}{4}°$ Spheroid, and only the selected serial days of the month (7, 14, 21, 28) from the 364° Spheroid. As already remarked, in the Report-List there is no series of 7, 14, 21, 28, for the 13th Luni-Osirian month. There, "28 Mesorē" is followed straightaway by "7 Thoth" on a new Cyclic round. In short, as regards these two very different Spheroids, the Scheme apparently contemplates working with both, in combination. I have indicated how, in connection with their months, the side-step from one Spheroid to the other is effected.

The following comment upon the harmonized Calendars on the *verso* of the "Ebers Medical Papyrus" may be useful. It will be observed that in both these Calendars the years are brought down in stages of 1460 years. This figure belongs exclusively to the 365° Spheroid. Hence, in association with 228 years, which belongs solely to the 360° Spheroid, the particular stage of 1460 years cannot be right. With 228 years, the stage should have been 1440 years. If brought down in stages of 1460 years, the first stage should commence, not 228, but $231\frac{1}{5}$, years after B.C. 4470-4467. If brought down in stages of 1456 years, the first stage should commence, not 228, but $230\frac{14}{15}$, years after B.C. 4470-4467. And, if brought down in stages of 1461 years, the first stage should commence, again not 228, but $231\frac{183}{365}$, years (spheroidal, of course) after B.C. 4470-4467. In short, what the stage of descent should be, depends entirely upon whether our calculations are being conducted upon the basis of a Spheroid of 360°, of 364°, of 365°, or of $365\frac{1}{4}°$.

Another point to which reference may be made is this. As these Reported Dates were *ex hypothesi* based on the Luni-Osirian Spheroid, Calendar, and Cycle, starting from the so-called Autumnal Equinox, ever in vogue at

Memphis—*i.e.*, the old *calendrically false* Autumnal Equinox, really *the true Celestial Vernal Equinox*—the Reports were probably issued from, or their record kept at, that famous centre of ancient Romic and later "Egyptian" Culture and Power, or somewhere within its sphere of influence; and, having regard to the partially Hellenized nomenclature of the months, the priestly record-keepers, if not the actual reporters, may be taken to have been "Egyptians," not Romiū.

At the same time, it does not very much matter where any Cycle starts from, *i.e.*, where, on the Spheroid, we choose to place its particular *zero*.

Hitherto my efforts at a solution of this problem have been in the nature of a succession of gropings out after the more or less intangible and elusive. Now, however, at last, something definite and substantial seems to be within our grasp.

Given the known particulars regarding any Sōthic date found inscribed on an ancient Romic monument, or otherwise recorded amongst the vestiges of the remote Romic past—even if they consist only of bare calendrical data like "21 Epiphi"—and provided such date can be connected with the above Scheme, I undertake to fix its place on whatever Cycle it may chance to belong to, *i.e.*, the Cycle associated with one or other of the various Spheroids of 360°, 364°, 365°, or $365\frac{1}{4}°$, and even, on the basis of this last-mentioned Spheroid, to state it in terms of modern reckoning, in every case exact, at least to the year, nay, in some cases (those where the desired date is said to have coincided with a *Sed* or *Hunti Heb*, *i.e.*, with one of the spheroidal years on my General *Heb* Lists and Lists of Sōthic-Risings), exact to the fraction of a year.

With regard to any *future* discovery in the shape of an ancient Romic date, provided the datum is related to or can be connected with some Sōthic Rising, and that

sufficient is otherwise known to enable me todecide upon the Cycle to which it belongs, I also undertake to determine that date's precise place on the Cycle, and to state it too in terms of modern reckoning, with a like degree of exactitude.

If a mere Calendrical datum cannot be switched on to the above Scheme, it is, of course, impossible, at present, without further data, to fix its place cyclically, or state it in terms of the Christian Era.

As a matter of fact, *all* the Rising-Dates mentioned in Petrie's List—and as many others as we like, of the same kind, before and after them—can be got by resorting to my General List of Rising-Dates in a Cycle, taking as many Cycles as we desire, and there ticking off every 7th date from *zero* in each Cycle. Thus, too, we can check the results we arrive at when interesting ourselves only in Petrie's List.

At best, however, this *Aufklärung* of a difficulty which has always hitherto baffled our Egyptologists, professional and amateur, is only pioneer-work, and, as such, is doubtless susceptible of improvement.

I annex a diagram illustrative of the 2 Spheroids specially referred to.

The Expressiveness of Indian Art

I

INDIAN ART, ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE WORLD[1]

BY

STELLA KRAMRISCH, PH.D. (*Vienna*)

All things created by Nature, all human creations are only images, parables, ideas, reflexes of that incomprehensible beauty, which seems to pass by in the sudden vision of an inspired moment, leaving behind her smile, the beating of her wings, the bliss of her vision, and the ever-insatiable ever-unfulfilled longing for herself as the unchanging gift to the Creative Spirit. All art being a parable of that one, ultimate beauty, is incomparable, for its standard does not belong to any special manifestation—it is the life itself of that unfathomable beauty, and she pours it out lavishly on those who are prepared, who are open to it like the ploughed field, and who know how to seize it.

There is only one God, but numberless are his forms. How eager he is to meet man; he chooses the garment of which he is sure that it will be familiar to man so that he will realize him in closest communion and know him as his own self. There is only one Art, but numberless are its forms. The Infinite touches a different string in every human heart, and each resounds in a different way although the depth of its sound is vibrating with the same emotion.

[1] Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University on the 27th July 1922.

It is a strange and complex phenomenon, that a work of art representing something we may or may not know, created by somebody whose name is forgotten, conceived hundreds and thousands of years ago, speaks a language and expresses an inner experience near to us through inborn understanding of our nature although the combination and suggestiveness of the forms may be unaccustomed to us. But in spite of the ultimate reality of art being one and the same it necessarily has to assume in each special case that particular form, that is to say, it has to run through that channel of inner experience which is most adequate, and satisfies the creator to the greatest extent. The goal is the same but the ways are many, and we appreciate all the ways because all of us realize the goal.

Life means something different to every individual. In this respect every civilization represents one individual, whose features are distinctly shaped, and who reacts upon the outer world in a way which is psychologically coherent.

Striving after his own happiness—and such is the equilibrium of mind,—every individual creates combinations of conceptions or of forms which give to him the feeling of complete satisfaction, of peace and unity.

Art is creation. The artist, the creator uses his own life, the aspect of his surroundings, and the amount of his knowledge as his materials. By moving from his inner self to the outer world, he follows a rhythm unknowingly yet unavoidably, and it is this rhythm which organizes the work of art and makes it into what it is. Every individual has his own rhythm; it is of vital importance, for it does not only determine the way of his moving about between concreteness and imagination, it is not only the beating of his individual heart, but in a sympathetic way, it makes the objects which it approaches, move and live in the same strain. Their relative distortion—or what appears to be distortion—is the inner rhythm of creation objectified.

It is paradoxical and true that the universal significance of any art is attached to its most individualistic, most singularly peculiar features. For they possess all the immediateness of the first vision, that is to say, of that vision which always remains fresh because it is alive in the special disposition of the artist. Mankind in its creative attitude towards the world with all its bewildering charm, its peaceful harmony, with all its suggestiveness of an over-world, makes art the relevant, spontaneous manifestation of the life of the soul.

In this way, every work of art is an æsthetic revelation and psychological confession.

Art does not know of progress. The cave-man attained unrivalled perfection with his earth-colour paintings on the rough walls of rocks and caves, and the artistic merit of a negro sculpture, for instance, is equal to any of the best Buddhist, Gothic, or Post-Impressionist work of art. But again we have to face a paradox, for although the ultimate truth of all art is one, and although no art of any civilization is superior to that of any other, still there are distinctions. It is like the rungs of the ladder. The lowest, the highest, the middle one, all are rungs of the ladder, and none can be missed.

We are accustomed to consider the physical age of people, we even speak of the age of nations, but we do not sufficiently realize that the psychical life of mankind in its various manifestations is an expression of the age of soul, and determines its reaction with regard to the surroundings. Some civilizations have primitive souls, the experience of others is mature, while others approach the world with self-consciousness and refinement.

The primitive soul faced with disentangled reality gets lost in the chaos of its own inner experience. This maze of life is oppressive and exuberant, and the soul is in it, and wherever it turns life stands around it, and it cannot find the way out, and it goes astray in unknown wilderness which creeps nearer and nearer towards it, and takes possession of

it, and it sinks down in amazement, and becomes crowned, and buried by the excited wilderness of imagination. This experience found artistic realization in the north of Europe, more than a thousand years ago, it accompanies the whole of Islamic art from Persia to Spain, and Indian art is penetrated by it from the earliest monuments known to us throughout its existence.

A carving from a small wooden church in Sweden makes animals disappear in the endless curvature of their own limbs. These stretch and bend like surging waves and glide over their own existence with caress, and rush away in terror and get entangled and free themselves in a harmonious play of their own vital energy. Their fear is smoothed by a melody which sings through the pang ; it organizes their distorted and broken features, it restores them to life in communion with lines which have no name but which are endowed with significance, and spread over and get engrossed in a manifoldness which belongs to them and does not belong to them, and carries them away and restores them to entirety, unaware, though sure of its movement. They cover the surface by an impenetrable thicket of forms, lines, movement and suggestiveness. Nothing seems to exist besides their intricate reality.

In Islamic art the symphony of a fearsome, crowded and intermixed life is calmed by a more rational temperament into a pattern of regular geometrical design. Muslim imagination always is restrained by a calculating intellect, which carefully places square next to square, and fills each of them with squares, or circles or other geometrical devices until nothing is left without design, and not the smallest part remains vacant, and even the holes which have to be cut out to make the pattern distinct (which is carved in the wood)—even these holes are not empty but their darkness accompanies the irresistible logic of squares, it plays between fanciful arabesques, itself arabesque and pattern of its own,

so that light and darkness mingle in one plan, where the positive and negative become absorbed in frantic imagination.

This dread of emptiness, this turbulent joy of heaping and crowding together infinite forms reflects and satisfies the mind of man, who feels himself entangled in the cosmos who does not know of its secret but who takes part in its life, and whose only consciousness and distance is the deep fear of the seemingly insoluble connection, of which the power is too great to be resisted.

Indian art created this gruesome joy of existence in innumerable compositions and uncounted buildings. It found complete expression for that sort of chaotic existence and of breathless whirl. In a relief from *Amaravati* intoxicated dance revolves in circles growing more and more narrow—round the offering bowl, which surges out of the crowd in its centre, yet is fettered to and clasped by the ceaseless energy of a never-tired movement. All these joyous men, similar to squares and arabesques, and intimately connected with the elongated scroll of fantastically dismembered and distorted animals, which populate the imagination of Northern people, all these figures are merely an intricate pattern, a densely woven net which is thrown in great anguish over the vast abyss of the unknown. And the ground of the relief seconds the madness of its figures.

To thrust away the gap, to be absorbed in life, manifest through forms is one of the leading principles of Indian art. The creative impulse, in fact, is nowhere else so strong as when forms are made to grow out of forms, when in uninterrupted continuity dome is overpowered by dome, architecture is dissolved in figures, statics is forgotten and in an exuberant growth spires shoot up, towers, balconies, statues, agd reliefs, when no wall exist any longer for they are replaced by pillars, figures, and the display of light and shade. Every Indian temple conquers death by life, keeps away the

unformed and empty from its sacred walls, and revels in the overflow of artistic creativeness, nourished by a primeval emotion of soul. The dread of emptiness expressed in positive terms by the exuberant joy of a limitless life, is the urgent force of Indian art.

Primitiveness is basis as well as fate of Northern and Islamic art. They never could get over it and died away in the sterility of a pattern which became unsuitable for the expression of new contents. Indian art, however, escaped the danger of becoming sterile and abstract. It never stopped, and the plasticity of its forms always proved a ready shape for a new experience and altered appreciation of life.

It is a widespread error to classify art which merely shows lines, surfaces, or colours in correspondence amongst themselves and without any allusion to concrete objects as plants, men, and the like as abstract art, while artistic forms, suggestive of things seen or imagined are called representation. This view originated from the Egypto-Greek art-tradition of Europe, which was revived in the Renaissance. Humanism thought man the one and important object of art; but as man does not exist by himself but is surrounded by sky and earth, landscape or town with all their parts and details, those too deserved to become objects for representation. And at the end photography triumphed, giving absolutely objective representation to all things of reality, and in this manner, rescued art, which was on its way to forget its source, the inner experience of man and its endeavour, that is expression through creative form.

"Abstract means removed from nature, but as art occupies a level different from that of nature, abstraction loses its significance and the reality of art depends on the standard inherent in art itself. The geometric ornamentation of Islamic art is as real as any portrait by Rembrandt, for both are rooted in an ineffable yet fundamental experience of life. The problem, therefore, is not to distinguish between abstract

and realistic art, the question we must answer is—How is it possible that man realizes his creative self in so various ways, which are absolutely different from the various languages spoken? For these convey thoughts in a manner incomprehensible to those who are unacquainted with the special language, whilst works of art in unlimited generosity reveal their soul to all who do not forget that they too have souls.

The distinction between abstract art and representation lies in man's consciousness of life. To those agitated by uncontrolled forces and feelings, life appears a texture where threads are shooting to and fro, carrying with them fragments of reminiscences which get entangled in jungles through which the soul has to find its path. And like a child frightened by the fearful nearness of a lonesome night starts singing a song, and it clasps the terror of the unknown, so primitive art conquers the unknown by a melody which never seems to end, for it gives its flow to the forces which threatened it, and they calm down like waves after the storm, or it makes them spell-bound by its will so that they crystallize into the regular patterns of squares, circles, and arabesques.

Indian art brought forth by this primeval fear of life, of which the reverse is superabundance of vitality, reacts with melody and measure, with abstract rhythm, but also with unbounded freedom of what is called representation, that is to say, it introduces the figures of men, animals, plants and inanimate objects into the flowing river of rhythmic invention.

It surpasses the stage of primitiveness and reaches the attitude of the naïve, unsophisticated soul, which finds itself at home in the world, which has discovered itself as something that holds its own position though it be included in the universe. Still the charm of the unknown, of the "abstract" retains its significance. The symbolism of early Buddhist art, parallel to that of early Christian art, where for the bodily presence of Buddha as well as of Christ, symbols like the circle of the wheel or the cross are substituted, preserves

the primeval fear of the creative mind with regard to the shape of things.

It must be understood that primitiveness in one sense does not coincide with one or the other early stage of human history. For the cave-man, known as primitive man, masters life, at least in its manifestation of animal life—as his sure possession; he is the conqueror who stands in safe distance from his victim, and realizes its existence as something fundamentally detached from his own person. The evolution of soul, of psychical life, of which art is the creative expression does not depend on the degree of civilization. Even the term evolution cannot be applied, for do we not see at such a late age as that of present western civilization, art finding its true expression in the "primitiveness" of shapeless abstract compositions of mere lines, patches, and colours? "Primitive" with regard to creative expression is the name for a type of soul, which might be connected with certain types of civilization, either as spontaneous expression or as reaction: this question, however, transgresses the theory of art. All that can be said, is that there are distinct types of human creativeness.[1] The reason why we call one of these types "primitive" will be justified by its relationship with the other types of artistic behaviour. Indian art in its elementary strength, in its untiring invention of crowded forms, in its endless rhythm, in its severe, abstract pattern of all the compositions, participates in the primitive type of the world's art.

The art of a creative unit, whether it be a single individual, or an entire civilization, has in all of its productions an

1 The "primitive" relief from *Amaravati*, the dense crowd round the bowl is at east 3 centuries later than our *Bharhut* sculpture. But the historical succession has little o do with psychical maturity. The mentality of *Amaravati* and also of *Sanchi*, which gain dates from 50 to 100 years later than *Bharhut* is undoubtedly in certain respects less nature than that of *Bharhut*, which is one of the earliest Indian monuments known to us. No reason for this wilful succession, neither the everchanging result of the intermingling of races, where the artists came from, nor the various local and racial art traditions can solely be made responsible for this reverse order of history.

inner continuity. This is the life-movement of every individual aspect of art, its most intimate expression, its unique character. The elements of visual art, on the other hand, are limited in number; line, surface and cube, colour and light and shade represent the essential elements which are at the disposal of creation. The selection and relation into which these elements are placed in order to express the inner trend of imagination, constitute the peculiarity of every art.

Indian art never stops, and it cannot forget either. Its expansion is immense for it carries on the stock of its earlier inventions, and amalgamates them with the presence of any time. Its tradition is an undying life-stock, and so it is no wonder that the dread of emptiness is compatible with the serene peace of animated figures.

In the reliefs which adorn the railing of the *Stupa* from *Bharhut*, equal peace embraces the figures of men and animal, of fruit and jewel, of flower and town. Whatever be the action, the representation maintains an undisturbed serenity which is not greater in any part or member. All of them join in stabilised harmony, the hymn of life which is sung by the heavy and patient movement of an untiring, all-pervading lotus-stalk. They assemble and render homage to their own unity which makes them greater than if they were separated. They have in fact, no power to stand for themselves. They cling to each other like tendrils, who in spite of their completeness as plants, need the support of a solid stem. The stem of this art is the design, into which all figures are included. It carries them firmly and they surrender willingly. The design has done away with the perplexing and ceaseless succession and penetration of an infinite multitude of forms. The forest of frantic imagination has been cleared, order has come into peaceful land.

Borobodur, 1000 years later than *Bharhut*, developed in straight line the leading principle of *Bharhut* art, of that naïve

contemplative mood which surrenders to live out of generous gratitude. The explosion-like vehemence of primitive conception has mitigated its sway, the single figures have grown in size and decreased in number. They share the freedom of a clear atmosphere, amply and harmoniously distributed amongst them. This stage of artistic vision, highly developed in Greece, and henceforth labelled as classic art, is common to the whole of European art, except in its Byzantine phase. It is equally widely spread in Eastern Asia, where the whole of Chinese art, except the *Sung* age, and the whole of Japanese art, except the Buddhist tradition are of one and the same level. This art, classic in its spontaneousness, takes its impression from life, and transforms the particular impression into a world of its own which obeys laws dictated by the contact of individual and reality. Whilst primitive art is of one and the same turbulent texture in all its manifestations, the mature, the naïve art creates a new texture where some definite theme is the warp and some experience is the weft. In these periods the unknown forces have become spell-bound, and retired far below the threshold of consciousness. Imagination is set free from the anguish, and tries its first steps which are going to be decisive with all the surety of a wonder child.

But although Indian art naturally possesses types which belong to the whole of art, it amalgamates the various types in unique manner. Greek art, for instance, which subordinates heroic figures is an artistic reasonableness displaying the legend and grandeur of the actors in a way which shall give permanence to the scene, as that the realistic freedom of the figures is subjugated by a strictly observed symmetry and by rigorous limits. But the classic naïveté of Indian art is fundamentally different. In the relief of the *Stupa* from *Borobodur*, the rigidity of a symmetrical arrangement is unknown. The Buddha animated by the subtle grace of his entire nature has

entered the scene. Devoted to his own inner mission he stands amidst the glory of jubilating spirits, who surround him like agitated waves of water, full of the rhythm of the flowing wave, and a similar movement is poured out over the Buddha's benign attitude. Although he is the central figure he does not occupy the centre of composition, but he allows the flying movement of the spirits, the wind-waves which pass through the top of flowering trees, the waves of devotion which pass through the hearts of the humble worshippers,—he allows all of them to communicate and to unfold themselves, and his standing, which means coming, giving, and receiving, accepts the blessings of nature, and the prayer of man, as if it were a shower of happiness, gently running through all his limbs.

Although the composition results from a special theme, and not from a state of mind only,—and although it has the greatness of well-displayed masses resting on a level ground which has no other function than to display the composition, the composition itself has preserved that indomitable necessity which makes it one continuous whole of an all-pervasive movement; it resists, carried on by its strength, the fetter of symmetry, and creates a free rhythm unmindful of laws and rules, and merely expressing itself.

Such is the inheritance of primitiveness to the classic spontaneousness of Indian art. The autonomous inspiration of the artist reposes on the primeval experience, that between all things and within all of them the same creative force is at work. In this way, Indian Art attains its rapturous curvature which is blended with the solemn choiceness of a classic art.

Indian art never stops. Whilst in other civilizations the classic balance of art is followed by a reaction of the primeval instincts which are not satisfied by the polished and measured balance, a type of art which is called *Barogue*, and distort the equilibrium by their indomitable sway, this type is excluded from India, for there the whole of experience

remains intact and becomes sublimated yet remains one and the same. Because the life-stock of Indian art never dries up, it has one coherent tradition, which receives every fresh impulse with the flexibility of a youthful mind, and amalgamates philosophic conceptions with the vitality of inspiration. Therefore, it never runs the danger of becoming allegoric, but it remains original creation with the help of its undying tradition, which has the eternal life of the spirit.

The conception of the Buddha image, one of the most significant realizations of a sublimated mind makes unswerving symmetry the artistic attitude of the sculpture while *mudrās* and *āsanas* characterize the bodily posture of the *Tathāgata*. And yet this symmetry, rigid and commanding in its nature is transformed and suggests a psychical state unknown to any other civilization. Egypt and the Byzantine empire alike made symmetry the standard formula for transcendental contents. The statue of an Egyptian God or king,—and there is no difference between them,—is not only symmetrical in its structure, but also in its expression. Pitiless parallelism gives to him the aspect of a superhuman being, unmoved and persistent in its unapproachability. The Byzantine composition, ruled by a similar spirit of stern transcendentalism makes angels the bodiless walls which guard the deathlike silence of the immovable God. But the symmetry to which Indian art subjects its Gods has nothing of transcendentalism. There it is the subtlest vibration of an accomplished state of spiritual existence and still it preserves a faint perfume of human life. The modelling of the body has all the warmth of life and the well-trained breath of the *Yogi* keeps him straight and perfectly at rest. His whole epidermis is sensitive to life. It silently embalms the conqueror, and he gives way to it and lets it take its course. His mind dwells in the Infinite, and his hands are redeemed from all effort, and from all energy.

Architecture, the most comprehensive kind of art, maintains in all its forms, throughout the whole of Indian history the unity kept alive by primeval superabundance, which is restrained by the spontaneousness of classic measure, and reaches perfection by surrendering vitality and the equilibrium of life to the predominating idea of an artistic reality, the laws of which correspond to that of the universe.

The Indian temple, an exuberant growth of seemingly haphazard numberless forms, never loses control over its extravagant wealth. Their organic structure is neither derived from any example seen in nature, nor does it merely do justice to æsthetic consideration, but it visualises the cosmic force which creates innumerable forms, and these are one whole, and without the least of them, the universal harmony would lack completeness.

This completeness is a unique achievement of Indian art. Through it, it is distinguished from all other civilizations, for those give expression to the one or to the other feeling of life in various ages, sharply distinct from one another. In India, however, all ages of soul are alive in each of its artistic manifestations. Every Indian work of art is primitive and sublimated, naïve and refined at the same time. And this wide expansion of creative emotion concentrated in every one of its productions, bestows on it a spiritual vitality, unfamiliar to the rest of the world. With this creative wealth at hand the Indian artist expresses his feeling of life ;—Man awakens into a new sphere of existence, which does not have any space for God, for it has become saturated with him. Nature, too, is transformed and has no beginning and no end, for bush and line and hill and man, all are co-ordinate, and fundamentally there is no difference between them.

Through the expression art gives to man's face, the physiognomy of soul itself, shows its mystery naked and unashamed. The face of Egypt, determined and commanding,

though not free from terror, glares with wide-open eyes into the other world.

Europe creates the self-determined and self-conscious attitude which results from an untiring energy. No weakness is tolerated by these sharp and severe features. They know their aim and they do not want to know of anything else.

The Indian physiognomy has got over terror and all fear. It does not want nor does it need to strive for, or to maintain its aim, for long ago it has achieved it, and now is at peace, and need not search the other world for distant happiness, and need not struggle and try to conquer some small square of reality which it might call its own.

The Egyptian statue immortalized the life of an infallible king, stern and remote from human emotion and therefore like one of the Gods. The European face, great in its purely human strength and weakness disdains all pretentions.

And the Indian head knows and forgives and faintly smiles the eternal smile of the deep sea which is not stirred by storms. Such are the monuments different civilizations set themselves. The artistic visualisation is truer than all written documents can be, and redeems the consciousness of every age from misunderstanding. But whilst the face of Indian humanity expresses its God-likeness through features which have become the expressive gesture of their own refined emotions, the relationship of man and world links both closely together. It is a simple natural world, where big birds fly their own way, where scented, starlike flowers blossom at their time, where hill and house and bush and meadow are the serene frame for man. And if you look closer you forget the hills, houses, clouds and man, and become aware that they are merely various forms and various shapes for the one reality which surges up in all of them and bends and surrounds them, according to its will. Fundamentally

there is no distinction between all of them, all are equal parts of the artistic vision as well as of nature; fundamentally there was no difference either between man and God—this being the artistic message of the Buddha head.

Indian art integrates the types of human creativeness otherwise only realized apart from one another. Through this amalgamation of various spiritual types it gets the intensity of expression which unites primitiveness and sublimation, imagination and reality, spirit and matter in one pliable material, ready whenever intuition wishes to make use of it.

II

NATURE AND CREATIVENESS[1]

Nature is man's creation. The mountain of course, the river and the sea do not need man for their existence. But nature is more than and different from its constituents. Its meaning to us is that of origin and union and because we have left the one behind us and have not reached the other, it has become something apart from us. So for the time being, which will last as long as man, for it came into existence with him and is unthinkable without him,—for the time being the faculty of art was given to man. It is the meeting place of the human soul and that of nature and wherever they come into contact, form is created. Form redeems man from his separation. Through it object and individual become fused and what results is more than either of them.

Nature in all aspects has an alluring charm. Charm implies danger and man succumbs to it, by trying to copy some aspect of nature or the other. But as long as the original exists, the copy is of no value, and as we are not likely to witness the withdrawal of nature from this world, naturalistic art in respect to creation is superfluous.

The closest contact of man and nature is visualised through landscape painting. Neither poetry nor music know of a similar form. What does "landscape" mean? It gives a cutting from some sight of nature and with the sight the mood of him, who contemplated it and with the mood the way he got impressed by it. "Landscape" is a state of soul, objectified with the help of some sight of nature. We are so accustomed to see ourselves in landscape paintings and to find in them the sanction of questions we do not ask, for fear to get an answer, that we scarcely can believe, that landscape as

[1] Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University on the 31st July, 1922.

an independent art is a very late form of expression and is reached by very few civilisations only. The great painters of the Sung-age in China, the sensitive sculptors of late Romano-Hellenistic reliefs, the artists of Europe from the seventeenth century onwards are the only artistic units who express themselves through landscape. Landscape, namely, the union of water and earth, of sky and mountain, evening or spring, presupposes distance, concrete distance as well as that of soul. For there are not only trees in a forest one next to the other and there is not only some blue sky extended over plain and mountains. But what makes tree and river and mountain and sky so significantly coherent, is the space between and around them, connection and separation, limit and oneness. It is, however, the distance of our self from nature and our longing towards it which gives to landscape a spiritual perspective.

A Chinese painting for instance, places a mighty tree old in age and experience, on the slope of a barren rock, which emerges from and rushes down into the unknown and the tree bows before the vastness of mysterious space, which does not lead anywhere, but directly borders on the infinite, and its branches drop into that peaceful and vibrating emptiness that pours itself into the heart of man, whose smallness has become effaced by his own emotion which touches the yonder shore and the boat points to the same direction.

Çezanne, the representant of modern European painting realizes nature in its cosmic order, where the hill is the rule of the house and the tree that of the sky and the coloured surface that of the picture and their hovering that of his soul. While the Chinese loses himself in nature the modern European finds his equilibrium projected as far as nature reaches.

This comprehensive view on landscape originally is unknown to Indian art. Whether it be ,Chinese or modern European landscape, their significance results from contact,

from the contact of atmosphere and the tree's movement and man's gesture in the Chinese painting and from the fusion of the texture of the material and the play of light and shade which are subordinate to the firm logic of intuition in Çezanne's work.

The Indian artist, on the other hand, does not see the intercourse of the various forms of nature. His interest is absorbed by each of them to an equal extent. When, for instance, in the representation of the Kurunga Miga Jataka from Bharhut, hunter and antelope, woodpecker and tree and tortoise populate a forest which does not exist for our eye, but is suggested to our imagination, no similarity to any kind of landscape possibly can be discovered. Yet the relation to nature, created in such a relief is not less intimate than that of the former visualisations. In what manner ?

The single figures appear as isolated individuals. We do not see where they stand, nor from where they come and grow. For the flat ground of the relief does away with everything that is not directly connected with the main figures of the relief. Yet it would be wrong to see those detached figures as isolated, on the contrary, they are as closely connected with one another and with the whole as trees, animals and men of any landscape can be. But in order to realise this connection, we have to forget all memory pictures, which menace our appreciation and we have to forget the manner accustomed to us of looking at things. We must not seek for things which possibly will not be there, but our eye dwells on those forms and relations, on those signs and solutions which indicate and represent the truly Indian conception.

There is a childlike unreality about those small trees with big leaves and stems. There is an unsophisticated and voluptuous pleasure in the curvature of body and neck and movement of the animal, there is a quaint simplicity in the slanting position of toylike men who have the intensely

expressive gestures of marionettes. Surely they are not surrounded by nature but how could they be surrounded as they are nature themselves. Such is the landscape of Indian art; it does not describe or suggest the aspect of nature, both of which imply the notion of an alienated and regained nature. But the Indian mind abides in nature, and it creates as nature does. For do we not see flowers growing on the slope of the hill in the same graceful irregularity with the same gentle bend, the artist has given to his creatures ?

The Indian artist in creating does not observe nature, but he realizes it. He himself belongs to nature and it is working through him. This creative attitude stands very near to Spinoza's terminology of *natura naturata* and *natura naturans* where created and creative are qualities of one substance. The work of the Indian artist has the growing life which earth bestows on its creatures.

One type of composition, as significant for Indian plastic as the *tattwam asi* for the Indian mind, is represented by the group of woman and tree. It occurs in the earliest phase of Indian art, it accompanies its entire existence with the sweetness of the *setar* which keeps tune and time of the song.

The legend tells that the *Asoka* tree begins to blossom when touched by the left foot of a woman. Art makes them bloom into union. Her arms and the stem are one; one life of youth pulsates through both of them; it is the life of earth, the life of nature. Therefore composition to the Indian artist does not mean an abstract scheme, as it is the case with parallelism in Egyptian art, with the triangle in the European Renaissance and with the diagonal line in the Baroque. It is an effortless movement which flows through all the forms and overflows from the one to the next, from the woman to the tree and from movement to cube.

In the art of the whole world—except in India—devices and patterns will be found which have the function of embellishment and decoration only and which have no deeper

connection with the compositions themselves. The numberless posts and walls, beams and slabs of Indian monuments covered or adorned with the undulating stalk of heavy lotus flowers, are of unique significance. They are the purest creative forms which landscape achieves in India. No suggestion of atmosphere is made there, for they carry their own atmosphere with them, that mood of exuberant growth which never stops and passes from bud to flower, and from stalks and leaves to birds. That wave of the lotus stalk how strangely unnatural it is in a superficial sense, how deeply true to a cognisance of nature as everlasting in its continuous flow from death to life, from winter to summer from bud to fruit. Indian art knows of no "landscape" for not the aspect of nature has fascination for Indian creativeness but the working of nature itself. Indian art, therefore, expresses the force immanent in nature, it does not render the likeness of its forms. And in this way every single form of art expresses the whole of nature. But although all forms of Indian art are deeply significant, they never are symbolic. Symbolism, on the contrary, the moment it enters Indian art—it comes from the region of thought, where it belongs to the family of parable and metaphors—it is transformed into a vessel of nature. Tricula's are so nearly related to fish and several symbols grouped together form some new species of fantastic plants. Examples of this early Indian imagination are to be seen in Mathura and Sanchi.

Creativeness and nature have entered unique relationship in Indian art. Art has become the continuation and sublimation of nature through the medium of the creative mind. This process necessarily is accompanied by a further development of the forms of nature. The distortions of Indian art are caused by that peculiar growth.

In what way are the elements of the visible world stimulating to and adapted by the creative impulse? The representation of the Jetavana Jataka from Bharhut shows

the grove the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika purchases from prince Jeta in order to build a monastery for the Buddha. The trees have been cut, only three are left on the border, bullocks and cart which brought the money are having rest and servants are busy covering the ground of the grove with square golden coins, this being the price paid for the grove. Temples already have been built, a sacred tree also has been surrounded by a railing and pious crowds of worshippers. Anāthapiṇḍika appears twice—with this strange occurrence we have to deal later on—at the bottom he watches the purchase, and in the middle he is engaged in the ceremony of consecration. No historic report would be more concise. Nothing is shown which has not its necessary place in the story. And the way how things are shown is of still greater simplicity. Precise outlines give distinction to the tree, its formula consists in one line for the stem and a triangular scheme for the top and man is almost as simple to represent as the tree. Just this childlike simplicity of representation, however, proves an enormous achievement of visual power and concentration. The hand of the artist chisels the absolutely necessary lines and only these with unswerving surety. Nothing can distract him and so he conveys the most precise information of the object he depicts. This clear simplification, far more "difficult" and "advanced" than the most exhaustive description, is appropriate to the artist's aim of giving a clear idea of the visible world, which without his purifying abstraction would remain in the dumb lap of nature. This extreme simplification also proves an economic principle for the creative imagination, for it prevents it from getting absorbed by details and makes it the living source of every form. The one aim of Indian art with regard to nature, is therefore to represent its forms with accuracy. Having attained this goal, creative imagination has free field of work and dives from surface to secret. Being creation it proceeds in the channels supplied by nature.

Every organism in nature is constructed in such a way that the life-energies can circulate throughout the whole body. The life of nature, *i.e.*, physical life, consists in the unbroken and unirritated circulation of the life-juice whether it is the blood of animal and man or the sap of plants. In order to resist and to get on in life, joints, muscles and bones had to be formed, otherwise the organism would break down. Western art during relatively short phases, six centuries of Greek and Hellenstic art and five centuries from the beginning of the Renaissance to the twentieth century, exclusively paid attention to those features of resisting an aggressive life, as bones and muscles are. Indian art, on the other hand, directed its energies towards the other part of organic life, *i.e.*, towards the circulation of the life-juice. The result is obvious. Greek and Post-Renaissance art equally delight in pointing out the muscular energy, the splendidly constructed physique of man, or in an analogous way of every organism depicted. European mannerism, and the greatest artists, Michel Angelo, Titian and Rubens are not free from it, delights in an ostentatious display of exaggeratedly developed muscles, which are clearly marked in all their anatomic details. Indian art, on the other hand, makes disappear muscles and bones for the sake of an uninterrupted smoothness of all limbs through which the life energy may circulate without hindrance. The mannerism of Indian art lies in those languid creeper-like hands, which have almost become standing formulæ. The cognisance of life as movement, everflowing, and uninterrupted is formed by Indian art and is compared by naive similes. Shoulder and arm together, for instance, are compared to head and trunk of the elephant, the leg to the stem of a banana put upset down, the fingers are like beans and the face sometimes has the outline of a *betel*-leaf. These ancient comparisons made Dr. Abanindranath Tagore write his Hindu "Anatomy." Anatomy to the Indian artist means the clear expression of

what he feels to be the life-force of nature. It differs naturally from medical anatomy which as science is one and the same all over the world, while art as pure expression varies with the individual who expresses himself. Besides the anatomic deformations of all Western works of art are as deadly as those of their Indian brothers and the beautiful Galatea if she was a true work of art must have died shortly after she exchanged her existence of a statue with that of a young woman for the sake of her lover and creator, the sculptor Pygmalion.

From this creative apprehension of the life of nature, Indian art without making any special effort, finds the genuine form for the most abstract and sublimated conception. The supernatural state of the Buddha confesses through the form art gives to it, that it is nothing but the purest and ultimately true form of nature itself. Ceaseless life flows from head to arms, from one arm to the next, from body to legs; though the whole statue rests in silent concentration, life takes its course and gives to the highest form of the human mind adequate shape.

How far this conception of nature determines the organism of the picture, that is to say the coherent artistic expression has to be considered later on. For the present it suffices to point out that the artistic means by which the flowing stream of life is visualized are found in the peculiarly Indian plastic representations.

Sculpture, we say, is plastic art. Plastic is an adjective derived from the same root as plasticity. Plasticity, therefore, must have been the outstanding feature of sculpture, when it induced people to call it by that name. In the meantime, however, the original meaning of the word became forgotten and any sculpture however so stagnant and abrupt its forms may be, is called plastic. Indian art restores to plastic its original meaning. Take any sculpture in the round, a figure of Ganesha for instance. At the first moment

it seems as if some tough liquid would boil in bubbles and those bubbles mirror the vision of Ganesha. Still it is a carving in stone. Through a plastic conception the stone has become pervaded by life. It does not resemble any living form, but it has got a life of its own; which never stops and communicates its flow to each single form and makes them swell but also sharply defined and it is thrust further by its own energy to the next bubble and so forth until the whole mass of the stone has been transformed by the fervour of creation from a raw-material into a work of art. No part of the sculpture, no single point of its surface can be looked at independently, for the one is so intimately connected with the next as the various sections of the course of a river. Every material becomes flexible in the hand of the Indian artist. Painting too is a "plastic" art in India. The frescoes from Ajanta are as far removed from a merely two-dimensional surface-decoration as from an illusion of the depth of reality. They are plastic in such a way that every limb, every rock and every wall seem full in their roundness and mass. The modelling of a group of girls makes them grow out of the artist's imagination like superabundant flowers blooming forth from one root. The edgeless plasticity of their limbs allows life to take its calm and uninterrupted course.

Plastic, therefore, is the creative form of Indian "naturalism." With regard to India the meaning of naturalism becomes altered. The word is very much abused, in Europe as well as in India. To the European bourgeois naturalism means such a spectacle which will give pleasure to him without any effort made on his side. To the Indian bourgeois it has a similar meaning, but the value he attaches to it, is still greater, on account of the example given by Europe. To the European artist and intellectual on the other hand naturalism is identical with creative incapacity, while the naturalism of the Indian artist stands beyond the views mentioned. The appreciation and suggestiveness of nature, naturally changes

with surroundings and traditions. The Chinese naturalism to a European eye appears as an idealistic abstraction, whilst European naturalism strikes the Chinese as utmost ugliness. It is, however, the special feature of Indian naturalism not to depict the form of nature but to create as nature does.

This peculiar relationship of creativeness and nature results in an unrivalled rendering of animals and plants. With regard to the human figure it sacrifices the individual physiognomy to the characteristics of the type and achieves in portrait-painting a greatness of pure humanity which does not allow man to become a caricature of God's intention; caricature-drawings, in fact, are very rare in the whole of Indian art. The uncriticising earnestness of the Indian mind does not observe weakness. It carries out the command of nature and places the type over the individual and all types are of equal significance. The elephant, the most accomplished animal of Indian art, is given all the heaviness, roundness and goodness, which that loveable beast possesses; should ever the species die out, the monument set by the representations of Indian art, will make it immortal. None of its movements, none of its curves escaped the artist, and so vitally does he feel with this animal, that in its innumerable representations in sculptured friezes around many Indian temples where several thousands of them are assembled round the walls of one temple, mechanical repetition is unknown, for everyone is given a slight modulation of the elephant trot, so cherished by the Indian mind. The elephants at Kanarak embody the substance of elephantness in their smooth plastic.

The figure of man on the other hand represents a type in the same way as deer or the bodhi tree and all of them are co-ordinated in the composition, for all of them are creatures of nature. This feeling remains alive in the portraiture of later centuries. Rajput portraits confess their Indianness by a flow of the outline which is bent into personal likeness. In this respect they widely differ from Moghul portraiture, which gives the

individual portrait with objective exactitude. But it does not render that something inexpressible through words, that makes the genuine Indian portrait a form of life itself while it flows through some special human features.

Obeying to the life of nature and not copying its appearance Indian art creates form. Its artistic logic is as coherent as the life of nature which it follows and the result to which it necessarily leads must be seen in the images with many arms, many limbs and many heads. Human bodies have multiple limbs in art, because they do not have them in nature and because art can proceed and proceeds in the direction indicated by nature, where nature has to stop. Nature does not produce gods. They are brought forth by human imagination. Nature however supplies the elements which help imagination to construct and to believe in God.

In his mythical stage of spirituality man perceived the supernatural as a combination of forms of organic life, disparate in nature. The Egyptian and Assyrian Gods mixed bodies of lion and man, bird and man, bird and quadruped and the like, Vishnus—Varaha-avatar and that of Narasingha—belong to the mythical and combining imagination of humanity. Fundamentally different, however, is the multiplicity of limbs, a unique invention of India.

Supernatural beings throughout the whole world are conceived with wings. They generally spring off from the shoulders and suggest that celestial lightness associated with aerial creatures. In Indian art, however, except in post-Asokan sculpture and Moghul paintings, we do not meet with winged human or animal forms. Garuḍa representations of course stand apart, for Garuḍa, originally conceived as bird, later on assumes a human body. He is we may say a bird in human personification. The Indian artistic imagination disregards wings and creates many arms, growing out of the shoulders—and later on of the elbows also,—which belong to the Gods. The imaginative emotion which

realized the wings and the many arms is certainly one and the same, although the significance of its various manifestations differs widely. For wings attached to man and quadrupeds belong to an imagination, satisfied by addition and combination, while an imagination of an organic and synthetic order is required for the pictorial representation of multiple arms. Both conceptions, however, realise the sensation of psychical elevation seated somewhere between the shoulders. The wing-imagination works more or less mechanically, the imagination, on the other hand, which produces the multiple arms, works organically. Each arm and each hand is not only equally possible in its connection with the body, but through their variety the manifold spiritual energies acting in the god, in his peaceful mind and in his motionless or agitated body, become apparent. Each arm and each hand has a different gesture, a different individual expression, yet all of them are one outburst of divine energy.

This is the way how the Indian artist renders god-likeness. He is so engrossed in the life of nature that through his hand it gets the chance of producing a new possibility of organic form; organic, however, no longer with regard to physical life, but organic as a spiritual embodiment. He visualises God, no longer restricted by the purpose of types, but freed by his imagination, so that life may circulate unbound and unrestricted through the multiple limbs of the Gods, who live their own purposeless existence.

The multiple arms, however, are soon followed by multiple legs, the multiple limbs by multiple heads and multiple bodies through which imagination runs in a vicious circle; for it cannot go further and has to come back from where it started and it restores to nature the simple figure of man with two arms and two legs only.

Nature sometimes lets imagination loose but calls it back when it has achieved what lies within the scope of both of them. Whatever the contents of Indian imagination are, nature

always lies at their root and they have to travel along the roads prepared by her. She gives the suggestion and the artist carries it out. He follows as much her advice as that of his intuition. How else could rock temple and rock monastery have come into existence. They tell their own story, how when the mind became tired of a distracted life, and wished to return to its own depth, how the disciples of Buddha left the world and found themselves, surrounded by nature in all her wealth while they were living in the austere simplicity of some hole or cave nature herself had prepared for them in one of her rocks. And how those monks when no natural holes were left unoccupied started cutting out of the rock small cells and as their number went on increasing continuously, how they grouped their cells and built a monastery, cut it right into the flesh of nature, so that the first organised residence of spiritual man rivals the first dwelling place of the savage who has not yet founded human life apart from nature. And in this way India gives back to nature what she received from her and both are enriched by the surrender of human experience which lies between the savage who against his will is fettered to her and the spiritual who does away with the fetters of society and willingly seeks her communion and shelter. And how, later on, the austere simplicity of the first who sought nature was redeemed from the self-imposed restraint and by the following generations of brethren, and nature herself, through the creation of man became immortal when her rocks were transformed into columns of which every single part suggested some form of nature and big caves were dug out and their walls covered by a miraculous vegetation, of which God and man and animal and the forest and house and legend formed the fantastic pattern.

And again as in the case of the images with many limbs the human element had to go its own way and the Rathas in Mamallapur and the cave temple in Ellora are the token of

man's struggle for luxury. The Kailasa has none of the mysteries of art-nature but represents the luxurious temple of a rich community who could indulge in the extravagance of having it hewn out of the rock.

The eternal antagonism and attraction of civilisation and nature finds its creative interpretation in the history of the Indian cave temple and cave monastery.

It is the fulfilment of its inmost longing that the Indian soul needs and seeks the contact with nature. It gives spiritual satisfaction but sometimes also an emotional one, though this indirectly might lead to the same restful communion of mind as the former. The emotional communion is visualised in a late phase only of Indian art, in the various paintings which have *Ragas* and *Raginis* for their theme. The union with nature is attained by the music-yoga and music or nature herself bodily present in the *Ragamalas*. These paintings generally are of most complex origin whilst as works of art they are of childlike simplicity. They do not only visualise a state of soul but also the season of the year and the time of the day which are objectivations, reflexes and incitements at the same time of that particular mood. And besides they are the secret relationship of both, for the one is the beloved and the other the lover, calling and pining for each other or redeemed from all longing by their union. One of the most significant pictorial types of all the *Ragamalas* is *Ragini Tori*, she—who as some old lines describe her—"is the beloved of *Malkosh* with golden complexion ; her hair is like dark clouds and the face like the full moon, and her eyes like those of the deer. The ten corners of the globe are brightened by the beauty of her form. Hearing her song all birds and beasts are shedding tears. The deer are listening to her song intensely and unconsciously they are dancing in front of her. These paintings, late as they are, represent landscape in the sense familiar to us. But at that time, China as well as Europe, had directly

or *viâ* Persia exercised their influence on India. The use, however, made of the landscape is purely Indian, though it is a more complex and less direct form than that created in earlier epochs. Nature there has become an actor who displays his inner life through the alluring charm of its personification as young man or young woman or both together and through the haunting sweetness of her melody. The insoluble connection however of figure and landscape—how empty every *Ragini* picture would look without the figure of the *Ragini* and how rich it appears through her presence—the insoluble connection of soul and landscape is the purely Indian merit of these paintings.

Indian art represents the creative continuation of nature, or the return to her and their creative union. Art thus is as natural as nature and nature as artistic as art with regard to the Indian soul, which realises that the cruel form of Narasinha is installed on mountain-tops, in caves and in forests.

III

MYTH AND FORM[1]

Myth is an expression of the fulness of life. The underground f ars, hopes and extravagancies of inner experience surge up and show their monstrous heads, their heroic deeds and their God-like autocracy. Whatever the origins of myth are, whether physical, meteorological, liturgic, ethic, historic or allegoric, India never ceased to create myth. Different from Judaism and Christianity, myth and religion were never divided and the bitter fight of the established religion and the luxuriant growth of myths was never more than an incident. There are myths which reveal the cosmos reflected in imaginative emotion and others which glorify the mission and vocation of man and his regained cosmic existence. Legend and myth and not the laws and prohibitions imposed by ten commands are the background of the spiritual consciousness of India. Laws are rigid but myths grow in freedom. The Mosaic law prevented art and the Indian myth gave to it the greatness of a limitless horizon, populated by ever-changing, never-tired imagination.

Myth is the subject-matter of Indian art, with other words: to express the fulness of life is the subject-matter of Indian art with other words: who does not experience myth as the only reality will never create an adequate work of art, but merely an illustration. But what does illlustration and creative expression mean with regard to art.

An illustration accompanies a text. It visualises some episode with the vivid impressiveness of lines and colours. It serves the text as a sensual foot-note and has apart from it no more independence than duly belong to a foot-note. The aim of the best illustration points towards the test, it is coherent with the words and not coherent in itself.

[1] Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University on the 2nd August by Miss Stella Kramrisch, Ph,D. (Vienna).

A statue, relief or painting on the other hand may have some story, some event, some myth for their subject. And yet they will not be in the service of story, event or myth. Subject-matter is the sound basis of art, yet to be sure—story or myth have their subject-matter just as well as the work of art, which represents that story or myth. But a newspaper report of some tragedy which happened yesterday is pure subject-matter and has no element of art and an illustration stands in similar relationship to the story which it illustrates. The newspaper reporter registers the event,—he cannot afford to create the form of his inner experience with regard to that event. Besides this would not be wanted. Similarly not much more is wanted from an illustration than to register the events of the story by visual means. The aim of illustration is realistic, it leads the verbal abstraction back to an imagined actual reality and it is from this point of view that to the imaginative reader illustrations so often appear disturbing and superfluous.

The work of art on the other hand which has some myth, or legend, or whatever it be, for its subject-matter, makes use of the suggestions already formed by words; but in order to get to their taste and flavour it has to absorb the story. It must be fit for that process of absorption that is to say, the creative emotion of the artist is the receptacle into which literary imagination is poured out. The chemistry of intuition however luckily has no formula. The subject-matter undergoes complete reformation, before it emerges as work of art. Literary imagination, therefore, prepares the material for the work of art; the artist however has to melt and to transform it from the unity of concepts to one unique conception. In this way the artist creates the myth, in a different way but by the same faculty of the human mind which expressed itself in poetical terms.

Not the events, but the significance of the events which constitute myth or story is rendered by the correspondence of

visual means and no longer by the logic of poetical diction.

Myths live by oral tradition. Mostly they are recorded when they no longer exist as living reality in the human heart. Art, however, is a version contemporary with the original emotion.

The feeling of life as endless coming and going, as infinite movement supports Buddha's Jatakas and the Avatars of Vishnu.

In the reliefs on the railings of the Stupa from Bharhut many Jatakas are present at the same time. Their succession in time has changed into a co-ordination in space. The Buddha in his former existences need not wander through ages and ages. Supported by the undulating flow of the lotus stalk his previous births are brought near one another and one form of existence gently glides into the next. This form of composition has the peaceful and perhaps also the tired monotony of life which goes on repeating itself with slow measure throughout the *Yuga* in which we live. Now the Buddha is a clever cock and then again a young Brahmin, and sometimes an elephant and sometimes a deer and that stalk of the lotus which surrounds his cock—cleverness with such compassion does not diminish its attention or alter its direction when the Buddha proves his unfailing wisdom working through the humble mind of a young son of a Brahmin. And so his incarnations and the remarkable event that happened in each of them are passing by like beads on a thread, but the thread is a lotus-stalk and the beads are events and their order is alternate, for to heighten their importance and to give proper surroundings to them, jackfruits and others, big like nightmares accompany them in regular succession. Such is the pictorial way of expressing life's unbroken continuity, which has found its myth in the Jatakas and its abstract concept in Karma —nothing in the myth however suggests its association with a lotus stalk, nothing indicates the assistance of absurdly big

fruits in fantastic variety. Nothing tells that the Buddha however, so marvellous the gifts of his character were, whether in the shape of animal or man, was equal in size to flower and leaf—and we are nowhere told either that however so great the significance of a Jataka was, still it could not rival the greatness of a bunch of leaves or fruits or that of a necklace. But that is how art tells its myth. Undoubtedly, the actual happening is less distinguishable than if the fable were told by words, but what is so clearly formed in the relief is the inner meaning of the myth. The monotonous melody of the lotus stalk sounds near the endless vibration of the infinite and creates through its simple form the suggestion of life eternal, yet continuously transforming.

It is by these means that art creates myths. There mythical significance results from relationship, which again does not belong to the logical order of the intellect, but to the constructive instinct of the creative impulse. Indian art has not only myths as tales, but it creates those myths in a manner which tells to later generations of more and deeper connections than which are stored in a fable. Bharhut represents the classic form of the Buddha legend and no revelation could be more succinct, and naive. Buddhism in later centuries, overthrown by Hinduism, lost its importance for India, but the law of composition which reached its classical formulation in the early Buddhist monuments remains a motif recurring throughout the whole of Indian art. It is the lotus-tendril with its ever calm, infinitely variegated and untiring curvature. The Jatakas go on through ages until the last incarnation is reached. It is final, and the ever running wave of life and death has flown into the ocean of *nirvana*. But the wave of composition, the wave of life continues its flow however so many Buddhas may attain perfection in the meantime, for it does not illustrate any special doctrine or message, but being art it is the unconscious though, precisely elaborate form of nameless life, as is felt by the Indian.

The lotus creeper therefore—but no lotus creeper exists in nature—the lotus that flowers in the world of art and extends its stem as endless wave over the monuments—is the visual form the genius of India found as an expression of that super-abundance of life-energy which is called *karma* and found its historical myth in Buddha's Jatakas.

Another myth, that of Vishnu and his avatars, is based on the same cognisance of life. Still the starting point has been shifted. The Jatakas being retrospective—for their principle existed from the beginning—form one chain of continuous existence. The avatars, on the other hand, sudden, unforeseen outbursts of divine energy become visualised by various independent compositions concluded in themselves, and pointing to nothing further. In them the cosmical event is concentrated into one single moment while in the Jataka its life is unfolded. Avatars similar to metamorphosis, and to the transformations so frequently related in Northern mythology lend themselves to pictorial representation.

The Boar incarnation of Vishnu, for instance, unites the idea of the boar, whose innate custom it is to dig deep into the earth with a geographical notion, namely that the earth, the dry land, has been rescued from the sea; Vishnu, the preserver of the earth rescues in shape of the primeval boar the Goddess Earth—and imagination hurries on combining—the Goddess Earth who has been kidnapped thither by the demon Hiranyāksha, the enemy of the Gods. And other preconceived figures and actions accompany and complete the heroic poetical picture of the Varāha-Avatār. *Śesha*, on whose wide-spread hoods the earth is supposed to rest rises from the ocean along with the Boar God, worshipping him. The devas worship the God from above, the sages on the right, and Brahma and Siva on the left. They express the joy felt by the entire universe on this occasion.

Thus the mythical happening appears reflected in our mind, step by step, adding to the figure of the God that of

the Goddess combining with either of them the serpent God. At last we have to join the circles of worshippers and the *devas* worship from above, and Brahma and Siva and the sages on one level with the Boar-God.

Such is the mythic subject-matter of the relief from Mamallapuram. In the middle of the composition rises the God. He raises the earth, and the accentuated parallelism of vertical lines makes them appear rising and rising, surging from unknown depth into unknown height and the attendants to the right and to the left worship and render homage to the rising God by realising his uplifting career in their own limbs which are made to accompany the central figure by their straight verticalism. And their movement would grow into the infinite if not the God were fettered to his burden, the earth, whom so willingly he took on his arm; but this fetter is his halo, the crowning shape, radiating from his God-head. How his arm clasps the leg of the earth, how her tranquil sitting corresponds to the God's energy, manifest in the clasp of his hand and the bend of the arm so that they form an inseparable connection; and all the others, to the right and to the left, at the same level and lower down are nothing but the emanation of the God's energy which spreads round him in the form of the circle. Yet this circle is left incomplete, so that the rising movement is not counteracted by the stability of the round one. Quality and heroic action of the God are thus visualised by vertical lines and circular movement and the reality of the myth is led back to its inmost and primeval significance. Names are forgotten, mythical experience has gained visual form.

Vishnu, in several of his avatars, is given form as centrifugal energy radiating from one upright centre, his upright posture. Trivikrama, the God who took three strides, is transformed into a purely dynamic composition of linear energies. Myth expressed through words invents a fable, myth created by art makes the inherent relation of the visible

world manifest. The legend runs thus: Bali, a powerful Demon King, conquered the three worlds and ruled in them, in spite of his birth, in charity and with justice. Indra, the chief of the Gods was thus superseded. Vishnu as the avowed destroyer of the demons and the upholder of the Gods had to restore Indra to his legitimate positions. Vishnu could not go to war against Bali as he was a virtuous king. So he went in the guise of a dwarf, Brahman, a student of the *Vedas* and begged of Bali for three feet of land on which he could sit and meditate on Brahman undisturbed. The generous Bali granted the request. But what was his astonishment when he saw the cunning God grow to a height transcending the world taking at one step the whole earth, covering the sky with the next and demanding of Bali to show him room for the third. True to his promise, Bali offered his own head, on which the God placed his foot and sent him down to the lower regions. Greatly pleased with the king's nobility and firmness of character, Vishnu is still supposed to be guarding as his servant the palace of Bali in the world below.[1]

To the carefully scrutinising mind of the archæologist the relief from Mamallapuram seems to represent the God with eight arms. He notices further : the foremost arm on the right supports the lintel while the remaining three hold the discus, club and the sword. Of the arms on the left side two hold the bow and the shield; the third has the conch and the fourth is pointed towards Brahma seated on the lotus. This Brahma has four hands. He reverently touches with one of his hands the toe of the uplifted leg of Trivikrama and with another touches the finger of the God pointed towards him. On the corresponding right side of Trivikrama is found apparently Siva, also on a lotus-seat. The Sun and Moon with circles of light behind their heads are seen flying in the air, half way down the high face of the

[1] From Krishna Shastri: South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses, p. 30.

God. Two other heavenly beings, one of which is on the level with the head of Trivikrama and has a horse-face, are also flying in the air. The seated figures at the foot of Trivikrama are apparently Bali and his retinue, who are struck with amazement at the sudden transformation of the stunted Vāmana into the all-pervading Trivikrama."

No doubt it is difficult to enter the abstruse action of personages who are at least irrelevant to us and who moreover exhibit such touching scenes as for instance the four-handed Brahma, who with his one hand reverently touches the toe of the uplifted leg of Trivikrama. Although all the episodes mentioned are represented in the relief, they do not constitute its existence. And leaving away all what folklorists and archæologists might have to see and to say, the relief creates the radiating of the sun with such phenomenal energy that arms and legs are no longer limbs, but strong and piercing forces, bursting out from one common centre, penetrating everywhere, upwards—and the high crown—it becomes higher and higher, it almost is a beam and those many arms, disc of sun-rays, are thrust forth and penetrate the variegated forms of matter scattered about and they are made to assemble in the round glory of the upholder of the universe, whose one leg is sent downwards to give light to the lower regions, a radiating beam that pierces the heavy dullness of the ground, which is basis *and* counteractor. Greatness is simple and what could be simpler than a horizontal line, on which a vertical line reposes, this line being the diameter of a circle. Through the inner relationship of horizontal and vertical, of horizon and zenith, sun, the all-pervading upholders unfolds the circle of his rays.

The Jataka, expressions of life's continuity, found their corresponding form in the undulating movement of the wavy line. The Avatars, on the other hand, expressions of the intensity of life in every of its moments were realised by art

through the correspondence of vertical line, horizontal line and circle. Viewed closer these two diametrically opposed types of artistic form contain both the same elements, for a wavy line is nothing but a circle adapted to its extreme components, now following the horizontal, now the vertical, or seen from the other end the wavy line consists of a horizontal and of a vertical line which are brought to union by the roundness of the circle. The wavy line is the integration of the myth of life, visualised by Indian art, while the other type of life concentrated into the tension of every second of reality welds the contrast—of vertical and horizontal—into the unity of the circle.

These compositional types, however, do not result from the myth, which is their theme. They are inherent qualities of Indian art. The myth is the verbal and the form the visual expression of one and the same experience of life which belongs to India. There is, of course, nothing conscious in this relationship, it is like one special kind of leaf and one special kind of flower which belong to one plant. Leaves from a different plant will not match that flower, but we cannot give the exact reason why they don't. The mythical experience of the artist finds form as expression, that of the poet words, concepts. Both may meet and become fused if the ultimate significance of their vision is the same. Apart from the mythic form, Indian art has given to life in the two aspects dealt with, some more distinct types of mythic experience were evolved. These, however, are based on the selection from and combination of the elements contained in the two standard types of Indian form that of Jatakas and Avatars.

Krishṇa Gopāla, the cowherd, the flute-player, is to Indian art a theme with infinite variations. His limbs sing all the melodies which his flute ever could play. The right foot crosses the left, the left arm crosses the body—or the position may be different, but that crossing from rest to movement

and from now to then is the characteristic time of Venu- and Madana-Gopala's attitude. His body swings accordingly to the left, to the right, to the left, in that leisured rhythm, which is so favourable for playing the flute. And his arms, two or four or many more, make the sweet sound of the flute vibrate on and on. The happy state of a perfectly balanced, perfectly harmonised existence is visualized by the artist in this vertical and horizontal play of the wavy movement. It is so ideally human, this equilibrium of unrestrained emotion ; taking its natural flow it builds up the existence of Krishna as a work of art. Krishna is not only one of the most popular heroes of India. The compositional form which found in his figure the most graceful and exhaustive realisation, is the most popular attitude amongst those figures of Indian art, who are not forced to registered gestures conveying their message. The Tribhanga, and the light and the extreme bent Abhanga and Atibhanga, all compositional forms of leisured life, which does not express anything besides itself, belong to one order, with Krishna's attitude. Human life undisturbed and unfettered, this is a part of the great stream of life which flows through the undulating line in which the Jatakas take place.

The circle on the other hand is used exclusively when Śiva dances his cosmic dance. The wavy curve was the form of progressive life, and therefore equally belonged to Jatakas and to *one* form of the chain, to human or organic life in general. But the circle, completeness in itself, is form of cosmic existence. It reveals the life of the Gods.

Śiva's dance has mystic significance, but its conception belongs to an imagination that creates myth and not mysteries. Indian art, however,—so mystically its subjects may be interpreted or however so mystically they affected the mind of the self-abandoned worshipper—Indian art, as all art, has nothing to do with mysticism. It is, however, mythical and all great art *is* mythical. Mysticism belongs to life. It

represents its most sublimated form realised in the human soul as union with the soul of the universe. Poetry might have some mystic happening or feeling for its subject, still the creative work of the poet never can be mystical. The mystical experience finds fullest realisation in the life of the saint. But saints—as a rule—are not artists. The artist, on the other hand, has the vision of the saint; he does not however apply it to his further psychical career, but detaches it from his person and makes it concrete through some material or the other. And as his vision needs the special material, whether word or stone or sound, so it needs materialisation in some special imaginary happening, which must be separated from the person and woven into a new context. While mysticism is a state of spiritual human existence, the myth is a deed of the human spirit. It is creation. Deeds exist in themselves and apart from the individual, which they contain in an transubstantiated and immortalised form. The experience of the mystic dies with him and it needs another mystical inclination to realise his experience, if recorded. But works of art are universal and only the eye of Majnun is needed, to see the beauty of Leila.

Myths and works of art are creations. They represent or visualise the relationship of the cosmic to particular in one definite connection, which through intense narrowness, that is through the concentration of vision, can afford to be universal.

Curves can be endlessly modified, but the circle is confined to itself. Krishna's figure leads the dance of all the Bhangas of human postures invented by Indian art but it is only Śiva who can dance the dance of creation, the perfect circle.

Śiva dances that dance which leads from creation to preservation, from preservation to destruction. Where does his dance begin? It has no beginning and it has no end, for it *is*. Such is the state of the world in any moment of existence. Past, future and present are divided in grammar

and history but not in the moment of actual life. And therefore his dance turns in a circle and a halo of flames is around him.

Krishna and Śiva types, combinations of undulating curves and combination of circles are expressive of the moment of life in its entirety, of the moment of human life in full equilibrium, or of the moment of cosmic life in full reality.

Other myths correspond with other forms. Pure symmetry and vertical parallelism are rare though precious creations. They are visualised through Būddha, Vishnu, Sūrya, etc. They characterise the single images, set up for worship, in sitting or standing attitude. Vertical symmetry in motionless regularity owns the hypnotising sternness, required by an image. In this respect the Indian conception does not differ from that all over the world. It is the adequate form of transcendentalism, known to Egypt and Byzantism in a highly developed degree, but brought to perfection in India too. Prajñāpāramitā, wisdom that has reached the yonder shore, resides in unapproachable perfection, aloof from motion, aloof from the movement of soul. Her verticalism, conscious principle is redeemed from its rigidity, by perfection.

The Buddha participates in the solemnity of verticalism. The Buddha-image always is subject to it. The moment however the Buddha is represented in one of his miracles or acting amongst men, at once his figure assumes graceful liveliness carried by a play of undulating curves One of the most accomplished Buddha-images is the sitting Buddha from Sarnath. His being rests in absolute symmetry. The verticalism, however, is dissolved into triangle and circles. They give structure and softness to his beatitude. His face is round like a circle, but his halo is still a bigger one. And circles like veils glide down his lionlike, smooth body. They rest on his lap and triangles come to their help, so that they may not overflow. The Buddha's verticalism is enshrined in a triangle, his compositional outline is an equilateral triangle

in unshakable quietude. And the smooth and round arms guard the Blessed One's body which is of superhuman beauty, by two more triangles. And where his hands meet is the point of the equilateral triangle which has the shoulders for its base. Triangles pointing up and down, intermingled with circles—and these have no direction—form the symmetrical pattern of the Buddhistic art form. Symmetry and vertical parallelism, the most commonplace artistic composition which corresponds to the conception of the supernatural, is one amongst many forms India created in relation to mythic contents. The myth of life ever flowing, ever changing, ever present, cannot be compressed into one geometrical abstraction. Vertical symmetry embodies a state, superior to the accidental. It has permanence, but more that of death than of eternal life. And still there is energy in it, that energy of sitting straight upright which so well befits a Buddha.

The power however of the straight line becomes enhanced when it is made to slope. In slanting position it points towards an end, it loses its God-like balance, it rushes down laden with demoniac energy. Durgā slaying the demon, Mahishâsura makes her whole tremendous weight rest in the diagonal slope of her menacing gesture. All the slaying destructive compositions have this diagonal arrangement. Even Vishnu in his *Narasinha* avatar slaying the demon *Hiraṇya-kaśipu* struggles between the maintenance of the attitude fit for his personality and the sway which embittered brutality gives to him.

Myth and form followed their own respective inner development but as necessary consequence of their intercourse, mutual influence resulted. May be that Vishnu's man-lion incarnation, where he is made to break out of the midst of a column—was subconsciously suggested by those phantastically carved wooden posts, where grotesque animals hide their terrifying bestiality in rhythmically sculptured arabasques. Myth on the other hand now and then directly influenced

form. Ardhanārīśvara, the male-female oneness of Śiva-Pārvātī, makes the statue right-side male, left-side female and their artistic unity is not less than their ideal one. For whatever the right half indicates, the left half carries it out. Every vibration of the right is brought to perfection in the left, the right leads and the left supports, the right commands and the left carries out, the movement of the right is vigorous tension, that of the left its relaxation and roundness ; the right is male and the left is female.

The form of Ardhanārīśvara clearly shows how the art instinct of India works. The Greek representation of the hermaphrodite, for instance, expresses the same union of the two principles in one body. But while Greek imagination is making the physical body into something in between and containing both, the Indian artist is not eager to create a new, more complete, more beautiful type of man, but he leaves either half as it is and unites them by the magic of art, which finds a sameness of line in the male and in the female form and sees their variety and charm in a modification of the underlying life. And so they can be blended together in the completeness of art which thinks of lines and plastic and volume related to expression but which is unaware whether physically the union represents a successful enlargement of the human type.

Indian myths are without number and so are the forms. Art, one is apt to suspect, makes lofty imaginations concrete. This however is an unartistic prejudice although it made Moses and Mohammed and all iconoclasts condemn pictorial representation.

It is however a paradox, that art leads myth through form to namelessness. In other words, the mythical value of Indian art consists in form, in that correspondence of all figures and all action represented which is visible as circle and line, triangle and symmetry, universal relationships, which are superior to and

annihilate the well-defined shape, the name symbol and allegory.

Mythical experience lies at the root of the Indian form. Necessarily, the mythical experience does not only create heroes, but also a heroic, a corresponding way of telling about them. Epic form, though generally post-mythic, seems to be the most adequate. Art too found for its mythic experience a corresponding way of expression, namely the "continuous representation." Wherever Gods are believed to be amongst men and to live with them and yet to remain Gods, art, in representing their actions, or in representing any action which necessarily is linked to them in one way or the other, transforms time and space of actual reality into a new unit, the space-time of the heroes. This phenomenon is realised not only by the Indian artist, but it occurs in exactly the same texture in China, Egypt, Pagan and Early Christian Rome. It is the art-diction of mythic experience. Continuous representation for instance is shown in the Jetavana-Jātaka from Bharhut. The merchant Anāthapiṇḍika purchases the grove. He is bodily present when his servants are paying the price by covering the ground with money. He stands near the bullock-cart, but he is bodily present in the same relief once more, when he, after the purchase of the grove has been finished, and after the monastery and sacred buildings have been erected, dedicates the monastery to the invisible Buddha, standing in the middle of the relief and pouring out water over his absent hands, and Prince Jeta and crowds of worshippers are already approaching the monastery. Thus the event as a whole is compressed into one significant moment and finds representation in one relief. Myth is timeless, its reality and significance are everlasting and the measure of that timeless reality is the system of the relief, which unites in one frame all the important phases of an entire story.

Subject-matter, form and diction of Indian Art, are mythical. Even architecture is intimately connected with it. For

the central shrine surmounted by a spire or dome which crowns the God's image or his shapeless presence is accessible through a hall in front, in which or just outside of which will be placed the image of the deity's chief vehicle, the Nandi-Bull ni Śiva's temple and the Garuḍa bird in Vishnu's temple, thus forming a suitable residence for the Gods on earth and for the mythical experience in visual forms.

IV

SPACE [1]

Small children are fond of glittering things. They want to seize the ornaments of their mother, when she comes near to them and they want to seize the moon. To them distance does not exist and whatever attracts their interest, is within their reach. They have no depth yet.

Grown up people see that their hands are near and that where the sun sets is far away. They see that big tree behind the bush and the mountain in further depth.—But do they see it ?

Physiologically the eye has no faculty of perceiving depth and the objects appear to it as coloured surfaces only, and the world is a carpet, woven in manifold colours.

When the child for the first time gets hurt against the table, it comes to know of the existence of the table and experience tells it not to go too near.

Depth, therefore, is the dimension of actual reality and we know of it by practical experience. Space, however, has depth for its chief constituent. Without the latter it shrinks down to surface.

An age,—where practical experience was held to be the standard of civilisation,—found the law of perspective and how

[1] Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University on the 5th August, 1922.

to apply it to art. From the 15th century onwards, perspective as a means of giving clear impression of the situation of objects represented in a picture, was made throughout Europe the standard of appreciation. This law has for its contents the proportion in which the size of objects decreases, while their distance from the spectator increases. Perspective in this sense is purely mathematical. Mathematics consciously separates space and time : actual reality, however, as well as art contain space and time in insoluble fusion. Perspective, therefore, has its purpose where an objective result is aimed at for further utilisation. But art has no further use but its own existence and is independent of perspective.

The East, different from Post-Renaissance Europe never investigated the scientific connection between reality, empirical knowledge and eye-sight. Still, the eastern artist fairly pays the prize for having his intuitions of space aroused through sense. That is to say, they are subject to whatever variations may be necessary for the proper business of his vision and he tries with utmost sincerity to design that vision. Herein lies the root of Eastern and Western art. By Western art as opposed in its principle to the East, the Greko-Roman tradition and the five centuries only from the beginning of the 15th century to the end of the 19th century, are considered. The Western artist proceeds towards his vision on the thorny path of empirical knowledge cleansed by science, the Eastern artist contemplates his vision only and all elements of reality are merged in it. He does not aim at depicting reality but his endeavour is to make his vision appear as real.

Reality with regard to creation and to the work of art has a meaning of its own. Every work of art being one entire organism, one world in itself, is obedient to laws of its own. These laws, however, are dictated by the inner experience which the artist visualises in the picture. Naturally, the value we attribute to things is different from the relation

which objectively exists between them. It is not only different but is changeable and it changes with every individual and with every change of his moods. "The variability of shape, size and position of things are not objects of sense, but of intuition and therefore as many various 'perspectives' are possible, as there are intuitions."

Still, pictorial art in so far as it represents either events or figures or anything otherwise connected with reality, necessarily has to make use of certain suggestions given by it. For all images of external objects are themselves spatial in character and their parts have position relatively to each other. But also they have position in the whole of space. Here the problem arises, for imagination has to find its way between significance and illusion, between the connection merely relevant for the present intention of the artist and those which occur by custom and commonsense experience. It does so with dream-like surety and firmly established formulæ become the pavement of its path.

An early relief, for instance, represents the Bodhi tree. It shows in clear terms what space meant to the Indian artist and how he realised it by a clear correspondence of forms. We recognise : A railing, a tree and an umbrella. The rail surrounds the tree. That is its function in relation to the tree. Therefore it is visualised in such a manner that all the four sides are shown; they surround the stem of the tree in the form of a quadrangle standing on one of its corners. The tree itself, the sacred symbol of the Buddha, is shown in fullest development; an unbroken outline is drawn round the top, and the stem in entire length, and breadth is made visible too. The umbrella at last, emblem of royal dignity and duly present over the sacred spot where the Buddha attained illumination, is represented in such a manner that its inside which sheds the refreshing shadow is shown to the spectator. Every one of the three objects is

given the most expressive view. We are informed that the railing surrounds the tree and that the tree is the main object of the three, and we know that the umbrella spends shadow and on account of it the inside is shown.

To eyes trained by perspective, the confusion of views, which is obvious must be distressing. For the railing is seen from above, the tree in profile-view, that is to say, on one level with the eye while the umbrella for a change is seen from below.

To measure Indian art with the terms gained from Western Post-Renaissance tradition is obviously absurd. But the "Indianness" of this kind of perspective once recognised, we have to ask in which way are these formulæ, gained from the relation of the objects to each other in some given mental connection, to which extent are these standing formulæ subject to and made use of by creative imagination.

Space, we have seen, belongs to concrete reality and is marked by the distance of objects ; art has a reality of its own and what in an objective and disinterested nature is position, becomes transformed by art into relation. How far then can the position of single objects be made to follow that relation which links form to form ? How far can it be made to follow that relation of soul and individual which is called inner experience ?

In the representation of Maya Devi's dream from Bharhut, the flying Buddha-elephant approaches Maya's (his future mother's) left side. The maidens, her attendants, are fast asleep. Nothing is shown of the room except Maya's bed. But whatever could be shown besides it would be superfluous, for everything that makes the event clear is there and everything is shown in its entirety without the least part of the important personages being covered or intersected. Of course the maidens seem to sit under the bed against which they knock their heads. And the bed seems to suffer from

a nightmare for its legs stand cruelly crooked and its surface stands up in uproar and presents the quietly sleeping outstretched figure of the Queen. She sleeps undisturbed while the Buddha-elephant puts his clumsy foot on her and while a maiden rests her elbows on her head. The candle to the right, which is supposed to give light, tumbles down.

The whole scene, however, is designed in fullest artistic clearness. The artist sees every object which he imagines, sharply distinct. After having the whole of his picture settled in his vision, he fixes it on his paper or into the surface of the stone. The most significant parts of every object in relation to their function in the story have to be demonstrated first of all. It is important for the bed to show the whole of its surface. How otherwise could the Queen, the main figure of the action, who rests on the couch be made distinctly visible? Such considerations are justified. They satisfy the endeavour of the artist to render his story in clear terms. The relation, therefore, of the single object changes from one representation to the other. There is nothing sterile, nothing of science in this purely imaginative working of the mind. Certain objects, however, carry their spatial significance constantly with them and are independent of any pictorial connection they enter. All tables, seats or altars ever represented in Indian art show, similar to Queen Maya's bed, their entire surface, unforeshortened and unintersected, for the slab of the seat and the plate of the table are the most significant parts of these objects, whatever connections they enter. Indian art further on does not know the word "behind." It replaces it by "on top of." In this way entirety is secured for those figures which in reality stand behind others and are covered by them. The animals, therefore, which approach the sacred tree, proceed in rows on top of one another, for the artist visualises their entire crowd and each of them with equal care. In this way standing spatial formulæ

are evolved. They are like tools, ready whenever intuition wishes to make use of them. Art, however, is neither mechanic nor does it stick to principles and as long as it depicts figures and objects of reality some or the other illusion of reality will secretly enter the vision of the artist. So in Maya Devi's dream, the maid behind the bed of the Queen actually sits behind it and is intersected by the frame of the bed, instead of sitting above it, if the spatial conception were strictly logical. It is the chief aim of the artist to reproduce, not what he sees, but what he imagines. Every object which he is going to depict will be shown in its most significant aspect. How could he think of perspective when all the objects he is interested in are equally near to his mind? He, therefore, does not accommodate their size to spatial distance, that is to their relative position in actuality but he makes their size dependent upon the inner relationship between the single figures in the frame of every special story. Queen Maya and the Buddha-elephant are the leading persons in our present relief, and therefore their size excels that of the other actors, and the lying figure and the flying elephant are approached in size. In other reliefs, for instance, in the typical scenes where two elephants, standing on lotus flowers, pour water over the Goddess who sits on the lotus beneath them—the elephants have shrunk down to the size of the lotus, so small they are in comparison to the Goddess.

This conception of space differs from perspective as much as imagination differs from science. Science and perspective fix the rule gained by experience and this rule has to be applied in every special instance. Imagination, however, adapts the material supplied by impression to its own working. It crystallises into new form whenever it is saturated with an impression. It is incessantly flexible, and yet it is ruled by its own course just as life is limited by its own possibilities.

Perspective, however, and the Indian conception of space which is perspective too, in so far as only selected portions of the things themselves are represented, belong to one category. It is their function to make the connection of objects intellectually clear. The one achieves this by illusion, and the other by abstraction. Neither of them is creative in an artistic sense.

But space and art enter not only intellectual relationship. Space may be created by art as the rhyme is created by poetry and the tune by music. The space, created in art, has not only spatial significance, but it exists so far only as it is expressive.

In Indian art space in a creative sense is conspicuous by non-existence. Every building, every sculpture and every painting is entirely formed ; and form drives away space, the dead body of unexpressive reality. Forms are limited and space is extended. Forms grow, thrust away space and assemble in heaps. Such an assembly is called a temple. Not the least interval interferes with their continuity. They clasp one another growing upwards, they seize their neighbours to the right and to the left, they grow into one solid mass which rejects space and leaves it outside as something which has not undergone the fire of creation, a raw material, without direction and concentration. The spire of the Indian temple, the Sikhara, is a monument of creative energy that has conquered the vastness of fathomless space. No rest and no repetition will be found on any part of the temple surface. A rolling of heavy masses opens and shuts the niches reserved for the statues and under the rotation and the pressure of their weight they are moulded into shape.

The Indian art-space has a very complex origin. The intellectual part of it substitutes inner relationship for objective distance and has clear narration for its purpose. The creative spaceless and dynamic volume, however, so perfectly shaped in the Sikhara, is also the underlying principle of the Gopuram.

First it seems to be a frantic upheaval of intoxicated figures, an eruption of plastic fury; in fact, a dread of emptiness, an artistic horror vacui has taken possession of the builder. The wall of his Gopuram, for fear to remain empty, breaks out in figures, which animate the whole of it and do not leave the least space in between them. Space, the unknown, unformed vagueness of reality, is driven away by definite form, by jostling figures who wish to resist the intrusion of that shapeless unknown element. But their effort is only partly successful. For form needs space to be distinct in itself and kept apart from other forms. Space, therefore, intrudes the uproar of forms disguised as darkness which lingers in between them and is spread out as an unintended pattern.

Not only the late south-Indian temple buildings are subject to that frantic production of figure and the intrusion of unformed space. The gateways of the Sanchi *stupa* are the earliest witnesses of the gigantic fight of form against the formless. Their whole surface is covered by uncounted Jatakas and the never-tired repetition of scenes of worship. All of them are populated by dense crowds of men, objects, plants and animals, and the thicker their crowd, the less penetrable their nearness, the more space gets a chance of invading them. The whole monument, covered with a phantastic number of figures, with an exuberant thicket of forms, is soaked with the darkness of space that pervades their close texture.

Dread of emptiness is the reaction of the Indian artist against space, the vast extension of reality, and Sikhara and Gopuram are the two fortresses set up by the creative mind of India to resist space. The Sikhara increases in height by the growing energy which makes form spring off out of form, until it reaches its final limit and the spire is complete and crowned by the *amalaka*. The Gopuram, on the other hand, does not grow. Its height is a definite stage of full development and the vital energies have assembled and break out of its

epidermis in numberless forms. While the Sikhara defeats space by the volume of its growing life, the Gopuram, overripe and luxurious in fantastic fulness, exposes its surfaces rifted by superabundance of form, to the intrusion of space and seems to crumble away under its own fulness.

Every art, however, is faced with the problem how to conquer the unformed and how to conquer that enemy by the weapons he himself supplies.

Egypt took an attitude similar in its principle to the Indian, but temperamentally different. It made the statue a compact cube, it assembled all the parts of the body in one square without holes, it banished space and replaced it by motionless and consistent mass. The Egyptian cube has the permanent existence of the petrefact crystal. It secures eternal life to the Ka, the soul of the dead person, whose features are preserved in the statue. Geometrical mass, sharply confined within its limits,—such is the resistance Egypt offered to the fathomless extension of unformed space and its most characteristic monument is the pyramid ; on its decisive walls, hard and impenetrable, space has to withdraw and to leave it intact.

No other civilisation shares the horror vacui, the dread of emptiness, Indian and Egyptian art knew so well. The interior of their temples, their thousand-pillar halls are alike with regard to the expulsion of space. But while Egypt conquers space by the deathlike heaviness of well-defined volumes, India expels it with the exuberant forms that belong to life; the Egyptian mass is an eternal monument, the Indian temple, sculpture and painting,—the transformation of an inexhaustible productive force. The volume of the one is geometrical, that of the other irrational. The one puts cubic sequence against extension. The other replaces extension by force. Space in Indian art is overpowered by volume and this volume is dynamic. It grows. The Egyptian weighs down. It produces exuberant form. The Egyptian excludes all further

form by rigorous side-walls. The Indian is imaginative and the Egyptian is geometrical. The Indian allows space to enter it and conquers it, the Egyptian excludes it from the beginning.

Darkness however, that is say, the actual space of reality in the disguise it chooses when it enters the intervals left by Indian form, becomes at times a well disciplined counteractor. The railings, a favourite motif with early Buddhist sculptures, soon becomes a regular pattern of light squares against dark squares and such railing-patterns are used for ornamentation wherever place is left by the sculptured figures. The rigorous discipline of darkness and light is the revenge Indian art takes for its undesired intrusion into the crowds of figures. Darkness, thus, is robbed by Indian art of its depth. Compressed into surface it forms the obedient foil and background of the sculptured figures, and again space is abolished, for darkness has almost become a colour. In an inverse way the colours as employed in Indian painting, are never used with regard to their suggestiveness of depth. The blue remoteness of western paintings and Romanticists are unknown to the Indian artist. To his mind all objects are equally near and the colours express their relations on one level of concentrated interest. As to the baby's eye which has not yet gained the experience of depth, so to these artists, the world, as they imagine it, again has become a texture, a carpet of colours; the main difference between the child's unsophisticated mind and the spontaneous creation of the artist being that the former neither is aware of the nature of the thing perceived as colour-surface, nor does it express anything through it by seeing it; the artist, on the other hand, fully awake to the meaning of all objects and their connection, reduces them into surfaces, in order to restore visual unity to that what has become the result of a complex mental process. Neither the blue tints nor the dark shades of the colours appear in various distances. On the contrary the coloured surfaces counteract by their ornamental

disposition all over the picture any suggestion of depth that might occur.

Space thus neither exists in, nor is it interpreted, nor is it conceived by Indian art. It is expelled and replaced by volume, by colour, by light and shade. Colour, light and shade, however, are of secondary importance only and volume is the unique, the triumphant, the perpetually expressive factor of Indian art, which of course differs widely from volume, the three-dimensioned mass of geometry, from volume as known to us in daily life and lastly, from any volume created by the other arts, whether they are Eastern or Western. The Indian volume represents space, pervaded and created by rhythm.

Genetically, the Indian dread of emptiness belongs to the primeval fear of man who feels himself lost in and driven by forces which do not belong to his person alone, but which he feels are surging in and round him and which threaten him by their restlessness and he is afraid to succumb. This mood of life persisted in the Indian artist, but he infused into it the intensity of his creative concentration. He conquered the superabundance of life's jungle not by cutting it down and not by ignoring some parts of it and by simplifying others. But he took it as a whole and identified himself with each single part of it. And that is how he conquered it. He gave himself away to every form that excited his interest and by doing so unknowingly every form became his possession and part of his self and the unknown forces were mastered by him. He transferred them from the object in view to the material in which he wanted to realise it and the material, stone, or wood or whatever substance became organised by those forces which belonged to live and were concentrated in the artist's mind. The artist not only fills his work with crowds of figures and thus leaves no room for space, but he replenishes every form, by such a vitality that no section of it is allowed to remain mere volume, inert and heavy mass.

Thus the volume as formed in Indian art, is the creative counterweight to space. The fusion of space and time of reality is transformed and made independent of either by a fusion of volume and rhythm. The unswerving logic of the dynamic volume is one of the vital principles of Indian art.

The gateways of the Sanchi *stupa* are the most accomplished example which Indian art offers for its dread of emptiness. Square posts and curved beams are covered on front and back to the right and to the left with square and rectangular compositions. Every relief is framed by its borders and the reliefs as well as their frames are flooded with innumerable figures, and frantically crowded forms. Even the interstices between the beams are divided into small sections and each of them is occupied by the figure of a horseman, which replenishes the whole compartment. And finally, the top of the whole structure is populated by an assembly of sculptured symbols and figures and nothing is allowed to remain vacant without having undergone the process of form, without being brought to pictorial significance. The composition of the single reliefs cannot be measured by any standard; it is an expression of creative imagination and the forms thrown into the relief settle down wherever they get located by the dynamic impetus. The single figures are swept away and the modelled forms are carried on by that impetus of creation, which disperses the unknown, empty space and replaces it by the fulness of its sway. A similar intuition as that of the Sanchi artists, only temperamentally completely different, is visualised even in the apparently most restful, most simplified and abstract works of art and even the austere figure of the sitting Buddha is entirely organised by the flow of creative energy, so that the roundness of his arms and legs is brought into an inseparable connection which is not that of the human body; but it belongs to the energy of conception that forms a new body, a volume, where every single part is pervaded and shaped by it.

Indian painting, equally spaceless as sculpture and architecture, makes the walls of the Ajanta caves covered by a fantastic tapestry of rounded limbs, growing trees, and opened houses, which do not only form a densely woven surface, from which space is excluded, but the smooth bodies of Gods and kings and ordinary men have sunk into the gentle moulds prepared by recessing rocks, by surrounding trees and the open terraces of supple houses. Painting, being fixed to the surface, has not to struggle against being dissolved by an intrusion of space. The illusion of "distance" on the other hand never troubled the Indian artist, whilst surface and mere plain metric decoration did not satisfy him. And so he discovered, guided by his dread of emptiness: by his dynamic understanding of life—the volume of painting, an expansion of the visual impression we get and which is intended by the artist in three dimensions, without the help of an illusionistic introduction of a cutting from nature, into the picture or frescoe. In this way the figures are neither mere outline schemes as it is the case with Egyptian painting, nor have they got the striking and appalling concreteness of Greek and Post-Renaissance painting. The chief point is they are not independent, they cannot be taken out of the continuity of the frescoe. In that continuous unity of Ajanta wall paintings every figure gets as much relief, as much of three-dimensioned roundness as is allowed for them by the recesses of rocks, terraces and balconies which are visualised according to the standing formulæ,—dealt with in the beginning of our investigation. Here the formula conveying the meaning of spatial extension, its function—not describing the appearance —becomes the tool which helps to build up the pictorial organism. Houses or rocks, distorted so as to show at least two of their sides fully, grow out of the picture in cubic reality. They prepare the extension of the round figures which repose between their angles as safely as a child in the cradle, and the rhythm of the composition can flow over their

close context without being hurt or stopped. Forwards and backwards, backwards and forwards, goes the thread of artistic texture whilst the colour flows over it in one smooth surface which is governed by the rhythm of lines.

Painting thus out of its own means, that is lines, surfaces and colours builds up—with the help of spatial formulæ gained by the artistic intellect—a kind of volume organised by movement according to the method, that directed the structure of the Sikhara and which is alive in every Indian sculpture.

When in later Indian paintings the creative vigour had calmed down into a harmonised display of forms, the sober surfaces of buildings and of the floor, of the gate and of the bushes behind still follow the ancient tradition, according to which they enclose the human figure and the utensils between their protecting extension. Others, however, undoubtedly influenced by contemporary Western painting, open the close and firm structure of their visual relations to the vastness of space which stretches horizontally parallel to the figure, who has lost the intimacy of the four walls and is exposed to all winds.

Dynamic organisation of visual elements, applied to surface as well as to the three-dimensioned material, so as to build a volume, never stagnant but always significant of the creative energy is the answer by which Indian art justifies its existence against space, the unknown, formless and meaningless extension, and against the misinterpretation of those who see it with eyes unaware of what they see and conducted by the common sense of a superficial knowledge. The transformation that Indian art effects on space is undoubtedly its most complex problem. The compromise of standing formula, which conveys the meaning of spatial extension, and frequently has to struggle with an involuntary illusionism, the compromise of the formula with the creative expulsion of space, that

is to say, the fettering of all its latent directions into one dynamic volume, the intrusion of unorganised space in the disguise of darkness, into the organised volume, the utilisation of darkness-space as a pattern and its final reduction to colour, all these are expressive tokens of the creative tendency of the Indian artist, who replaces the shapeless, the indistinct, the meaningless, by volume that integrates the movement of his soul and the extension of objects.

V.

RHYTHM [1]

Sometimes when listening to a song, suddenly yet unawares the words seem to disappear, and in their silence, melody surges and replenishes the vastness of space and carries you away, so far and deeply away that you come quite close to and merge in your own self. And the steps you make in that glowing vastness of the song follow its measure and they form a pattern, and you are its centre and its rule.

Sometimes when listening to yourself, you feel aloof from it and it appears as something external, and yet so well known, it has your features and therefore you cannot recognise them, and no mirror is at hand to prove the identity, for whenever you try to look into it you disappear.

Similarly by the sheer intensity of existence concentrated into the work of art you cease to exist for the time of its creation, and time does not exist either and therefore it has been said in parabolic way that to God, the creator, thousand years are like one day and one day is like thousand years, that is to say, time no longer is his measure.

Time, like space, is an abstraction but rhythm is the immediate expression of life. Nature has its monotonous rhythm, the seasons. They follow one another with equal and sure steps, although their duration and variety alter according to the manifold compositions that nature invented in different regions. Man has his rhythm too, that strange and incomprehensible power, which makes him walk and move and think in his own measure and even if he wants, he cannot alter it and his intention will make him feel uneasy and appear as artificial.

Rhythm is the inborn mode in which every individual behaves, it is communicated to the outside world by direction.

[1] Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University on the 7th August, 1922.

Direction, however, pre-supposes movement. Thought, gesture, action and all manifestations of individual life are inevitably directed by rhythm, in fact, the strength of personality is proportional to the vigour of that immeasurable inner rule.

All expressions of human life, however, become manifest in the course of time and music, therefore, passing through time is called rhythmical. The West with its tendency towards the mechanical and objective invented for the sake of easy communication a notation which made it possible to transfer the subjective rhythm of inner experience into a standardised distribution of actual time, whilst the East let expression be expression, not to be registered but to live from man to man.

Rhythm is analysed and written down in musical notation just as thoughts are written down by letters. Yet there is another way of making rhythm—which is the inner movement of individual life—permanent. And this way is not found by invention but it is realised directly as a means of expression and is called art.

Every art as every individual has a rhythm of its own. But some people meet with great difficulties in expressing themselves; they have obstacles, dead points in their nature which they cannot and perhaps will not overcome, and so their inner rhythm, the most precious gift of life becomes obliterated by custom, tradition and prejudice. Art too, as human life, has obstacles which naturally arise with the growth of life and with the growth of art. Some individuals conquer them and they have to give way to the impetus of the rhythm, others, however, raise those very obstacles to imposing height and their inner rhythm has to take the invisible course of a subterranean rivulet.

All so-called naturalistic art raises the obstacles; by trying to do justice to their heavy burden it forgets to listen to the inner measure; Indian art, however, though never threatened by the danger of naturalism, tackled in its primitive

stage with space and its intelligible rendering, but it could afford to spend some energy on it for the vitality of its rhythm enforced itself even to the most extravagant experiments.

Rhythm in itself has that kind of monotony which makes the individual weary with his existence. It is inevitable and drags the soul striving for expression permanently throughout one and the same channel. Whilst the danger for him who yields to the obstacles is to lose himself completely, that of him who carries out what his inner voice dictates is to repeat himself. The one is the Western, the other the Eastern peril that menaces and enriches art and that helps to create tradition.

Every individual has his own rhythm and yet there is a likeness of rhythms amongst every cultural unit. The inhabitants of a town, for instance, or of a country on the one hand, and the people who belong to one age of civilisation on the other hand, have a rhythm of their own. Psychical time is infinitely variegated, and no standard time ever will be found. The Indian rhythm, that organises every work of art, takes its undisturbed course throughout the centuries keeping its individuality intact throughout the variations it had to undergo in the north and in the south—and from the third century before Christ to our present age. The rhythm of Indian art is the most pliable, and exhaustive, the simplest and most harmonious. It has scope and room for all directions, because its movement is such that it carries all of them within its sway and yet it is one ceaseless flow directed by its own fulness.

The frieze of reliefs that cover the coping stone of the railing from the *Bharhut stupa* represent *Jatakas* and each *Jataka* (with all the figures that act in it and with all the forms that are displayed) is depicted in its most significant events, and is laid into the lap of a lotus-stalk which rises and falls in slow and regular cadences. This lotus-stalk unswerving and undisturbed, patiently carries the Buddha throughout his

former incarnations and rocks each of them with equal tenderness between its undulations. And ultimately the single scenes seem to disappear and forget to tell us how wonderfully wise the Buddha behaved in each of them, for they speak with a mightier voice, which is no longer their own, but it belongs to the rhythm, running through each of them, bending their borders, compressing their event into the dense intensity of one stage of rhythm which is swept away in the next moment and stored in the wealth of the heavy fruits. Thus tension and relaxation go on continuously, calmly connected by the broad wave of the lotus-stalk which never alters course or celerity and makes the figures bend according to its sway. It is the most imaginative form Indian art invented and preserved as a standard feature.

The lotus-stalk was predestined to take the prominent place in Indian art as the lotus flower keeps the first place amongst all Indian symbols. The accidental happening of one *Jataka* or the other becomes merged in the permanent flow and it is the undulating rhythm which visualises the rhythm of life that is born again and again while the sculptured scenes enliven it with the variety of individual existence. No strength is apparent, no effort is made but the wave rises and falls, according to the law it carries in itself. Representation and ornamentation are one and the pattern is significant of life. The representation is subordinated to the pattern and finds its due place in it just as the individual is subordinate to the cosmos and is made to fill its proper place. Lotus-creepers cling along the *Bharhut Jatakas* and determine their sequence, they climb almost every temple; they are resplendent with colour and help to cover the walls of the Ajanta caves; they wind throughout the centuries of Indian art. The rhythm of the wave, embodied in the lotus stalk which took the scenes of the *Jatakas* on its broad back, does away with that burden and unfolds at times the whole wealth of its melody. It blossoms forth as bud

and flower, it rests in ease and serenity on the darkness of fresh leaves, and so jubilating is the overflow of its life that the waterbirds are carried by it as if they actually were waves of the river. Here the rhythm of the wave, free from all representation of action, indulges merely in its own action, which is a generous display of all its beauty, and of all the forces that throng and pulsate through it. Such is the life Indian art bestows on the lotus! Its roots are hidden in the human heart and it floats on the sea of emotion—calm, luxurious and benign—offering the full glory of its colour and the wealth of all it has to give. But sometimes the undulating rhythm, intimately connected with and infused to the lotus stalk, cannot contain the wealth of its life; intoxicated by its sway it produces a thicket of rhythms that inter-penetrate one another and yet they surrender to the guidance of the undulating stem.

This rhythm has no reason, it cannot be derived from the form of the lotus stalk for this—as it is suitable for a water-plant—grows in a straight line that does not know of curves; it does not result from an artistic aim of surface decoration either. It is neither taken from nature nor is it chosen by the artist. But it is due to an irresistible inner command, which compels the artist to express himself in this way and none else,—for it is his inborn mother tongue, the deepest and, therefore, the simplest expression of his entire nature. It is the life-movement of Indian art.

The lotus-stalk became its favourite object, there it unfolds all its charms without the least constraint making flowers bloom wherever it likes and transforming the Indian sacred plant into the expression of India's artistic genius. But even when the representations are more complex and when the manifoldness of forms increases, the undulating movement never becomes subdued, for it is the breath of Indian art and, howsoever pathetic or agitated or merely talkative the representation may be, it never stops its movement and

continues its course without being much disturbed. This rhythm is independent of and superior to composition and subject matter. It is the underlying principle of Indian creative form and embraces all of its problems and all of its aspects.

An assembly of men in prayer represented at *Bharhut* is arranged in two rows according to the spatial formula which replaces the one behind the other by "one on top of the other," avoiding in this way all foreshortenings and giving to both the rows equal size and equal completeness. The figures are almost motionless and one looks like the other. Each of them is praying and perhaps all of them are but one. Their feet are closely fixed on the ground for fear of becoming isolated and they stand so close to each other that they form a wall. Over this tranquil contest undulations bend each single figure into a movement which knows of no gesture, but which rests in an unconscious happiness and they share it with the trees on either side and in their midst that accompany their meeting with care and understanding. Apart from the features there is no difference between the treatment of men and that of the tree. They are different garments that clad one and the same life. There is no more of personal will in this relief as was shown in the lotus-panel for all transitory emotions are cleared away by a grand tranquillity of existence. These representations are expressive of nothing but themselves, for life is the ground in which all human emotion is rooted and it is this fertile soil itself which merges into painting and sculpture in an undulating movement. So close to the life of earth is the rhythm of Indian art that you recognise it in the movement of the pond when some light breeze caresses it, and in the flowing river, and in the calm sea and in the field where the wind blesses and bends the heavy ears of corn. So low and calm, so sure and intimate is the Indian rhythm. It is the overture and the leading motive of Indian art, just as the early Buddhist masterworks,—the earliest tokens of Indian

art that have come to our days—express this essential movement in unbroken grandeur. In a later age *Borobudur* preserved the unirritated life of the undulating rhythm, the expression of existence as felt by the Indian mind.

Rhythm, as an expression of itself, takes the course of the undulating line, but even where the artist wishes to express sorrow or joy, youth or festivity, that special emotion too is carried on by the underlying mood of life, by its undulating rhythm. When in a representation of Buddha's *Parinirvana* humanity pours out its sorrow, squatting near the majestic feet of the Tathagata, sorrow itself is their comfort and support for, though suppressed, it cannot but sing the melody of life eternal, the hymn of the undulating rhythm that unites their mourning and their existence, flowing through their tenderness, as the homage life has to offer to the superhuman, to death. The emotion, the life, the continuity of existence is assembled as one animated sweep of rhythms, prostrated at the feet of the rhythm—less of the life-less of the transfigured, of the Buddha; close to the ground and in dumb surrender it glides through their limbs in undulating course.

It is this rhythm which gives measure to all emotions, it does not allow them to overstrengthen their possibilities, it prevents them from exertion as well as from vagueness, it eliminates the merely subjective and accidental and leads them back to that source of life which never forsakes its water, howsoever great storms may agitate its surface.

It never fades; it bestows on all the works of art the freshness of eternal youth. A group from Ajanta, for instance, unfolds the beauty of youthful bodies with all the charm and elasticity, of growing life, and of its expression, the wavy curve. The bend of the Indian movement is expressive of life in its ceaseless reiteration and as such it carries all emotions and it is the form, life, as growth evolves. We only have to keep in mind that, for instance, the spine of the human body is constructed in that slightly undulating curve

which animates almost every figure we meet in Indian art. This attitude has no purpose, it does not serve for any action, although it is present in every single one. It simply means presence, existence, unrestrained, because unintended, self-realisation. It has no other aim but itself and does not lead anywhere for it is at peace within itself.

The undulating rhythm is the *a priori* faculty of Indian art. Being the underlying principle of all form it carries on its flowing wave, gesture and emotion, events and spatial relations. And so every movement represented and every event illustrated are animated by and adapted to it. Nothing, therefore, happens unforeseen but willingly surrenders to a pre-established harmony.

When *Siva Nataraja* dances his cosmic dance, not only his body whirls round impelled by an unrestrained and ceaseless energy, but his limbs, his hands and his arms are no longer parts of his body, they are parts of the dance. Two arms of the God, keep in the firmness of their hands and in the decisive bend of their *mudras* no symbol and no attribute but space itself, pierced by movement, which is so strong and coherent that it glides from arm to arm. These are no longer the hands of a dancing figure, but a permanent visualisation of dance itself. In a torso representing, the same attitude of Siva, the one arm thrown over the body and the bend of the head whose face is mutilated are sufficient to impress us with the vigour of a superhuman all-round dance. This movement in its impassioned strength contains Siva's existence transferred into the realm of pure rhythm and although the relief is broken and the expression of the face to be surmised only and not to be seen, the rhythm is revealed in all its purity. It determines not only the plan of the work of art and the disposition of the single parts but it is carried out in every detail of the figure, that is to say, no details exist for, whether, they be fingers or ornaments, they are nothing but rhythmic vibrations radiating from a centre of superhuman, that is to

say, from a centre of completely concentrated energy. In Siva's dance there is no now and then, but one miraculous moment, which is visualised in the rhythmic correspondence of all parts of the sculpture. Siva's dance, the timeless and everlasting cosmic event, found such perfect expression in Indian Art on account of the rhythm which inspired the artist in every one of his works, and he had nothing else to do but to condense and concentrate the force which moved him, his own inner rhythm —into his special subject—the rhythmic conception of the universe—in order to visualise it without fail.

Gesture to the Indian artist does not mean a movement for some purpose or for the sake of graceful appearance. To him it represents manifestation of life, which in itself is rhythmic, as long as it is animated by breath, as long as it is life. This life subsists whether the body is at rest or in action; and action, performed by gesture, gives variety and different degrees to the movement of life, making it appear sometimes accelerated and as if hesitating at other times. Every movement, therefore, represented in Indian art is free from abruptness, and consistent in itself. It performs actions as an expression of its own existence, which might be merely vegetating or sublimated into psychical experience.—The figure of Sundara Murti Swami, represents this saint hearing his vocation in a trance of rhythm which oscillates throughout his entire being and which makes his body yield to the sound of the voice it receives with his whole surface and his arms open like beating wings and his hands hold his surprise, his longing and devotion directly into that sphere for which his eyes are so hungry. Such is the space which is contained in and directed by rhythm. It is not extension of atmosphere or of volume, but it is counteractor of the intensely concentrated rhythm. It is not tangible, but merely dynamic. Siva's hands, for instance, keep vast space in perfect equilibrium. The upper rules over the space in front and keeps

it away from the figure, the lower hand reaches into the space underneath and behind and prepares it for the movement which the figure is going to take. In the relief, however, though it is split and broken, still space extends to the right of the figure, and its vastness is as great as the vigour of Siva's movement.

Sundara Murti Swami enters the infinite space, which is God, led by Bhakti which places his limbs in due proportion. The rhythm of emotion—the movement of soul—creates that strange kind of space, suggested in Indian art. It is not contained in the form nor in the design but somewhere outside it and yet dependent upon it. It has nothing to do with visual space. Its extension does not belong to reality but to that space of the mind, that space of soul which locates in it—not objects but inner experience. It is the same space, melodies carry with them—the space in which we cannot move but where the soul is at rest. It may be compared to the surface of the water, which if you throw a pebble, will form long after the pebble has disappeared circles around the spot where it fell down, and these circles grow bigger until they lose themselves on the calm, vast surface of the water. Like these growing circles provoked into existence by the fall of the pebble, is the space, of Indian works of art which is brought into existence by the movement of forms, by the rhythm of inner experience which resounds in the vastness of soul.

The transformation from the material or imagined world into the concreteness of the work of art is thus effected by rhythm, which enlivens and organises every form and expresses the life of it. But not only with regard to the representation of the single figures and their movement is the undulating rhythm the productive means. It is the main principle of composition, skeleton and basis of all forms.

The early Indian artists were not yet restrained by fixed rules of composition; but they evolved them simply by giving

way to what they felt to be the necessary, the inevitable connection of form. Guided by their instincts, they selected the circle as a favourite form and conclusion of their compositions.

Such round medallions, characteristic embellishments of early Buddhist *stupa*-railings later on get forgotten and do not occur but in subordinate function, except in the one immortal symbol and geometrical pattern, into which the full blown flower of the lotus is transformed. The circle, ultimate possibility of the undulating rhythm, is too rigorous a solution, too intense a visualisation to endure the everchanging fluctuations of rhythm as they are peculiar to Indian art in its evolution. Still it persists, being one possibility of the round line, dogmatised as geometrical lotus symbol. The lotus, therefore, afford two solutions to Indian art. Its stalk became suggestive of life eternal, everlasting because everchanging, permeated by the wavy rhythm while the full-blown lotus flower, in the shape of a perfect circle became the symbol of perfection, the attribute of superhuman existence.

Pure rhythm expressive of itself,—such was the device of the lotus. The same principle of rhythm became the sorrowful tune, sung by the limbs of those who attended Buddha's *Parinirvana*, chiselled into one of the rocks at Ajanta and then again it visualised the frantic, yet effortless, energy of Siva's dance and radiated forth as sublime perfume from Sundara Murti Swami's vision and emotion.

In one of the Jain rock-cut sculptures from Khandagiri a group of girls leaning round a well-fed lady in their midst unfold their youthful movements and her heavy body like a field of flowers and when the wind passes them the single flowers come quite close to one another and their movement is the same and their forms are so much alike. Just so in this relief all modelling seems to soar in one atmosphere of broad repose. The rhythm here grows along the group and takes every form offered by the figures with gratitude. In this way it becomes more substantial, it almost

increases from the two-dimensioned sway into a plastic movement, surging and sinking and clinging along the figures as the invisible tendril of their mood.

Rhythm, as we know it in music, takes its course in time, taking its course it naturally describes some line or the other. Rhythm, therefore, in the pictorial arts, generally, belongs to the line. Indian art, however, deeper related to music than any other art of the world, infuses with rhythm not only the line, but also the modelling of its volume. In the Khandagiri relief, for instance, there is as much of undulation in the lines as there is in the modelling. So essentially vital is this rhythm, the undulating movement in Indian art, that it utilises all subjects supplied, all forms created and all means employed. Stories are made to take their course according to its flow, human beings, animals and plants are infused with its charm, line and volume, light and shade are merged in its flow.

In the representation of the marriage of Siva and Parvati, for instance, the single figures of course are obedient to its caressing undulations and let it bend and smoothen their movements, their form and their structure. But in all this tranquil harmony movement is not exhausted ; it transgresses the figures, that of Siva as well as of Parvati and of their attendants and becomes itself the chief actor. Rhythm pervades the plastic mass and limits it as line, and finally it transcends its own limit and reaches over the formless ground from figure to figure as silent though dominating power, scent of its own intensity, that makes the light as it plays over the sculpture to its understanding companion and they share their secrecy when they meet under the veil of soft shadows. Howsoever significant the moment of this representation be, rhythm leads it away from the momentary into the region of timeless existence. It locates it in the space of soul where it enjoys its own existence.

The waves of the undulating rhythm is the *a priori* principle of Indian art, its chief actor and its eternal melody. It

is a preventive against the imitation of things seen, for wherever there are contents of its own, how could imitation be possible? It restrains subjectivity and the personal element of emotion for rhythm is the flavour of emotion, that which remains fresh in memory, when the particular object which excited the emotion has become forgotten. Rhythm is the soul and organizer of every Indian work of art. It distorts the objects seen in nature, for every organism in nature has a life and, therefore, a rhythm of its own and how could a part of the one world become transferred into the other? The object has to undergo transformation in order to become part of the art-organism. In India it is transformed according to the undulating movement.

Movements, as for instance all those unconscious reactions which accompany the perception of something unforeseen, or sorrow or joy or peace, are expressive. A frightened movement, for instance, always is abrupt, all directions are made to totter and break into pieces. The sorrowful movement, on the other hand, droops down, it is the line of depression, of death, that is to say, of gravity, of matter. Bent with sorrow is the human expression that corresponds to the drooping flower of the withering plant, to the growth of the weeping willow. Joyful movement rises up, children jump of joy; it is the movement towards light, towards life, the same that makes all plants turn towards the sun. These, of course, are only some elements of movement, and art, the expression of human life, is permeated by movement. The subconscious selection and combination of various movements expresses the inner experience of the artist. Certainly he is moved differently at various times. Still as far as he is moved his movements get some kind of constancy, some connection amongst themselves and also with those stirred by another emotion at a different occasion. This unmeasurable constancy of movement in one person is his individual rhythm. Indian art as a whole reacts as one person to impression and imagination, for the

consciousness of life's unity is the basis of all Indian creation. And its rhythm flows in round lines and is at its greatest ease in the edgeless curve of undulating forms. It surges as much as it sinks, it has as much breadth, as it is deep. It moves and yet it is at rest; it is pliable and vibrating, yet it has the strength of supporting itself. It never becomes sentimental; it never becomes conscious. It is the spontaneous, the inevitable expression of Indian life and its varieties are without number.

At times it becomes so subtle as to be scarcely recognised. We cannot always trace it as an undulating line. But the coherence of the structure of the building or painting, of the sculpture or the relief proves its presence.

In the *stupa* of Borobudur for instance, a late and complex form brought forth by one of the most ancient artistic traditions of India, rhythmical movement encloses the *stupa* as circular belts, in radiating meridians, pointing up and leading round in unsoluble continuity.

But the most accomplished, the extremely pure rhythmically organised volume of Indian art, the prototype of the Borobudur monument, is the ancient Buddhist *stupa*, smooth surface of the hemisphere which integrates all rhythm in geometrical exactitude. The plain simplicity of the Indian *stupa* is as significant of Indian art as is the undulating line of the lotus-device. They exhaust the possibilities of Indian rhythm.

An example of the fulness of all movements possible, united by one rhythm, is given in a relief representing the descent of the Ganges. The descent of the Ganges on a steep slope of one of the hills at Mamallapuram makes rhythm the law of its universe, where myth and nature, form and intuition, are welded into one choir agitated by significance. Nature offered to the artist the slope of a rock, so steep, so smooth, so regular, as an artificial wall. Only in the centre and just there it left

an unmistakable trace of the force of nature, the crack that destroys the smoothness of the surface. And the artist availed himself of this opportunity and made what nature offered by chance, the deliberate centre of his composition. In this descent of the Ganges from its celestial abode, where it dwelt before coming into the plains of India—strange to say—the water is to be seen, and no waves are represented. But gently the *Nagas* glide down in the shadowy coolness of the fissure a petrified stream sentient and voluptuous in humility and abundance. And with the *Nagas*, the rejoicing earth and the jubilating heaven unite in an untiring flow of song and dance, of *Gandharvas* and *Apsaras*, of hermits and animals, floating in happiness. Figures pour down like rain, the rock has been made liquid by movement.

Concentrated movement, the intensity of the artist's emotion, transforms stone into the cosmic stream of life, it transforms nature into art and bestows on every Indian composition measure and completeness.

VI

EVOLUTION: THE HISTORICAL MOVEMENT[1]

Rhythm, the life movement, on its way through realisation and concreteness has to meet obstacles. These obstacles, however, bend it into proper shape and give variety and taste to the flow of creative vitality, and are at the same time the stepping stones of evolution. They introduce the periods of art-history. Historical events, the succession of generations, the migrations of people are such obstacles.

With regard to India neither the obstacles nor the artistic reactions are fully known and in so far we have to refrain from rendering the biography of Indian art. Still there are in the vastness of Indian art relevant moments, there are on the other hand permanent constituents and from their intercourse the various periods of Indian art result.

Art as well as life has youth, manhood and old age. But while the symptoms in the case of man are unmistakable, they easily mislead with regard to art. What in one case might be features of degeneration may at another instance prove to be the sign of earliest youth. No theory whatsoever will be able to discover the inner evolution of art. For although the work of art in itself is significant of an ultimate reality, it reveals the infinite in the finite form into which it is pressed by the various ages and civilisations. Every form of art, therefore, is at the same time an expression and document, creation in an absolute sense and historically determined. Through incidents it is enabled to reveal that which is above all accidents, the unchangeable truth of humanity.

We do not know when India started to evolve her art, preserved to us from the early centuries before the Christian era only. It grew long before that time and steadily absorbed

[1] Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University on the 9th August, 1922.

the currents that made it fuller and wider in range. In a retrospective way, however, the monuments clearly profess the origin of their main principles as well as their relative succession.

It is not our endeavour at present to fix the date of the monuments and to distinguish one period of Indian art from the other. For in order to specialise in minute research, the recognition of those forms and principles is needed which underlie Indian art from its beginning. These permanent constituents of Indian art, are carried on throughout all changes, although they are themselves subject to them, and represent steps of evolution, anterior to the monuments preserved. As the features of a child tell of his parents and ancestors, so certain items customary with Indian art reveal the history of its past which has left no other documents.

The feminine ideal of beauty, canonised by Indian art, goes back to a matriarchal civilisation, where the mother ruled over society and was sanctified. The exaggerated forms which Indian art gives to its heroines, express in a most convincing manner their function which at the same time is their mission. No other art in the world preserved and developed the palæolithic ideal of femininity.

The so-called "Venus" from Willendorf, the most perfect of all palæolithic sculptures in the world, found in Austria, has no face, but a mass of heavy locks grow all round that topmost protuberance which is her head. And her body in unlimited fertility produces such round, heavy forms all over. Another palæolithic statue from France, less "idealistic" in its conception, achieves by mere accentuation a similar, though not equally convincing, effect. Indian art in its treatment of the female figure and tree does not differ too much from the palæolithic treatment. The exaggerated size of sinuous forms, however, has been modified but not lessened. The statuary and ostentatious exhibition of super-feminine perfection, however, has become animated by the charm, a

peculiarly Indian graceful position, which shows and hides whatever is needed and accentuates and yet connects all forms. The palæolithic ideal of feminine perfection, lent its artistic interpretation so readily to Indian creativeness for it offered itself as a theme, as a subject-matter which possessed exactly the qualities Indian art was eager to preserve.

The feminine ideal dates back into remotest antiquity; it presents the earliest stage of human art in the continuity of the Indian tradition. It is undoubtedly a pre-Aryan ideal of society as well as of bodily perfection.

The counterweight which the Aryan spirit placed in order to balance the ever-moving, ever exuberant, infinitely productive art-instinct of the aborigines was the distinct, sharply defined form of the aniconic geometrical symbol.

Symbols denote the limitations of art. Where imagination grows so strong that no visible form is able to fasten it, by a strange law of contradiction just the simplest and most limited forms are chosen in order to suggest, but not to embody the contents of imagination. Aryan thought invented those marks like the swastika or the wheel in order to denote to the thinking mind by the shortest possible abbreviation the inner meaning of cosmic conceptions. Those signs, however helpful to the meditation and cherished by the religious devotee could not maintain their position in art. Early Buddhist art tried in numberless representations to make the symbol the chief figure of composition. Wheels are worshipped and *triśúlas* and *stūpas* too and their number is immense. But they do not hold their position. They withdraw from centre and front row into the background of Indian art where they safely continue an unpretentious existence, as ornamental devices.

Symbols have no power of their own. As long as they are associated with religious conceptions they possess intense suggestiveness. The moment however the religious contents lose their significance, the symbol robbed of its

mission sinks down to an element of ornamentation. The struggle between Aryan symbolism and aboriginal creative vitality is still to be witnessed in early Buddhist art. Later on, however, the symbol overwhelmed by the creative vitality of art withdraws from sculpture and painting and restricts itself to its function as *lingam*, an object to be worshipped and not to be considered as art. Thus symbolism having made an attempt to intrude upon Indian art, feels the uselessness of the struggle and withdraws from the attack of exuberantly growing forms into the lap of religion, from where it originated

If the male and female principle may be connected with creation we have to admit that in India the female principle directed and supported the growth of art and the wealth of forms, the device of woman and tree is in fact the keynote of Indian sculpture while the male principle the *lingam*, the symbol, after an unsuccessful attempt of creating art was doomed to continue its existence in the neighbour-land of religion. The meaning of this male-female relationship is, that the palæolithic, the matriarchal stage of evolution retained a lasting influence on Indian art, while the later stage of civilisation, of agriculture with its cosmic symbols and phallic worship exercised a secondary influence only. The historical succession of the two principles, however, coincides in the case of Indian art with the two different races, the Aryan and the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India. The Aryans who came to India in so late a stage of civilisation as is represented by agriculture failed to subdue the tropical creativeness of the aborigines, who as far as art is concerned carried on the realisation of palæolithic conceptions.

The remote antiquity of Indian art, its artistic past, lies in the palæolithicum. Other civilisations forget their past—the extraordinary quality of palæolithic drawings in Spain and of palæolithic sculpture in France and Germany remained without succession. Bushmen, on the other hand,

drag along their pre-historic ties which fetter them up to the present day to palæolithic forms of art. But Indian art infused ever fresh life into the forms standardized in pre-historic times.

The symbol however, although of epistolical importance only, exercised an influence, which Western scholars are apt to interpret in favour of Greek art. The instance is the Buddha image. When the *Saṅgha* was established and wanted to communicate the message of Buddhism to all the members, it first declined in obedience to the Buddha's own words—the representation of the Buddha as a human figure. And thus we see early Buddhist art peopled by uncounted figures of men and animals, whilst the one, the chief figure, the Buddha, is left unrepresented and some symbol takes his place. The situation, however, changes the moment the Hellenistic art of the Roman Empire enters the borderland of Gāndhāra. There a Buddhist art is evolved centring round the Buddha, who appears in a dull sort of Apollonic beauty or realistically emaciated and in an artistic respect utterly insignificant. The current opinion, therefore, is that the provincialisms of Roman artisans led to the invention of the pictorial type of the Buddha.

But such an opinion mistakes historical coincidence and contact for ultimate reason and makes it a dogma. Yet dogmas crumble into dust when exposed to the current of life. And the life-current of Indian art is full of figure in all aspects, in all movements, in all groupings possible, and still as far as early Buddhist art is concerned, the chief figure, the Buddha is left unrepresented and some symbol, wheel or tree or *stupa* or footprints takes his place. Aryan symbolism lent its conceptions to Buddhist art; these, however, could not resist the life-intoxicated forms around them. And so we see in a relief from Bhārhut, for instance, representing the descent of the Buddha from the Trayastriṅśa heaven, where he went to preach the doctrine to his deceased mother Māyā—

we see in that relief the ladder which links earth and heaven and the symbol, the Buddha's footprints on it. These, however, are freed from symbolic parallelism and are placed on the ladder the one on the lowest, the other on the topmost rung. Action has taken hold of the rigid symbol, and the footprints are made to suggest the Buddha's descent, in a comprehensive manner, as one is going to take the first step, while the other already has performed the descent and occupies the lowest rung. Indian art is not satisfied with symbolic representation, it needs life itself for its subject and the organical evolution of the Indian principle of representation points towards gradual substitution of the symbol by the form which belongs to the Buddha's body. At last the symbol is overcome by the representation of the Buddha endowed with all the signs of the superman, the *Mahāpurusha*. This was a natural evolution in which the artistic creativeness proved stronger than symbolism and abstraction. And the art production of Gāndhāra readily supplied the market with those Buddha-figures which were the latest fashion. India does not own her Buddha image to Greek influence. And it is superfluous to show that the Buddha image is one of the most accomplished expressions of Indian art. Historically, however, the Buddha image represents that moment in Indian art, where Aryan symbolism became conquered and absorbed by the artistic vitality of the pre-Aryan and got transformed from the symbol into the abstract measure which rules over Buddha's figure. His tranquillity preserves the unchanging function of the symbol which has become merged into the boundless life that animates his limbs.

The process, however, of assimilation had steadily gone on and panels like that of the lotus in Ajantā are the accomplished result of an evolution which amalgamated abstraction and artistic vitality. The pattern to which the design is subjected is as far removed from embellishment and ornamentation as the landscape of lotuses and birds is removed

from descriptive naturalism. It is an over-world where the law is the life, and the rhythm the rule of that pure harmony which produces stalk and leave, ground and figures with equal charm.

Though Indian art, as far as we know it at present, on account of the destructive power of climate, wars and invaders, does not date further back than the 3rd century B.C., the relatively recent works of art have preserved their past which dates back as far as the palæolithic period. In this way art itself, by the process of its life, compensates for what nature destroys and this resisting capacity we call tradition. Tradition is the super-personal context of a spiritual unity which has so much vitality as to withstand the attacks of time; it is measure and proof of the strength of an artistic conviction. Tradition is the nationalism of creation; it grants the fullest development of vision within the reach, within the limits of the artistic individual. The unavoidable continuity of the personal experience expresses itself through tradition, that is to say, in one direction which has no will but necessity. The Indian artist is anonymous. He, as a rule, did not care to transmit his name to posterity. And his silence talks so eloquently of his consciousness that was rooted in the past and soaked its nourishment from the far remoteness of primeval instincts and from there it got the strength to resist and to endure the future, and much effort was spent to keep those channels smooth and clean through which the heritage circulated and the prescriptions how to do it were stored in the *Śilpaśāstras*.

In this way Indian art is the work of the artist, who has no other name than his art. It simply is Indian and he is an ageless person, whose presence to-day is witness of his existence yesterday, and whose yesterday's experience is alive in the expression of to-morrow. And it is the unity of his personality which reacts upon the outside world, the extraneous currents of art in one coherent manner. He is not exclusive and he accepts willingly all possible views and

forms. Mesopotamian and Greek, and later on Italian and Persian, notions entered the open gates of Indian art and were welcome in genuine tolerance, yet they themselves could not hold the position offered to them. For, the process of form, of internal evolution of the Indian tradition was so strong, that they either withdrew completely or slowly surrendered to the irresistible course of Indian art. Such was the fate of some few devices inherited from Mesopotamia and imported from Greece—the Greek Akanthos, for instance, or of those winged or coupled beasts,—weak children of Mesopotamian parentage, or of those Greek folds which made so gorgeous draperies in Gāndhāra. But while *motifs* belonging to foreign tradition were either assimilated or forgotten, some of the earliest *motifs* of human civilisation in general were preserved and became continuously remoulded and their chief representants are *Stūpa*, and *Śikhara*.

The *Stūpa*, intimately associated with Buddhism has its origin in the funeral mound which covers the relics of a hero. The Indian artist, however, adapted its shape to the roundness of a hemisphere and in this way he made it Indian. The *Śikhara*, on the other hand, confesses by its outlines that it was conceived not far away from the poor huts of pre-Aryan tribes who covered their four walls by a conical roof of bamboo and thatch.

Such are the contributions of pre-historic India to its artistic tradition. Feminine ideal and creativeness, abstraction and symbol, *stūpa* and *śikhara* are the most ancient qualities and forms which determined the course of Indian art. They were taken up and carried on in tempered measure and revolutions are unknown in the continuity of their growth. One transition, however, deserves notice. We can witness it in early Buddhist art, on the railings of the *stūpas*, on the façades and in the interior of cave-*chaityas*. It is the transition from wood to stone as a building material. The railings and gateways preserve the petrified wooden forms of a simple

structure which joins posts and beams in the carpenter's, way, and the façades of the rock-cut temples betray in their gabled windows the adaptation of wooden forms to stone. What is the reason of this strange disguise, and what is its meaning?

Form or movement, word or sound, thought or clay, the moment imagination gets hold of them they become transformed; just as the log of wood or coal changes into flame and ashes if brought into contact with a spark. Matter, therefore, and with regard to creation, ideas and colours, lines or stones range equally as material, matter itself becomes expressive through the position into which it is placed by art. The transition from wooden forms into those of stone in Mauryan art tells that the perishable material had become substituted by a more durable, that stress was laid on permanence as if it were a visible artistic quality. Herein lies some fallacy and we have to seek for its reason. At any time of Indian art the most precious and the most commonplace materials were equally welcome to the artist. A clay idol may be as full in invention and minute in execution as the radiant splendour of any bronze or marble statue. The Indian artist is not concerned with the choiceness of the material. Anything to him is good enough, which helps to realise his vision and the wealth of his vision is so great that he does not mind howsoever many of his works might get destroyed for he has the surety of never stagnant resources of his imagination. Outward reasons, therefore, must have led to the substitution of stone for wood in Indian architecture. And these reasons were partly religious and partly political and were imposed on the artists. King Aśoka's zeal to propagate Buddhism, made him select stone, the permanent material, for his edicts which he had chiselled into the rocks and in stone pillars, so that the *dhamma* may endure, and it made him employ art as the best means for religious propaganda; for visible forms, he knew, are of wider and more immediate impressiveness than words are, and wishing that the *dhamma* may spread

everywhere and last for all time, he selected art and stone as material for his noble purpose. And Indian art from his time onwards continued to build in stone as well as in wood and bricks and we owe the preservation of Indian monuments to a great extent to the interference of this ruler. This historical fact, insignicant from an æsthetic point of view, is of great importance with regard to the history of Indian art. Unfortunately, however, we do not know hitherto of many more similar outward irritations, that influenced the course of art. We cannot yet see the unniterrupted chain of its tradition and adaptation to new contents. But some of its relevant moments rise from the mass of monuments and are the landmarks of Indian art.

Early Buddhist sculpture, on account of its sudden, unprepared appearance, contains in concise manner the solution of problems which remained of vital importance during the whole evolution of Indian plastic. Plastic itself, as the quality of Indian art, is fully developed in the early Buddhist stage, and corresponding with it the undulating rhythm. The spatial formulæ, as they remain throughout the later representations, are also made use of to a large extent. In fact early Buddhist art, though it presupposes for itself an agelong development, represents the most vital moment of Indian art. There the artist, unburdened by self-imposed rules and simply representing the life which surrounded him and which he lived, found his expression as a matter of course. And as it was so purely Indian, and so vigorous in its narrowness, it sufficed for coming generations, and provided them with a *repertory* of forms that were their mother tongue, and every individual period of Indian art history would lay its own meaning into it and enlarge the possibilities of expression. The evolution of Indian art, if compared to that of Europe or of the Far East, seems to follow one line, sure of its genius which does not attempt anything beyond itself and never experiments. While Europe, for instance, moved between the

poles of Greek hedonism and Christian spiritualism and the evolution of European art throws itself with fanatical vehemence from one extreme into the other, India maintained its unbroken tradition, that is to say, the unbroken strength of its peculiar inner experience which it never squandered in experiments, but fully translated into visual form. As the stage of Indian art in the centuries before Christ represents the store-house of invention, other periods add to it and enlarge it by developing one or the other quality to full unfoldment. And in this way Indian art never becomes extreme and never abstract. Even if one principle is carried out in severe logic and is brought to final solution it rests on the whole undying stock of tradition which bestows on it the effortless accomplishment of the masterwork. Such final or comprehensive solutions of Indian creativeness are the Buddha image as conceived in the Gupta period, the South-Indian image of Siva and the late and complex pictorial realisation, the *Rāg-mālā*.

Those supreme conceptions are the ultimate words Indian art has to say about itself, yet it utters them without solemnity for they come so natural and have all the grace and charm of life.

The Buddha image raises life on the pedestal of transcendental existence. Its rigorous symmetry is not an abstraction but the harmony of unirritated accomplishment. The sculpture is enlivened and the body transformed by the flowing rhythm which makes *nirvāna* circulate as the life of the Tathāgata and rest on his meditating hands.

The Śiva image unfolds life's energies in completeness. Yet so absolute is this movement, so restless the action that in its perfection the movement becomes rest. The images of Śiva and of Buddha thus embody two opposite principles, complete rest and complete movement. They visualise it in so perfect a manner that the peace of the Buddha figure becomes the movement by which it is animated and the whirl of Śiva is the state in which he is at rest for ever.

Those two conceptions are the measure of Indian art, just as Greek art is measured by the embodiment of human beauty, Chinese art by a realisation of absolute landscape and Egypt by the hieratic transcendentalism of its statues.

The *Rag-mala* painting on the other hand has not the decisive significance of Śiva or Buddha image. Still they stand late in Indian art in a position similar to that which the early Buddhist sculptures occupied. They sum up the achievements of a tradition which can be traced for about two thousand years and yet they are fresh with originality and full of promise for coming generations.

India always reacted in her most individual manner upon the contact with other civilisations. When in the time of Aśoka intercourse took place between India and Central Asia and foreign views and forms flocked in, they were admitted and found their place, though for a very short period only. Afterwards they became forgotten and were assimilated. This short interim, however, would not have been of any importance for Indian art, had it not stimulated its growth. *Rag-mala* painting and early Indian sculpture are both indigenous reactions against the contact with the art of other civilisations. The European, Persian and the indirect Eastern Asiatic influence which got mixed up with the Indian tradition in Moghul court-paintings, were ignored by the purely Indian Rajput paintings and still though Rajput painting does neither borrow nor imitate forms or design, yet it is connected with Moghul painting and the foreign influences by reaction. And reaction with regard to Indian creation means a fresh impetus towards the realisation of its inner trend. Therefore, the Buddha and Śiva image represent the perfect expression of Indian creativeness, self-contained and ultimate while early Buddhist sculpture and *Rag-mala* stand for the broadest expansion of the Indian possibilities of form. In this way they are conclusion of one intense development similar to the broad mouth of a river and yet at the same time they are the

fertile land around, which contains already all the seeds and all the nourishment for the future. The historical movement of Indian art, unlike the zig-zag speed of Western evolution, goes on from expansion to intensity and from intensity to expansion and gains in this way circumference and depth both of which start from one and the same centre which is carried on by the centuries and its name is the creative genius of India.

At the present moment an age of expansion, of contact with East and West, makes Indian art recollect its past and create its future. The suppression and forced westernisation it had to endure through a relatively short period caused the truly Indian reaction of a conscious movement, which keeps alive the Indian tradition and adapts it to a new age.

In the picture of the banished Yaksha the dramatic expression of the figure is accompanied by compassionate trees. A quiet depth lingers round their stems and within their branches and it is the perfume of the grass that spreads around the figure, so that he is no longer alone. And his movement answers and the answer reaches far into that depth which is his emotion. Emotional rhythm which in older times projected the space of soul somewhere outside the work of art has become condensed into the frame of one picture, where the landscape, at the same time, stands for nature and is saturated with human emotion, and both are the fringe and the transparent veil which hide and suggest the infinite.

Other artists of the present day less comprehensive in inner experience and artistic means, work in a way similar to that of the prophets who are instrumental for that vision which surges from the fate of the past and proclaims that of the future and which is realised in the utterance of their vision, whether they be words or the visual signs of the work of art and they stand up obedient to that force which drives them and proclaims their message. And their diction has the boldness of the matter of course. What

seems to be the most spontaneous, the most individual expression, of a modern artist is the unrestrained manifestation of the inmost necessity of creativeness which belongs to a unit greater than that of individual existence and whose name is India.

The unknown artist who paints to-day his conventional pictures in some hut in Kālighāt, infuses to the limbs of Hanūmān the vigour of an age-long training which has become filtered from all that is superfluous, and has gained in all its simplicity the significance of a movement where the stroke of the brush is the time of undying life, the eternal melody of the Indian line which gains its volume in edgeless roundness.

Indo-"Aryan" Origins and Developments: Racial and Cultural

By

H. Bruce Hannah

Published earlier in the year at Home, there has recently appeared in India (September, 1922) a book which is likely to have a devastating effect upon those conventional and popular dream-views that have heretofore held the field in regard to India and her remote past, and which goes far to corroborate the picture of what that past really was, sketched in my contributions on the subject to Calcutta University's *Journal of the Department of Letters*. This book is *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, by F. E. Pargiter, M.A., I.C.S. (retired), late Judge, High Court, Calcutta; London, Oxford University Press, 1922.

The views about ancient India now held by scholars, says Mr. Pargiter—

> "are based upon an examination of the Veda and Vedic literature, to the neglect of Purāṇic and epic tradition; that is, ancient Indian history has been fashioned out of compositions which are purely religious and priestly, which notoriously do not deal with history, and which totally lack the historical sense. The extraordinary nature of such history may be perceived if it were suggested that European history should be constructed merely out of theological literature. What would raise a smile if applied to Europe has been soberly accepted when applied to India" (*Preface*).

The work under review consists of (*a*) an extensive collection of heterogeneous old-world material found in the Rig-Veda and Vedic literature on the one hand, and in the records of Purāṇic and Epic tradition on the other; (*b*) an exhaustive analysis of the former, and a testing of it in the light of the latter; and (*c*) out of the unrejected residuum, the construction of a synthesis which, Mr. Pargiter very justly claims, represents something totally different from the views now held by scholars as noticed above. Mr. Pargiter has performed his formidable task with a patient zeal, with an industrious meticulosity, and on a scale, which can only be compared with similar exploits in the now Nemesis-haunted land of *Die Gelehrsamkeit*. It remains to state that Mr. Pargiter originally approached this task with no preconceived views about ancient Indian historical tradition, but merely with a desire to see whether there was any substance in it.

Within the complex of causes (largely referable to priestly activities) which have resulted in the amazing views regarding India's past, now in popular vogue amongst Indians, educated and uneducated alike, and even countenanced by scholarship, Occidental as well as Oriental; and amongst the realities which, we are given to understand, occasionally show through the prevailing mists; Mr. Pargiter finds the following:—

(1) Confusion of kings, rishis, and others, with mythological persons bearing the same names;

(2) Confusion of other individuals, all distinct, but similarly named;

(3) Quite different periods not distinguished from each other. Hence, misplacement of persons chronologically. Persons widely separated in time brought together as contemporaries;

(4) Mythology represented as history, and history sometimes mythologized;

(5) Purāṇic Genealogies faulty, but in the main trustworthy—especially Dynastic Genealogies;

(6) Brāhmaṇic Genealogies unreliable ;

(7) Gods and mythological persons mixed up with rishis who may have been real ;

(8) Rishis sometimes mythological and sometimes historical ;

(9) Of the greater rishis, in many cases there were several individuals for each name, *e.g.*, Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, etc. ;

(10) Several rishis, similarly named, *jama-karo*'d into one, who is made representative of the lot, *e.g.*, Vaśiṣṭha ;

(11) Originally, three great stocks of humanity in India—(*a*) The Ailas, or Lunar Race, (*b*) The Saudyūmnas, and (*c*) The descendants of Manu, son of Vivasvant, "the Sun," hence the Solar Race—called by Mr. Pargiter "the Mānavas." Really, however, the Solar Race was more restricted ; so that, by "Mānavas," was probably meant non-Ailic mankind (in India) at large. More particularly, they were possibly the Drāviḍians ;

(12) There were no "Āryas" at all, in the usual sense. The Ailas, originating in the mid-Himālaya region, and growing into power at and around Pratiṣṭhāna (Prayāga, on the north bank of the Jumna, *i.e.*, Allāhabād country), gradually dominated all North India and down to Vidarbha (Berār), save the 3 Mānava kingdoms towards the east—Ayōdhyā, Videha, and Vaiśālī—which, however, eventually came under Aila influence. Out of this expansion emanated the tradition of the "Āryan" occupation of India. The Brāhmans had little or nothing to do with the "Āryan Conquest." This was achieved by the Ailas alone. The Brāhmans, however, joined them when they had succeeded ;

(13) Aila power afterwards trended westward, out of India, rather than eastward, in India. The Ailas

never entered India from the North-West, as commonly held regarding the "Āryas";

(14) The Mānavas were more ancient than the Ailas. Mānava civilization was as high as, perhaps even higher than, that of the Ailas when these became dominant.

(15) Brāhmanism originated amongst the Mānavas, as a kind of magic—though later on it was modified for the better by the Ailas. The *Ṛigs* were first chanted in eastwardly, *i. e.*, in Mānava, parts, not in the North-West. The bulk of the hymns date from "Bhārata"-times. The final compilation was the work of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana ("Vyāsa,") c. 980 B.C. Not a single Brāhman was connected as priest (*purohita*) with any of the *early* Aila kings;

(16) The date of the "Bhārata battle" (between the Dvāpara Age and the Kali Age) Mr. Pargiter puts at c. B. C. 950;

(17) The so-called "Four Yūgas," or "Four Ages" (Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali) concerned India only, and prevailed only there;

(18) The real *Brāhmaveda* was the Atharva-Veda, an—"accumulation of magic beliefs, observances and practices, starting from the non-Aila races and gaining accretions from the Ailas and the people at large; while the Rigveda with its ancillary Yajus and Sāman was the religious expression of mainly the Ailas or Aryans as developed through reformed Brāhmanism and exhibited in sacrifice";

(19) Even the Purāṇas were eventually 'developed' by the Purāṇic Brāhmans, "who used their opportunities to the full, partly with further genuine traditions, but mostly with additions of Brāhmanic stories and fables and doctrinal and ritual matter."

The book itself, however, must be read—or rather carefully studied—to realize the thoroughness and "intellectual honesty" with which, as though he were still upon the bench, scrutinizing, sifting, arranging and weighing the evidence in a case, this conscientious and judicially-minded scholar has dealt with his subject.

Never again can the Indian, educated or uneducated—who for so long has deluded himself with self-flattering visions of a ridiculously impossible "ancient India"—go on so deluding himself, without sooner or later discovering that he is really an object of amused pity on the part of a sympathetic but more enlightened environment.

Never again—even though it be signed by one of the "Old Masters"—will a picture of India and its past, if painted on the old-fashioned lines which have hitherto satisfied our hopelessly uncritical woolly-mindedness, be received without intelligent and instructed comment, if not protest, by a reading-public acquainted with a tithe of all that Mr. Pargiter has just revealed; though there are still a few truths that even Mr. Pargiter's philosophy does not, as yet, seem to know anything about.

In particular, the learned editor of, and contributors to, *The Cambridge History of India* must, I should think, be feeling not a little sorry for themselves, that they did not wait to see Mr. Pargiter's latest views, before giving to the public Vol. I of their imposingly discursive, but, to my mind, in many respects inaccurate and otherwise defective work. It can never be authoritative—except to the hopelessly conventional.

At the same time, even Mr. Pargiter is not invulnerable. In championing the superior merits of Purāṇic tradition, his zeal and *élan* appear to carry him too far, thereby causing him to expose his flanks. Moreover—unless I misunderstand him—he seems himself to step quite unconcernedly into some of the very quagmires against which he warns us.

He differentiates between *sūta*-recorded Genealogies (particularly Royal Genealogies) found in the Purāṇas, and later Genealogies that have clearly been subjected to Brāhmanic editing. The latter he rejects. The former, he says, are in the main credible. Why? Chiefly because the non-priestly Genealogies often support each other (which is not surprising, since in most cases they were probably copied, not quite accurately, 'tis true, nevertheless somewhat slavishly, each from an earlier list); while they often differ strikingly from the Brāhmanic *vaṁśas*—*e. g.*, some found in the Rāmāyaṇa. These Kṣatriya lists, however, are themselves ablaze with defects of their own; if not the very defects that vitiate the priestly lists, then defects just as bad—frequently, indeed, not unlike those so familiarly characteristic of early Hellenic Legend. Nevertheless, since they more or less agree, Mr. Pargiter accepts them on the whole. He does more; he falls into some of their booby-traps. And out of what he retains (even fabulous progenitors, tribal personifications, and childish flams such as those which depict Gāndhāra, the Bhāratas, and the Kūrūs getting their names each from a misty king!), he builds up his general synthesis about the Ailas and their expansion. It is a delusive method. The relative acceptability of the non-priestly Purānic lists is *only* relative. Absolutely, they also are impossible. The true synthesis builds itself up out of very different materials—world-wide materials—some of which are only now being dug out of their age-long obscurity.

Again, beyond all doubt, the names in Mr. Pargiter's Royal Genealogies are a very mixed and *bizarre* lot; but, genuine or faked, he associates some of them with what seems to be an impossibly remote antiquity. Assume that somewhere about B. C. 1000 was the epoch when the Dasyū-led "Bhāratas," or "Warriors," of Sapta-Sindhavāḥ made existence in that country intolerable for the original *Pāncha-Janāḥ*, or "Five Communities"—the Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Ānūs,

and Drūhyūs—of whom the first 3 were certainly highly civilized, and, moreover, were not barbarous at heart, as were the Dasyūs. Eventually they abandoned their settlements, migrating eastwards. Their retreat—baselessly alleged, in Brāhmanic tradition, to have been generalled by "Sudās, king of the Ṛtsūs," *who really flourished in very much later dynastic times*—stopped near Pratiṣṭhāna, behind the Yāmuna, up to which point the "Bhāratas" had pursued them. The position then was—the Dasyūs and their Niṣādan allies west of the river, and the Pāncha-Janāḥ east of it. That position constituted the beginnings of *Madhyā-dēśa*, the "Middle Country." The territories so occupied had to be held against their aboriginal possessors. Naturally, this took some time. Then these territories, when won, had to be settled. That must have meant more time. Meanwhile, the Dasyūs, having acquired the external civilization of their eastern neighbours; having shed, as might be thought, their barbarism; and having definitely given up all hope of crushing the Pāncha-Janāḥ by military force; conceived and began to carry out an entirely new plan of life, at the same time assuming the name "Kūrūs." Also—though this may have been at a later date, and brought about by Brāhmanic influences—the identity of even the already cultured Pāncha-Janāḥ grew somewhat blurred under a slightly altered form of their name—"Panch'ālas." Out of these changes arose the supposedly historical name, *Kūrū-Panch'ālas*. As names, however, "Kūrūs" and "Panch'ālas" do not make their appearance until well on in Madhyā-dēśan times, for they are first met with in the White Yajurveda. Finally, in and around this central region, various dynasties established themselves—*e.g.* (1) the so-called Paurava-Kūrū line, descending through the Ajamidhā "Bhāratas" ("Bharadas"?) to the "Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas"; (2) North-Panchāla; and (3) South-Panchāla. There were also others; but, for present purposes, we may neglect them.

Now, according to Mr. Pargiter, the great War of Kūrū-kṣetra, or the "Bhārata battle," as he calls it—*said* to have been fought between the "Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas"; *both, ostensibly, of the same Kūrū lineage*!—can be dated about B.C. 950. This gives 50 years, more or less, for all the foregoing events and developments to have occurred! Such a period, for such happenings, is of course arrestingly inadequate, especially since there intervened the equivalent of a good many reigns, if not generations, between Ajamidhā and the "Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas" alone, even according to the *vaṁsās*. But, in sooth, the Great War, or "Bhārata battle," had probably nothing whatever to do with any quarrel that may have arisen between the so-called "Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas"—save for the extent to which the latter was possibly "used" by the author of the "Mahābhārata" for the purposes of his epic. In other words, just as, round some small and comparatively late episode, local to Troy, Homer (or whoever stood behind that name) was, in much later times than is commonly thought, really building up an epic commemorative of the mighty happenings in the Mediterranean (*temp.* Meren-Ptāh and Rāmēsēs III) during the stirring period of the Great Sea-Raids of the 12th century B.C., so, we may believe, appropriating some suitable incidents in fairly late dynastic times, and with a view to lauding the "Kūrūs," the author of the original Mahābhārata was really giving poetical expression to what he had learnt, or imagined, of the greater struggles between the Dasyū-led Confederacy and the Pāncha-Janāḥ in ancient Sapta-Sindhavāḥ. A later recension, it is said, made the Pāṇḍavas the heroes of the War, and blackened the character of the Kauravas. What *bona-fidēs!* In "Pāṇḍavas," of course—admittedly a very transient designation, merely serving the purposes of the story—we see nothing but yet another of the various protean forms in which, from time to time, the name "Pāncha-Janāh" has masqueraded. The tale of these "Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas" appears

otherwise to be simply a poetical reminiscence of some more or less effective domination of Kūrū-land by the Panchālas—say by North-Panchāla. Since then, in popular Indian belief, subtly countenanced by Brāhmanism, "history" has been associated rather with the alleged feud between *the so-called "Cousins"* than with the more ancient actualities in Sapta-Sindhavāḥ—though these, too, are positively, but indefinitely, cherished, and vaguely but tenaciously associated with the "Cousins." Here, again, Brāhmanic influences are plainly to be seen hovering around. Cousinship between the Kūrūs and the Pāncha-Janāḥ, or Panchālas, meant *blood-identity.* And that, *if everybody could be got to believe in it,* meant that *all memory of a Dasyū origin for the Kūrūs had vanished!* Then, as regards the remoter actualities just alluded to, they were much too abundantly interspersed with proofs and indications of the Dasyū origin of Authoritative "Āryanism" for the peace of mind of any one afterwards claiming to be connected with the Kūrūs, either racially or culturally. Far better that they should be forgotten or at any rate enveloped in a haze of confusion—obliterating everything except the suggestion of an immense, but also an immensely vague, antiquity. The old, old, haunting story! The Kūrūs could not get rid of *their Dasyū past.* It was ever *in front of them*!

Of course, some of the names in these Genealogies are purely mythological, or otherwise nebulous; while others clearly stand, not for individuals at all, but for the five original ethnic stocks commonly and conveniently called the Pāncha-Janāḥ. All these, then, may be cut out. As regards the rest, even a commencement is unthinkable until the epoch when the dynasties were established in and around Madhyā-dēśa; and that must have been at least two or three centuries after the big Offensive in Sapta-Sindhavāḥ of the Dasyū-led "Bhāratas" against the Pāncha-Janāḥ, and the eastward Retreat of the latter, c. 1000. B.C.

These considerations afford a rough base-line from which to estimate the real approximate dates of the so-called kings to whom I shall presently refer.

At points, therefore, Mr. Pargiter's position seems open to criticism.

For instance, in the Purāṇic records before him, a name which, if we are to believe the Ṛig-Veda, was really the name of a politico-military Confederacy of so-called Vedic times (*the "Bhāratas"*—Daysū-led) is given to an individual of unquestionably dynastic days, *i.e.*, of a very much later age, who is represented as a Paurava king. This is *Bhārata*; and of course he has successors, styled "the Bhāratas," who are frequently spoken of as his "descendants." In such a *milieu* as ancient Sanskrit literature, this—though wholly baseless—is only what might have been expected. But it is certainly surprising to see Mr. Pargiter, of all people, accepting it at its face value. As a matter of fact, the Bhārata here referred to *died childless* ! (p. 159). He *adopted* a youth, said to have been a Brāhman named *Bharadvājā*, and to have been given by "the Maruts" (really *the Marutta royal family of Vaiśālī*); and it was *from him* that the so-called "Bhāratas" of dynastic times (probably originally "Bharadas") descended. Thus their alleged existence—even in a late age—is only secured by resort to the usual "yarn"—one, moreover, that is simply steeped in dubiety. Nor is even this all. Taking these "Bharadas" (decendants of Bharadvājā, the alleged adopted son of so-called "Bhārata"), styling them "Bhāratas," and mixing them up, as such, with the actual *Bhāratas*, or "Warriors," who constituted the *anti*-Pāncha-Janāḥ Confederacy formed in a remotely previous age by the Dasyūs of Sapta-Sindhavāḥ (not of course, describing it as a host of North-West *Niṣādas* trained and headed by the Dasyūs, which they were, but representating them all as true-blue "Āryas," which they were not)—post-Purāṇa Brāhmanism has created, and foisted upon the minds of their

inconceivably credulous fellow-countrymen, *an utterly unreal group or order of men* (all, of course, of heroic mould), the artificial glamour gradually accreted round whose "memory" fills the soul of every pious Indian with a world of emotions that he would find it difficult to describe, as indeed would anybody else, but which are at least as powerful, as genuine, and as magnificent, as if the objects of his adoration had actually once existed. Inconsistencies! Contradictions! In such matters what, to Indian mentality, are *they*? In fact, it is in connection with these imaginary supermen that the great name "Bhārata-varsa" has arisen.

At p. 40 we even find the following amazing statement—

> "Yayāti was of the Aila race; and among his descendants were Bharata, Suhotra, Rantideva and Bṛhadratha in the Paurava line, and Saśabindu a Yadava and Śivi an Anava."

The Pauravas were a community of Pūrū stock; the Yādavas a community of Yādū stock; and the Ānavas a community of Ānū stock. The Pūrūs, Yādūs, and Ānūs were 3 of 5 ethnoi who, say somewere about B.C. 1050, certainly entered India from the North-West, and eventually comprised the *Pāncha-Janāḥ* mentioned in the Rig-Veda—the other 2 being the Tūrvasas and Drūhyūs. In my recent papers on "Āryanism" I have renewed an old suggestion which I first made some years ago in the press, that originally the 5 were Pūra-Satiū, Yādai Amorites, sundry broken Hittites, divers offshoots from the Phallus-worshipping Ānūs ("People of the Pillar") long settled at or near On, or Ān (later Hēliopolis), and some obscure *drūj*-folk picked up on the way—possibly in the Gāndhāra country just west of the Indus—most of whom were fugitives who (bringing with them what was later called *Brāhmi* writing) had plunged off eastward from Syria after Rāmēsēs III's much-vaunted victory there over the "invading" Philistines (Pūra-Satiū, or Pūla-Satiū) and their allies, c. B.C. 1151. Of the dominant ethnoi then dwelling together in Northern India, all but the Dasyūs (the later Kūrūs) and the

Yādai Amorites (the later Yādūs) were Dark-Whites, like the brunet Mediterranean peoples, the Semites, etc. True, the Dasyūs, were also Dark-Whites ; but they were of a different type—more like the Western "Alpines." The Yādai Amorites were blond. Perhaps, too, the Pūra-Satiū (the later Pūrūs) had a touch of fairness about them. The designation "Dark Warrior Clans," sometimes met with, must have been of much later origin, when Kūrūs and Panch'ālas, having interblended extensively with the dusky *Niṣādas* around them, had practically become one people, and it probably attached to some specially martial groups. The *Niṣādas*, of course, were merely the "seated" folk, *i.e.*, the aborigines—a various multitude. The majority, no doubt, were of old black Gondwāna-land descent; but many were probably Tūrānian Yellows from the trans-Himālaya North. The name *Dāsas* had no ethnic significance. It was a class-name embracing prisoners-of-war, slaves, and so forth. It did not necessarily connote Dasyūs. It certainly was not synonymous with Dasyūs—however "repeatedly," as remarked in the *Cambridge History of India*, the phrase "Dasyūs or Dāsas" may occur in Sanskrit literature. There, many *baroque* things are to be found. A Dāsa might have belonged to any of the races then thrown together. Even an "Indo-'Āryan'—for there were probably *no* "Āryas" then—might have been a Dāsa. As regards the "Vedic" peoples generally, the broad distinction, spoken of, apparently with acceptance, in the *magnum opus* just mentioned, between "the light-coloured conquering 'Āryans' and the dark-coloured subject Dasyus," is superficial, baseless, and completely misleading. The fair-complexioned Aryas were a dream of the remote past—and extra-Indian, at that ; the "dark-coloured subject Dasyus" are a nightmare of modern times; while, if any so-called "Indo-Āryan" community could be deemed the "conquering" one, it was the Dasyūs—originally a parchmenty white ethnos. At any rate, here we have alleged descendants of a nebulous personage named Yayāti—one of

whom, *Bhārata*, really stands for what was once a politico-military League that, in its day, was unquestionably *anti-Pūrū*! He is said to have been of Pūrū stock—and Mr. Pargiter apparently believes it. Another, Saśabindu, is said to have been of quite different, *i.e.*, of Yādū, stock, though of the same lineage as Bhārata. While a third, Śivi, is said to have been of yet another, *i.e.*, of Ānū, stock. All these stocks had been members in Sapta-Sindhavāḥ of a *vārā*, or federation, which the original "Bhāratas" had tried hard to subvert. The whole thing is obviously an absurd mix-up and fake of later dynastic times—to be unhesitatingly rejected.

Another case of a somewhat similar nature may be noticed. The Kūrūs of Madhyā-dēśa were a people. In fact, *they were the Dasyūs*, but transmogrified—the Dasyūs of post-Vedic times—going under a name, or rather appellation (*Kūrūs*), which, though in a manner new, was yet very old, and moreover was their own, though now it served to veil their identity. What this old appellation connoted, as associated with the distant pre-Vedic days when, outside India, in Central Asia, the Dasyūs were a race of petty *Khāns* and better known as the unkempt boorish *Dahyūs* (an Airyānian word), can be traced. Yet, apparently with acceptance, Mr. Pargiter speaks of an individual named Kūrū, living in dynastic, *i.e.*, very much later, times, and said to have been royal, after whom the Kūrūs of Brahmā-varta were called! He even goes so far as to say that—

> "The people of Hastinapura were not Kurus, but the name Kuru of the royal family was extended to their country according to a common Indian usage" (p. 132).

Of course, it is quite possible, indeed highly probable, that by this time the Dasyūs had largely intermixed with their dusky *Niṣādan* followers, as also with the multitudinous and varied local *Niṣādas*; but, save for this, the statement just noticed reminds one forcibly of the Hellenic legend that Iōnia had been so called after Iōn the son of Xuthus. In another place Mr. Pargiter speaks quite placidly and contentedly of "the Kurus who were the Pauravas" (p. 181). Though excusable from

a point of view which is not mine, this is really utterly wrong. As peoples, the Dasyūs and the Pūrūs were quite distinct; in fact, they were *very* different, the one from the other; nay, as we have seen, in ancient "Bhārata" days, they were mortally opposed. But, as I have explained elsewhere, the Dasyūs were an exceedingly crafty race, boundlessly ambitious and unscrupulous, and bent, first on worming themselves into a position of equality with the surrounding communities of West-Asian origin, next on wresting the hegemony from these culture-races, and finally on ousting them completely, and actually taking their place, as though *they* had always been a, indeed *the*, culture-race! In pursuance of these designs, they once achieved no less a feat than that of effecting a matrimonial alliance with the Pūric Royal House. Owing to this, and its developments, the one-time clear distinction between the barbarous Dasyūs and the noble and highly refined Pūrūs grew fainter and fainter, till at last in Madhyā-dēśa (when the Dasyūs had become recognized as the Kūrūs), it was possibly entirely obliterated. Time and mass-mentality, as usual, had worked wonders; and Brāhmanism did the rest. But, when we see it stated shortly and bluntly that "the Kurus were the Pauravas," we must extricate these little antecedent truths from their age-long concealment, and bear them well in mind.

Perhaps, however, the most striking—certainly a very amusing—instance of Mr. Pargiter's complacence in face of Purāṇo-Brāhmanic futilities, is connected with the name *Kūśika*—a cognomen of the "Viśvāmitra" Brāhmanic *gōtra*. We are told, quite seriously, that it originated in the first historically known Viśvāmitra having "blessed" his son Maducchandas and certain younger sons for having dutifully assented to his appointment of an adopted son, Devarāta (Śunaḥśepa), to the headship of the gōtra. But again, with naïve indifference for the inconsistency—the name is also blandly averred to have derived from that of Kūśika, a king of Kānyakūbjya, who was Viśvāmitra's grandfather! Now,

which of these two glaringly contradictory "hand-outs" are we to accept? Neither of them, of course. The real origin of the name—what, in fact, Brāhmanism has ever been nervously anxious to cover up—is obvious. Ethnically, being Kūrūs, the Viśvāmitras were Dasyūs. But more, they had a by-name—*Kauśikās*; which meant that they were *specially known* as of Dasyū descent. In other words, they were *of recognized Kāssitic, i. e., Kūśa, race-stock.* By this fact (in later days, when all Brāhmans, whether Viśvāmitras, Vaśiṣṭhas, or otherwise, stood solidly for their common Order), Brāhmanic pride and Brāhmanic policy were disturbed; so out of *Kauśikā*—thereby, as they hoped, escaping from it, and even wiping out all trace of it—they astutely evolved (of course for popular consumption) the simple but plausible, because very similar *Kūśika*, with its wholly different, and much more comfortable, associations.

Mr. Pargiter's *Ailas* are simply my *Pāncha-Janāḥ*—the Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas (so far as these endured), Ānūs, and Druhyūs—of course as augmented and kaleidoscopically modified by Dasyū ascendancy. He admits (p. 297) that tradition distinctly suggests that, though closely associated with Pratiṣṭhāna, they originally came from "outside India." There seem to have been at least two historical kings both named "Sudās"—one ruling in Mānavan Ayōdhyā, and the other in North-Panchāla, as Mr. Pargiter states—*i. e., long after early "Vedic" days*; and the king "Sudās" who is popularly supposed to have commanded the forces that retired eastward from Sapta-Sindhavāḥ before the pursuing "Bhāratas," was clearly fictitious[1]—an impossible blend, partly of Ayōdhyan Sudās, and partly of North-Panchālan Sudās, flung back into distant mist-enswathed Sapta-Sindhavāḥ to make a "Vedic" tale. But, in any case, a day came when, confronting each other along the dividing-line of the Jumna near Prayāga, were those two great opposing camps or communities—west, the Dasyū-led "Bhāratas," afterwards known

[1] *Note.*—See Hymn to Indra and Vāruṇa, *Ṛigveda*, vii, 83.

as the "Kūrūs"; and east, the Pāncha-Janāḥ, later called the "Panch'ālas." Why? From, we are solemnly asked to believe, the 5 sons of Bhṛmyaśva, 6th king of the North Panchāla dynasty! And out of that strategic position on the Jumna, emerged all the subsequent developments of Indian history—*i. e.*, North-Indian history.

That it really *was* the original 5 ethnoi—Pūrūs, Yādūs, Tūrvaśas, Ānūs, and Drūhyūs—who, in so-called "Vedic" times, retired from the Panjāb eastwards, followed by the Dasyū host, receives curious confirmation from the word "Pañcajana," ingenuously referred to by Mr. Pargiter (p. 120) as "no doubt a misreading of Pijavana," a surname of Cyavana, father of Sudāsa Somadatta (Sudās Paijavana), of the comparatively late North-Panchāla dynasty. Poor old derelict "Pañcajana"!—obviously overlooked by those Dasyū-Kūrū-priestly fashioners of the Rig-Veda who, for the purposes of their Vedic tale, were transferring Sudāsa Somadatta to an earlier age. How very careless of them to have left such a piece of evidence lying about! In much the same way, no doubt, the name "Bhāratas"—in the form "Bharadas" seemingly historical as regards the "dynastic age"-descendants of Bharadvājā—was calmly switched back into primitive times, in order to subserve whatever sacerdotal interests may be more or less traceable in the elusive nebulosities of the Rig-Veda and kindred saṁhitās.

What has been done, then—mainly by Historical Brāhmanism—emerges with a fair degree of clarity. The actual happenings of so-called "Vedic times"—especially those connected with the Dasyūs and the original Pāncha-Janāḥ above-named—have been so represented that realities are metamorphosed well-nigh out of recognition; all has been obscured and confused in a cloudy swirl of indefinite remoteness; and legends galore of a grandiose and highly melodramatic kind (some mythological, and others ostensibly historical) have been invented. But, for the material and personal basis of these old "Vedic" happenings, recourse has

evidently from time to time unblushingly been had to the facts and traditions (themselves generally doubtful and frequently absurd) of an age that was centuries later—the age of the so-called "Kūrū-Panch'ālas" and subsequent dynasts in Madhyā-dēśa; included in those materials being, of course, the Purāṇic Genealogies, more or less genuine, of which Mr. Pargiter is so enamoured. And—separately or in bulk, bodily or in morsels—all these dubieties and grotesqueries (facts, traditions and personages) have, as occasion required, artlessly or unscrupulously, but in every case deliberately, been transferred from the one age to the other—now this way, and now that—in the main to suit the "religious" ends of a worldly-minded and highly metaphysical but wholly unspiritual hierarchy, originally of Kūsa race, who, in connection with Indo-"Āryan" origins and developments, appear to have ceaselessly and persistently, and with astounding wisdom and ability, played much the same *rôle* as, about the same time, "Ezra" was playing elsewhere in connection with Jewry.

I once invited attention to the well-known fact that it was amongst these late "Kūrūs" (transmogrified Dasyūs) that that extraordinary phenomenon arose which is so familiar to us out here by the name of Historical Brāhmanism. This happened long after the cessation of the hostilities above alluded to. Indeed, the cult was intended to replace them—Force, as a policy, having definitely failed. *This*, we know, did *not* fail. Drawing a distinction, however, between primitive Sacerdotalism and later, or, as he calls it, "reformed" Brāhmanism, Mr. Pargiter assigns the former a considerably earlier date—maintaining, in fact, that it originated amongst the "Mānavas," where and when it was merely a debased kind of magic. Doubtless he is right. Obviously the Mānava cult had *possibilities*, *i. e.*, from a worldly point of view. The Kūrūs were quick to see, and to seize upon, them. What, in their hands, these possibilities ultimately developed into, India and the whole intelligent world now know—only too well.

As regards Mr. Pargiter's finding that the bulk of the Rig-Vedic hymns date from "Bhārata"-times, and his further finding that the final compilation was effected c. B. C. 980—*i. e.*. about a generation before the "Bhārata" battle, which he accepts as a conflict between the "Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas," and assigns to c. B. C. 950—it is obvious now that the expression "Bhārata"-times is susceptible of two interpretations. By it we can understand either (1) post-Ajamidhan dynastic days, or (2) that remotely earlier period in Sapta-Sindhavāḥ when Dasyū ambitions were astir, when Dasyū ideals were vivid and dynamic, and when Dasyū aggression was active. Intrigue and time have cleverly effected a confusion of the two. Then, as these "Bhārata" Dasyūs were the same people as the later "Kūrūs," amongst whom Historical Brāhmanism originated, and who were responsible, not only for the appearance of the Ṛig-Veda, but also for Caste, it follows that the vitalizing spirit ensouling all three—Brāhmanism, the Ṛig-Veda, and Caste—is traceable back to Dasyū sources. There, lurks its Subliminal Self, its True Ego! Probably the correct view is that, on a ground-work of ancient Mānava *mantras*, supposed to possess occult power, plus other archaic sources, the hymns were mainly composed in Brahmā-vartan Kūrū-land in post-Ajamidhan dynastic times, but were also afterwards coloured by floating traditions of, or fancies regarding, the cloudy past in and before Sapta-Sindhavāḥ.

With reference to what Mr. Pargiter advances (if I understand him aright) regarding the peopling of trans-Indus Airyō-Tūrān by "Ailas" moving westward out of India; from what we know concerning the founding of Airyavō-Vaējō by the Airyānian Rosy-Blonds (Rhodo-Leukochroi) immigrating from the distant Old Mediterranean West some time early in the Tauric Era, concerning barbarous Kāssi-descended Kūrū-hordes called the Dahyūs, or Tokhs, who had been the former possessors of the region settled, and who continued to dwell in the surrounding wilderness-country throughout Airyō-Tūrān, and concerning the ethnical identity of the early Indian Dasyūs

(not *Dāsus*) with these more westerly Dahyūs (who afterwards gave rise, in Central Asia and in India, to the historical Daai, Dahae, Tokhāri, Tokhārās, Tūshārās, and Kūshāns); also in view of the evidence for the advent of the Pāncha-janāḥ (coming from Airyō-Tūrān—doubtless *viâ* Gāndhāra) amongst the Dasyūs and Nisādas of the Panjāb, and for their previous origin from B. C. 12th century Western-Asia (say Syria); I venture to think that, as against all the foregoing, Mr. Pargiter's ideas in this connection have little prospect of final acceptance.

As to Mr. Pargiter's contention that there were *no* "Āryan" invaders from the North-West, in the usual sense of the expression, I incline to agree with him. I have always said that the evidence for the presence of any "Āryas"—*i.e.*, *śūkla Āryas*—east of the Indus is astonishingly meagre.

Mr. Pargiter's views and findings regarding (*a*) the development of Brāhmanism in its general aspect, and (*b*) what is disclosed by an examination of the reputed authorship of the Ṛig-Vedic hymns, are set forth in chapter xxvi on "The ancient Brahmans and the Vedas."

I cannot conclude without drawing attention to the extraordinary parallel between (1) the way in which the uncouth but cunning Kūsa-descended Dasyūs from proto-historic Airyō-Tūrān first transmuted themselves into the polished, learned, and metaphysically-minded Kūrūs of Brahmā-varta, then reformed Indian society and religion, and finally re-constructed Indian history, and enshrined both it and the new socio-philosophico-faith in the Ṛig-Veda and Vedic literature generally, leaving later developments to time and a human-nature that they had sized-up with unerring acumen, and (2) the way in which—as I have already elsewhere shown—the passionately Romophobe Amorites of B. C. 12th century Syria transmuted themselves, as the Judahites, or Yāhūdim (formerly of Yādai), into loyal subjects of Imperial Khem, by uniting themselves politically with the Romic colony of Hebro-Israelites long settled in Northern Khārū, then reformed

Hebrew society and religion—becoming themselves Hebrews of the Hebrews—and finally, c. B. C. 450, in the days of "Ezra," deliberately re-wrote and falsified history, especially Romic and Hebrew history : in both cases each community, in its own way, brazenly but completely bluffing and bamboozling posterity throughout the world for thousands of years !

Lastly. When conventional scholarship and popular Indian belief have thoroughly digested the splendid fare now set before them—thanks to Mr. Pargiter's unique erudition, impartiality, and industry—and when they realize the force and effect of all that, from time to time, has appeared in the University *Journal* above-mentioned concerning basic Indian ethnic origins from archaean Gondwānaland; concerning the arrival in India from Western-Asia of 4 distinct communities describable as Pūra-Satiū, Yādai Amorites, certain broken Khatti of Nāharīn (the "Rivers'-Country"), and Phallus-worshipping Ānūs from On (Hēliopolis)—most of them fugitives from a stricken field in Syria—and an obscure *drūj*-folk seemingly picked up *en route* somewhere in Airyō-Tūrān, probably the Gāndhāra country, and their subsequent metamorphosis into the *Pāncha-Janāh* of the Ṛig-Veda and Purāṇic tradition (a name parent of others, very similar, which have given rise to endless confusion); and also concerning the Kūśa-descended Dahyūs, Dasyūs, or Kūrūs (once of wilderness Airyō-Tūrān), their cunning, their far-sightedness, their unscrupulous ambitions, their mimetic and other abilities, their startling transmogrifications, and their wonderful but undoubted achievements; conventional scholarship and Indian belief will be in a position to realize how much of their ages-old, but now completely out-of-date, conception of "Ancient India" is destined for a more or less Early Oblivion.

Archæological Methods

BY

AROON SEN

It may seem strange that European archæologists in India still cling to early Victorian traditions. Their belief in those meaningless shibboleths has increased with years and though in Europe to-day we find all critics revising their position and adjusting their tenets to suit an altered world, archæology in India still clings with a touching belief to these faded creations. We need not recapitulate all the factors which have contributed to this Revolution :

(1) The *reductio ad absurdum* of Art through Photography—the revelation of the vulgarity of Realism.

(2) The discovery that great art is known from base R. copies.

(3) The glimpses into forgotten worlds—of Ægean, etc.

(4) The inundation of Europe by Japanese colour prints and later by Sang masterpieces.

(5) Death of Realism, and the birth of Post-Impressionism.

The result is well-known even to the nearest dilettante—all the cherished beliefs of the Victorian world, have been unceremoniously swept aside, and revolution is plainly visible in every sphere of Art.

(1) In the realm of Pure theory.

(2) In the application of these theories to the study of the arts giving birth to a new Archæology.

(3) In the production of a great Art.

However the East never changes—at least the European element in the East never does—and consequently the exploded fictions of a bygone day have now acquired the sanction of age and officialdom rejoices.

The gospel which has evoked such profound reverence from our scholars, is that revealed by (I) Lange,
(II) Loewy.

It is always a painful task to shatter a faith, and my task now is fraught with an increased pain as I have now to destroy a belief, which has survived the storms and tempests of a century—in India.

Lange and Loewy have laid down certain characteristics, which they consider to be the essence of all Primitive art—*i.e.*, the first struggles of an Idea which attempts to express itself in a medium—stone or plaster or paper. Certain schools have been taken up—and if they have answered the test, they have immediately received the stigmatism of the label Primitive. This has accordingly been the foundation of the theories of the growth of Art in India. Thus, *e.g.*, the schools of Bharhut and Sanchi have been taken up—and if a trace of these characteristics has been detected there, the conclusion has forthwith been drawn that they represent the first indigenous attempt to carve or paint.

We cannot go into the question whether the theories do really apply to Greece—and her neighbours, Egypt, Assyria, but we must seek to establish the applicability thereof to an Art which the twin gods had not had the advantage of seeing.

Lange's gospel is called the Laws of Frontality and as revealed runs as follows:—

"Whatever position the statue may assume it follows the rule that a line imagined as passing through the skull, nose, backbone and navel dividing the body into two symmetrical halves is invariably straight, never bending

to either side. Thus a figure may bend backward or forward—this does not affect the line—but no sideways bending is to be found in neck or body. The legs are not always symmetrically placed; a figure may, for example, advance one foot farther than the other or kneel with one knee on the ground, the other raised, but nevertheless the position of the legs shows the same line of direction as the trunk and the head. The position of the arms presents greater diversity, yet it is strictly limited by the attitude of the rest of the figure." (Gardner, quoting Lange, p. xi.)

The above propositions are true of all sculptures in the round belonging to Greece, Egypt, Assyria before 500 B.C. This principle has been applied to India, in rather an amazing manner. The syllogism is clear—

All early art in Egypt, Assyria and Greece are frontal.

∴ All early art is frontal.

The sculpture of Sanchi (*e.g.*) is frontal.

∴ The sculpture of Sanchi is early.

In other words, it is the first rude Indian attempt at art. Sculptures in early Bharhut art are stigmatised as displaying a frontal character, and are therefore regarded as the first indigenous attempts at plastic expression. The falsity of this reasoning will be more easily patent in the application of this principle to later (mediæval) workmanship.

We shall first take the Trimurti of Elephanta. The central figure is absolutely straight—and a line drawn through the skull, nose, backbone and navel, would divide the piece into two symmetrical halves, and would be unerringly straight. This is as true of the two other figures, and the three imaginary lines drawn through the three heads would be parallel. The position of the heads shows that technique had not yet emerged from this early (and crude!!) stage. If the figure had

not lacked the advantage of hands and feet, it would have illustrated the remaining dicta with equal force. This belongs to the seventh or the eighth century when the Indians had at least produced some quantity of objects of art.

Let us take the Nepalese Tara in the Indian Museum (in bronze). The line drawn through the skull, nose backbone and navel would divide the trunk into two equal halves, and would surely never deviate from an uncompromising straightness. Here again the legs are symmetrically placed, and the arms (in spite of the multiplicity thereof) do not display any latitude, for there is no diversity in their position, and they are certainly dominated by the central motif.

And yet this is not quite a maiden effort, for it belongs to the 13th century or thereabouts.

Let us take yet a third figure—that of Sundaramurti Swami (in copper) in the Colombo Museum.

It betrays the identical features described, and moreover lead irresistibly to the same conclusion.

Instances could be multiplied *ad infinitum* and it may perhaps be said that Lange's dictum applies to the generality of Indian sculpture. Greece may have fallen a victim to the higher charms of Realism, but art in India took a different course.

II. The gospel was also revealed by Loewy—and he has enunciated his laws with equal distinctness. He has confined his observations mainly to Greece, but our scholars have not hesitated to apply his principles to the evolution of Indian art:

(1) The conformation and movement of the figs. and their points are limited to a few typical shapes.

(2) The single forms are stylised—*i. e.*, they are schematised so as to present linear formations that are regular or tend to regularity.

(3) The representation of form proceeds from the outline whether this outline is maintained inscrip and linear, or being of the same colour as the inner surface, combines with it to make a silhouette.

(4) When colours occur they are uniform and are without regard for the modifications of tone caused by light and shade.

(5) As a general rule, the figures are shown to the spectator with each of their points in its broadest aspect, as we shall express it for the present.

(6) Apart from a definite exception, the figures of a composition are spread out over the surface of the picture without allowing the main points to cross or overlap, so that objects which in nature would be behind one another are drawn out and placed alongside of each other in the picture.

(7) The representation of the environment in which the action takes place is omitted, wholly or for the most part.

Archaic art shows a combination of these characteristics and apparently no conclusion could be drawn from the appearance of any single isolated phenomenon.

Loewy penetrates deep into the psychology of the human mind, and thinks that the presence of these features is due to the insistence of "the memory picture." Art, *i.e.*, proceeds from percepts and not from models—need not point out here that that is the process by which all art proceeds—according to the tenets of modern Æsthetics. But our archæologists in India betray a most colossal ignorance of this science—and it does not form a part of the intellectual equipment of orthodoxy. It is patent that very much of Post-Impressionistic painting and sculpture would immediately win for itself the stigmatism of "the primitive!!" It is only in the Salon, the Academy and the Cinema that the model prevails.

The crude archaic artist portrays the characteristics which are portrayed in his brain regardless of nature. The artist presumes to create, not to imitate. Let us proceed to the application of these principles to the same figures.

The Nepalese Tara exhibits all the seven defects in a most flagrant manner.

1 and 2. The typical shape and the stylisation jars on the archæological eye, while it delights his historical sense.

3. The representation of form has certainly proceeded from the outline, while the silhouette effect is most noticeable.

5. The broadest aspect is represented.

6. The figure is the representation of a single god only and therefore the overlapping in the composition has not become an æsthetic necessity.

The diminutions and foreshortenings which we would expect to grace all sculpture with the hall mark of the Academy is painfully absent. The legs are most unnaturally placed and we get a stiff representation of a crude memory picture. It is quite obvious that no model in the Quartric Latin or in Chelsea could have displayed all the monstrosities noticeable in this piece—such a model would have been stifled at her birth. The lotus again is not naturalistic, it is a stiff wooden convention. Again there is no background, for the feeble mentality of the artist even failed to pursue the idea into its environment.

With arguments like these, the archæologist would immediately rush to the conclusion that the date of this figure would approximate towards 500 B. C.

And as India has always followed in the rear guard in Art, the date would be about 100 B. C. to 100 A. D.

And that conclusion we know is absurd. I cannot refrain from pointing out that this is one of the sublimest

masterpieces which has ever been achieved in the history of the world. The subtlety of the composition has seldom been equalled—the grouping of the masses and the curves would fail to evoke reverence in all but archæologists. It is the sculpture of this nature that Sir George Birdwood has thought fit to condemn. It excites as much feeling in him as boiled suet pudding—he has observed. We leave the gallant gentleman to his quiet enjoyment of boiled suet puddings.

The futility of these methods would best be seen from a broad canvas. And as Loewy asserts that his laws apply with equal force to reliefs, we shall straightway choose the Mahisāsur relief from Mahabalipuram.

All the laws apply—

1. The conformation of the figures, tends to approximate towards types—variety is lacking. Movement is indicated rather than represented. Take for instance the figures flying through the air, or those rushing forward in the glamour of battle. Take the Mahisāsur himself the *piece d° resistance*—observe his generalised proportions and the impossibility of the attitude.

2. All the forms are schematised and regular.

3. The inistence on the outline has been maintained throughout.

4. The figures present their broadest aspect to the spectator—and thus the archæologist has a wide sphere to aim at.

5. The figures are spread out—there is practically no overlapping. The warriors would surely stand shoulder to shoulder, and not one behind the other.

The actions and incidents are not naturalistic. There is no background. In the individual figures there is often a rounded champering of the edges—all chiaroscuric effects have been avoided. There is a minimun of planes and where the background is uneven, it again presses to the

front. (I shall have occasion to refer to the unique treatment of the plane in this relief.) Again, Lange's laws apply as well. It can therefore be concluded that this figure belongs to the dawn of Art in India.

I should like to mention that the meanest country lout thrills with awe at this sublime masterpiece, while the archæologist remains unmoved.

In conclusion, I should like to mention that the æsthetic valuations of our Archæologists will one day recoil on themselves. And those who have so readily condemned the sublimest flights of æsthetic endeavour with an unparalleled callousness will one day stand condemned at the altar of culture.

Forsano etpaec olim meminisse inuast.

Political History of India from the accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisara.

BY

HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., PH.D.

FOREWORD.

No Thucydides or Tacitus has left for posterity a genuine history of Ancient India. But the researches of a multitude of scholars have disclosed an unexpected wealth of materials for the reconstruction of the ancient history of our country.

The first attempt to sort and arrange the accumulated and ever-growing stores of knowledge was made by Dr. Vincent Smith. But the excellent historian, failing to find sober history in bardic tales, ignored the period immediately succeeding "the famous war waged on the banks of the Jumna, between the sons of Kuru and the sons of Pāṇḍu," and took as his starting point the middle of the seventh century B. C. My aim has been to sketch in outline the political history of the neglected period. I have taken as my starting point the accession of Parikshit, which according to Epic and Paurāṇic tradition took place shortly after the Bhārata War. My history ends with the coronation of Bimbisāra in the sixth century B. C.

Valuable information regarding the Pārikshita and the post-Pārikshita periods has been supplied by eminent

scholars like Oldenberg, Macdonell, Keith, Rhys Davids, Pargiter, Bhandarkar and others. But the attempt to give a connected history from Parikshit to Bimbisāra is, I believe, made for the first time in the following pages.

Sources.

No inscription or coin has unfortunately been discovered which can be referred, with any amount of certainty, to the pre-Bimbisārian period. Our chief reliance must therefore be placed upon literary evidence. Unfortunately this evidence is purely Indian, and is not supplemented by those foreign notices which have done more than any archæological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation of the history of the post-Bimbisārian period.

Indian literature useful for the purpose of the historian of the post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian age may be divided into five classes, *viz.*:—

I. Brāhmaṇical literature of the post-Pārikshita-pre-Bimbisārian period. This class of literature naturally contributes the most valuable information regarding the history of the earliest dynasties and comprises:

(*a*) The last book of the Atharva Veda.

(*b*) The Aitareya, Śatapatha, Taittirîya and other ancient Brāhmaṇas.

(*c*) The Bṛihadāraṇyaka, Chhāndogya and other classical Upanishads.

That these works belong to the post-Pārikshita period is proved by repeated references to Parikshit, to his son Janamejaya, and to Janaka of Videha at whose court the fate of the Pārikshitas was made the subject of a philosophical discussion. That these works are pre-Buddhistic and, therefore, pre-Bimbisārian has been proved by competent critics like Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra (Translation

of the Chhāndogya Upanishad, pp. 23-24), Professor Macdonell (History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 189, 202-203, 226) and others.

II. The second class comprises Brāhmaṇical works to which no definite date can be assigned, but large portions of which, in the opinion of competent critics, belong to the post-Bimbisārian period. To this class belong the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. The present Rāmāyaṇa not only mentions Buddha Tathāgata (II. 109. 34), but distinctly refers to the struggles of the Hindus with mixed hordes of Yavanas and Śakas, शकान् यवनमिश्रितान् (I. 54. 21). In the Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa (IV. 43. 11-12), Sugrîva places the country of the Yavanas and the cities of the Śakas between the country of the Kurus and the Madras, and the Himālayas. This shows that the Græco-Scythians at that time occupied parts of the Pañjāb.

As regards the present Mahābhārata, Hopkins says (Great Epic of India, pp. 391-393), "Buddhist supremacy already decadent is implied by passages which allude contemptuously to the eḍūkas or Buddhistic monuments as having ousted the temples of the gods. Thus in III. 190. 65 'They will revere eḍūkas, they will neglect the gods'; *ib.* 67 'the earth shall be piled with eḍūkas, not adorned with godhouses.' With such expressions may be compared the thoroughly Buddhistic epithet, Cāturmahārājika in XII. 339. 40 and Buddhistic philosophy as expounded in the same book."

"The Greeks are described as a western people and their overthrow is alluded to ..... The Romans, Romakas, are mentioned but once, in a formal list of all possible peoples II. 51. 17, and stand thus in marked contrast to the Greeks and Persians, Pahlavas, who are mentioned very often..... The distinct prophecy that Scythians, Greeks and Bactrians will rule unrighteously

in the evil age to come' which occurs in III. 188. 35 is too clear a statement to be ignored or explained away."

The Purāṇas which contain lists of kings of the Kali Age cannot be placed earlier than the third or fourth century A.D. because they refer to the Andhra kings and even to the post-Āndhras.

It is clear from what has been stated above that the Epics and Purāṇas, in their present shape, are late works which are no better suited to serve as the foundation of the history of the pre-Bimbisārian age than the tales of the Mahāvaṁsa and the Aśokāvadāna are adapted to form the bases of chronicles of the doings of the great Maurya. At the same time we shall not be justified in rejecting their evidence wholesale because much of it is undoubtedly old and valuable. The warning to handle critically, which Dr. Smith considered necessary with regard to the Ceylonese chronicles, is certainly applicable to the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas.

III. The third class of literature comprises Brāhmaṇical works of the post-Bimbisārian period to which a definite date may be assigned, *e.g.*, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya who flourished in fourth century B.C., the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali (second century B.C.), etc. The value as dated literature of these important works can hardly be overestimated. They form sheet anchors in the troubled sea of Indian chronology. Their evidence with regard to the pre-Bimbisārian age is certainly inferior to that of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads, but the very fact that such information as they contain comes from persons of known date, makes it more valuable than the Epic and Paurāṇic tradition, the antiquity and authenticity of which can always be called in question.

IV. To the fourth class belong the Buddhist Suttas, Vinaya texts and the Jātakas. Most of these works are

assignable to pre-Śuṅga times. They furnish a good deal of useful information regarding the period which immediately preceded the accession of Bimbisāra. They have also the merit of preserving Buddhist versions of ancient stories and vouchsafe light when the light from Brāhmaṇical sources begins to fail.

V. To the fifth class belong works of the Jaina canon which were reduced to writing in A.D. 454 (S. B. E., Vol. XXII, p. xxxvii, XLV, p. xl). They supply valuable information regarding many kings who lived during the pre-Bimbisārian Age. But their late date makes their evidence not wholly reliable.

The Age of the Pārikshitas.

We have taken as our starting point the reign of Parikshit whose accession, according to tradition, took place shortly after the Bhārata War.

Was there really a king named Parikshit ? True, he is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. But the mere mention of a king in this kind of literature is no sure proof of his historical existence unless we have external evidence to corroborate the Epic and Paurāṇic account.

Parikshit appears in a passage of the Twentieth Book of the Atharva Veda Saṁhitā (A.V., XX. 127. 7-10) as a king in whose realm, that of the Kurus, prosperity and peace abound. We quote the entire passage below.

"Rājño viśvajanînasya yo devomartyāṁ ati
Vaiśvānarasya sushṭutimā sunotā Parikshitaḥ
Parichchhinnaḥ kshemamakarot tama āsanamācharan
Kulāyan kṛiṇvan Kauravyaḥ patirvadati jāyayā
Katarat ta āharāṇi dadhi manthāṁ pari śrutam
Jāyāḥ patiṃ vi pṛichchhati rāshṭre rājñaḥ Parikshitaḥ
Abhîvasvaḥ pra jihîte yavaḥ pakkaḥ patho bilam
Janaḥ sa bhadramedhati rāshṭre rājñaḥ Parikshitaḥ"

"Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples, the god who is above mortals, of Vaiśvānara Parikshit! Parikshit has procured for us a secure dwelling when he, the most excellent one, went to his seat. (Thus) the husband in Kuru land, when he founds his household, converses with his wife.

"What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred drink or liquor? (Thus) the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Parikshit.

"Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels). The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parikshit."—(Bloomfield, Atharva Veda, pp. 197-198.)

Roth and Bloomfield regard Parikshit in the Atharva Veda not as a human king at all. But Zimmer and Oldenberg recognise Parikshit as a real king, a view supported by the fact that in the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas king Janamejaya bears the patronymic Pārikshita. *Cf.* the following passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 21).

"Etena ha vā Aindreṇa mahābhishekeṇa Turaḥ Kāvasheyo Janamejayaṁ Pārikshitamabhishishecha."

Referring to king Parikshit Macdonell and Keith observe (Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 494). "The Epic makes him grand-father of Pratiśravas and great-grand-father of Pratîpa." Now, the Epic has really two Parikshits, one a son of Avikshit or Anaśvā and an ancestor of Pratiśravas and Pratîpa, the other a descendant of Pratîpa and a son of Abhimanyu (Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, 94.52 and 95.41). We shall call the former Parikshit I and the latter Parikshit II. Was Parikshit I of the Epic identical with the Vedic Parikshit? The Vedic Parikshit had four sons, namely, Janamejaya, Ugrasena, Bhîmasena and Śrutasena (Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 520). The Epic Parikshit I, on the other hand, had only one son (Bhîmasena) according to Chapter 95, verse 42 of the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata, and seven sons (Janamejaya, Kakshasena, Ugrasena, Chitrasena, Indrasena, Sushena and Bhîmasena) according to Chapter 94, verses 54-55, and among these the name of Śrutasena does not occur. Even Janamejaya is omitted in Chapter 95 and in the Java text (JRAS, 1913). The Epic poet, therefore, was not quite sure whether this Parikshit (I) was the father of Janamejaya and Śrutasena. On the other hand, according

to the unanimous testimony of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas Parikshit II had undoubtedly a son named Janamejaya who succeeded him on the throne. Thus, the Mahābhārata, referring to Parikshit II, the son of Abhimanyu, says (I. 95. 85):—

"Parikshit khalu Mādravatîṁ nāmopayeme tvanmātaram. Tasyāṁ bhavān Janamejayaḥ."

The Matsya Purāṇa says (Mat. 50. 57):—

"Abhimanyoḥ Parikshittu putraḥ parapurañjayaḥ
Janamejayaḥ Parikshitaḥ putraḥ paramadhārmikaḥ."

This Janamejaya had three brothers, namely, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhîmasena:—"Janamejayaḥ Pārikshitaḥ saha bhrātṛibhiḥ Kurukshetre dîrgha satram upāste tasya bhrātara strayaḥ Śrutasena Ugraseno Bhîmasena iti (Mbh. I. 3. 1).

Particulars regarding the son and successor of the Vedic Parikshit agree well with what we know of the son and successor of the Epic and Paurāṇic Parikshit II. Janamejaya, the son of the Vedic Parikshit, is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as a performer of the Aśvamedha. The priest who performed the sacrifice for him was Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka. On the other hand, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which also mentions his Aśvamedha names Tura Kāvasheya as his priest. The statements of the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas are apparently conflicting, and can only be reconciled if we surmise that Janamejaya performed two horse sacrifices. Is there any evidence that he actually did so? Curiously enough the Purāṇas give the evidence which is needed. The Matsya Purāṇa speaking of Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu and the son of Parikshit II, says:

Dviraśvamedhamāhṛitya mahāvājasaneyakaḥ
Pravartayitvā taṁ sarvam ṛishim Vājasaneyakam
Vivāde Brāhmaṇaiḥ sārddhamabhiśapto vanaṁ yayau.
(Mat. 50. 63-64.)

The quarrel with the Brāhmaṇas, alluded to in the last line, is also mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 27).

Parikshit II has thus a greater claim than Parikshit I to be regarded as identical with the Vedic Parikshit. It is, however, possible that Parikshit I and Parikshit II were really one and the same individual, but the Epic and Paurāṇic poets had some doubts as to whether he was to be regarded as an ancestor or a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas. The fact that not only the name Parikshit, but the names of most of the sons (in the Vishṇu Purāṇa the names of all the sons) are common to both, points to the same conclusion. We shall show later that a Kuru prince named Abhipratārin Kākshaseni (*i.e.*, the son of Kakshasena) was one of the immediate successors of the Vedic Janamejaya. Kakshasena thus appears to have been a very near relation of Janamejaya. Now a prince of that name actually appears as a brother of Janamejaya and a son of Parikshit I, in chapter 94 of the Mahābhārata. This fact seems to identify the Vedic Parikshit with Parikshit I of the Epic. But we have already seen that other facts are in favour of an identification with Parikshit II. Parikshit I and Parikshit II, therefore, appear to have been really one and the same individual. That there was a good deal of confusion regarding the parentage of Parikshit, and the exact position of the king and his sons in the Kuru genealogy is apparent from the dynastic lists given by the Great Epic and the Vishṇu Purāṇa. The latter work says (IV. 20. 1) "Parikshito Janamejaya Śrutasenograsena Bhîmasenāśchatvāraḥ putrāḥ." It then gives the names of Kuru princes down to the Pāṇḍus and Parikshit II, and adds (IV. 21. 1) "Ataḥparaṁ bhavishyānahaṁ bhūmipālān kîrtayishye. Yo 'yaṁ sāmpratam avanîpatiḥ tasyāpi Janamejaya Śrutasenograsena Bhîmasenāḥ putrāśchatvāro bhavishyanti." The confusion

may have been due to the fact that according to one tradition Parikshit, the father of Janamejaya, was the ancestor of the Pāṇḍus, while according to another tradition he was their descendant, and the Epic and the Paurāṇic writers sought to reconcile the traditions by postulating the existence of two Parikshits and two Janamejayas. The important fact to remember is that Parikshit, with whose accession our history begins, should be identified with his Vedic namesake. This conclusion follows from facts to which reference has already been made. We have seen that all the known facts about Parikshit II, the king who ruled after the Bhārata war, and his sons tally with what we know about the Vedic Parikshit and his sons. There cannot be any doubt as to his historical reality.

Many stories about Parikshit in the epic and the Purāṇas are obviously legendary. The only facts that can be accepted as historical are that he was a king of the Kurus, that the people lived prosperously under his rule, that he had many sons, and that the eldest prince Janamejaya succeeded him.

It will not be quite out of place here to say a few words about the kingdom of Kuru over which Parikshit ruled. The kingdom extended from the Sarasvatī to the Ganges, and was divided into three parts, Kurujāṅgala, the Kurus and Kurukshetra (Mbh. I. 109. 1). The boundaries of Kurukshetra are given in a passage of the Taittirîya Araṇyaka (Vedic Index, I., pp. 169-70) as being Khāṇḍava on the south, the Tūrghna on the north, and the Parīṇah on the west. Roughly speaking, it corresponded to the modern Sirhind. Within the kingdom flowed the rivers Dṛishadvatī, Kauśikî, Aruṇā and Sarasvatī, as well as the Āpayā. Here, too, was situated Śaryaṇāvant, which appears to have been a lake, like that known to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa by the name of

Anyataḥ-plakshā. According to Pischel there was also in Kurukshetra a stream called Pastyā.

The capital of the kingdom was Āsandīvant (Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 72). This city was probably identical with Hāstinapura the capital which was abandoned by Nichakshu, the famous descendant of Parikshit, when he removed to Kauśāmbī.

Gaṅgayāpahṛite tasmin nagare Nāgasāhvaye
Tyaktvā Nichakshu nagaraṁ Kauśāmbyāṁ sanivatsyati.

(Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 5.)

According to epic tradition the kings of Kurukshetra belonged to the Bharata family. The connection of the Bharatas with the Kuru country is amply attested by Vedic evidence. Oldenberg says (Buddha, pp. 409-410):—"We find in the Rik-Samhitā trace of a peculiar position occupied by the Bharatas, a special connection of theirs with important points of sacred significance, which are recognized throughout the whole circle of ancient Vedic culture. Agni is Bhārata, *i. e.*, propitious or belonging to the Bharata or Bharatas; among the protecting deities who are invoked in the Āprī-odes, we find Bhāratī, the personified divine protective power of the Bharatas. We find the Sarasvatī constantly named in connection with her; must not the sacred river Sarasvatī be the river of the holy people, the Bharatas? In one ode of the Maṇḍala, which specially extols the Bharatas (III. 23), the two Bhāratas, Devaçravas and Devavāta, are spoken of, who have generated Agni by friction: on the Dṛishadvatī, on the Āpayā, on the Sarasvatī may Agni beam. We find thus Bharata princes sacrificing in the land on the Drishadvatī and on the Sarasvatī. Now the land on the Drishadvatī and on the Sarasvatī is that which is later on so highly celebrated as Kurukshetra. Thus the testimonies of the Samhitā and the

Brāhmaṇa combine to establish the close connection of the ideas Bharata, Kuru, Sarasvatī.

"Out of the struggles in which the migratory period of the Vedic stocks was passed, the Bharatas issued, as we believe we are entitled to suppose the course of events to have been, as the possessors of the regions round the Sarasvatī and Drishadvati. The weapons of the Bharata princes and the poetical fame of their Rishis may have co-operated to acquire for the cult of the Bharatas the character of universally acknowledged rule, and for the Bharatas a kind of sacral hegemony: hence Agni as friend of the Bharatas, the goddess Bhāratī, the sacredness of the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī.

"Then came the period, when the countless small stocks of the Samhitā age were fused together to form the greater peoples of the Brāhmaṇa period. The Bharatas found their place, probably together with their old enemies, the Pūrus, within the great complex of peoples now in process of formation, the Kurus; their sacred land now became Kurukshetra."

Among those kings who are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Ādi-parva, Chapters 94 and 95) as ancestors and predecessors of Parikshit, the names of the following occur in the Vedic literature.

Purū-ravas Aiḷa (Rig-Veda, X. 95 : Śat-Br., XI. 5. 1. 1), Āyu (Rig-Veda I. 53. 10, II. 14. 7, etc.), Yayāti Nahushya (R. V., I. 31. 17; X. 63. 1), Pūru (R. V., VII. 8. 4 ; 18. 13), Bharata Dauḥshanti Saudyumni (Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 11-12), Ajamīḍha (R. V., IV. 44. 6), Riksha (R. V., VIII. 68. 15), Kuru (frequently mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa literature), Uchchaiḥśravas (Jaiminîya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa III. 29. 1-3), Pratīpa Prātisatvana or Prātisutvana (Atharva Veda, XX. 129. 2), Balhika Prātipīya (Sat. Br., XII. 9. 3. 3), Śaṁtanu (R. V., X. 98), Dhṛitarāshṭra Vaichitravīrya (Kāṭhaka Śamhitā, X. 6).

The date of Parikshit is a matter regarding which the Vedic texts supply no direct information. There is however a remarkable verse, found with slight variants in all the historical Purāṇas, which places his birth 1050 (or 1015 according to the *e* Vāyu, Vishṇu, and Bhāgavata Purāṇas), years before Mahāpadma, the first Nanda king of Magadha.

Mahāpadm-ābhishekāttu
Yāvajjanma Parīkshitaḥ
Evaṁ varsha sahasraṁtu
Jñeyam pañcāśaduttaram.

(Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 58.)

If, accepting the Ceylonese chronology (Geiger, Mahavamsa, p. 27), we place the first Nanda twenty-two years before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya, *i. e.*, in 322+22=344 B. C., Parikshit's birth must be dated about 1394 B. C. (1359 B. C. according to the *e* Vāyu and Vishṇu Purāṇas). If, on the other hand, we give credence to the testimony of the Vāyu Purāṇa (99. 328-329, "Ashṭāviṁśati varshāṇi pṛithivīṁ pālayishyati," etc.) and take 40 years (Mahāpadma, 28 + his sons' 12) to be the reign-period of Nanda and his sons, then Parikshit's birth must be dated about 322+40+1,050=1412 B. C. (1377 B. C. according to the *e* Vāyu and Vishṇu Purāṇas). He is said to have come to the throne 36 years later in 1376 or 1341 B. C. (*cf.* Mahābhārata Mausḥalaparva, "Shaṭtriṁśe tvatha samprāpte varshe," etc., and Mahāprasthānikaparva, "abhishichya svarājye cha rājānañcha Parikshitam.)" It is clear that epic and Paurāṇic tradition places the accession of Parikshit about the middle of the 14th century B. C. Vedic evidence, however, points to a much later date. We shall show in the next chapter that Parikshit's son and successor Janamejaya was separated by six generations of teachers from the time of Janaka and his contemporary Uddālaka Āruṇi. At the end of

the Kaushîtaki Āraṇyaka (Adhyāya 15) we find a vaṁśa or list of the teachers by whom the knowledge contained in that Āraṇyaka is supposed to have been handed down. The opening words of this list run thus:—

"Om! Now follows the vaṁśa. Adoration to the Brahman. Adoration to the teachers! We have learnt this text from Guṇākhya Śāṇkhāyana, Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana from Kahola Kaushîtaki, Kahola Kaushītaki from Uddālaka Aruṇi."

(S. B. E., Vol. XXIX, p. 4.)

From the passage quoted above it is clear that Śāṅkhāyana was separated by two generations from the time of Uddālaka who was separated by six generations from the time of Janamejaya. Śāṅkhāyana, therefore, flourished eight generations after Janamejaya, and nine generations after Parikshit. If this Śāṅkhāyana (Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana) be identical with the author of the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra he must have been a contemporary of Āśvalāyana because they mention each other in their respective works. The Praśna Upanishad tells us that Āśvalāyana was a Kausalya, *i.e.*, an inhabitant of Kosala, and a contemporary of Kavandhî Kātyāyana. These facts enable us to identify him with Assalāyana of Sāvatthi mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya (II. 147 *et seq*) as a contemporary of Gotama Buddha and, hence, of Kakuda or Pakudha Kachchāyana. Consequently Āśvalāyana must have lived in the sixth century B.C. If the identification of Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana with the Gṛihya Sūtrakāra be correct, then he, too, must have lived in the sixth century B.C. Professor Rhys Davids in his Buddhist Suttas assigns 150 years to the five Theras from Upāli to Mahinda. We may therefore assign 270 years to the nine generations from Parikshit to Śāṅkhāyana, and place Parikshit in the ninth century B.C. It is, however,

possible that Guṇākhya Śāṅkhyayana was not identical with the Gṛihya Sūtrakāra (*cf.* S. B. E. XXIX, pp. 4-5).

Parikshit was succeeded on the Kuru throne by his eldest son Janamejaya. The Mahābhārata refers to a great snake sacrifice performed by this king. In this connection it is mentioned that the king conquered Taxila. Although a passage of the Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa connects a Janamejaya with the snake-sacrifice (Vedic Index, I., p. 274), the epic account of the Kuru king's Sarpa-satra cannot be accepted as sober history. But the conquest of Taxila may well be a historical fact, because King Janamejaya is represented as a great conqueror in the Brāhmaṇas. Thus the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says (VIII. 21) "Janamejayaḥ Pārikshitaḥ samantaṁ sarvataḥ pṛithivîṁ jayan parîyāyāśvena cha medhyeneje tadeshā'bhi yajña gāthā gîyate :

Âsandîvati dhānyādaṃ rukmiṇaṃ harita srajam
Aśvaṃ babandha sāraṅgaṃ devebhyo Janamejaya iti "

In another passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 11) it it stated that Janamejaya aspired to be a "Sarvabhūmi," *i.e.*, a paramount sovereign—

"Evaṁvidaṁ hi vai mā mevaṁvida yājayanti tasmādahaṁ jayāmyabhîtvarîṁ senāṁ jayāmyabhîtvaryā senayā namā divyā na mānushya ishava richchhantye shyāmi sarva māyuḥ sarva bhūmir bhavishyāmîti."

The Purāṇas state that Janamejaya performed two horse sacrifices and had a dispute with Vaiśampāyana and the Brāhmaṇas. The Matsya version, which is considered by Pargiter to be the oldest, says the king made a successful stand against them for sometime, but afterwards gave in and, making his son king, departed to the forest; but the Vāyu version has abridged the verses, and says he perished and the Brāhmaṇas made his son king. The Paurānic narrative is strikingly confirmed by the evidence of the Brāhmaṇas. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to one

of the horse sacrifices, and says that the priest who performed the sacrifice for him was Indrota Daivāpi Śaunaka. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions the other sacrifice and names Tura Kāvasheya as his priest. It also contains a tale stating that at one sacrifice of his he did not employ the Kaśyapas, but the Bhūtavîras. Thereupon a family of the Kaśyapas called Asita-mṛiga forcibly took away the conduct of the offering from the Bhūtavîras. We have here probably the germ of the Paurāṇic stories about Janamejaya's dispute with the Brāhmaṇas. An allusion to this quarrel occurs also in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (Cf. "Kopāj Janamejayo Brāhmaṇeshu vikrāntaḥ").

The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa narrates an anecdote of Janamejaya and two ganders, pointing out the importance of Brahmacharya, and the time which should be devoted to it. The story is absurd, but it shows that Janamejaya was already looked upon as an ancient hero in the time of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. The Rāmāyaṇa also refers to Janamejaya as a great king of the past (II. 64.42).

Janamejaya's capital according to a gāthā quoted in the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas was Âsandîvant, probably identical with the famous city of Hāstinapura mentioned not only in the Mahābhārata, but also in the Rāmāyaṇa, II.68.13, and the Ashṭādhyāyî of Pāṇini, VI. 2. 101. The gāthā has been quoted above in connection with the king's conquests. Its meaning is given below :—

"In Âsandîvat Janamejaya bound for the gods a black-spotted, grain-eating horse, adorned with a golden ornament and with yellow garlands."

(Eggeling, Sat. Br., V, p. 396).

The palace of Janamejaya is referred to in the following passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa :—

"Even as they constantly sprinkle the equal prize-winning steeds so (they pour out) the cups full of fiery liquor in the palace of Janamejaya."

(Ibid, p 95.)

It was at the court of Janamejaya that Vaiśampāyana is said to have related the story of the great struggle between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus. No direct independent proof of this war is forthcoming, but a dim allusion to the battle of Kurukshetra is probably contained in the following verse of the Chhāndogya Upanishad (VI.17.9).

> Yato yata āvartate tad tad gachchhati mānavaḥ
> Kurun aśvābhirakshati.

This gāthā has been referred to by Hopkins (The Great Epic of India, p 385).

It may be asserted that the Pāṇḍus are a body of strangers unknown to the Vedic texts, and that therefore the story of their feuds with the Kurus must be post-Vedic. But such a conclusion would be wrong because, firstly, an *argumentum ex silentio* is always a weak argument, and, secondly, the Pāṇḍus are not a body of strangers but are scions of the Kurus. Hopkins indeed says that they were an unknown folk connected with the wild tribes located north of the Ganges (the Religions of India, p. 388). But Patañjali calls Bhîma, Nakula and Sahadeva Kurus (Ind. Ant. I. p. 350). Hindu tradition is unanimous in representing the Pāṇḍavas as an offshoot of the Kuru race. The testimony of Buddhist literature points to the same conclusion. In the Dasa-Brāhmaṇa Jātaka (Jātaka No. 495) a king "of the stock of Yuddhiṭṭhila" reigning "in the kingdom of Kuru and the city called Indapatta" is distinctly called "Koravya" *i. e.*, Kauravya—"belonging to the Kuru race."

Already in the time of Âśvalāyana's Gṛihya Sūtra (III. 4) Vaiśampāyana was known as Mahābhāratāchārya. Vaiśampāyana is also mentioned in the Taittirîya Âraṇyaka (I. 7. 5) and the Ashṭādhyāyî of Pāṇini (IV. 3. 104). Whether Vaiśampāyana was a contemporary of Janamejaya or not, cannot be ascertained at the present

moment. But I have found nothing in the Vedic literature itself which goes against the epic tradition.

The early Vedic texts no doubt make no reference to the Mahābhārata, but they mention "Itihāsas" (A. V. XV. 6. 11-12). It is well known that the story recited by Vaiśampāyana to Janamejaya was at first called an Itihāsa and was named "Jaya" or victory, *i. e.*, victory of the Pāṇḍus, the ancestors of the king.

"Muchyate sarva pāpebhyo Rāhuṇā Chandramā yathā
Jayo nāmetihāso'yaṁ śrotavyo vijigîshuṇā"

(Mbh. Âdi. 62. 20).

Janamejaya's brothers, Bhîmasena, Ugrasena and Śrutasena appear in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII 5. 4. 3) and the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI. 9. 7) as performers of the horse-sacrifice. In the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad the question whither they have gone is made the subject of a philosophical discussion. It is clear that the Pārikshitas had passed away before the time of the Upanishad, and it is also clear that there had been some serious scandal mingled with their greatness which they had atoned for by their horse-sacrifice. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa quotes a gāthā which says :—

"The righteous Pārikshitas, performing horse sacrifices, by their righteous work did away with sinful work one after another."

The Purāṇas state that Janamejaya was succeeded by Śatānîka. Śatānîka's son and successor was Aśvamedhadatta. From Aśvamedhadatta was born Adhisîmakṛishṇa. Adhisîmakṛishṇa's son was Nichakshu. During king Nichakshu's reign the city of Hāstinapura is said to have been carried away by the Ganges, and the king is said to have transferred his capital to Kauśāmbî (Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 5).

The Vedic texts do not refer to any of these successors of Janamejaya. The Rigveda no doubt mentions a king named Aśvamedha (V. 27. 4-6), but there is nothing to show that he is identical with Aśvamedhadatta. A Śatānîka Sātrājita is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as a great king who defeated Dhṛitarāshṭra, the prince of Kāsi, and took away his sacrificial horse. He was probably a Bharata, but the patronymic Sātrājita indicates that he was different from Śatānîka the son of Janamejaya. The Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, Jaiminîya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa and the Chhāndogya Upanishad mention a Kuru king named Abhipratārin Kākshaseni who was a contemporary of Girikshit Auchchamanyava, Śaunaka Kāpeya, and Dṛiti Aindrota. As Dṛiti Aindrota was the son and pupil of Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka the priest of Janamejaya (Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa; Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 27, 373), Abhipratārin, son of Kakshasena, appears to have been one of the immediate successors of Janamejaya. We have already seen that Kakshasena appears in the Mahābhārata (I. 94.54) as the name of a brother of Janamejaya. Abhipratārin was thus Janamejaya's nephew. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XV. 16. 10-13) refer to a prince named Vṛiddhadyumna Ābhipratāriṇa, apparently the son of Abhipratārin. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Trivedî's translation, pp. 322-323) mentions his son Rathagṛitsa and priest Śuchivṛiksha Gaupālāyana. The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra informs us that Vṛiddhadyumna erred in a sacrifice, when a Brāhmaṇa prophesied that the result would be the expulsion of the Kurus from Kurukshetra, an event which actually came to pass.

The Chhāndogya Upanishad refers to the devastation of the crops in the Kuru country by Maṭachî (hailstones or locusts) and the enforced departure of Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa

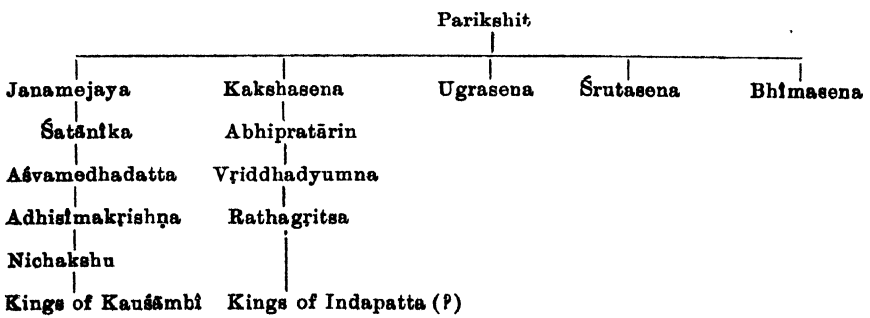
a contemporary of Janaka of Videha (Bṛihad. Upanishad, III, 4).

The evidence of the Vedic texts and that of the Purāṇas can be reconciled if we assume that, after the death of Janamejaya, the Kuru kingdom was split up into two parts. One part, which had its capital at Hāstinapura, was ruled by the direct descendants of Janamejaya himself. The other part was ruled by the descendants of his brother Kakshasena. The junior branch probably resided at Indraprastha or Indapatta which probably continued to be the seat of a race of kings belonging to the Yuddhiṭṭhila gotta (Yudhishṭhira gotra), long after the destruction of Hāstinapura, and the removal of the main line of Kuru kings to Kauśāmbî.

All our authorities agree that during the rule of Janamejaya's successors great calamities befell the Kurus. Large sections of the people, including one of the reigning princes, were forced to leave the country, and to migrate to the eastern part of India. The transference of the royal seat of the Kuru or Bharata dynasty to Kauśāmbî is proved by the evidence of Bhāsa. Udayana king of Kauśāmbî is described in the Svapnavāsavadatta (ed. Ganapati Śāstrí, p. 138) as a scion of the Bharata family:—

Bhāratānām kule jāto vinito jñānavāñchhuchi
Tannārhasi balāddhartum rājadharmasya deśikaḥ.

GENEALOGY OF THE PĀRIKSHITA FAMILY.



The Age of the Great Janaka.

We have seen that a series of calamities sadly crippled the Kurus; and the king of Hāstinapura had to leave the country. During the age which followed the Kurus played a minor part in politics.

The most notable figure of the succeeding age was Janaka the famous king of Videha. That the great Janaka was later than the Pārikshitas admits of no doubt. We shall show later that he was a contemporary probably of Nichakshu, and certainly of Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa during whose time disaster befell the Kurus. In Janaka's time we find the prosperity, the sin, the expiation and the fall of the Pārikshitas apparently still fresh in the memory of the people and discussed as a subject of controversy in the royal court of Mithilā. In the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad we find a rival of Yājñavalkya, the ornament of the court of Janaka, testing him with a question, the solution of which the former had previously obtained from a Gandharva who held in his possession the daughter of Kāpya Patañchala of the country of the Madras:—

"Kva Pārikshitā bhavan" (Bṛihad Upanishad, III, 3. 1) whither have the Pārikshitas gone? The solution of which therefore appears to have been looked upon as extremely difficult.

Yājñavalkya answers: "Thither where all Aśvamedha sacrificers go."

Consequently the Pārikshitas (sons of Parikshit) must at that time have been extinct. Yet their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people, and a subject of general curiosity.

It is not possible to determine with precision the exact chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka. Epic and Paurāṇic tradition seems to regard them as contemporaries. Thus the Mahābhārata says that

Uddālaka (a prominent figure of Janaka's court) and his son Śvetaketu attended the Sarpa-satra of Janamejaya :—

> Sadasya śchābhavad Vyāsaḥ putra śishya sahāyavān
> Uddālakaḥ Pramatakaḥ Śvetaketuścha Pingalaḥ
>
> (Mbh., Adi., 53. 7.)

The Vishṇupurāṇa says that Śatānîka, the son and successor of Janamejaya, learned the Vedas from Yājñavalkya (Vishṇu, P. IV. 21. 2). The unreliability of the epic and Paurāṇic tradition in this respect is proved by the evidence of the Vedic texts. We learn from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5, 4, 1) that Indrota Daivāpa or Daivapi Śaunaka was a contemporary of Janamejaya. His pupil was Dṛiti Aindrota or Aindroti according to the Jaiminîya Upanishad and Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇas. Dṛiti's pupil was Pulusha Prāchînayogya (Vedic Index, II, p. 9). The latter taught Paulushi Satyayajña. We learn from the Chhāndogya Upanishad (V. 11. 1-2) that Paulushi Satyayajña was a contemporary of Buḍila Âśvatarāśvi and of Uddālaka Āruṇi, two prominent figures of Janaka's Court (*vide* Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, V. 14. 8. "Janako Vaideho Buḍilam Âśvatarāśvim uvācha"; and III. 7. 1). Śatyayajña was therefore certainly a contemporary of Janaka of Videha. He was an elder contemporary because his pupil Somaśushma Śātyayajñi Prāchînayogya is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI. 6, 2, 1-3) as having met Janaka. As Sātyayajñi certainly flourished long after Indrota Daivāpi Śaunaka, his contemporary Janaka must be considerably later than Janamejaya the contemporary of Indrota.

We should also note that, in the lists of teachers given at the end of the tenth book of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and the sixth chapter of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad, Tura Kāvasheya, the priest of Janamejaya, appears as a very ancient sage who was eleventh in the ascending line

from Sāñjîvîputra, whereas Yājñavalkya, the contemporary of Janaka, was only fifth in the ascending line from the same teacher. We quote the lists below :—

Janamejaya	Tura Kāvasheya	
	Yajñavachas Rājastambāyana	
	Kuśri	
	Śāṇḍilya	
	Vātsya	
	Vāmakakshāyaṇa	
Māhitthi	Yājñavalkya	Janaka
Kautsa	Âsuri	
Māṇḍavya	Âsurāyaṇa	
Māṇḍūkāyani	Prāśnîputra Āsurivāsin	
Sāñjîvîputra	Sāñjîvîputra	

It is clear from what has been stated above that Janaka was separated by five or six generations from Janamejaya's time. Prof. Rhys Davids in his Buddhist Suttas (Introduction, p. xlvii) adduces good grounds for assigning a period of about 150 years to the five Theras from Upâli to Mahinda. If the five Theras are assigned a period of 150 years, the five or six teachers from Indrota to Somaśushma, and from Tura to Vāmakakshāyaṇa, the teacher of Māhitthi the contemporary of Yājñavalkya and Janaka, must be assigned 150 or 180 years. It is therefore reasonable to think that Janaka flourished about 150 or 180 years after Janamejaya, and two centuries after Parikshit. If, following the Purāṇas, we place Parikshit in the fourteenth century B.C., we must place Janaka in the twelfth century. If, on the other hand, accepting the identification of Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana with the author of the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra, we place Parikshit in the ninth century B.C., then we must place Janaka in the seventh century B.C.

The kingdom of Videha, over which Janaka ruled, corresponds roughly to the modern Tirhut in Bihār. It

was separated from Kosala by the river Sadānîrā, probably the modern Gaṇḍak which, rising in Nepāl, flows into the Ganges opposite Patna (Vedic Index, II. 299). Oldenberg, however, points out (Buddha, p. 398 n.) that the Mahābhārata distinguishes the Gaṇḍakî from the Sadānîrā "Gaṇḍakîñcha Mahāśoṇaṁ Sadānîrāṁ tathaivacha." Pargiter identifies the Sadānîrā with the Rāptî. We learn from the Suruchi Jātaka (489) that the measure of the whole kingdom of Videha was three hundred leagues. It consisted of 16,000 villages (J. 406).

Mithilā, the capital of Videha, is not mentioned in the Vedic texts, but is constantly mentioned in the Jātakas and the epics. It is stated in the Suruchi Jātaka that the city covered seven leagues. We have the following description of Mithilā in the Mahājanaka Jātaka (Cowell's Jataka, Vol. VI, p. 30).

By architects with rule and line laid out in order
fair to see,
With walls and gates and battlements, traversed by
streets on every side,
With horses, cows and chariots thronged with tanks
and gardens beautified,
Videha's far famed capital, gay with its knights and
warrior swarms,
Clad in their robes of tiger-skins, with banners
spread and flashing arms,
Its Brāhmiṇs dressed in Kāçi cloth, perfumed with
sandal, decked with gems,
Its palaces and all their queens with robes of state
and diadems.

According to the Rāmāyaṇa (I.71.3) the royal family of Mithilā was founded by a king named Nimi. His son was Mithi, and Mithi's son was Janaka I., The epic then continues the genealogy to Janaka II (father of Sîtā) and

his brother Kuśadhvaja, King of Sāṅkāśya. The Vāyu (88, 7-8; 89, 3-4) and the Vishṇu (IV.5.1) Purāṇas represent Nimi or Nemi as a son of Ikshvāku, and give him the epithet Videha (Saśāpena Vasishṭhasya Videhaḥ samapadyata—Vāyu P.) His son was Mithi whom both the Purāṇas identify with Janaka I. The genealogy is then continued to Sîradhvaja who is called the father of Sîtā, and is therefore identical with Janaka II of the Rāmāyaṇa. Then starting from Sîradhvaja the Purāṇas carry on the dynasty to its close. The last king is named Kṛiti, and the family is called Janakavaṃśa.

Dhṛitestu Vahulāśvo bhud Vahulāśva sutaḥ Kṛitiḥ
Tasmin santishṭhate vaṃśo Janakānāṁ mahātmanām

Vāyu Purāṇa (89, 23).

The Vedic texts know a king of Videha named Namî Sāpya (Vedic Index, I. 436). But he is nowhere represented as the founder of the dynasty of Mithilā. On the contrary, a story of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa seems to indicate that the Videha kingdom was founded by Videgha Māthava (Ved. Ind., II. 298; Śat. Br. 1. 4. 1, etc; Oldenberg's Buddha, pp. 398-399. Pargiter, J.A.S.B. 1897, p. 87. *et seq.*), Videgha Māthava, whose family priest was Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, was at one time on the Sarasvatî. Agni Vaiśvānara thence went burning along this earth towards the east, followed by Māthava and his priest, till he came to the river Sadānîrā which flows from the northern mountain, and which he did not burn over. This river Brāhmaṇas did not cross in former times, thinking "it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara." At that time the land to the westward was very uncultivated, and marshy, but at the time of Māthava's arrival many Brāhmaṇas were there, and it was highly cultivated, for the Brāhmaṇas had caused Agni to taste it through sacrifices. Māthava the Videgha then said to Agni, "where

am I to abide?" "To the east of this river be thy abode," he replied. Even now, the writer of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa adds, this forms the boundary between the Kosalas and the Videhas. The name of the second king in the epic and the Paurāṇic lists, Mithi Vaideha, is reminiscent of Māthava Videgha.

If Māthava Videgha was the founder of the royal line of Mithilā, Nimi, Nemi or Namî must be a later king of Videha. In the Nimi Jātaka, Nimi is said to have been born to "round off" the royal house of Mithilā, "the family of hermits." The combined evidence of Vedic and Buddhist texts thus shows that Nimi was not the first, but probably one of the later kings. The Majjhima Nikāya (II.74-83) and the Nimi Jātaka mention Makhādeva as the progenitor of the kings of Mithilā.

As the entire dynasty of Maithila kings was called Janaka vaṃśa (Vaṃśo Janakānāṁ mahātmanām), and there were several kings bearing the name of Janaka, it is very difficult to identify any of these with the great Janaka of the Vedic texts. But there is one fact which favours his identification with Sîradhvaja of the Paurāṇic list, *i.e.*, the father of Sîtā. The father of Sîtā is, in the Rāmāyaṇa, a younger contemporary of Aśvapati king of the Kekayas (maternal grand-father of Bharata, Rāmāyaṇa, II. 9. 22). Janaka of the Vedic texts is also a contemporary of Aśvapati, prince of the Kekayas, as Uddālaka Âruṇi and Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi frequented the courts of both these princes (Ved. Ind., II. 69; Chh. Up., V. 11. 1-4; Bṛih. Up.. III. 7).

It is more difficult to identify our Janaka with any of the kings of that name mentioned in the Buddhist Jātakas. Prof. Rhys Davids (Bud. Ind., p. 26) seems to identify him with Mahā-Janaka of the Jātaka No. 559. The utterance of Mahā-Janaka II of that Jātaka:

'Mithilā's palaces may burn
But naught of mine is burned thereby'

indeed reminds us of the great philosopher-king.

In the Mahābhārata (xii. 219.50) we find the same saying attributed to a king of Mithilā.

Api cha bhavati Maithilena gîtaṃ
Nagaramupāhitam agninābhivîkshya
Na khalu mamahidahyate'tra kiñchit
Svayam idamāha kila sma bhūmipālah.

The name of the king is given as Janaka (xii. 17. 18-19). In the Jaina Uttarādhyayana the saying is attributed to Nami (S. B. E., XLV. 37). This fact coupled with the mention of Nemi in juxtaposition with Arishṭa in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (IV. 5. 13) probably points to the identification of Namî or Nemi with Mahā-Janaka II who is represented in the Jātaka as the son of Ariṭṭha. If Mahā-Janaka II was identical with Nami, he cannot be identified with Janaka who is clearly distinguished from Namî in the Vedic texts. It is tempting to identify the Vedic Janaka with Mahā-Janaka I of the Jātaka.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad Janaka is called "Samrāṭ.' This shows that he was a greater personage than a "Rājan." Although there is no trace in the Vedic literature of the use of the word "Samrāj" as Emperor in the sense of an overlord of kings, still the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa distinctly says that the Samrāj was a higher authority than a "Rājan"; "by offering the Rājasūya he becomes king, and by the Vājapeya he becomes Samrāj; and the office of king is the lower, and that of Samrāj the higher" (Śat. Br., V. 1. 1. 13; XII. 8. 3. 4; XIV. 1. 3. 8). In Āśvalāyana Śrauta-Sūtra X. 3. 14 Janaka is mentioned as a great sacrificer.

The court of Janaka was thronged with Brāhmaṇas from Kosala and the Kuru-Pañchāla countries (*e.g.*, Aśvala, Jāratkārava Ârtabhāga, Bhujyu Lāhyāyani, Ushasta Chākrāyaṇa, Kahoḍa Kaushîtakeya, Gārgî Vāchaknavî, Uddālaka Âruṇi, Vidagḍha Śākalya). The tournaments of argument which were here held form a prominent feature in the third book of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad. The hero of these was Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, who was a pupil of Uddālaka Âruṇi. Referring to Janaka's relations with the Kuru-Pañchāla Brāhmaṇas Oldenberg says (Buḍdha, p. 398) "The king of the east, who has a leaning to the culture of the west, collects the celebrities of the west at his court—much as the intellects of Athens gathered at the court of Macedonian princes."

The Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads throw some light on the political condition of northern India during the age of Janaka. From those works we learn that, besides Videha, there were nine states of considerable importance, *viz* :

1. Gandhāra
2. Kekaya
3. Madra
4. Uśînara
5. Matsya
6. Kuru
7. Pañchāla
8. Kāsi
9. Kosala

Gandhāra included the north-western part of the Pañjāb and the adjoining portions of the N. W. Frontier Province (Rāmāyaṇa vii. 113. 11 ; 114. 11 ; Sindhorubhayataḥ Pārśve). We learn from the Mahābhārata (XII. 207.43) that it formed a part of Uttarāpatha :—

Uttarāpathajanmānaḥ kîrtayishyāmi tān api
Yauna Kāmboja Gāndhāraḥ Kirātā Barbaraiḥ saha.

We learn from the epic and Paurāṇic literature that Gandhāra contained two great cities, *viz.*, Takshaśilā and Pushkarāvatî.

> Gāndhāra vishaye siddhe, tayoh puryau mahātmanoḥ
> Takshasya dikshu vikhyātā ramyā Takshaśilā purî
> Pushkarasyāpi vîrasya vikhyāta Pushkarāvatî.
> (Vāyu Puraṇa 88. 189-190. *Cf.* Rāmāyaṇa vii. 114. 11).

The remains of Takshaśila or Taxila are situated immediately to the east and north-east of Saraikala, a junction on the railway, twenty miles north-west of Rawalpindi. The valley in which they lie is watered by the Haro river. Within this valley and within three and a half miles of each other are the remains of three distinct cities. The southernmost and oldest of these occupies an elevated plateau, known locally as Bhirmound (Marshall, A Guide to Taxila, pp. 1-4).

Pushkarāvatî or Pushkalāvatî (Prākrit Pukkalāoti, whence the Peucelaotis of Arrian) is represented by the modern Prang and Chārsadda, 17 miles N. E. of Peshawar, on the Suwāt river (Schoff, The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, pp. 183-184 ; Foucher, Gandhāra, p. 11).

Gandhāra is a later form of the name of the people called Gandhāri in the Rig Veda and the Atharva Veda. In the Rig Veda (i. 126.7) the good wool of the sheep of the Gandhāris is referred to. In the Atharva Veda (v. 22.14) the Gandhāris are mentioned with the Mūjavants, apparently as a despised people. In later times the 'angle of vision' of the men of the Madhyadeśa changed, and Gandhāra became the resort of scholars of all classes who flocked to its capital for instructions in the three Vedas and the eighteen branches of knowledge.

In a significant passage of the Chhāndogya Upanishad (VI. 14) Uddālaka Âruṇi mentions Gandhāra to illustrate

the desirability of having a duly qualified teacher from whom a pupil "learns (his way) and thus remains liberated (from all world ties) till he attains (the Truth, Moksha)." A man who attains Moksha is compared to a blind-folded person who reaches at last the country of Gandhāra. We quote the entire passage below:

"Yathā somya purusham Gandhārebhyo' bhinaddhāksham ānîya tam tato'tijane visṛijet, sa yathā tatra prāṅ vā udaṅ vādharāṅ vā pratyaṅ vā pradhmāyîta—abhinaddhāksha ānîto' bhinaddhāksho visṛishṭaḥ. Tasya yathābhinahanam pramuchya prabruyādetām diśam Gandhārā etām diśam vrajeti. Sa grāmād grāmam pṛichchhan paṇḍito medhāvî Gandhārānevopasampadyeta, evamevehāchāryavān purusho veda."

"O my child, in the world when a man with blind-folded eyes is carried away from Gandhāra and left in a lonely-place, he makes the east and the north and the west resound by crying 'I have been brought here blind-folded, I am here left blind-folded.' Thereupon (some kind-hearted man) unties the fold on his eyes and says 'This is the way to Gandhāra; proceed thou by this way.' The sensible man proceeds from village to village, enquiring the way and reaches at last the (province) of Gandhāra. Even thus a man who has a duly qualified teacher learns (his way)."[1]

The full import of the illustration becomes apparent when we remember that the Uddālaka Jātaka (No. 487) represents Uddālaka as having journeyed to Takshaśilā (Takkasilā) and learnt there of a world-renowned teacher. The Setaketu Jātaka (No. 377) says that Setaketu, son of Uddālaka, went to Takshaśilā and learned all the arts. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions the fact that Uddālaka Âruṇi used to drive about (dhāvayām chakāra) amongst

[1] Dr. R. L. Mitra's translation of the Chhāndogya Upanishad, p. 114.

the people of the northern country (Śat. Br. xi. 4. 1. 1, *et seq.*). It is stated in the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa (vii. 6) that Brāhmaṇas used to go to the north for purposes of study. The Jātaka stories are full of references to the fame of Takshaśilā as a university town. Pānini, himself a native of Gandhāra, refers to the city in sūtra iv. 3. 93.

The *Kekayas* were settled in the Pañjāb between Gandhāra and the Beas. From the Rāmāyaṇa (II. 68. 19-22; VII. 113-114) we learn that the Kekaya territory lay beyond the Vipāśā and abutted on the Gandharva or Gandhāra Vishaya. The Vedic texts do not mention the name of their capital city, but we learn from the Rāmāyaṇa that the metropolis was Rājagṛiha or Girivraja (identified by Cunningham with Girjāk or Jalalpur on the Jhelam).

"Ubhau Bharata Śatrughnau Kekayeshu parantapau
Pure Rājagrihe ramye mātāmaha niveśane"
(Rām., II. 67. 7).

"Girivrajam puravaraṃ śīghramāsedurañjasā"
(Rām., II. 68. 22).

There was another Rājagṛiha-Girivraja in Magadha, while Hiuen Tsang mentions a third Rājagṛiha in Po-ho or Balkh (Beal—Si-yu-ki, Vol. I, p. 44). In order to distinguish between the Kekaya city and the Magadha capital, the latter city was called "Girivraja of the Magadhas" (S. B. E., XIII, p. 150).

We learn from the Purāṇas (Matsya, 48. 10-20, Vāyu 99. 12-23) that the Uśīnaras, Kekayas and the Madrakas were septs of the family of Anu, son of Yayāti. The Anu tribe is frequently mentioned in the Rig Veda 108. 8; vii. 18. 14; viii. 10, 5).

The king of Kekaya in the time of Janaka was Aśvapati who is probably identical with the king of the same name mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa as the father of

Yudhājit and Kaikeyī, and the grandfather of Bharata. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (X. 6. 1. 2) and the Chhāndogya Upanishad (V. 11. 4 *et seq.*) say that king Aśvapati instructed a number of Brāhmaṇas, *e.g.*, Aruṇa Aupaveśi Gautama, Satyayajña Paulushi, Mahāśāla Jābāla. Buḍila Âśvatarāśvi, Indra-dyumna Bhāllaveya, Jana Śārkarākshya, Prāchīnaśāla Aupamanyava, and Uddālaka Âruṇi.

The Jaina writers tell us that one-half of the kingdom of Kekaya was Aryan, and refer to the Kekaya city called "Seyaviyā." (Ind. Ant., 1891, p. 375.)

Madra roughly corresponds to Siālkot and its adjacent districts in the central Pañjāb. Its capital was Sākala or Sāgalanagara (modern Siālkot). This city is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (II. 32.14) and several Jātakas (*e. g.*, Kālingabodhi Jātaka, No. 479, Kusa Jātaka No. 531). The name of the ruler of Madra in the time of Janaka is not known. The Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad says that Madra was the native land of Kāpya Patañchala (see p. 16, *ante*; Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 126), one of the teachers of the celebrated Uddālaka Āruṇi (Bṛihad. Up. III. 7.1). The Madra people were divided into two sections. The southern Madras lived in the Pañjāb. But the northern Madras, known as Uttara-Madras, are referred to in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as living beyond the Himālayas in the neighbourhood of the Uttara-Kurus, probably, as Zimmer conjectures, in the land of Kāśmīr. The Madras are represented in the Mahābhārata and the Jātakas as living under a monarchical constitution.

The country of the *Uśīnaras* was situated in the Madhyadeśa. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14) says "aśyām dhruvāyām madhyamāyām pratishṭhāyām diśi" i.e. the realms of the Kuru Pañchālas together with Vaśas and Uśīnaras. In the Kaushītaki Upanishad

also the Uśînaras are associated with the Matsyas, the Kuru Pañchālas and the Vaśas. They probably lived in the northernmost part of the Madhyadeśa for in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa the Uśînaras and Vaśas are mentioned just before the Udîchyas or northerners (Gop. Br., II. 9): Kuru Pañchāleshu Anga Magadheshu Kāsi Kausalyeshu Śālva Matsyeshu sa Vaśa Uśînareshudîchyeshu.

In the Kathāśaritsāgara (edited by Pandit Durgāprasād and Kāsināth Pāndurang Parab, third edition, p. 5) Uśînaragiri is placed near Kanakhala the "sanctifying place of pilgrimage, at the point where the Ganges issues from the hills." Uśînaragiri is, doubtless, identical with Usiragiri of the Divyāvadāna (p. 22) and Usiradhvaja of the Vinaya Texts (Part II, p. 39). Pāṇini refers to the Uśînara country in the sūtras II. 4. 20 and IV. 2. 118. In sūtra II. 4. 20 Uśînara is mentioned in juxtaposition with Kantha (Kathaioi ?). Its capital was Bhoganagara or Bhojanagara (Mbh. V. 118.2).

The Rig Veda (X. 59. 10) mentions a queen named Uśînarāṇî. The Mahābhārata, the Anukramaṇî and several Jātakas mention a king named Uśînara and his son Śibi (Mbh., XII. 29. 39; Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 103, Mahā-Kaṇha Jātaka, No. 469; Nimi Jātaka, No. 541; Mahā Nārada Kassapa Jatāka, No. 544, etc.). We do not know the name of Janaka's Uśînara contemporary. We learn from the Kaushîtaki Upanishad that Gārgya Bālāki, a contemporary of Ajātaśatru of Kāsi, and of Janaka, lived for some time in the Uśînara country.

Matsya, says Prof. Bhandarkar (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 53), originally included parts of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur, and was the kingdom of the king Virāṭa of the Mahābhārata, in whose court the five Pāṇḍava brothers resided incognito during the last year of their

banishment. His capital has been identified with Bairāṭ in the Jaipur State. Pargiter thinks that the Matsya capital was Upaplavya. But according to Nîlkaṇṭha Upaplavya (Mbh. IV. 72.14) was "Virāṭanagara samîpastha nagarāntaram."

The Matsyas appear in a passage of the Rig Veda (VII. 18. 6), where they are ranged with the other enemies of the great Rig Vedic conqueror Sudās. In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 2. 9) they appear in connexion with the Śālvas, in the Kaushîtaki Upanishad (IV.1) in connexion with the Uśînaras and the Kuru Pañchālas, and in the Mahābhārata in connexion with the Chedis (V. 74.16). In the Manu-Saṃhitā the Matsyas together with the Kurukshetra, the Pañchalas, and the Śurasenakas comprise the land of the Brāhmaṇa Rishis (Brahmarshi-deśa).

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 9) mentions a Matsya king named Dhvasan Dvaitavana who celebrated the horse sacrifice near the Sarasvatî. The Brāhmaṇa quotes the following gāthā :—

"Fourteen steeds did king Dvaitavana, victorious in battle, bind for Indra Vṛitrahan, whence the lake Dvaitavana (took its name)."

The Mahābhārata mentions the lake Dvaitavana as well as a forest called Dvaitavana which spread over the banks of the river Sarasvatî (Mbh. III. 24-25).

The name of Janaka's contemporary ruler is not known. That the country of the Matsyas was an important place in the time of Ajātaśatru of Kāsi, and of Janaka, is known from the Kaushîtaki Upanishad.

The *Kuru* country fully maintained its reputation as the centre of Brāhmaṇical culture in the age of Janaka. Kuru Brāhmaṇas (*e.g.*, Ushasti Chākrāyaṇa) played a prominent part in the philosophical discussions of

Janaka's court. But it was precisely at this time that a great calamity befell the Kurus, and led to an exodus of large sections of the Kuru people including Ushasti himself. The Chhāndogya-Upanishad (I. 10. 1) says "Maṭachî-hateshu Kurushu ātikyā saha jāyayā Ushastir ha Chākrāyaṇa ibhya-grāme pradrāṇaka uvāsa." One commentator took Maṭachî to mean rakta-varṇāḥ kshudra-pakshi viśeshāḥ. Professor Bhandarkar says that the explanation of this commentator is confirmed by the fact that Maṭachî is a Sanskritised form of the well-known Canarese word "midiche" which is explained by Kittel's Dictionary as "a grasshopper, a locust."

If the Purāṇic list of Janamejaya's successors be accepted as historical then it would appear that Nichakshu was probably the Kuru king in the time of Janaka.

1.	Janamejaya	...	1. Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka
2.	Śatānîka	...	2. Dṛiti Aindrota (son- and pupil)
3.	Aśvamedhadatta	...	3. Pulusha Prāchînayogya (pupil)
4.	Adhisîmakṛishṇa	...	4. Paulushi Satyayajña (pupil)
5.	Nichakshu	...	5. Somaśushma Sātyayajñi (pupil); Janaka's contemporary

Curiously enough it is Nichakshu who is represented in the Purāṇas as the remover of the seat of government from Hāstinapura to Kauśāmbî. We have some indication that the city of Kauśāmbî really existed about this time (*cf.* Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 123). The Śatapatha

Brāhmaṇa makes Proti Kauśāmbeya a contemporary of Uddālaka Āruṇi who figured in the court of Janaka. It is thus clear that Kausāmbeya was a contemporary of Janaka. Now, Harisvāmin in his commentary on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa understood Kauśāmbeya to mean a 'native of the town of Kauśāmbî.' It is therefore permissible to think that Kauśāmbî existed in the time of Janaka, and hence of Nichakshu. There is thus no difficulty in the way of accepting the Paurāṇic statement. According to the Purāṇas the change of capital was due to the inroad of the river Ganges. Another, and a more potent, cause was perhaps the devastation of the Kuru country by Maṭachî. From this time the Kurus appear to have lost their political importance. They sank to the level of a second-rate power.

But the Bharata dynasty, as distinguished from the Kuru people, exercised wide sway down to the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5.4.11).

Pañchāla roughly corresponds to the Budaon, Furrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces. There is no trace in the Vedic literature of the epic and Jātaka division of the Pañchālas into northern (Uttara) and southern (Dakshiṇa). But the Vedic texts knew a division into eastern and western, because the Saṃhitopanishad Brāhmaṇa makes mention of the Prāchya Pañchālas (Ved. Ind., I. 469). The most ancient capital of Pañchāla was Kāmpilya which has been identified with Kampil on the old Ganges between Budaon and Farrukhabad. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 7) mentions another Pañchāla town Parivakrā or Parichakrā identified by Weber with Ekachakrā of the Mahābhārata (Ved. Ind., I. 494).

The Pañchālas were also called Krivi in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The Krivis appear in the Rig Veda as settled on the Sindhu (Indus) and Asiknî (Chenab). Oldenberg

observes (Buddha, p. 404) "We are to look to find in the people of the Pañchālas, of the stock of the Rik Saṃhitā, the Turvaças also as well as the Krivis." He supports the conjecture by quoting a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 16) which says "when Śātrāsāha (king of the Pañchālas) makes the Aśvamedha offering the Taurvaças arise, six thousand and six and thirty clad in mail."

The Pañchālas also included the Keśins (Ved. Ind., I. 187) and probably the Sṛiñjayas (Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya Pūrāṇa, p. 353; Mbh. I. 138.37; V. 48.41). In Mbh., VIII. 11. 31 Uttamaujas is called a Pāñchālya, while in VIII. 75. 9 he is called a Sṛiñjaya.

In the Mahābhārata the royal family of the Pañchālas is represented as an offshoot of the Bharata dynasty (Ādi. 94. 33). The Purāṇas say the same thing (Matsya 50. 1-16; Vāyu, 99, 194-210) and name Divodāsa, Sudāsa and Drupada among the kings of the Pañchāla branch. Divodāsa and Sudāsa are famous kings in the Rig Veda where they are closely connected with the Bharatas (Ved. Ind. I, p. 363; II., pp. 95, 454). But they are not mentioned as Pañchāla kings. In the Mahābhārata Drupada is also called Yajñasena and one of his sons was named Śikhaṇḍin (Mbh. Ādi. 166. 24; Bhîsma, 190, *et seq.*). A Śikhaṇḍin Yajñasena is mentioned in the Kaushîtaki Brāhmaṇa (VII. 4) but he is described not as a prince, but as a priest of Késin Dālbhya, king of the Pañchālas.

The external history of the Pañchālas is mainly that of wars and alliances with the Kurus. The Mahābh rata preserves traditions of conflict between the Kurus and the Pañchālas. We learn from chapter 166 of the Âdiparva that Uttara Pañchāla was wrested from the Pañchālas by the Kurus and given away to their preceptor. Curiously

enough the Somanassa Jātaka (No. 505) places Uttara Pañchālanagara in Kururaṭṭha.

The relations between the two peoples (Kurus and Pañchālas) were sometimes friendly and they were connected by matrimonial alliances. Keśin Dālbhya or Dārbhya, a king of the Pañchālas, was sister's son to Uchchaiḥśravas, king of the Kurus (Ved. Ind. I. 84. 187. 468). Uchchaiḥśravas occurs as the name of a Kuru prince in the dynastic list of the Mahābhārata (I. 94 53). In the epic a Pañchāla princess is married to the Pāṇḍavas who are represented as scions of the Kuru royal family.

Among the most famous kings of the Pañchālas mentioned in the Vedic literature are Kraivya, Keśin Dālbhya, Śona Sātrāsāha, Pravāhaṇa Jaivali and Durmukha. Durmukha is also mentioned in the Kumbhakāra Jātaka (No. 408). His kingdom is called Uttāra Pañchālaraṭṭha and his capital Kampillanagara. He is represented as a contemporary of Nimi, king of Videha. If Nimi be the penultimate king of Janaka's family as the Nimi Jātaka (No. 541) suggests, Durmukha must be later than Janaka.

Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, on the other hand, was Janaka's contemporary. This prince appears in the Upanishads as engaged in philosophical discussions with Âruṇi, Śvetaketu, Śilaka Śālāvaṭya, and Chaikitāyana Dālbhya (Brihad. Up., VI. 2; Chh. Up., 1.8. 1; V. 3. 1). The first two teachers are known to have been contemporaries of Janaka.

The kingdom of *Kāśi* was 300 leagues in extent (Jātaka No. 391). It had its capital at Bārāṇasî also called Surundhana, Sudassana, Brahmavaddhana, Pupphhavatî, Ramma city, and Molinî (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp. 50-51). The walls of Bārāṇāsî were twelve leagues round by themselves (Taṇḍulanāli Jātaka).

The Kāśis, *i. e.*, the people of Kāśi, first appear in the Paippalāda recension of the Atharva Veda (Ved. Ind., II. 116 n.). They were closely connected with the people of Kosala and of Videha. Jala Jātūkarṇya is mentioned in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI. 29. 5) as having obtained the position of Purohita of the three peoples of Kāśi, Videha and Kosala in the life-time of Śvetaketu, a contemporary of Janaka. Curiously enough a king named Janaka is mentioned in the Sattubhasta Jātaka (No. 402) as reigning in Benares. This Janaka cannot be the Janaka of the Upanishads, for we learn from those works that, in the time of the famous Janaka, Ajātaśatru was on the throne of Kāśi.

Very little is known regarding the ancestors of Ajātaśatru. His name does not occur in the Paurāṇic lists of Kāśi sovereigns (Vāyu 92. 21-74 ; Vishṇu IV. 8. 2-9), nor does the name of Dhṛitarāshṭra, king of Kāśi, who was defeated by Śatānîka Sātrājita with the result that the Kāśis down to the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa gave up the kindling of the sacred fire. The Purāṇas represent the Kāśi family as branch of the house of Purūravas the great ancestor of the Bharatas. Of the kings mentioned in the Purāṇas the names of two only (Divodāsa and Pratardana) can be traced in the Vedic literature. But the Vedic texts do not connect them with Kaśi.

In the Mahāgovinda Suttanta Dhataraṭṭha, king of Kāśi, who must be identified with Dhṛitarāshṭra, king of Kāśi mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, is represented as a Bharata prince (Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 270).

The Bharata dynasty of Kāśi seems to have been supplanted by a new line of kings who had the family name Brahmadatta, and were probably of Videhan origin. That Brahmadatta was the name of a family, and not of

any particular king, has been proved by Prof. Bhandarkar and Mr. Hāritkrishna Dev (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 56). The Matsya Purāṇa refers to a dynasty consisting of one hundred Brahmadattas :

Śataṃ vai Brahmadattānām
Vîrānāṁ Kuravaḥ śatam

(Matsya p. 273. 71.)

The "hundred Brahmadattas" are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata, II. 8. 23.

In the Dummedha Jātaka the name Brahmadatta is applied both to the reigning king and to his son. (*Cf.* the Susîma Jātaka, the Kummā Sapiṇḍa Jātaka, the Aṭṭhāna Jātaka, Lomasa Kassapa Jātaka, etc.).

That the Brahmadattas were of Videhan origin appears from several Jātakas. For instance, the Mātiposaka Jātaka (No. 455), which refers to king Brahmadatta of Kāśi, has the following line :

mutto' mhi Kāsirājena Vedehena yasassinā ti.

In the Sambula Jātaka (No. 519) prince Sotthisena son of Brahmadatta, king of Kāśi is called Vedehaputta :

Yo putto Kāsirājassa Sotthiseno ti tam vidū
tassāham Sambulā bhariyā, evaṁ jānāhi dānava,
Vedehaputto bhaddan te vane basati āturo.

Ajātaśatru, the Kāśya contemporary of Janaka, seems to have belonged to the Brahmadatta family. The Upanishadic evidence shows that he was a contemporary of Uddālaka. The Uddālaka Jātaka tells us that the reigning king of Benares in the time of Uddālaka was Brahmadatta.

Ajātaśatru appears in the Upanishads as engaged in philosophical discussions with Gārgya Bālāki. In the Kaushîtaki Upanishad he is represented as being jealous of Janaka's fame as a patron of learning.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (V. 5. 5. 14) mentions a person named Bhadrasena Âjātaśatrava who is said to have been bewitched by Uddālaka Āruṇi. Macdonell and Keith call him a king of Kāśi. He was apparently the son and successor of Ajātaśatru (S.B.E, XLI, p. 141).

The kingdom of *Kosala* corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh. It was separated from Videha by the river Sadānîrā.

The Vedic texts do not mention any city in Kosala. But if the Rāmāyaṇa is to be believed the capital of Kosala in the time of Janaka was Ayodhyā which stood on the banks of the Sarayū and covered twelve yojanas (Rām. I. 55-7). The Vedic works do not refer to the Ikshvāku king Daśaratha who is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as the Kosalan contemporary of Janaka. Daśaratha's son according to the Rāmāyaṇa was Rāma. The Rig Veda (X. 93. 14) mentions a powerful person named Rāma but does not connect him with Kosala. The Daśaratha Jātaka makes Dasaratha and Rāma kings of Bārāṇaśî, and disavows Sîtā's connection with Janaka.

Kosala was probably the fatherland of Janaka's Hotri priest Aśvala who was very probably an ancestor of Āśvalāyana Kausalya mentioned in the Praśna Upanishad as a disciple of Pippalāda and a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja and of Hiraṇyanābha, a Kosalan prince.

The details of Kosalan history will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

The later Vaidehas of Mithilā.

The Purāṇas give the following lists of Janaka's successors :—

Vāyu (89. 18-23)	*Vishṇu* (IV. 5. 12-13)
Sîradhvājāttu jātastu Bhānumānnāma Maithilaḥ Tasya Bhānumataḥ putraḥ Pradyumnaścha pratāpavān Munistasya suta śchāpi Tasmād Urjavahaḥ smṛitaḥ Urjavahāt sutadvājaḥ Śakuni stasya chātmajaḥ	Sîradhvajasyā patyaṁ Bhānumān Bhānumataḥ Śatadyumnaḥ, tasya Śuchiḥ tasmād Urjavahonāma putro jajñe—tasyāpi Satvaradhvajaḥ, tataḥ Kuniḥ, Kuneranjanaḥ
	tatputraḥ Ritujit, tato' rishṭa-Nemiḥ, tasmāt Śrutāyuḥ, tataḥ Sûryāśvaḥ, tasmād Sañjayaḥ, tataḥ Kshemāriḥ, tasmād Anenāḥ, tasmān Mînarathaḥ, tasya Satyarathaḥ, tasya Sātyarathiḥ, Sātyaratherupaguḥ, tasmāt Upaguptaḥ, tasmāt
Svāgataḥ Śakuneṇputraḥ Suvarchā stat sutaḥ smṛitaḥ Śrutoyastasya dāyādaḥ Śusruta stasya chātmajaḥ Śusrutasya Jayaḥ putro Jayasya Vijayaḥ sutaḥ Vijayasya Ritaḥ putra Ritasya Sunayaḥ smṛitaḥ Sunayād Vîtahavyastu Vîtahavyātmajo Dhritiḥ Dhritestu Vahulāśvo'bhūd Vahulāśva sutaḥ Kritiḥ Tasmin santishṭhate vaṁśo Janakānāṁ mahātmanām	Śāśvataḥ, tasmāt Sudhanvā (Suvarchāḥ) tasyāpi Subhāsaḥ, tataḥ Suśrutaḥ tasmājJayaḥ, Jayaputro Vijayaḥ, tasya Ritaḥ, Ritāt Sunayaḥ tato Vîtahavyaḥ. Tasmād Sanjayaḥ
	tasmād Kshemāśvaḥ, tasmāt Dhritiḥ, Dhriter Vahulāśvaḥ, tasya putraḥ, Kritiḥ, Kritau santishṭhate, yaṁ
	Janaka vaṁśaḥ.

It will be seen that the two Paurāṇic lists do not wholly agree with each other. The Vāyu Purāṇa omits many names including those of Arishṭa and Nemi. The Vishṇu Purāṇa, or the scribe who wrote the dynastic list contained in it, probably confounded the names Arishṭa and Nemi and made one out of two kings. Arishṭa is very probably identical with Ariṭṭha Janaka of the Mahā-Janaka Jātaka. Nemi is very probably the same as Nami of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra to whom is ascribed the same saying ("when Mithilā is on fire, nothing is burned that belongs to me") which is attributed to Mahā-Janaka II, son of Ariṭṭha, in the Mahā-Janaka Jātaka.

With the exception of Arishṭa and Nemi or Nami none of the kings in the Paurāṇic lists can be satisfactorily identified with the Videhan monarchs mentioned in the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina literature. It is therefore difficult to say how far the Purāṇic lists are historical.

The Vedic texts mention besides Māthava and Janaka two other Vaideha kings, namely, Para Ālhāra and Namî Sāpya. Macdonell and Keith identify Para Ahlāra with Para Aṭnāra, king of Kosala, about whom we shall speak in a subsequent chapter. Namî Sāpya was probably identical with king Nami of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, Nemi of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and Nimi of the Makhādeva Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Nimi Jātaka. In the last mentioned work it is stated that Nimi was the penultimate sovereign of the Maithila family. According to the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Uttarādhyayana Sûtra (S. B. E., XLV. 87) he was a contemporary of Dummukha (Dvimukha) king of Pañchāla, Naggaji (Naggati) of Gandhāra, and of Karaṇḍu (Karakaṇḍu) of Kaliṅga. This synchronism accords with Vedic evidence. Durmukha the Pañchāla king had a priest named Bṛihaduktha (Vedic Index, I. 370) who was the son of Vāmadeva (*Ibid*, II. 71). Vāmadeva was a

contemporary of Somaka the son of Sahadeva (Rig Veda IV. 15. 7. 10). Somaka was a contemporary of Bhîma king of Vidarbha and Nagnajit king of Gandhāra (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VII. 34). From this it is clear that Durmukha was a contemporary of Nagnajit. This is exactly what we find in the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Uttarādhyayana Sûtra.

In the Pañchaviṁśa or Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (XXV. 10. 17-18) Namî is mentioned as a famous sacrificer. The Nimi Jātaka says that Nimi was "born to round off" the royal family "like the hoop of a chariot wheel." Addressing his predecessor the sooth-sayers said "great king, this prince is born to round off your family. This your family of hermits will go no further."

Nimi's son Kāḷāra Janaka (Makhādeva Sutta of the Majjhimanikāya II. 82; Nimi Jātaka) is said to have actually brought his line to an end. This king is apparently identical with Karāla Janaka of the Mahābhārata (XII. 302. 7). In his Arthaśāstra Kauṭilya says "Bhoja, known also by the name Dāṇḍakya, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa maiden, perished along with his kingdom and relations; so also Karāla, the Vaideha." Karāla, the Vaideha, who perished along with his kingdom and relations, must be identified with Kalāra (Karāla) who according to the Nimi Jātaka brought the line of Vaideha kings to an end. The downfall of the Vaidehas reminds us of the fate of the Tarquins who were expelled from Rome for a similar crime. As in Rome, so in Videha, the overthrow of the monarchy was followed by the rise of a republic—the Vajjian Confederacy.

There is reason to believe that the Kāśi people had a share in the overthrow of the Vaideha monarchy. Already in the time of the great Janaka, Ajātaśatru king of Kāśi could hardly conceal his jealousy of the Videhan

king's fame. The passage "Yathā Kāśyo vā Vaideho vograputra ujjyam dhanu radhijyam kritvā dvau vāṇa vantau sapatnātivyādhinau haste kritvopotishthed" (Brihad Upanishad III. 8. 2.) probably refers to frequent struggles between the kings of Kāśi and Videha. The Mahābhārata (XII. 99. 1-2) refers to the old story (itihāsaṁ purātanam) of a great battle between Pratardana (king of Kāsi according to the Rāmāyaṇa VII. 48. 15) and Janaka king of Mithilā. It is stated in the Pāli commentary Paramatthajotikā (Vol. I, pp. 158-165) that the Lichchhavis, who succeeded Janaka's dynasty as the strongest political power in Videha, and formed the most important element of the Vajjian Confederacy, were the offsprings of a queen of Kāśi. This probably indicates that a junior branch of the royal family of Kāśi established itself in Videha.

The Deccan in the age of the later Vaidehas.

The expression "Dakshiṇāpadā" occurs in the Rig Veda (X. 61. 8) and refers to the place where the exile goes on being expelled. In the opinion of several scholars this simply means "the South" beyond the limits of the recognised Aryan world. Dākshiṇātya is found in Pāṇini (IV. 2. 98). Dakshiṇāpatha is mentioned by Baudhāyana coupled with Surāshṭra (Bau. Sūtra I. 1. 29). It is however extremely difficult to say what Pāṇini or Baudhāyana exactly meant by Dākshiṇātya or Dakshiṇāpatha.

Whatever may be the correct meaning of those terms it is certain that already in the age of the later Vaidehas the Aryans had crossed the Vindhyas and established several states in the Deccan. One of these states was Vidarbha. Vidarbha or Berar was certainly a famous kingdom in the time of Nami or Nimi. We have already

seen that the Kumbhakāra Jātaka and the Uttarādhyayana make him a contemporary of Naggaji, Naggati or Nagnajit king of Gandhāra. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 34) that Nagnajit was a contemporary of Bhīma king of Vidarbha.

" Etamu haiva prochatuḥ Parvata Nāradau Somakāya Sāhadevyāya Sahadevāya Sārñjayāya Babhrave Daivāvṛidhāya Bhīmāya Vaidarbhāya Nagnajite Gāndhārāya."

Vidarbha therefore existed as an independent kingdom in the time of Nimi. The kingdom is mentioned in the Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa (II. 440; Ved. Ind. II. 297). It was famous for its Māchalas (perhaps a species of dog) which killed tigers. The Praśna Upanishad mentions a sage of Vidarbha named Bhārgava as a contemporary of Āśvalāyana. A sage called Vidarbhî Kauṇḍineya is mentioned in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad. The name Kauṇḍineya is apparently derived from the city of Kuṇḍina, the capital of Vidarbha (Mbh. III. 73. 1-2; Harivaṃśa, Vishṇuparva, 59-60), represented by the modern Kauṇḍinya-pura on the banks of the Wardhā in the Chāṇdur tāluk of Amraoti (Gaz. Amraoti, Vol. A, p. 406).

From the Purāṇic account of the Yadu family it appears that Vidarbha, the eponymous hero of the Vidarbhas, was of Yadu lineage (Matsya Purāṇa, 44. 36; Vāyu Purāṇa, 95. 35-36).

If the evidence of the Kumbhakāra Jātaka has any value, then Nimi king of Videha, Nagnajit king of Gandhāra and Bhīma king of Vidarbha must be considered to be contemporaries of Karaṇḍu of Kaliṅga. It follows from this that the kingdom of Kaliṅga was in existence in the time of Nimi and his contemporaries of the Brāhmaṇa period. The evidence of the Jātaka is confirmed by that of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta (Dialogues of the Buddha, II. 270) makes Sattabhu king of Kaliṅga a contemporary of Reṇu

king of Mithilā, and of Dhataraṭṭha or Dhṛitarāshṭra king of Kāśi (mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 5. 4. 22). There can thus be no doubt that Kaliṅga existed as an independent kingdom in the time of which the Brāhmaṇas speak. It comprised the whole coast from the river Vaitaraṇî (Mbh. III. 114. 4) in Orissa to the borders of the Andhra territory. We learn from the Jātakas that the capital of Kaliṅga was Dantapuranagara (Dantakura, Mbh. V. 48. 76). The Mahābhārata mentions another capital called Rājapura (XII. 4. 3). The Jaina writers refer to a third city called Kaṁchaṇapura (Ind. Ant. 1891, p. 375).

The Mahāgovinda Suttanta refers to another southern realm, namely, Assaka which existed in the time of Reṇu and Dhataraṭṭha (Dhṛitaṛāshṭra). It was ruled by king Brahmadatta who had his capital at Potana.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers (VIII. 14) to princes of the south who are called Bhojas and whose subjects are called the Satvats "dakshiṇasyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Satvatāṁ rājāno Bhaujyāyaivate ' bhishichyante Bhojetyenānabhishiktānāchakshata." In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 21) the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats, and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an Aśvamedha are referred to. These Satvats must have lived near Bharata's realm, *i. e.*, near the Ganges and the Yamunā (*cf.* Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 11). But in the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa they must have moved southward. Their kings were called Bhojas. This account of the Satvats and the Bhojas, deduced from the Brāhmaṇical statements, accords strikingly with Paurāṇic evidence. It is stated in the Purāṇas that the Sātvatas and the Bhojas were offshoots of the Yadu family which dwelt at Mathurā on the banks of the Yamunā (Matsya, 43. 48; 44. 46-48; Vāyu, 94. 52; 95. 48; 96. 1-2; Vishṇu, IV. 13. 1-6). We are further

told by the same authorities that they were the kindreds of the southern realm of Vidarbha (Mat. 44. 36; Vāyu 95. 35-36). We have evidence of a closer connection between the Bhojas and Vidarbha. The inclusion of a place called Bhojakaṭa in Vidarbha is proved by the Harivaṁśa (Vishṇu Parva, 60. 32) and the Mahābhārata (V. 157. 15-16). The Chammak grant of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II makes it clear that the Bhojakaṭa territory was equivalent to the Ilichpur district in Berar or Vidarbha (J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 329). Dr. Smith says," The name Bhojakaṭa 'castle of the Bhojas' implies that the province was named after a castle formerly held by the Bhojas, an ancient ruling race mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka." Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśa (V. 39-40) calls the king of Vidarbha a Bhoja (*cf.* also Mbh. V. 48. 74; 157. 17). But Vidarbha was not the only Bhoja state. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to several Bhoja kings of the south. A line of Bhojas must have ruled in Daṇḍaka. A passage in the Arthaśāstra (Ed. 1919, p. 11) runs thus :—

"Dāṇḍakyo nāma Bhojaḥ Kāmāt Brāhmaṇa-kanyām abhimanyamānas sabandhu rāshṭro vinanāśa"—a Bhoja known as Dāṇḍakya, or king of Daṇḍaka, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa girl, perished along with his relations and kingdom. We learn from the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka (No. 522) that the kingdom of Daṇḍaki had its capital at Kumbhavatī. According to the Rāmāyaṇa (VII. 92. 18) the name of the capital was Madhumanta.

It is clear, from what has been stated above, that there were, in the age of the later Vaidehas, and the Brāhmaṇas, many kingdoms in the south, namely, the Bhoja kingdoms, one of which was Vidarbha, and another, probably, Daṇḍaka, as well as Kaliṅga and Assaka (on the Godāvarî, Sutta Nipāta S. B. E., X, pt. II, p. 184). With the exception of these states the whole of Trans-Vindhyan India was occupied by non-Aryan (dasyu) tribes such as the

Andhras, Śabaras, Pulindas and probably also the Mūtibas (Ait. Br. VII. 18). In the opinion of Dr. Smith the Andhras were a Dravidian people, now represented by the large population speaking the Telugu language, who occupied the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā. Mr. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar argues that the Andhras were originally a Vindhyan tribe, and that the extension of Andhra power was from the west to the east down the Godāvarī and Kṛishṇā valleys (Ind. Ant., 1913, pp. 276-8). Prof. Bhandarkar, however, points out that the Serivāṇij Jātaka places Andhapura, *i. e.*, the pura or capital of the Andhras, on the river Telavāha which is either the modern Tel or Telingiri both not far distant from each other and flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces. (Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 71.)

The Śabaras and the Pulindas are described in the Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas as Dakshiṇāpathavāsinaḥ, together with the Vaidarbhas and the Daṇḍakas:

Teshāṁ pare janapadā Dakshiṇāpathavāsinaḥ
* * * *
Kārûshāścha sahaishîkā āṭabyāḥ Śabarāstathā
Pulindā Vindhya Pushikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha
(Matsya. 114. 46-48.)

Âbhîrāḥ Sahachaishîkāḥ āṭabyāḥ Śabarāścha ye
Pulindā Vindhya Mulîkā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha
(Vāyu. 45, 126.)

The Mahābhārata also places the Andhras, Pulindas and Śabaras in the Deccan :—

Dakshiṇāpathajanmānaḥ sarvenaravarāndhrakāḥ
Guhāḥ Pulindāḥ Śabarāś Chuchukā Madrakaiḥ saha.
(Mbh. XII. 207. 42.)

The capital of the Pulindas (Pulindanagara) probably lay to the south-east of Daśārṇa (Mbh. II. 5-10), *i.e.*, the Vidiśā or Bhilsa region (Meghadūta, 24-25).

The location of the territory of the Mūtibas, another Dasyu tribe mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa along with the Andhras, Pulindas, and Śabaras, is not so certain. In the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sûtra (XV. 26. 6) the Mūtibas are called Mūchîpa or Mūvîpa. It is not altogether improbable that they are the people who appear in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (57. 46) under the designation of Mushika. A comparison of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sûtra betrays a good deal of confusion with regard to the second and third consonants of the name. It was, therefore, perfectly natural for the Paurāṇic scribes to introduce further variations.

The Sixteen Mahâjanapadas

The Vedic texts do not throw much light on the political history of the period which elapsed from the fall of the Videhan monarchy to the rise of Kosala under Mahākosala, the father-in-law of Bimbisāra. But we know from the Buddhist Aṅguttara Nikāya that during this period there were sixteen states of considerable extent and power known as the Soḷasa Mahājanapada. These states were:—

1. Kāsi
2. Kosala
3. Aṅga
4. Magadha
5. Vajji
6. Malla
7. Chetiya (Chedi)
8. Vaṁsa (Vatsa)
9. Kuru
10. Pañchāla
11. Machchha (Matsya)
12. Sūrasena
13. Assaka
14. Avanti
15. Gandhāra
16. Kamboja.

These Mahājanapadas flourished together during a period posterior to Kalāra-Janaka but anterior to Mahākosala, because one of them, Vajji, rose to power after the fall of the Videhan monarchy, while another, namely,

Kāsi, lost its independence before the time of Mahākosala and formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy in the sixth century B.C.

The Jaina Bhagavatî Sûtra gives a slightly different list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas :

1. Aṅga	9. Pāḍha (Pāṇḍya ?)
2. Baṅga	10. Lādha (Rāḍha)
3. Magaha (Magadha)	11. Bajji (Vajji)
4. Malaya	12. Moli
5. Mālava	13. Kāsi
6. Achchha	14. Kosala
7. Vachchha (Vatsa)	15. Avaha
8. Kochchha (Kachchha ?)	16. Sambhuttara (Sumhottara ?)

It will be seen that Aṅga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Kāsi, and Kosala are common to both the lists. Mālava of the Bhagavatî is probably identical with Avanti of the Aṅguttara. Moli is probably a corruption of Malla. The other states mentioned in the Bhagavatî are new, and indicate a knowledge of the far east and the far south of India. The more extended horizon of the Bhagavatî clearly proves that its list is later than the one given in the Buddhist Aṅguttara. We shall therefore accept the Buddhist list as a correct representation of the political condition of India after the fall of the House of Janaka.

Of the sixteen Mahājanapadas **Kāsi** was probably at first the most powerful. We have already seen that Kāsi probably played a prominent part in the subversion of the Videhan monarchy. Several Jātakas bear witness to the superiority of its capital Benares over the other cities, and the imperial ambition of its rulers. The Guttila Jātaka (No. 243) says that the city of Benares is the chief city in all India. It extended over twelve leagues

("dvādasayojanikam sakala Bārāṇasinagaram"—Sambhava Jātaka, No. 515; Sarabha-miga J. 483; Bhūridatta J. 543) whereas Mithilā and Indapatta were each only seven leagues in extent (Suruchi J. 489 : Vidhurapaṇḍita J. 545). Several Kāsi monarchs are described as aspirants for the dignity of "sabbarājūnam aggarājā," and lord of sakala-Jambudîpa (Bhaddasāla Jātaka, 465; Dhonasākha Jātaka 353). The Mahāvagga also mentions the fact that Kāsi was a great realm in former times:

"Bhūtapubbaṁ bhikkhave Bārāṇasiyam Brahmadatto nāma Kāsirājā ahosi aḍḍho mahaddhano Mahābhogo mahabbalo mahāvāhano mahāvijito paripuṇṇakosa koṭṭhāgāro."

(Mahāvagga X. 2. 3; Vinaya Piṭakam I. 342.)

The Jainas also afford testimony to the greatness of Kāsi, and represent Aśvasena, king of Benares, as the father of their Tîrthakara Pārśva who is said to have died 250 years before Mahāvîra, *i.e.*, in 777 B.C.

Already in the Brāhmaṇa period a king of Kāsi named Dhṛitarāshṭra attempted to offer a horse sacrifice, but was defeated by Sātrājita Śatānîka with the result that the Kāsis down to the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, gave up the kindling of the sacred fire (Śat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 19). Some of the other Kāsi monarchs were more fortunate. Thus in the Brahāchatta Jātaka (No. 336) a king of Benares is said to have gone against the king of Kosala with a large army. He entered the city of Sāvatthi and took the king prisoner. The Kosambî Jātaka (No. 428), the Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536) and the Mahāvagga (S.B.E., Vol. XIII, pp. 294-299) refer to the annexation of the kingdom of Kosala by the Brahmadattas of Kāsi. The Assaka Jātaka (No. 207) refers to the city of Potali, the capital of Assaka in Southern India, as a city of the kingdom of Kāsi. Evidently the reigning prince of Potali was a vassal of the sovereign of Kāsi. In the Sona-Nanda

Jātaka (No. 532) Manoja, king of Benares, is said to have subdued the kings of Kosala, Aṅga, and Magadha. In the Mahābhārata (XIII. 30) Pratardana king of Kāśi, is said to have crushed the power of the Vîtahavyas or Haihayas. In the absence of corroborative evidence it is difficult to say how far the account of the achievements of individual kings, mentioned in the Jātakas and the epic, is authentic. But the combined testimony of many Jātakas and the Mahāvagga clearly proves that Kāsi was at one time a stronger power than many of its neighbours including Kosala.

Prof. Bhandarkar has pointed out that several Kāsi monarchs, who figure in the Jātakas, are also mentioned in the Purāṇas, *e.g.*, Vissasena of Jātaka No. 268, Udaya of Jātaka No. 458, and Bhallāṭiya of Jātaka No. 504 are mentioned in the Purāṇas as Vishvakasena, Udakasena, and Bhallāṭa (Matsya 49. 57 *et seq.*; Vāyu 99. 180 *et seq.*; Vishṇu IV. 19. 13).

We know from the Bhojājāniya Jātaka (No. 23) that "all the kings round coveted the kingdom of Benares." We are told that on one occasion seven kings encompassed Benares (Jātaka, 181). Benares in this respect resembled ancient Babylon and mediæval Rome, being the coveted prize of its more warlike but less civilized neighbours.

The kingdom of **Kosala** was bounded on the west by Pañchāla, on the south by the Sarpikā or Syandikā (Sai) river (Rām II. 49.11-12; 50. 1), on the east by the Sadānîrā which separated it from Videha, and on the north by the Nepāl hills. Roughly speaking, it corresponds to the modern Oudh. It included the territory of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu. In the Sutta Nipāta (S.B.E., X, Part II, 68-69) Buddha says "just beside Himavanta there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of Kosala. They are *Ādichchas* by family, Sākiyas by birth; from that family I have wandered out, not

longing for sensual pleasures." This passage leaves no room for doubt that the Sākiyas or Śākyas were included among the inhabitants of Kosala. If any doubt is still entertained it is set at rest by Pasenadi's words recorded in the Majjhima Nikāya (II. 124) :

" Bhagavā pi khattiyo, aham pi khattiyo, *Bhagavā pi Kosalako*, aham pi Kosalako, Bhagavā pi āsîtiko, aham pi āsîtiko."

Kosala proper contained three important cities, namely, Ayodhyā, Sāketa and Sāvatthi or Śrāvastî.

Ayodhyā (Oudh) was a town on the river Sarayū. Sāketa is often supposed to be the same as Ayodhyā, but Prof. Rhys Davids points out that both cities are mentioned as existing in the Buddha's time. They were possibly adjoining like London and Westminster. Sāvatthi is the great ruined city on the south bank of the Rāptî called Saheth-Maheth which is situated on the borders of the Goṇḍa and Bahraich districts of the United Provinces.

In the story of the spread of Aryan culture told in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the Kosalas appear as falling later than the Kuru Pañchālas, but earlier than the Videhas, under the influence of Brāhmaṇical civilisation.

In the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Purāṇas the royal family of Kosala is represented as being descended from a king named Ikshvāku. Branches of this family are represented as ruling at Viśālā or Vaiśālî (Rāmāyaṇa I. 47. 11-12), at Mithilā (Vāyu. P. 89. 3) and at Kusinārā (The Kusa Jātaka No. 531).

A prince named Ikshvāku is mentioned in a passage of the Rig Veda (X. 60. 4). In the Atharva Veda (XIV. 39. 9) either Ikshvāku, or one of his descendants, is referred to as an ancient hero.

The Purāṇas give lists of kings of the Aikshvāka dynasty from Ikshvāku himself to Prasenajit, the

contemporary of Bimbisāra. Many of these kings are mentioned in the Vedic literature. For example :—

Mandhātṛi Yuvanāśva (Vāyu, 88. 67) is mentioned in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 2. 10 *et seq.*).

Purukutsa (Vāyu, 88. 72) is mentioned in the Rig Veda (I. 63. 7 ; 112. 7. 14 ; 174. 2. VI. 20. 10). In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 5) he is called an Aikshvāka.

Trasadasyu (Vāyu 88. 74) is mentioned in the Rig Veda (IV. 38. 1 ; VII. 19. 3, etc.)

Tryaruṇa (Vāyu 88. 77) is mentioned in the Rig Veda (V. 27). In the Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 3. 12) he is called an Aikshvāka.

Triśaṇku (Vāyu 88. 109) is mentioned in the Taittirîya Upanishad (I. 10. 1).

Hariśchandra (Vāyu 88. 117) is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 13. 16) and is styled Aikshvāka.

Rohita, the son of Hariśchandra (Vāyu 88. 119) is also mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 14).

Bhagîratha (Vāyu 88. 167) is mentioned in the Jaiminîya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa (IV. 6. 12) and is called Aikshvāka.

Ambarîsha (Vāyu 88. 171) is mentioned in the Rig Veda (I. 100. 17).

Rituparṇa (Vāyu 88. 173) is mentioned in a Brāhmaṇa-like passage of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XX. 12).

Rāma (Vāyu 88. 185) may be the person of the same name mentioned in the Rig Veda (X 93. 14). But Rāma in the Vedic passage is not connected with either the Ikshvāku family or with Kosala.

Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya (Vāyu, 88. 207), is mentioned in the Praśna Upanishad, VI. 1 and the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Śūtra, XVI. 9. 13. He is probably connected with Para Āṭnāra Hairaṇyanābha, the Kosala king mentioned in a gāthā occurring in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 5. 4. 4. According to the Praśna Upanishad Hiraṇyanābha was a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja (VI. 1) who was himself a contemporary of Kausalya Āśvalāyana (Praśna I. 1). If it be true, as seems probable, that Āśvalāyana of Kosala is identical with Assalāyana of Sāvatthi mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya (II. 147 *et seq.*) as a contemporary of Gotama Buddha, he must be placed in the sixth century B.C. Consequently Hiraṇyanābha, too, must have lived in that century. The patronymic "Hairaṇyanābha" of Para Âṭnāra probably indicates that he was a son of Hiraṇyanābha.

Some of the later princes of the Paurāṇic list (*e.g.* Śākya, Śuddhodana, Siddhārtha, Rāhula and Prasenajit) are mentioned in Buddhist texts. The relations of Hiraṇyanābha with Prasenajit who also flourished in the sixth century B.C., will be discussed in a later chapter.

It is clear from the facts mentioned above that the Paurāṇic lists contain names of real kings and princes. But they have many glaring defects.

(1) Branches of the Ikshvāku family ruling over different territories have been mixed together, *e.g.*, Trasadasyu, king of the Pūrus (Rig Veda, IV. 38. 1; VII. 19. 3), Rituparṇa, king of Śaphāla (Baud. Śrauta Sūtra, XX. 12), Śuddhodana of Kapilavastu and Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastî, have been mentioned in such a way as to leave

the impression that they formed a continuous line of princes who ruled in regular succession.

(2) Contemporaries have been represented as successors and collaterals have been represented as lineal descendants, *e.g.*, Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastî, is represented as the lineal successor of Siddhārtha, and Rāhula, though he was actually a contemporary of Siddhārtha, and belonged to a different branch of the Ikshvāku family.

(3) Certain names have been omitted, *e.g.*, Para Âṭnāra and Mahākosala.

(4) The name of Siddhārtha (Buddha), who never ruled, has been included.

It is not easy to find out all the kings of the Paurāṇic list who actually ruled over Kosala. The names of some of the earlier kings of the Paurāṇic list, *e.g.*, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Hariśchandra, Rohita, Rituparṇa and a few others, are omitted from the dynastic list of the kings of Ayodhyā given in the Rāmāyāṇa (I. 70). We know from the Vedic literature that most, if not all, of these princes ruled over territories lying outside Kosala. The only kings or Rājās mentioned in the Paurāṇic list who are known from Vedic and early Buddhist texts to have reigned in Kosala, or over some part of it, are Hiraṇyanābha, Prasenajit and Śuddhodana.

The Vedic texts mention another king named Para Âṭnāra. The Buddhist works mention a few other kings of Kosala, but their names do not occur in the epic and Paurāṇic lists. Some of these kings had their capital at Ayodhyā, others at Sāketa, and the rest at Śrāvastî. Of the princes of Ayodhyā the Ghata Jātaka (No. 454) mentions Kālasena. A Kosalarāja reigning in Sāketa is mentioned in the Nandiyamiga Jātaka (No. 385). Vaṅka, Mahākosala and many others had their capital at Sāvatthi or Śrāvastî. Ayodhyā seems to have been the

earliest capital, and Sāketa the next. The last capital was Śrāvastî. Ayodhyā had sunk to the level of an unimportant town in Buddha's time (Buddhist India, p. 34), but Sāketa and Śrāvastî were included among the six great cities of India (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, S.B.E. XI, p. 99).

We learn from the Mahāvagga (S.B.E., XVII, p. 294) that during the period of the earlier Brahmadattas of Kāsi, Kosala was a small realm. (Dîghîti nāma Kosalarājā ahosi daliddo appadhano appabhogo appabalo appavāhano appavijito aparipuṇṇakosakoṭṭhāgāro).

In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Kosala was a mighty kingdom which contended first with Kāsi, and afterwards with Magadha for the mastery of the Madhyadeśa. The history of its struggles with Kāsi is reserved for treatment in a later chapter. The rivalry with Magadha ended in the absorption of the kingdom into the Magadhan Empire.

Anga was the country to the east of Magadha. It was separated from the latter kingdom by the river Champā. The Aṅga dominions, however, at one time included Magadha and extended to the shores of the sea. The Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka (No. 545) describes Rājagṛiha as a city of Aṅga. The Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata (29.35) refers to an Aṅga king who sacrificed on Mount Vishṇupada at Gayā. The Sabhā-parva (44.9) mentions Aṅga and Vaṅga as forming one Vishaya or kingdom. The Kathā-sarit-sāgara says that Viṭaṅkapur, a city of the Aṅgas, was situated on the shore of the sea (Tawney, Kathā-sarit-sāgara, II, ch. 82, p. 272; I, ch. 25, pp. 206, 207; ch. 26, p. 225).

Champā, the famous capital of Aṅga, stood on the river of the same name (Jātaka 506; modern Chāndan) and the Ganges (Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, 181). Cunningham points out that there still exist near Bhāgalpur

two villages, Champanagara and Champapura, which most probably represent the actual site of the ancient capital. It is stated in the Purāṇas and the Harivaṁśa that the ancient name of Champā was Mālinî (Matsya, 48. 97; Vāyu, 99. 105-06; Hariv. 32. 49; *cf.* Mbh. XII. 5. 6-7):

Champasya tu purî Champā
Yā Mālinyabhavat purā.

In the Jātaka stories the city is also called Kāla-Champā. In the Mahā-Janaka Jataka (No. 539) it is stated that Champā was sixty leagues from Mithilā. The same Jātaka refers to its gate, watch-tower, and walls.

Down to the time of Gotama Buddha's death it was considered as one of the six great cities of India, the other five being Rājagṛiha, Śrāvastî, Sāketa, Kauśāmbî, and Benares (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta). Champā increased in wealth and traders sailed from it to Suvarṇabhûmi for trading purposes (Jātaka, Camb, Ed. VI, 539, p. 20). Emigrants from Champā to Cochin China named their settlement after this famous Indian city (Ind. Ant. VI. 229, Itsing, 58).

Aṅga is mentioned in the Atharva Veda (V. 22. 14) in connection with the Gandhāris, Mūjavants, and Magadhas. The Rāmāyaṇa tells an absurd story about the origin of Aṅga. It is related in that epic that Madana having incurred the displeasure of Mahādeva fled from the hermitage of the latter to escape his consuming anger, and the region where "he cast off his body (Aṅga)" has since been known by the name of Aṅga (Nundolal Dey, Notes on Ancient Aṅga, J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 317). The Mahābhārata attributes the foundation of the Aṅga kingdom to a prince named Aṅga. There may be some truth in this tradition. Aṅga Vairochana is included in the list of

anointed kings in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 22). The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions king Dhataraṭṭha of Aṅga (Dialogues of the Buddha, II, 270). The Buddhist texts mention a queen named Gaggarā who gave her name to a famous lake in Champā. The Purāṇas (Matsya, 48. 91-108 ; Vāyu 99. 100-112) give lists of the early kings of Aṅga. One of these kings Dadhivāhana is known to Jaina tradition. The Purāṇas and the Harivaṁśa (32.43) represent him as the son and immediate successor of Aṅga: Jaina tradition places him in the beginning of the sixth century B.C. His daughter Chandanā or Chandravālā was the first female who embraced Jainism shortly after Mahāvîra had attained the Kevaliship (J.A.S.B., 1914, pp. 320-321). Śatānîka, king of Kauśāmbî attacked Champā, the capital of Dadhivāhana, and in the confusion which ensued, Chandanā fell into the hands of a robber, but all along she maintained the vows of the order. Magadha was then a small kingdom. A great struggle for supremacy was going on between Aṅga and Magadha (Champeyya Jātaka). The Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka describes Rājagṛiha as a city of Aṅga, while the Mahābhārata refers to a sacrifice which an Aṅga king performed at Mt. Vishṇupada at Gayā. These facts probably indicate that at one time the Aṅga king annexed Magadha. Brahmadatta, king of Aṅga, is actually known to have defeated Bhaṭṭiya, king of Magadha. Aṅga had, at this time, an ally in the king of the Vatsas. Śrī Harsha speaks of a king of Aṅga named Dṛiḍhavarmmā being restored to his kingdom by Udayana, king of Kauśāmbî (Priyadarśikā, Act IV).

The destruction of the kingdom of Aṅga was effected by Bhaṭṭiya's son Bimbisāra Śrēṇika of Magadha who killed Brahmadatta, took his capital Champā, and resided there as viceroy till his father's death when he returned to Rājagṛiha (J.A.S.B., 1914, p. 321).

Magadha corresponds roughly to the present Patna and Gayā districts of Bihār. Its earliest capital was Girivraja, or old Rājagṛiha, near Rājgir among the hills near Gayā. The Mahāvagga (S.B.E., XIII, 150) calls it Giribbaja of the Magadhas to distinguish it from other cities of the same name (*cf.* Girivraja in Kekaya). The Mahābhārata calls it Girivraja and Māgadhapura (Goratham girimāsādya dadṛiśur Māgadhampuram II. 20. 30) and says that it was an impregnable city, puraṁ durādharshaṁ samantataḥ, being protected by five hills, Vaihāra "Vipulaḥ śailo," Varāha, Vṛishabha, Rishigiri and Chaityaka. From the Rāmāyaṇa we learn that the city had another name Vasumatī (I. 32. 8). The Life of Hiuen Tsang (p. 113) mentions another name, Kusāgārapura.

In a passage of the Rig Veda (III. 53. 14) mention is made of a territory called Kîkata ruled by a chieftain named Pramaganda. Yāska (Nirukta VI. 32) declares that Kîkata was the name of a non-Aryan country. In later works Kīkata is given as a synonym of Magadha (*cf.* Bhāgavata Purāṇa I. 3. 24 Buddhonāmnā'ñjanasutaḥ Kîkateshu bhavishyati).

The name Magadha first appears in the Atharva Veda (V. 22. 14) where fever is wished away to the Gandhāris, Mūjavants, Aṅgas, and Māgadhas. The men of Magadha are always spoken of in the Vedic literature in terms of contempt. In the Vrātya (XV) book of the Atharva Saṁhitā, the Vrātya, *i.e.*, the Indian living outside the pale of Brāhmaṇism, is brought into very special relation to the Pumścalî and the Māgadha, faith is called his harlot, the Mitra his Māgadha (Weber Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 112). In the Śrauta Śūtras the equipment characteristic of the Vrātya is said to be given, when the latter is admitted into the Aryan Brāhmaṇical community, to the so-called Brāhmaṇas living in Magadha (Brahmabandhu Māgadhadeśîya, Vedic Index II. 116). The

Brāhmaṇas of Magadha are here spoken of in a sneering tone as *Brahma bandhu.* The Vedic dislike of the Magadhas was in all probability due, as Oldenberg (Buddha 400,n) thinks, to the fact that the Magadhas were not wholly Brāhmaṇised. Pargiter (J.R.A.S., 1908, pp. 851-853) suggests that in Magadha the Aryans met and mingled with a body of invaders from the east by sea.

With the exception of Pramaganda no king of Magadha appears to be mentioned in the Vedic literature.

The earliest dynasty of Magadha according to the Mahābhārata (I. 63. 30) and the Purāṇas is that founded by Bṛihadratha, the son of Vasu Chaidyoparichara, and the father of Jarāsandha. The Rāmāyaṇa (I. 32. 7) makes Vasu himself the founder of Girivraja or Vasumatī. A Bṛihadratha is mentioned twice in the Rig Veda (I. 36. 18; X. 49. 6) but there is nothing to show that he is identical with the father of Jarāsandha. The Purāṇas give lists of the Bārhadratha kings from Jarāsandha's son Sahadeva to Ripuñjaya. But in the absence of independent external corroboration it is not safe to accept the Purāṇic accounts of these princes as sober history. The Bārhadrathas are said to have passed away when Pulika placed his son Pradyota on the throne of Avanti. As Pradyota was a contemporary of Gotama Buddha it is reasonable to conclude that the Bārhadratha dynasty came to an end in the sixth century B.C. The Jaina writers mention two early kings of Rājagṛiha named Samudravijaya and his son Gaya (S.B.E., XLV, 86). Gaya is said to have reached perfection which has been taught by the Jinas. But very little reliance can be placed on the uncorroborated assertions of late Jaina writers.

The second Magadhan dynasty, according to the Purāṇas, was the Śaiśunāga dynasty founded by a king named Śiśunāga. Bimbisāra, the contemporary of Buddha,

is said to have belonged to this dynasty. The Mahāvaṁśa however makes Susunāga the founder of a dynasty which succeeded that of Bimbisāra. The Purāṇas themselves relate that Śiśunāga will destroy the prestige of the Pradyotas and will be king :—

Ashṭa-triṁśachchhatam bhāvyāḥ
Prādyotāḥ pañcha te sutāḥ
Hatvā teshāṁ yaśaḥ kṛitsnaṁ
Śiśunāga bhavishyati.
(Vāyu Puṛāṇa, 99, 314).

If this statement be true, then Śiśunāga must be later than the first Pradyota, namely Chaṇḍa Pradyota Mahāsena, who was, according to the early Pāli texts, a contemporary of Bimbisāra. It follows that Śiśunāga must be later than Bimbisāra. But we have seen that the Purāṇas make Śiśunāga an ancestor of Bimbisāra. Thus the Purāṇas, in their present form, are self-contradictory. The inclusion of Vārāṇasî within Śisunāga's dominions (Dynasties of the Kali Age, 21), proves that he came after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in Kāsi. The Mâlâlaṅkāravatthu tells us (S.B.E., XI, p. xvi) that Rājagṛiha lost her rank of royal city from the time of Śisunāga. This indicates that Śisunāga came after the palmy days of Rājagṛiha, *i.e.*, the period of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. Prof. Bhandarkar in his Carmichael Lectures, 1918, accepts the Ceylonese version and rejects the Paurāṇic account of Bimbisāra's lineage. He makes Bimbisāra the founder of a dynasty, and says that he was a general who carved out a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Vajjis. The Mahāvaṁśa however states (Geiger's translation, p. 12) that Bimbisāra was anointed king by his own father when he was only 15 years old. Mr. Nundolal Dey mentions Bhaṭṭiya as the name of the father (J.A.S.B., 1914, 321). We have already

mentioned his defeat at the hands of Brahmadatta, king of Aṅga. The defeat was avenged by Bimbisāra who launched Magadha into that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kaliṅga.

The **Vajjis**, according to Prof. Rhys Davids and Cunningham, included eight confederate clans (aṭṭhakula), of whom the Videhans and the Lichchhavis were the most important. Among the other clans we may mention the Jñātrikas and the Vajjis proper.

The Videhans had their capital at Mithilā which is identified by some scholars with the small town of Janakpur just within the Nepal border. But a section of them may have settled in Vaiśālī. To this section probably belonged the princess Triśalā, also called Videhadattā, mother of Mahāvîra.

The Lichchhavis had their capital at Vesālî (Vaiśālî) which has been identified with Besārh (to the east of the Gaṇḍak), in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihār. Vesālî is probably identical with the city called Viśālā in the Rāmāyaṇa (Âdi., 45. 10):

Viśālāṁ nagarîṁ ramyāṁ divyāṁ svargopamāṁ tadā.

We learn from the introductory portion of the Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka (No. 149) that a triple wall encompassed the city, each wall a league distant from the next, and there were three gates with watch-towers.

The Jñātrikas were the clan of Siddhārtha and his son Mahāvîra the Jina. They had their seats at Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma and Kollāga, suburbs of Vesālî. Nevertheless they were known as "Vesālie," *i.e.*, inhabitants of Vesālî (Hoernle, Uvāsagadasāo, II, p. 4n).

The Vajjis or Vrijis are mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 2. 131). Kauṭilya (Mysore Edition, 1919, p. 378) distinguishes the Vrijikas or Vajjis from the Lichchhivikas. Yuan Chwang (Watters, II. 81) also distinguishes the

Fu-li-chih (Vriji) country from *Fei-she-li* (Vaiśālī). It seems that Vrijika or Vajji was not only the name of the confederacy, but also of one of the constituent clans. But the Vajjis, like the Lichchhavis, are sometimes associated with the city of Vesālī which was not only the capital of the Lichchhavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy. (*Cf.* Majjhima Nikāya, II. 101 ; the Book of the Kindred Sayings, Samyutta Nikāya, by Mrs. Rhys Davids, pp. 257, 259.) A Buddhist tradition quoted by Rockhill (Life of Buddha, p. 62) mentions the city of Vesālī as consisting of three districts. The three districts were probably at one time the seats of three different clans. The remaining clans of the confederacy resided in the suburbs like Kuṇḍagrāma, Kollāga, Vāṇiyagāma, etc.

We have seen that during the Brāhmaṇa period Mithilā had a monarchical constitution. The Rāmāyaṇa (I. 47. 11-17) and the Purāṇas (Vāyu, 86. 16-22; Vishṇu, IV. 1. 18) state that Viśālā, too, was at first ruled by kings. The founder of the Vaiśālika dynasty is said to have been Viśāla, a son of Ikshvāku according to the Rāmāyaṇa; a descendant of Nābhāga, the brother of Ikshvāku, according to the Purāṇas. Viśāla is said to have given his name to the city. After Viśāla came Hemachandra, Suchandra, Dhumrāśva, Sṛiñjaya, Sahadeva, Kuśāśva, Somadatta, Kākutstha and Sumati. We do not know how much of the Rāmāyaṇic and Paurāṇic account of the Vaiśālika nṛipas can be accepted as sober history. A king named Sahadeva Sārñjaya is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 4, 4, 3. 4) as having once been called Suplan Sārñjaya, and as having changed his name because of his success in performing the Dākshāyaṇa Sacrifice. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 34, 9) he is mentioned with Somaka Sāhadevya. None of these kings, however, are connected with Vaiśālī in the Vedic literature.

The Vajjian confederation must have been organised after the fall of the royal houses of Videha. Political evolution in India thus resembles closely the political evolution in the ancient cities of Greece, where also the monarchies of the Heroic Age were succeeded by aristocratic republics. The probable causes of the transformation in Greece are thus given by Bury "in some cases gross misrule may have led to the violent deposition of a king; in other cases, if the succession to the sceptre devolved upon an infant or a paltry man, the nobles may have taken it upon themselves to abolish the monarchy. In some cases, the rights of the king might be strictly limited, in consequence of his seeking to usurp undue authority; and the imposition of limitations might go on until the office of the king, although maintained in name, became in fact a mere magistracy in a state wherein the real power had passed elsewhere. Of the survival of monarchy in a limited form we have an example at Sparta; of its survival as a mere magistracy, in the Archon Basileus at Athens."

The cause of the transition from monarchy to republic in Mithilā has already been stated. Regarding the change at Viśālā we know nothing,

Several eminent scholars have sought to prove that the Lichchhavis, the most famous clan of the Vajjian confederacy, were of foregin origin. According to Dr. Smith the Lichchhavis were Tibetans in their origin. He infers this from their judicial system and the disposal of their dead.[1] Dr. S. C. Vidyābhushaṇa held that the Lichchhavis were originally Persians and came from the Persian city of Nisibi.[2] Indian tradition is, however, unanimous in representing the Lichchhavis as Kshatriyas. Thus we

[1] Ind. Ant., 1903, p. 233.
[2] Ind. Ant., 1908, p. 78.

read in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta "and the Lichchhavis of Vesāli heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the Lichchhavis of Vesāli sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying: 'the Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One.'"

In the Jaina Kalpa Sūtra Triśalā, sister to Cheṭaka who is regarded by several scholars as a Lichchhavi chief of Vesāli, is styled Kshatriyāṇî (S.B.E., XXII, pp. xii, 227).

Manu says (X, 22):

Jhallo Mallaścha rājanyād vrātyān Nichchhivireva cha
Naṭaścha Karaṇaśchaiva Khaso Drāviḍa eva cha.

It may be argued that the Lichchhavis, though originally non-Aryans or foreigners, ranked as Kshatriyas when they were admitted into the fold of Brāhmaṇism, like the Drāviḍas referred to in Manu's śloka and the Gurjara-Pratîhāras of mediæval times. But, unlike the Pratîhāras and Drāviḍas, the Lichchhavis never appear to be very friendly towards Brāhmaṇism. On the contrary, they were always to be found among the foremost champions of non-Brāhmaṇic creeds like Jainism and Buddhism. As a matter of fact Manu brands them as the children of the Vrātya Rājanyas. The great mediæval Rājput families (though sometimes descended from foreign immigrants) were never spoken of in these terms. On the contrary, they were supplied with pedigrees going back to Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Yadu, Arjuna and others. My impression is that a body of foreigners, who were unfriendly towards the Brāhmaṇas, could not have been accepted as Kshatriyas. The obvious conclusion seems to be that the Lichchhavis were indigenous Kshatriyas who were degraded to the position of Vrātyas when they became champions of non-Brāhmaṇical creeds. The Pāli commentary

Paramatthajotikā (Vol. I, pp. 158-165) contains a legend regarding the Lichchhavis which traces their origin to a queen of Benares.

The date of the foundation of the Lichchhavi power is not known. But it is certain that the authority of the clan was firmly established in the time of Mahāvîra and Gotama, *i.e.*, in the sixth century B.C. A vivid description of the Lichchhavis is given by Buddha himself in the following words (SBE., XI, p. 32) "Let those of the brethren who have never seen the Tāvatiṁsa gods, gaze upon this company of the Lichchhavis, behold this company of the Lichchhavis, compare this company of the Lichchhavis—even as a company of Tāvatiṁsa gods."

Buddhist tradition has preserved the names of eminent Lichchhavis like prince Abhaya, Oṭṭhaddha, Mahāli, general Sîha, Dummukha and Sunakkhatta.[1]

In the introductory portions of the Ekapaṇṇa (149) and Chulla Kāliṅga (301) Jātakas it is stated that the Lichchhavis of the ruling family numbered 7,707. There was a like number of viceroys, generals, and treasurers. The Jaina Kalpasūtra (§128) refers to the "nine Lichchhavis" as having formed a confederacy with nine Mallakis and eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāśi-Kośala. We learn from the Nirayāvalî Sūtra that an important leader of this confederacy was Cheṭaka[2] whose sister Triśalā or Videhadattā was the mother of Mahāvîra, and whose daughter Chellanā or Vedehi was, according to Jaina writers, the mother of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru.

The destruction of the confederacy of Vaiśālî was the work of Ajātaśatru. The preliminaries to the conquest

[1] Aṅguttara Nikāya, III, 74; Mahāli Sutta, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, p. 198; Mahāvagga, SBE., XVII, p. 108; Majjhima N, I. 234; 68; II. 252; The Book of the Kindred Sayings, 295.

[2] In the opinion of several scholars Cheṭaka was a Lichchhavi. But the secondary names of his sister (Videhadattā) and daughter (Vedehi) probably indicate that he was a Videhan domiciled at Vesāli.

of Vesālī are described in the Mahāvagga and the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta (SBE., XVII, p. 101; XI, pp. 1-5).

The **Malla** territory had for its capital the city of Kusāvatī or Kusinārā (Kusa Jātaka No. 531; Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, pp. 161-162). The exact site of Kusinārā is not yet known. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta it is stated that the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā lay near the river Hiraṇyavatī. Smith identifies the Hiraṇyavatī with the Gaṇḍak and says that Kuśinagara (Kusinārā) was situated in Nepāl, beyond the first range of hills, at the junction of the Little, or Eastern Rāptī with the Gaṇḍak (EHI., p. 159n). He, however, adds that the discovery in the large stupa behind the Nirvāṇa temple near Kasiā of an inscribed copper plate bearing the words "[parini] r vāna-chaitye tāmrapaṭṭa iti," has revived and supported the old theory, propounded by Wilson and accepted by Cunningham, that the remains near Kasiā (on the Chota Gandak), in the east of the Gorakhpur District, represent Kuśinagara.

The Mallas together with the Lichchhavis are classed by Manu as Vrātya Kshatriyas. They too, like the Lichchhavis, were ardent champions of Buddhism. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta they are sometimes called Vāseṭṭhas (Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, pp. 162, 179, 181).

Like Videha, Mallaraṭṭha (Mallarāshṭra, Mbh., VI. 9. 44) had a monarchical constitution at first. The Kusa Jātaka mentions a Malla king named Okkāka (Ikshvāku). The name Okkāka probably indicates that like the Śākyas (*cf.* Dialogues, Part I, pp. 114-115) the Malla kings also belonged to the Ikshvāku family. The Mahāsudassana Sutta mentions another king named Mahāsudassana (SBE., XI, p. 248). These kings Okkāka and Mahāsudassana may or may not have been historical individuals. The important

thing to remember is that Mallaraṭṭha was at first ruled by kings. This conclusion is confirmed by the evidence of the Mahābhārata (II. 30-3) which refers to a king of the Mallas. During the monarchical period the metropolis was a great city and was styled Kusāvatî.

Before Bimbisāra's time the monarchy had been replaced by a republic (cf. SBE., XI, p. 102; Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, 1919, p. 378); and the metropolis had sunk to the level of a "little wattel and daub town" a "branch township" surrounded by jungles. It was then styled Kusinārā.

The Mallas had two other important cities namely Pāvā (SBE., XI, p. 133) and Bhoga-nagara (Sutta Nipāta, 194, Uvāsagadasāo, II, Appendix, p. 57).

The relations of the Mallas with the Lichchhavis were sometimes hostile and sometimes friendly. The introductory story of the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (No. 465) contains an account of a conflict between Bandhula the Mallian (Commander-in-chief of the king of Kosala) and 500 kings of the Lichchhavis. The Jaina Kalpasūtra, however, refers to nine Mallakis as having formed a league with nine Lichchhavis, and the eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāśi-Kośala.[1]

The league was evidently aimed against Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru who, like Philip of Macedon, was trying to absorb the territories of his republican neighbours. The Malla territory was finally annexed to Magadha. It certainly formed a part of the Maurya Empire in the third century B.C.

Chedi was one of the countries encircling the Kurus (parîtaḥ Kurūn, Mbh. IV. i. 11) and lay near the Jumna

[1] Nava Mallai nava Lechchhai Kāsi Kosalasya aṭṭhārasa vi gaṇarāyaṇo. Jacobi translates the passage thus:

The eighteen confederate kings of Kasi and Kosala, the nine Mallakis and nine Lichchhavis.

(1. 63. 2-58). It corresponds roughly to the modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region. We learn from the Chetiya Jātaka (No. 422) that its capital was Sotthivatinagara. The Mahābhārata calls the capital Śuktimatî (III. 20.50) or Śukti-sāhvaya (XIV. 83.2). According to Mr. Nundolal Dey Sotthivati is the same as Śuktimatî (Ind. Ant., 1919, p. vii of "Geographical Dictionary"). The Mahābhārata mentions a river called Śuktimatî which flowed by the capital of Rājā Uparichara of Chedivishaya (I. 63, 35). Pargiter identifies the river with the Ken, and places the capital Śuktimatī in the neighbourhood of Banda (J.A.S.B., 1895, 255, Mārkaṇḍeya p. 359).

The Chedi people are mentioned as early as the Rig Veda. Their king Kaśu Chaidya is praised in a Dānastuti occurring at the end of one hymn (VIII. 5. 37-39).

The Chetiya Jātaka gives the following legendary genealogy of Chaidya kings:

Mahāsammata
|
Roja
|
Vararoja
|
Kalyāna
|
Varakalyāna
|
Uposatha
|
Māndhātā
|
Varamāndhātā
|
Chara
|
Upachara or Apachara

The last king's five sons are said to have founded the cities of Hatthipura, Assapura, Sîhapura, Uttarapañchāla and Daddarapura. Upachara, king of Chedi, is probably identical with Uparichara Vasu, the Paurava king of Chedi mentioned in the Mahābhārata (I. 63. 1-2), whose five sons founded five lines of kings (I. 63. 30).

Epic tradition makes the royal houses of Kauśāmbī, Mahodaya and Girivraja branches of Vasu's family (Rāmāyaṇa I. 32. 6-9; Mahābhārata I. 63. 30-33).

The Jātaka and epic accounts of the early kings of Chedi are essentially legendary and, in the absence of more reliable evidence, cannot be accepted as genuine history.

We learn from the Vedabbha Jātaka (No. 48) that the road from Kāsi to Chedi was unsafe being infested by robbers.

Vamsa or **Vatsa** is the country of which Kauśāmbī, modern Kosam near Allahabad, was the capital. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions a teacher named Proti Kauśāmbeya (Śat. Br., XII. 2. 2. 13) whom Harisvāmin, the commentator, considers to be a native of the town Kauśāmbī. Epic tradition attributes the foundation of the city of Kauśāmbī to a Chedi prince (Rām. I. 32. 3-6; Mbh., I. 63. 31). The origin of the Vatsa people, however, is traced to a king of Kāsi (Harivaṁśa, 29, 73, Mbh. XII., 49, 80). It is stated in the Purāṇas that when the city of Hāstinapura was carried away by the Ganges, Nichakshu, the great-great-grandson of Janamejaya, abandoned it, and removed his residence to Kauśāmbī. We have already seen that the Paurāṇic tradition about the Bharata or Kuru origin of the later kings of Kauśāmbī is confirmed by Bhāsa. Udayana king of Kauśāmbī is described in the Svapnavāsavādatta (Ed. Ganapati Śāstri, p. 138) as a scion of the Bharata kula.

The Purāṇas give a list of Nichakshu's successors down to Kshemaka and cite the following genealogical verse:

> Brahmakshatrasya yo yonir vaṁśo devarshi satkṛitaḥ
> Kshemakam prāpya rājānaṁ saṁsthām prāpsyati vai kalau.

The earliest king of Kauśāmbī about whom we know anything is Śatānîka II of the Paurāṇic list. His father's name was Vasudāna according to the Purāṇas, and Sahasrānîka according to Bhāsa. Śatānîka himself was also styled Parantapa (Buddhist India, p. 3). He married a princess of Videha as his son is called Vaidehîputra. He is said to have attacked Champā the capital of Aṅga during the reign of Dadhivāhana (JASB, 1914, p. 321). His son and successor was the famous Udayana the contemporary of Bimbisāra.

The Bhagga (Bharga) state of Suṁsumāragiri was a dependency of Vatsa (Jātaka No. 353; Carmichael Lec., p. 63). The Mahābhārata (II. 30. 10-11) and the Harivaṁśa (29. 73) testify to the close association of Vatsabhūmi and Bharga.

The **Kuru** state was according to Jātaka No. 537 (Mahā-Sutasoma) three hundred leagues in extent. The Jātakas say that the reigning dynasty belonged to the Yuddhiṭṭhila gotta, *i.e.*, the family of Yudhishthira (Dhūmakāri Jātaka No. 413; Dasa Brāhmaṇa Jātaka No. 495). The capital was Indapatta or Indapattana, *i.e.*, Indraprastha or Indrapat near the modern Delhi. It extended over seven leagues (Jātakas No. 537, 545).

The Jātakas mention the following Kuru kings and princes: Dhanañjaya Korabya (Kurudhamma Jātaka No. 276; Dhūmakāri Jātaka No. 413; Sambhava Jātaka No. 515; Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka No. 545); Koravya (Dasa Brāhmaṇa Jātaka No. 495; Mahāsutasoma Jātaka No.

537); Sutasoma (Mahāsutasoma Jātaka, *cf.* the Mahābhārata I. 95. 75 where Sutasoma appears as the name of a son of Bhīma). We can not vouch for the historical existence of these princes in the absence of further evidence.

The Jaina Uttarādhyayana Sūtra mentions a king Ishukāra ruling at the town called Ishukāra in the Kuru country (SBE. XLV, 62). It seems probable that after the removal of the main royal family to Kauśāmbī, the Kuru country was parcelled out into small states of which Indapatta and Ishukāra were apparently the most important. Later on the little principalities gave place to a Saṅgha or republic (Arthaśāstra, 1919, 378).

Panchala roughly corresponds to Rohilkhand and a part of the central Doāb. The Mahābhārata, the Jātakas and the Divyāvadāna (p. 435) refer to the division of this state into northern and southern. The Bhāgirathî (Ganges) formed the dividing line (Mbh. I. 138. 70). According to the Great Epic Northern Pañchāla had its capital at Ahichchhatra (the modern Rāmnagar near Aonlâ in the Bareilly District), while Southern Pañchāla had its capital at Kāmpilya, and stretched from the Ganges to the Chambal (Mbh. 138. 73-74). A great struggle raged in ancient times between the Kurus and the Pañchālas for the possession of Uttara Pañchāla. Sometimes Uttara Pañchāla was included in Kururaṭṭha (Somanassa Jātaka No. 505; Mahābhārata I. 138) and had its capital at Hāstinapura (Divyāvadāna, p. 435), at other times it formed a part of Kampillaraṭṭha (Brahmadatta Jātaka No. 323, Jayaddisa Jātaka No. 513 and Gaṇḍatindu Jātaka No. 520). Sometimes kings of Kampillaraṭṭha held court at Uttara Pañchālanagara, at other times kings of Uttara Pañchalāraṭṭha held court at Kampilla (Kumbhakāra Jātaka No. 408).

The history of Pañchāla from the death of Pravāhaṇa Jaivala or Jaivali to the time of Bimbisāra of Magadha is obscure. The only king who may be referred to this period is Durmukha (Dummukha) the contemporary of Nimi (Jātaka No. 408) the penultimate sovereign of Mithilā (Jātaka No. 541). In the Kumbhakāra Jātaka it is stated that Dummukha's kingdom was styled Uttara Pañchāla-raṭṭha; his capital was not Ahichchhatra but Kampillanagara. He is represented as a contemporary of Karaṇḍu king of Kaliṅga, Naggaji (Nagnajit) king of Gandhāra and Nimi king of Videha. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 23) that Durmukha, the Pañchāla king, made extensive conquests. His priest was Bṛihaduktha:

Etaṃ ha vā Aindraṃ Mahābhishekaṃ Bṛihaduktha Rishir Durmukhāya Pāñchālāya provācha tasmādu Durmukhaḥ Pañchālo Rājā sanvidyayā samantaṃ sarvataḥ pṛithivīṃ jayan parīyāya.

A great Pañchāla king named Chulani Brahmadatta is mentioned in the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka (546), the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra (SBE, XLV. 57-61), the Svapnavāsavadatta (Act V) and the Rāmāyaṇa (I. 32). In the last mentioned work he is said to have married the daughters (Kanyāḥ) of Kuśanābha who were made hump-backs (Kubja) by the wind-god. In the Jātaka Kevatta, the minister of Brahmadatta, is said to have formed a plan for making Chulani chief king of all India, and the king himself is represented as having laid siege to Mithilā. In the Uttarādhyayana Brahmadatta is styled a Universal monarch. The story of Brahmadatta is, however, essentially legendary, and little reliance can be placed on it. The Rāmāyaṇic legend regarding the king is only important as showing the connection of the early Pañchālas with the foundation of the famous city of Kānyakubja or Kanauj.

The Uttarādhyayana Sūtra mentions a king of Kampilya named Sañjaya who gave up his kingly power and

adopted the faith of the Jinas (SBE, XLV. 80-82). We do not know what happened after Sañjaya gave up his kingly power. But there is reason to believe that the Pañchālas, like the Videhas, Mallas and Kurus, established a Saṅgha form of Government of the Rājaśabdopajîvin type (Arthaśāstra, 1919, p. 378).

Matsya had its capital at Virāṭanagara or Bairāṭ in the modern Jaipur State (Carmichael Lec., 1919, p. 53).

The early history of the Matsyas has already been related. Its history during the centuries which immediately preceded the reign of Bimbisāra of Magadha is not known. It is not included by Kauṭilya among those states which had a Saṅgha form of Government. The probability is that the monarchical constitution endured till the loss of its independence. It was probably at one time annexed to the neighbouring kingdom of Chedi. The Mahābhārata (V. 74. 16) refers to a king named Sahaja who reigned over both the Chedis and the Matsyas. It was finally absorbed into the Magadhan Empire. Some of the most famous edicts of Aśoka have been found at Bairāṭ.

The Mahābhārata (II. 31. 4) mentions a people called the Apara Matsyas who probably occupied the hill tract on the north bank of the Chambal (J.A.S.B., 1895, 251). The Rāmāyaṇa (II. 71. 5) has a reference to the Vîra Matsyas.

The **Surasena** country had its capital at Mathurā on the Yamunā. Neither Śūrasena nor Mathurā finds any mention in the Vedic literature. But the Greek writers refer to the Sourasenoi and their cities Methora and Cleisobora.

In the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas the ruling family of Mathurā is styled the Yadu or Yādava family. The Yādavas were divided into various septs, namely, the Vîtihotras, Sātvatas, etc. (Matsya, 43-44 ; Vāyu, 94-96).

The Sātvatas were subdivided into several branches, *e. g.*, the Daivāvridhas, Andhakas, Mahābhojas and Vrishṇis (Vishṇu, IV. 13. 1; Vāyu, 96. 1-2).

Yadu and his tribe are repeatedly mentioned in the Rig Veda. He is closely associated with Turvaśa and in one place (1. 108. 8) with Druhyu, Anu and and Pūru. This association is also proved by the epic and Paurāṇic legends which state that Yadu and Turvāśu were the sons of the same parents, and Druhyu, Anu and Pūru were their step-brothers.

We learn from the Rig Veda (I. 36. 18 ; VI. 45. 1) that Yadu and Turvasa came from a distant land. The Sātvatas or Satvats also appear to be mentioned in the Vedic texts. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 21) the defeat by Bharata of the Satvats or Satvants and his taking away the horse which they had prepared for an Aśvamedha are referred to. The geographical position of Bharata's kingdom is clearly shown by the fact that he made offerings on the Yamunā and the Ganges (Ait. Br. VIII, 23; Mbh. VII. 66. 8). The Satvats must have been occupying some adjoining region. The epic and Paurāṇic tradition which places them in the Mathurā district is thus amply confirmed. At a later time, however, a branch of the Satvats must have migrated southward, for in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14. 3), the Satvats are described as a southern people ruled by Bhoja kings. In the Purāṇas also we find that a branch of the Satvats was styled Bhoja (Vishṇu IV, 13. 1-6) :

"Bhajina-Bhajamāna-divyāndhaka-Devāvṛidha-Mahābhoja-Vrishṇi-samjñāḥ Satvatasya putrā babhūvuḥ..... Mahā Bhojastvati dharmātmā tasyānvaye Bhojamārtikā vatā babhūvuḥ."

It is also stated that several southern states, Māhismatī, Vidarbha, etc., were founded by princes of Yadu lineage (Mat., p. 43. 10-29; 44. 36; Vāyu, 94. 26; 95.35).

Not only the Bhojas, but the Devāvṛidha branch of the Satvatas is also mentioned in the Vedic literature. Babhru Daivāvridha (Vāyu, 96. 15, Vishṇu, IV. 13. 3-5) is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 34) as a contemporary of Bhîma, king of Vidarbha and Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra. The Andhakas and Vrishṇis are referred to in the Ashṭādhyāî of Pāṇini (IV. 1. 114; VI. 2. 34). In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (p. 12) the Vrishṇis are described as a Saṅgha, *i.e.*, a republican corporation. The Mahābhārata, too, refers to the Vrishṇis, Andhakas and other associate tribes as a Saṅgha (XII. 81. 25), and Vāsudeva as a Saṅghamukhya. The name of the Vrishṇi corporation has been preserved by a unique coin (Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 119). It is stated in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas that Kaṁsa, like Peisistratus and others of Greek history, tried to make himself tyrant at Mathurā by overpowering the Yādavas, and that Krishṇa, a scion of the Vrishṇi family, killed him. The slaying of Kaṁsa by Krishṇa is referred to by Pātañjali and the Ghata Jātaka (No. 454). The latter work confirms the Hindu tradition about the association of Krishṇa-Vāsudeva's family with Mathurā ("Uttara Madhurā").[1]

The final overthrow of the Vrishṇis is ascribed to their irreverent conduct towards Brāhmaṇas (Mahābhārata, Maushala Parva, I. 15-22; 2. 10; Arthaśāstra, p. 12; Jātaka, IV., pp. 55-56, V., p. 138). It is interesting to note in this connection, that the Vrishṇis and the Andhakas are branded as Vrātyas in the Droṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata (141-15).

The Buddhist texts refer to Avantiputta king of the Śūrasenas in the time of Mahā Kachchāna (M. 2. 83) who

[1] The question of the historical existence of Krishṇa Vāsudeva has been discussed in my Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect, pp. 26-35.

was the first among the chief disciples of Śākyamuni through whose agency Buddhism gained ground in the Mathurā region. The Śūrasenas continued to be a notable people up to the time of Megasthenes. But at that time they must have formed an integral part of the Maurya Empire.

Assaka was situated on the banks of the Godhāvarî (Sutta Nipāta, 977), The name of the territory represents the Sanskrit Aśmaka. The Aśmakas are mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 1. 173). As the grammarian refers to Dākshinātya (IV. 2. 98) and Kaliṅga (IV. 1. 178) his Aśmaka may be Assaka in the Deccan. It may however also denote the Aśmakas in North-West India referred to by the Greek writers as the Assakenoi.

The capital of Assaka was Potana or Potali (Chullakāliṅga Jātaka No. 301; D. 2. 235). Prof. Bhandarkar points out (Carm. Lec., pp. 53-54) that in early Pali literature Assaka has, on the one hand, been distinguished from Mulaka which lay to its north, and on the other from Kaliṅga. He suggests that in later times Assaka seems to have included Mulaka, and also perhaps Kaliṅga. In the Sona-Nanda Jātaka we find Assaka associated with Avanti; this association can only be explained if we surmise that Assaka included at that time Mulaka and thus its territory abutted on Avanṭi.

In the Vāyu Purāṇa (88. 177-178) Aśmaka and Mulaka appear as scions of the Ikshvāku family. This probably indicates that the Aśmaka and Mulaka kingdoms were believed to have been founded by Ikshvāku chiefs, just as Vidarbha and Daṇḍaka were founded by princes of the Yadu (Bhoja) family. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions Brahmadatta king of the Assakas who was a contemporary of Sattabhu king of Kaliṅga, Vessabhu king of Avanti, Bharata king of Sovîra, Reṇu king of Videha, Dhataraṭṭha king of Aṅga and Dhataraṭṭha king of Kāsi.

(Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 270). The Mahābhārata (I. 177. 47) refers to " Aśmako nāma Rājarshiḥ Paudanyaṁ yo nyaveśayat." Paudanya is evidently identical with Potana or Potali.

We learn from the Assaka Jātaka (No. 207) that at one time the city of Potali was included in the kingdom of Kāsi, and its prince Assaka was presumably a vassal of the Kāsi monarch. The Chulla Kāliṅga Jātaka mentions a king of Assaka named Aruṇa and his minister Nandisena, and refers to a victory which they won over the king of Kaliṅga.

Avanti roughly corresponds to modern Mālwā, Nimar and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. Prof. Bhandarkar points out that Avanti was divided into two parts : the northern part had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part called Avanti Dakshiṇāpatha had its capital at Māhissatî or Māhiśmatî, modern Māndhātā on the Narmadā.

The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions Māhissatî as the capital of the Avantis, and refers to their king Vessabhu. The Mahābhārata distinguishes between the kingdoms of Avanti and Māhiśmatî, but locates Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti near the Narmadā (Narmadāmabhitaḥ, II. 31. 10).

The Purāṇas attribute the foundation of Māhiśmatî, Avanti, and Vidarbha to scions of the Yadu family. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa also associates the Satvats and the Bhojas, septs of the Yadu family according to the Purāṇas, with the southern realms (Matsya, 43-44 ; Vāyu, 95-96 : Ait. Br. VIII. 14).

The Purāṇas style the first dynasty of Māhiśmatî as Haihaya (Matsya, 43. 8-29 ; Vāyu, 94. 5-26). The Haihaya family is referred to by such an ancient authority as Kauṭilya (Arthaśāstra, p. 11). The Haihayas are said to have overthrown the Nāgas who must have been the

aboriginal inhabitants of the Narmadā region (*cf.* Nāgpur). The Matsya Purāṇa mentions five branches of the Haihayas namely Vîtihotras, Bhojas, Avantis, Kuṇḍikeras or Tuṇḍikeras and the Tālajaṅghas (43. 48-49). When the Vîtihotras and Avantis passed away, a minister named Pulika is said to have killed his master and anointed his own son Pradyota by force in the very sight of the Kshatriyas. In the fourth century B.C., Avanti formed an integral part of the Magadhan Empire.

The kingdom of **Gandhāra** according to Jātaka No. 406 included Kāśmîr as well as the Takshaśilā region. Takshaśilā, the capital city, lay 2,000 leagues from Benares (Telapatta Jātaka No. 96; Susîma Jātaka No. 163).

The Purāṇas represent the Gandhāra kings as the descendants of Druhyu (Matsya 48. 6; Vāyu 99. 9). Druhyu and his people are mentioned several times in the Rig Veda. In the Vedic Index (I. 385) it is stated that "from the tribal grouping it is probable that the Druhyus were a north-western people." Thus the Purāṇic tradition about the connection of the Gandhāras with Druhyu accords with Vedic evidence.

Takshaśilā is mentioned in the Mahābhārata in connection with the story of king Janamejaya by whom it had been conquered. In the time of Nimi king of Videha, Durmukha king of Pañchāla, and Bhîma king of Vidarbha, the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Naggaji or Nagnajit (Kumbhakāra Jātaka; Ait. Br. VII. 34; Śat. Br. VIII. 1. 4. 10). We learn from the Kumbhakāra Jātaka that his capital was Takshaśilā. The Jaina Uttarādhyayana Sūtra mentions "Dvimukha" of Pañchāla, Nami of Videha, "Naggati" of Gandhāra, and "Karakaṇḍu" of Kaliṅga, and says that "these bulls of kings have adopted the faith of the Jainas" (SBE, XLV, 87). As Pārśva (777 B.C.) was the first historical Jina, Naggati or Nagnajit is probably to be placed between

777 B.C. and 543 B.C. (the date of Pukkusāti the Gandhārian contemporary of Bimbisāra). We do not, however, say that implicit reliance can be placed on a statement of the Uttarādhyayana.

Nagnajit was succeeded by his son Svarjit (Śat. Br., VIII. 1. 4. 10).

In the middle of the sixth century B.C. the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Pukkusāti who is said to have sent an embassy and a letter to king Bimbisāra of Magadha. In the latter half of the sixth century Gandhāra was conquered by the king of Persia. In the Behistun inscription of Darius, cir. 516 B.C., the Gandhārians (Gadara) appear among the subject peoples of the Achaemenian Empire (see "Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achaemenidan Inscriptions" by Herbert Cushing Tolman, Vanderbilt Oriental Series, Vol. VI).

Kamboja is constantly associated with Gandhāra in literature and inscriptions (Mbh. XII. 207. 43; Aṅguttara N. I. 213; 4. 252, 256, 260; Rock Edict V of Aśoka). Like Gandhāra it is included in the Uttarāpatha (*cf.* Mbh. XII. 207. 43). It must therefore be located in some part of North-west India not far from Gandhāra. Rhys Davids (Bud. Ind. 28) mentions its capital Dvāraka. We learn from a passage of the Mahābhārata that a place called Rājapura was the home of the Kāmbojas (Mbh., VII. 4. 5, "Karṇa Rājapuraṁ gatvā Kāmbojā nirjitā stvayā"). The association of the Kāmbojas with the Gāndhāras enables us to identify this Rājapura with the Rājapura of Hiuen Tsang (Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 284), which lay to the south or south-east of Punach.

The Vedic texts do not mention any king of Kamboja. But they refer to a teacher named Kamboja Aupamanyava (Vaṁśa Br.) who was probably connected with this territory.

In the Bhūridatta Jātaka (No. 543) the Kambojas are credited with savage customs :

ete hi dhammā anariyarūpā
Kambojākanaṁ vitathā bahunnan ti.

Jātaka, VI. 208.

These are your savage customs which I hate,
Such as Kamboja hordes might emulate.

Cowell's Jātaka, VI. 110.

This description of the Kāmbojas agrees wonderfully with Hiuen Tsang's account of Rājapura and the adjoining countries. "From Lampa to Rājapura the inhabitants are coarse and plain in personal appearance, of rude violent dispositions...they do not belong to India proper but are inferior peoples of frontier (*i.e.*, barbarian) stocks."

The Kambojas are known as Kambujiya in the old Persian inscriptions. In the Mahābhārata the Kambojas are represented as living under a monarchical constitution (*cf.* II. 4. 22 ; V. 165. 1-3, etc.). Kauṭilya (p. 378) mentions the Kshatriya sreṇî of Kamboja as an illustration of a "Vārtāśastropajivin" Saṅgha.

The epic account of the Mahājanapadas :

An interesting account of the characteristic of the peoples of most of the Mahājanapadas described above is to be found in the Karṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata.

The Pañchālas, Kurus, Matsyas, Śūrasenas and the Chedis receive unstinted praise :

Kuravaḥ saha Pañchālāḥ Śālvā Matsyāḥ sa Naimishāḥ
Chedayaśchа mahābhāgā dharmaṁ jānanti śāśvatam
Brāhmaṁ Pañchālāḥ Kauraveyāstu dharmaṁ
Satyaṁ Matsyāḥ Śūrasenāścha yajñam

The Kauravas with the Pañchālas, the Śālvas, the Matsyas, the Naimishas and the Chedis who are all highly blessed, know what the eternal religion is.[1]

[1] Mahābhārata, VIII. 45. 14-16; 28; 34.

The Pañchālas observe the Vedas, the Kauravas observe Dharma, the Matsyas observe the truth, and the Śūrasenas perform sacrifices.[1]

The Magadhas are called comprehenders of signs; while the Kosalas are represented as comprehending from what they see :

Iṅgitajñāścha Magadhāḥ prekshitajñāścha Kośalāḥ.[1]

The Aṅgas and the Gandhāras come in for a good deal of condemnation :

Âturāṇāṁ parityāga sadārasutavikrayaḥ
Aṅgeshu vartate Karṇa yeshāmadhipatirbhavān.

The abandonment of the afflicted and the sale of wives and children are, O Karṇa, prevalent among the Aṅgas whose king thou art.[2]

Madrakeshu cha saṁsṛishṭaṁ śauchaṁ Gāndhārakeshucha
Rājayājakayājyecha nashṭaṁ dattaṁ havirbhavet.

Amongst the Madrakas all acts of friendship are lost as purity among the Gāndhārakas, and the libations poured in a sacrifice in which the king is himself the sacrificer and priest.[2]

The verses quoted above give a fair idea of the attitude of a poet of the Western part of the Madhyadeśa towards most of the Mahājanapadas of Northern India.

The Fall of Kāsi and the Ascendancy of Kosala.

The flourishing period of many of the sixteen Mahājanapadas ended in or about the sixth century B.C. The history of the succeeding period is the story of the absorption of the states into a number of powerful kingdoms, and ultimately into one empire, namely, the empire of Magadha.

[1] Mahābhārata, VIII. 45. 14-16 ; 28 ; 34.
[2] *Ibid*, 45. 40 ; 40. 29.

Kāsi was probably the first to fall. The Mahāvagga and the Jātakas refer to bitter struggles between Kāsi and her neighbours, specially Kosala. The facts of the struggle are obscure, being wrapped up in legendary matter from which it is impossible to disentangle them. The Kāsis seem to have been successful at first, but the Kosalas were the gainers in the end.

In the Mahāvagga (SBE, XVII. 294-99) and the Kosambî Jātaka (No. 428) it is stated thad Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, robbed Dîghati, king of Kosala, of his kingdom, and put him to death. In the Kunāla Jātaka (No. 536) it is stated that Brahmadatta, king of Kāsi, owing to his having an army, seized on the kingdom of Kosala, slew its king, and carried off his chief queen to Benares, and there made her his consort. The Brahāchatta Jātaka (No. 336) and the Sona-Nanda Jātaka (No. 532) also refer to the victories of Kāsi kings over Kosala.

Success however did not remain long with the Kāsis (*cf.* Jātaka No. 100). In the Mahāsîlava Jātaka (No. 51) king Mahāsílava of Kāsi is said to have been deprived of his realm by the king of Kosala. In the Ghata Jātaka (No. 355) and the Ekarāja Jātaka (No. 303) Vaṅka and Dabbasena, kings of Kosala, are said to have won for their kingdom a decided preponderance over Kāsi. The final conquest of the latter kingdom was probably the work of Kaṁsa, as the epithet " Bārānasiggaho," *i.e.*, conqueror of Benares, is a standing addition to his name (the Seyya Jātaka No. 282 and the Tesakuṇa Jātaka No. 521, Buddhist India, p. 25). The interval of time between Kaṁsa's conquest of Kāsi and the rise of Buddhism could not have been very long because the memory of Kāsi as an independent kingdom was still fresh in the minds of the people in Buddha's time, and even later when the Aṅguttara Nikāya was composed.

In the time of Mahākosala (sixth century B.C.) Kāsi formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy. When Mahākosala married his daughter, the lady Kosalādevî, to king Bimbisāra of Magadha, he gave a village of Kāsi producing a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money (Harita Māta Jātaka No. 239; Vaḍḍhaki Sūkara Jātaka No. 283).

In the time of Mahākosala's son and successor Pasenadi or Prasenajit Kāśi still formed a part of the Kosalan empire. In the Lohichcha Sutta (Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, 288-97) Buddha asks a person named Lohichcha the following questions : " Now what think you Lohichcha ? Is not king Pasenadi of Kosala in possession of Kāsi and Kosala ?" Lohichcha replies " Yes that is so Gotama." We learn from the Mahāvagga (SBE, XVII. 195) that the Viceroy of Kāsi was a brother of Pasenadi.

The Samyukta Nikāya (the Book of the Kindred Sayings, translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 106) mentions Pasenadi as the head of a group of five Rājās. One of these was probably his brother who was the Viceroy of Kāsi. Among the remaining Rājās we should include Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of Sukeśā Bhāradvāja and Aśvalāyana and consequently of Buddha and Pasenadi, if our identification of Āśvalāyana Kausalya with Assalāyana of Sāvatthi mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya be correct.

Another Rājā of the group was probably the Sākya chief of Kapilavastu. From the introductory portion of the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (No. 465) we learn that the Sākya territory was subordinate to the Kosalan monarch. The inclusion of the Sākya territory, the birthplace of Buddha, within the Kosalan empire is also proved by the Sutta Nipāta (SBE, X, Part II, pp. 68-69) and the Majjhima

Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 124, which describe Buddha and his people as Kosalans.

It was probably during the reign of Mahākosala, that Bimbisāra ascended the throne of Magadha. The Mahāvaṁśa (Geiger's Translation, p. 12) tells us that "The virtuous Bimbisāra was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father." With the coronation of Bimbisāra ends the period with which this chapter deals.

Kingship.

We have given the outlines of the political history of India from the accession of Parikshit to the coronation of Bimbisāra. We have seen that during the major part of this period the prevailing form of Government was monarchical. No political history of this age is complete unless we know something about the rank and status of the monarchs in the different parts of India, their caste, the methods of their selection and consecration, the chief members of their households, and their civil and military services, the checks on their authority, etc.

The different kinds of rulerships prevalent in different parts of India are thus described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.[1]

> Etasyāṁ Prāchyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Prāchyānāṁ rājānaḥ Sāmrājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Samrālityenānabhishiktānāchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu.
>
> Etasyāṁ dakshiṇasyā diśi ye ke cha Satvatāṁ Rājāno Bhaujyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Bhojetyenānabhishiktānāchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu.
>
> Etasyāṁ Pratîchyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Nîchyānāṁ Rājāno ye'pāchyānāṁ Svārājyāyaiva te'

[1] VIII 14.

bhishichyante Svarālityenānabhishiktānāchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu.

Etasyāṁ Udîchyāṁ diśi ye ke cha pareṇa Himavantaṁ Janapadā Uttara Kurava Uttara Madrā iti Vairājyāyaiva te' bhishichyante Virālityenāna bhishiktānāchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu. Etasyāṁ dhruvāyāṁ Madhyamāyāṁpratishṭhāyāṁ diśi ye ke cha Kuru Pañchālānāṁ Rājānaḥ sa Vaśośînarāṇāṁ Rājyāyaiva te'bhishichyante Rājetyenānabhishiktānāchakshata etāmeva Devānāṁ vihitimanu.

Several scholars assert that Vairājya means a kingless state. But in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa [1] a king consecrated with Indra's great unction is called Virāṭ and worthy of Vairājya. When a king consecrated with the Punarabhisheka ascends his Āsandî or throne, he prays for attaining Vairājya as well as other kinds of royal dignity. Sāyaṇa takes the word Vairājyaṁ to mean "itarebhyo bhupatibhyo vaiśishtyam." It is also stated in the Śukraniti (B.K. Sarkar's translation, p. 24) that the Virāṭ was a superior kind of monarch. In the Mahābhārata (XII. 43.11) Kṛishṇa is called Samrāṭ, Virāṭ, Svarāṭ and Surarāja. *Cf.* XII., 68.54.

It is not easy to decide whether all the terms Sāmrājya, Bhaujya, Svarājya, Vairājya and Rājya referred to essentially different forms of royal authority in the Brāhmaṇic period. But two terms at least, namely, Sāmrājya and Rājya are clearly distinguished by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa [2] and also the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.[3]

Rājā vai Rājasūyeneshṭvā bhavati, Samrāḍ Vājapeyenāvaraṁhi Rājyaṁ paraṁ Sāmrājyaṁ kāmayeta vai Rāja Samrāḍ bhavitum avaraṁhi rājyaṁ paramsaṁrājyaṁ.[4]

[1] VIII. 17. [2] V. 1. 1. 13. [3] XV. 1. 1, 2. [4] Śat. Br. V. 1. 1. 13.

"By offering the Rājasūya he becomes Rāja and by the Vājapeya he becomes Samrāj; and the office of Rājan is the lower and that of Samrāj the higher; a Rājan might indeed wish to become Samrāj, for the office of Rājan is the lower and that of Samrāj the higher; but the Samrājas would not wish to become Rājās for the office of Rājan is the lower, and that of Samrāj the higher."

If the Purāṇas are to be believed Bhoja was originally a proper name. But afterwards it came to denote a class of Southern kings. The word Cæsar furnishes an exact parallel. Originally it was the name of a Roman dictator. But afterwards it was a title assumed by Roman Emperors.

In some Vedic texts [1] Svarājya means uncontrolled dominion, and is opposed to Rājya.[2]

The king was usually, though not always, a Kshatriya. The Brāhmaṇas were considered to be unsuited for Kingship. Thus we read in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa "to the king (Rājan) doubtless belongs the Rājasūya; for by offering the Rājasūya he becomes king, and unsuited for kingship is the Brāhmaṇa." [3]

We have, however, references to Śūdra and Āyogava kings in the Vedic texts. King Janaśruti Pautrāyaṇa is called a Śūdra in the Chhāndogya Upanishad.[4] King Marutta Avikshita is styled "Āyogava" in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[5] Āyogava denotes a member of a mixed caste, a descendant of a Śūdra by a Vaiśya wife.[6] The Jātakas refer to kings of several castes including Brāhmaṇas (*cf.* Jātakas 73, 432).

Kingship was sometimes hereditary, as is indeed shown by several cases where the descent can be traced

[1] Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā, XIV. 5; Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā, I. 11. 5, etc.
[2] Vedic Index, II. 221.
[3] SBE, XLI. Eggeling, Śat. Br., Part III, p. 4.
[4] IV. 2. 1-5.
[5] XIII. 5. 4. 6.
[6] Manusaṁhitā, X. 12.

(*cf.* the Pārikshitas and the kings of Janaka's line ; *cf.* also the expression Daśapurushaṃrājya—a kingdom of ten generations occurring in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XII. 9. 3. 3), yet in others the monarchy was elective. The selection was made sometimes by the people and sometimes by the ministers. The choice was sometimes limited to the members of the royal family only, as is shown by the legend in Yāska [1] of the Kuru brothers Devāpi and Śantanu. In the Saṁvara Jātaka (No. 462) the courtiers of a king asked the latter "when you are dead, my lord, to whom shall we give the white umbrella?" "Friends," said the king, "all my sons have a right to the white umbrella. But you may give it to him that pleases your mind."

Sometimes the popular choice fell on persons who did not belong to the royal family. It is stated in the Pādañjali Jātaka, No. 247, that when a certain king of Benares died, his son Pādañjali by name, an idle lazy loafer, was set aside, and the minister in charge of things spiritual and temporal was raised to the throne. The Sachchaṁkira Jātaka, No. 73, tells a story how the nobles, Brāhmaṇas and all classes slew their king and anointed a private citizen. Sometimes an outsider was chosen. The Ḍarîmukha Jātaka (No. 378) and the Sonaka Jātaka (No. 529) tell us how on failure of heir at Benares a Prince of Magadha was elected king.

The king during the Brāhmaṇa period had four queens the Mahishî, the Parivṛiktî, the Vāvātā, and the Pālāgalî. The Mahisî was the chief wife, being the first one married according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[2] The Parivṛiktî was the neglected wife, probably one that had no son. The Vāvātā is the favourite, while the Pālāgalî was, according to Weber, the daughter of the last of the court officials.[3] In

[1] Nirukta, II. 10. Ved. Ind. II. 211. [2] VI. 5. 3. 1. [3] Ved. Ind., I. 478.

the Jātaka period several kings kept a fairly big harem. We are told in the Kusa Jātaka, No. 531, that king Okkāko had sixteen thousand wives among whom Sîlavatî was the chief (aggamahesî). The king of Benares according to the Dasaratha Jātaka, No. 461, had an equal number of wives. In the Suruchi Jātaka, No. 489, a king of Mithilā says "Ours is a great kingdom, the city of Mithilā covers seven leagues, the measure of the whole kingdom is 300 leagues. Such a king should have sixteen-thousand women at the least." Sixteen thousand appears to have been a stock phrase. The number is evidently exaggerated But it indicates that the kings of the Jātaka period were extreme polygamists who frequently exceeded the Brāhmaṇic number of four queens.

The king was consecrated after his succession or election with an elaborate ritual which is described in several Brāhmaṇas, and for which the Mantras are given in the Saṁhitās. Those who aided in the consecration of the king were called Rājakartṛi or Rājakṛit, "kingmaker." In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the persons meant and specified are the Sūta (minstrel and chronicler or charioteer), and the Grāmaṇî, village chief. Prof. Rādhākumud Mookerji observes[1] "It is apparent from the lists of persons aiding in the royal coronation that both official and non-official or popular elements were represented in the function." The principal ceremonies or sacrifices of royal inauguration were the Vājapeya, the Rājasūya, the Punarabhisheka and the Aindra Mahābhisheka.

The Vājapeya bestowed on the performer a superior kind of kingship called "Sāmrājya," while the Rājasūya merely conferred the ordinary royal dignity.[2] The Punarabhisekh made the king elect eligible for all sorts of royal

[1] The Fundamental Unity of India, p 83.

[2] Rājya, *cf.* Śat. Br., V. 1, 1. 13.

dignity, *viz.*, Rājya, Sāmrājya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Pārameshṭhya, Māhārājya, Âdhipatya, Svāvasya and Ātishṭhatva.[1] The object of Aindra Mahābhisekha is thus described :

"Sa ya ichchhedevaṁvit Kshatriyamayaṁ sarvā jitîrjayetāyaṁ sarvāṁllokān vindetāyaṁ sarveshāṁ Rājñāṁ Śraishṭhyamatishthāṁ paramatāṁ gachchheta Sāmrājyaṁ, Bhaujyaṁ, Svārājyaṁ, Vairājyaṁ, Pārameshṭhyāṁ, Rājyaṁ, Māhārājyaṁ Âdhipatyaṁ ayaṁ samantaparyāyî syāt Sārvabhaumaḥ sārvāyusha ā'ntādā parārddhāt Pṛithivyai Samudraparyantāyā ekarāl iti tametena Aindreṇa Mahābhishekeṇa kshatriyaṁ śāpayitvā'bhishiñched."

Ait. Br., VIII, 15.

The Vājapeya rites include a chariot race, in which the sacrificer is allowed to carry off the palm, and from which, according to Eggeling, the ceremony perhaps derives its name. Professor Hillebrandt would claim for this feature of the sacrifice the character of a relic of an old national festival, a kind of Indian Olympic games. After the chariot race the next interesting item is the mounting of the sacrificial post by the sacrificer and his wife, from which homage is made to the mother earth. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa says. "Truly he who gains a seat in the air gains a seat above others."[2] The royal sacrificer having descended from the post, is offered a throne-seat with a goatskin spread thereon and addressed by the Adhvaryu in the following words "thou art the ruler, the ruling lord—thou art firm and steadfast—(here I seat) thee for the tilling, for peaceful dwelling, for wealth, for prosperity, *i.e.*, for the welfare of the people, the common weal."[3]

The Rājasūya consisted of a long succession of sacrificial performances spread over a period of upwards of

[1] Ait. Br. VIII. 6. [2] Śat. Br. V. 2. 1. 22.

[3] Śat. Br. V. 2. 1. 25 : The Fundamental Unity of India, p. 80.

two years (SBE, XLI, p. xxvi). The rite is described at great length in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[1] Besides much mere priestly elaboration, the ritual contains traces of popular ceremonial (Ved. Ind., II. 219). For example, the king is clothed in the ceremonial garments of his rank, and provided with bow and arrow as emblems of sovereignty. He performs a mimic cow raid against a relative of his;[2] or engages in a show fight with a Rājanya.[3] A game of dice is played in which he is made to be the victim; he symbolically ascends the quarters of the sky as an indication of his universal rule; and steps on a tiger skin, thus gaining the strength and the pre-eminence of the tiger. A notable feature of the Rājasūya is the ceremony of the Ratna-havis or jewel offerings. The recipients of these sacrificial honours, the Ratninaḥ, were the chief members of the royal household and of the king's civil and military service: *viz.*—

1. The Senānî (Commander of the army).
2. The Purohita (Chaplain of the king).
3. The Mahishî (Chief Queen).
4. The Sūta (Court Minstrel and Chronicler).
5. The Grāmaṇî (Village Headman).
6. The Kshattṛi (Chamberlain).
7. The Saṁgrahîtṛi (Treasurer).
8. The Bhāgadugha (Carver).
9. The Akshāvāpa (Keeper of the Dice).
10. The Go-vikartana (King's Companion in the chase).
11. The Pālāgala (Courier).

The next essential part of the Rājasūya was the Abhisheka or ḅesprinkling. It began with offerings to Savitā Satyaprasava, Agni Gṛihapati, Soma Vanaspati,

[1] V. 2. 3. (*et seq*).
[2] Śat. Br. V. 4, 3, 1 *et seq.*
[3] *Cf.* Taittirîya Saṁhitā, I. 8. 15 with commentary; SBE. xli, 100, n. 1.

Bṛihaspati Vāk, Indra Jyeshṭha, Rudra Paśupati, Mitra Satya and Varuṇa Dharmapati. The consecration water (Abhishechanîyā Âpaḥ) was made up of seventeen kinds including the water of the Sarasvatî, Sea-water, and water from a whirlpool, a pond, a well and dew. The sprinkling was performed by a Brāhmaṇa, a kinsman or brother of the king elect, a friendly Rājanya and a Vaiśya.

The two most important kinds of Abhisheka were the Punarabhisheka and the Aindra Mahābhisheka.

The Punarabhisheka or Second Coronation is described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 5-11. It was intended for Kshatriya conquering monarchs. The first interesting part of the ceremony was the king's ascent to the throne or Âsandî which was made of Udumbara wood with the exception of the interwoven part (Vivayana) which consisted of Muñja grass. Then came the besprinkling. Among other things the priest said "Rājñaṁ tvam Adhirājo bhaveha; Mahāntaṁ tvā mahînāṁ Samrājaṁ charshaṇînāṁ.[1] The king was next required to get down from the throne and make obeisance to the Brāhmaṇās "Brahmaṇa eva tat Kshatraṁ vaśa meti tad yatra vai Brahmaṇaḥ kshatraṁ vaśameti tad rāshṭraṁ samṛiddhaṁ tadvîravadā hāsmin vîro jāyate" (Ait. Br., VIII. 9). Here there is ample provision for the prevention of royal absolutism.

Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, was evidently consecrated with the Punarabhisheka (Ait. Br. VIII. 11).

The Aindra Mahābhisheka or Indra's great unction consisted of three important ceremonies, *viz.*:

1. Ârohaṇa (Ascending the throne).
2. Utkrośana (Singing the king's praise).
3. Abhimantraṇa (repetition of special formulas or Mantras).

[1] Ait. Br. VIII. 7.

The following kings are said to have been consecrated with the Aindra Mahābhisheka: Janamejaya, Śāryāta, Śatānîka, Âmbāshṭhya, Yudhāṁśraushṭi, Viśvakarmā, Sudās, Marutta, Aṅga and Bharata (Ait. Br. VIII. 21-23). The first-mentioned king, and probably the third, fourth, fifth and ninth also belonged to the Post-Parikshit period.[1]

Powerful kings and princes performed another important sacrifice called the Aśvamedha. The Âpastamba Śrauta Sūtra (XX. i. 1) says that a Sārvabhauma Rājā may perform the Aśvamedha. Among the kings and princes who performed the Asvamedha were Janamejaya, his brothers Bhîmasena, Ugrasena, and Śrutasena, and Para Âṭnāra, king of Kosala.

Kingship during the Pārikshita-Janaka period was not merely a "Patriarchal Presidency." The monarch was not merely a "chief noble," "the first among equals," "President of a Council of Peers." In several Vedic texts he is represented as the master of his people. He claimed the power of giving his kingdom away to anybody he liked, and taxing the people as much as he liked. In the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad Janaka says to Yājñavalkya "So'haṃ Bhagavate Videhān dadāmi māñchāpi saha dāsyāyeti" (Brih. Up., IV. 4. 23). The king is called "Viśvasya bhūtasya adhipati" and is further described as the devourer of the people—Viśāmattā (Ait. Br. VIII. 17). "Rājā ta ekaṁ mukhaṁ tena mukhena Viśo'tsi" (Kaush. Up., II. 6).

The king, however, was not an absolute despot in practice. His power was checked, in the first place, by

[1] Śatānîka defeated Dhṛitarāshṭra of Kāśi who, according to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta, was a contemporary of Sattabhu of Kaliṅga and Brahmadatta of Assaka. As the Deccan kingdoms are not referred to in pre-Pārikshita works, it is probable that Śatānîka and his contemporaries flourished after Parikshit. Âmbāshṭhya and Yudhāṁśraushṭi were contemporaries of Parvata and Nārada who were very near in time to Nagnajit the contemporary of Nimi the penultimate king of Videha. Aṅga was probably the immediate predecessor of Dadhivāhana who, according to Jaina evidence, flourished in the 6th century B.C.

the Brāhmaṇas. We have seen that the most powerful sovereigns, even those who were consecrated with the Punarabhisheka, had to descend from the throne and make obeisance to the Brāhmaṇas who formed the higher educated community of those days. We learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 27) and Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (Ed. 1919, p. 11) that even a powerful king like Janamejaya was humbled by the Brāhmaṇas. The Vṛishṇis perished on account of their irreverent conduct towards Brāhmaṇas. This shows that not only the kings, but the republican corporations (Saṅgha) too, had to cultivate friendly relations with the Brāhmaṇas.

The second check was supplied by the ministers and village headmen who aided in the consecration of the king and whom the king consulted regularly. In the Vedic texts the Sūta and the Grāmaṇî are styled Rājakartṛi or Rājakṛit, *i.e.*, "King-maker" (Śat. Br., III. 4. 1. 7; XIII. 2. 2. 18). The very title indicates their importance in the body politic. They, as well as the other ratnins, figure prominently in the sacrifice of royal inauguration.

The claim of the ministers and village headmen to be consulted was certainly recognised by the kings down to the time of Bimbisāra. The Mahāvagga says (SBE, XVII. 304) "King Brahmadatta of Kāsi, O Bhikkhus, having entered Benares, convoked his ministers and counsellors and said to them: 'If you should see, my good sirs, young Dîghāvu, the son of king Dîghîti of Kosala, what would you do to him?'" The Mahā assāroha Jātaka (No. 302) refers to a king who by beat of drum through the city gathered together his councillors. In the Mahāvagga we find the following passage (SBE, XVII, p. 1) "Now when Seniya Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, was holding an assembly of the eighty thousand Gramikas he sent message to Sona Kolivisa." The Chulla-Sutasoma Jātaka also refers to the eighty thousand councillors of a

king headed by his general. These were asked to elect a king (Cowell's Jātaka, V, p. 97). The king-making power of the councillors is recognised also in the Pādañjali and Sonaka Jātakas.

Another check was supplied by the general body of the people (Janāḥ) who were distinct from the ministers and Grāmaṇîs or Grāmikas, and who used to meet in an assembly styled Samiti or Parishad in the Upanishads. In the Utkrośana passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 17) the people (Janāḥ) are clearly distinguished from the Rājakartāraḥ among whom, according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (III. 4. 1. 7; XIII. 2. 2. 18) were included the Sūta and the Grāmaṇî. That the Samiti or Parishad was an assembly of the Janāḥ, *i.e.*, the whole people, is apparent from such expressions as "Pañchālānāṁ Samitimeyāya," "Pañchālānāṁ Parishadamājagāma." The Chhāndogya Upanishad (V. 3. 1) mentions the Samiti of the Pañchāla people presided over by king Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, "Śvetaketurhāruṇeyaḥ Pañchālānāṁ Samitimeyāya; taṃ ha Pravāhaṇo Jaivaliruvācha." The Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad (VI. 2. 1) uses the term Parishad instead of Samiti "Śvetaketurhavā Âruṇeyaḥ Pañchālānāṁ Parishadamājagāma." The people took part in the ceremony of royal inauguration (Ait. Br. VIII. 17). The Dummedha Jātaka (No. 50) refers to a joint assembly of ministers, Brāhmaṇas, the gentry, and the other orders of the people.

That the people actually put a curb on royal absolutism is proved by the testimony of the Atharva Veda (VI. 88. 3) where it is stated that concord between king and assembly was essential for the former's prosperity. We have evidence that the people sometimes expelled and even executed their princes together with unpopular officials. Thus it is stated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XII. 9. 3. 1 *et seq.*; Eggeling, V., 269) "Now Dushṭarîtu

Pauṃsāyana had been expelled from the kingdom which had come to him through ten generations and the Sṛiñjayas also expelled Revottaras Pāṭava Chākra Sthapati." The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 10) refers to personages who were expelled from their rāshṭras and who were anxious to recover them with the help of the Kshatriya consecrated with the Punarabhisheka. Such persons were the Indian counterparts of the French "emigrants" who sought to reclaim revolutionary France with the help of the troops of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns (*cf.* Lodge, Modern Europe, p. 517). We learn from the Vessantara Jātaka that the king of Sivi was compelled to banish prince Vessantara in obedience to "the people's sentence."

The king was told:

The bidding of the Sivi folk if you refuse to do
The people then will act, methinks, against your son and you.

The king replied:

Behold the people's will, and I that will do not gainsay.

The Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka (No. 432) tells a story how the town and country folk of a kingdom assembled, beat the king and priest to death as they were guilty of theft, and anointed a good man king. A similar story is told in the Sachchaṁkira Jātaka (No. 73). We are told in the Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka that the people of one kingdom killed the minister, deposed the king, made him an outcast and anointed a prince as king. The ex-king was not allowed to enter into the capital city. Prof. Bhandarkar points out that in the Telapatta Jātaka a king of Takshaśilā says that he has no power over the subjects of his kingdom. This is in striking contrast with the utterance of Janaka quoted above ("Bhagavate Videhān dadāmi," etc.). Evidently the royal power had declined appreciably, at least in the North-west, since the days of Janaka.

The more important attributes of kingship are referred to in the "Utkrośana" passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 17). The monarch is there described as "Viśvasya bhūtasya adhipati," *i.e.*, sovereign lord of all beings. "Viśāmattā," *i.e.*, devourer of the people, "Amitrāṇāṁ hantā," *i.e.*, destroyer of enemies, "Brāhmaṇānāṁ Goptā," *i.e.*, protector of the Brāhmaṇas, "Dharmasya Goptā," *i.e.*, protector of the laws.

In the expressions quoted above we have reference to the king's sovereignty and Imperium, his power of taxation, his military functions, his relations with the Hierarchy, and his judicial duties.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page ii, l. 7. For some spurious plates of Janamejaya see Ep. Ind., VII, App., pp. 162-163.

Page 2, l. 33. There is no Janamejaya after Parikshit I. also in the Kuru-Pāṇḍu genealogy given in the Chellûr or Cocanada grant of Vîra Choḍa (Hultzsch, S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 57).

Page 3. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (IX. 22. 25-26) distinctly mentions Tura Kāvasheya as the priest of Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu, and the son of Parikshit II.

Page 12, l. 22. The polyandrous marriage of the Pāṇḍavas, does not necessarily indicate that they are interlopers. *Cf.* the cases of the Brāhmaṇa girls Jaṭilâ (Gautamî) and Vārkshî mentioned in the Mahābhārata (I. 196. 14-15 ; XII. 38. 5) and Mārishā mentioned in the Matsya Purāna (IV. 49). Mamatā was the *de facto* wife of both Utathya and his brother Bṛihaspati (Mbh. I. 104. 9-10). The system of Niyoga prevalent among the Kurus was not far removed from fraternal polyandry (*cf.* Mbh. I. 103. 9-10 ; 105, 37-38). A daughter of Yayāti was successively married to four persons, *viz.*, Haryyaśva, Divodāsa, Uśînara and Viśvāmitra (Mbh. V. 115-119). This was as much opposed to the Kuru dharma as the polyandrous marriage of the Pāṇḍavas. But nobody can doubt the Aryan nationality of Yayāti, a king mentioned in the Rigveda. Intermarriage between Hindus and

Moslems is not allowed by the Hindu dharma. Nevertheless the Rajput Princes, who were Hindus of Hindus, gave their daughters in marriage to Moghul Emperors.

Lastly, we should remember that there was only one case of polyandry in the Pāṇḍu family. The Pāṇḍavas were not habitually polyandrous. Subhadrā, for example, was the wife of Arjuna alone.

Page 13, l. 8. 1 *C. Cf.* V. Vaidya, the Mahābhārata: A Criticism, p. 2.

Page 16. See Weber, Ind. Lit., pp. 126, 135.

Page 20, l. 23. Macdonell, Sans. Lit., p.214.

Page 26, l. 13. Read 'its' for 'their.'

Page 28, l. 15. *Cf.* Hultzsch, Ind. Ant., 1905, p. 179.

Page 31, l. 28. In the Mahābhārata (I. 166. 21) however, Ahichchhatra or Chhatravatî appears as the earlier capital of Drupada, king of Pañchāla. But the early Vedic Texts mention only Kāmpilya.

Page 56, l. 22. Srîdhara, the commentator, identifies Kîkaṭa with Gayāpradeśa.

Page 61, ll. 27, 30. For a criticism of the views of Smith and Vidyābhushaṇa see Modern Review, 1919, p. 50.

A Brief Survey of Sāhitya-Śāstra

BY

BATUKNATH BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L.

The Scope and Plan of the present Essay

The scope of the Essay is indicated by the title, but the use of the term Sāhityaśāstra requires a little explanation. There are nearly 30 treatises as shown in Dr. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum which begin their names with the word Sāhitya. The earliest of these is Rūcaka's Sāhityamīmānsā (11th Century) quoted in his Alaṃkārasarvasva but the best-known among them is Sāhityadarpaṇa. The word Sāhitya might be derived in two ways—(1) from सहित=सम्+धा+क्त, by the rule समो वा हितततयोः, meaning coherence, or (2) from सहित=सह हितेन meaning the quality of that which is attended with good. The radical meaning is considerably narrowed down and particularised before the present significance is reached, whether we regard Sāhitya as an inquiry (1) into those characteristics that make literature a means of social good or (2) into those principles that together contribute to the making of literature—those of Logic, Grammar, Art, etc.[1] The use of Sāhitya to mean Alaṃkāraśāstra might be illustrated by Viśvanātha's 100th sloka in the 10th Pariccheda—साहित्यदर्पणमुं सुधियो विलोक्य साहित्यतत्त्वमखिलं सुखमेव वित्त ; and also by the following anonymous verse in the Subhāshitaratna-bhāṇḍāgāra—साहित्यपाथोनिधिमन्थनोत्थं काव्यामृतं रत्नत ह्रे कवीन्द्राः। From the names of the rhetorical works before and after Rūcaka's time it might be

[1] *Cf.* Kāvyamīmānsā, Chap. II—आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्त्ता दण्डनीतयश्चतस्रो विद्याः इति कौटिल्यः। ..... पञ्चमी साहित्यविद्या इति यायावरीयः। साहि चतसृणामपि विद्यानां निष्यन्दः। Again शब्दार्थयो र्यथावत् सहभावेन विद्या साहित्यविद्या।

concluded that the term Sāhitya came to be in vogue from his time onwards. The Sāhitya literature in Sans- krit is voluminous; the published works number about 70, and the other independent treatises remaining in manuscripts scattered over different parts of the world total nearly 300. There are besides the commentaries, some of them of the nature of "comment on comment of annotated annotation" as Prof. Saintsbury characterised the Scholia in the classical literature of Europe. The names of nearly 40 works live merely in quotations and references in other works. The present Essay is broadly divided into two parts, historical and critical. In the treatment of the beginnings from the Ṛg-Veda to the 6th Century A.C., the two aspects historical and critical are not differentiated. Of the subsequent writers whose works have been included in the Survey, a discussion of the age and a brief literary and biographical sketch as far as possible of each are given in accordance with their chronology. The critical portion does not pretend to discuss all the topics that might arise in a discourse on the Sāhitya literature of India; for it is not intended in this part of the work to cover the ground already traversed, although in the historical portion the materials and conclusions attained by scholars of high repute have been freely utilized. The critical portion thus presents the Nāṭya-śāstra from standpoints other than those hitherto adopted. Attempt is also made to give a comparative and tabular presentation of the figures of speech of the ideal as distinguished from the verbal variety. The evolution of the Ṛītis, Guṇas and Doshas has also been briefly touched upon. The footnotes under the names of the different writers have been prepared from Dr. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum and the Madras Government Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts.

PART I

A. The Remote Beginnings to the VIth Century A.C.

Signs of Critical Consciousness in the Ṛg-Veda.

Sāhitya is the outcome of the critical spirit of the Hindu. Every student who seeks to trace the beginnings of this branch of study must needs ask himself "When was this critical spirit first roused ? how again did it show itself at the outset, and in what kind of literary composition ?" Such questions naturally lead to the consideration whether in the Vedas considered indisputably as the earliest product of the Hindu mind there are or are not manifestations of this critical spirit. One would be bold indeed to return a categorical negative to this further question, although it would be equally hazardous to affirm that Sāhitya or its distinct beginnings are evident in the Vedas. E. Vernon Arnold in his Vedic Metre, writing in 1905, said, "The time has perhaps hardly come when a fair estimate can be made of the literary and æsthetic powers of the Vedic Bards." The examination of the Vedas from the point of view of the critic, of the connoisseur of literary art and style has been attempted by Aufrecht and Bergaigne. It is not within the scope of this essay, however, to deal exhaustively with that topic. But there are certain epithets and expressions and remarks on the qualities of language, perhaps casual, which strongly point to the conclusion that the critical consciousness of this highly intellectual race did not take long to appear after a considerable portion of the hymns had been composed. In Europe, when Aristotle composed his Poetics and Rhetoric, the extant literature comprehended Homer and Hesiod, Euripides and Sophocles and Aristophanes, Plato, Xenophon, Herodotus and Thucydides,

besides the lyrics and the Milesian fables. Not till we come to the age of artificial poetry in India do we meet with this variety of literary output. But in volume alone, as Vernon Arnold remarks elsewhere in the work just mentioned, "to the students of the European tradition the Ṛg-Veda is not a book but a library and a literature." With such a volume of literary composition before them, the Indian sages could hardly have checked in themselves thoughts as to the power and beauties of words. It would be sufficient to examine the Ṛg-Veda Samhitā alone, for there is small advance to be marked even in the Atharva-Veda upon what is noticeable in the Ṛg-Veda. That the effect of all combinations of words is not the same was intimately realised by the sages as is evident from the various epithets they used in connection with वाक् or गिर्. Thus we have दिविक्षता वचः "shining words" in 1st Mandal, 26th Sukta, 2nd verse, and विभावरि in 1 M. 92 S. 14 v. with the same significance. The adjective रम्य or रमणीय 'captivating' recurs more than once as in 3 M. 55 S. 6 v. Stotras or hymns are 'निवचना' that is, of clear import (4 M. 3 S. 16). An expression too few in words (अनिरेण वचसा 4 M. 3 S. 16) fails to satisfy. A Stotra is मधुमत् or मदकरं, that is, intoxicating (6 M. 11 S. 3). In 6 M. 71 S. 4 we have मन्द्रजिह्वः rendered as मोदमानवाक् by Sāyana, that is, of pleasing words. The composer of a hymn is उग्र (7 M. 38 S. 6) that is, ओजस्वी 'spirited' or 'vigorous.' Words are मधुमत्तमाः sweetest (8 M. 3 S. 15). In 9 M. 14 S. 1 we have "पुरुस्पृहं कारं बिभ्रत्" uttering words that are liked or desired by many. Words are 'like a beautiful field" "रथं चेत्रमिव" (10 M. 33 S. 6). Likewise we have पापया वाचा in 10 M. 71 S. 9 which has been construed to mean words that are faulty, full of blemishes.[1] In the

[1] Pandit Durgaprasad Dvivedi cites the following as indicating the sense of the necessity of avoiding *doshas* :—एकः शब्दः सम्यग्ज्ञातः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके च कामधुग् भवति।

5th verse of the same Sukta we read of अफलामपुष्पां वाचं word that neither bears fruit nor flower. No less distinct was the realisation of the use of language as an art, as speech-craft. Thus in 10 M. 104 S. 9 the question occurs कस्छन्दसां योगमावेद—" who knows the application or employment of all the varieties of hymns ? " Words have to be embellished, and the sages knew it. Thus in 10 M. 42 S. 1 we have भूषन्निव. In 10 M. 39 S. 14 the process of embellishment is compared to that of adorning the bride at the time of marriage. In 8 M. 6 S. 11 v. the predicate शुंभामि in the sense of " embellishing " is met with. In 3 M. 33 S. 8 we have the significant expression उक्थेषु कारो where the craftsmanship in the composition of उक्थ is recognised. The word कारु is translated by scholars as कवि or the poet. The drawing out of hymns is likened to the art of weaving a yarn in 10 M. 106 S. 1 v. the words तन्वाथे धियो वस्त्रा अपसा इव. By way of comparison we might anticipate Bhāmaha's verse " मलाकारो रचयति यथा साधु विज्ञाय मालाम्." The word Kavi, which in classical Sanskrit generally means the poet, was used in a variety of senses in Vedic times and most often in a sense other than the classical. Thus the Soma plant is spoken of as Kavi. Indra is Kavi, meaning a leader. But the juxtaposition of the words Kavi and Kāvya occurring in more than one place points to the emergence of the sense which they came to bear in later times. Such usage is not confined to the Ṛg-Veda alone. But it is to be met with elsewhere also. Thus in the first Sukta of the 5th Kanda of the Atharva-Veda there is a verse beginning तदूषुते महत् पृथुज्मन् नमः कविः काव्येन where the same combination of words occurs.

Nothing is more tempting than to connect these and the like expressions with the technical phraseology of the Rhetoric and Poetics of later times, and to find in them the definite beginnings of concepts that acquired currency

only in subsequent ages, when literature was in full bloom and criticism in an advanced stage. Such a pitfall has scrupulously to be avoided, and the fact that centuries possibly millennia intervened between Vedic times and the age of artificial poetry, never lost sight of. And yet the suggestiveness of certain passages pointing forward to what was to come later on is too obvious to be dismissed without mention. Thus "**रखो वाचः**" might well make one think of Jagannātha's definition of Kāvya, namely, "**रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकशब्दः**." Again the use of the word **मधु** "sweet" to signify a quality of style is on the border-line between the literal and the metaphorical. This taken with the words "**मध्वः सुपिप्यसो सुतिः सिमक्ति**" in 5 M. 75 S. 1 which led the late Ramesh Chandra Dutt to use the word *rasa* in his Bengali translation seems, however vaguely, to suggest the idea of "juice" or "taste" that later expanded into a whole psychological study.[1] This might well recall here "**मधुरं रसवत्**"—Kavyādarça—51. Again in 5 M. 18 S. 5 we have "**ये मे पञ्चाशतं ददुरश्वानां सधस्तुति**" which might be cited in illustration of the second part of the dictum **काव्यं यशसेऽर्थकृते**—as the first part might be exemplified by quoting 6 M. 13 S. 1 "**पुरा नूनं च स्तुतयो ऋषीणां पस्पृध्र इन्द्रे**." If these quotations do not confirm any other opinion, they ought at any rate to conclusively prove that even in the earliest epochs the sages had progressed beyond the point of looking upon words as mere symbols of things—that they found in them effects and suggestions in addition to the mere communication of facts and relations. But there is another kind of evidence disclosed by the Vedic texts as to the incipient stages in the critical awakening of the Hindu mind. The first stages in the growth of every science are invariably nomenclature and

[1] Pandit Durgāprasād Dvivedī quotes **ब्रह्मैव रसः। रसो वै सः।** on this point. Reference might also be made to "**वाक् वै रसः**" in the Chāndogyopanishad.

classification. As verse 1 of the 71st Sukta of the 10th Mandal says,—

"बृहस्पते प्रथमं वाचो अग्रयत् प्रैरत नामधेयं दधानाः
यदेषां श्रेष्ठं यदरिप्रमासीत् प्रेणातदेषां निहितं गुहाविः।"

Indeed the whole of this Sukta is a remarkable piece of linguistic philosophy. Thus the compositions of the sages were distinguished into शस्त्र or the recitation of the Hotā with its morning, mid-day and evening varieties known respectively as (1) आज्य or प्रउग, (2) मरुत्वतीय or निष्केवल्य and (3) वैश्वदेव and अग्निमारुत and the song of the Udgātā called स्तोत्र. The word Nītha signifies another variety of hymns of praise. Gāthā or Gātu is a third kind of song or verse. In ऐतरेय आरण्यक II. 3. VI Gāthā is a metrical composition, and in ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण VII. 18 Gāthā is said to be human, while Ṛk is divine. Gāthā is classed with Nārāśaṃsi and Raibhī. Nārāśaṃsi Gāthā is said to have been an eulogy of the donor. One is reminded of Praśasti and Viruda of classical times. The terms आख्यान, आख्यायिका, व्याख्यान, अन्वाख्यान or अनुव्याख्यान, with the nice distinctions between them which have not yet been fully unravelled, are other instances. They seem to have been narratives of one kind or another. Ākhyāna, according to Oldenberg, was a mixture of verse; according to Max Müller, Levi and others, ritual drama of a sort; and according to Keith, literary dialogue. The classes Itihāsa and Purāṇa which are identified with each other in some texts also point to the tendency to separation of different varieties of composition. In Vākovākya Geldner sees an essential part of Itihāsa-Purāṇa, the dramatic element as opposed to the narrative portion—Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index.

There is evidence of another kind also bearing on the development of the æsthetic consciousness of the earliest Hindus. This we might call the implicit as distinguished

from the explicit and articulate which has been set forth above. Very valuable in this respect are M. Bergaigne's "Observations sur les figures de Rhetorique dans le Ṛg-Veda" and Dr. Aufrecht's Preface to the second volume of his second edition of the Ṛg-Veda. The recurrence of certain devices rhetorical and poetic in the Ṛg-Veda shows that those had caught on, and the literary appetite required them to be constantly served up. Mr. Kane in his valuable contribution to the Indian Antiquary of 1912 on the history of Alamkāra points out instances of Atiśayokti (Hyperbole), Upamā (Simile) and Rūpaka (Metaphor) in Ṛg-Veda 4 M. 58 S. 3, 1 M. 124 S. 7 and 1 M. 164 S. 20 respectively. Pandit Durgā Prasād Dvivedī prefaces his edition of Sāhitya-Darpaṇa with certain others.[1] As a matter of fact any rhetorician glancing through the verses of the Ṛg-Veda would come across many other varieties as well. Professor Adolph Kaegi in the Ṛg-Veda, p. 23, says of its language:

Here the wonderful imagery of the language shines out in transparent clearness and exuberance of sparkling brilliancy. In a certain sense this dialogue too is artistic; it is like the language of Homer, though to a smaller degree, a popular artistic or poetic speech developed in the guilds of singers, and the many conventional terms of expression in it plainly prove that the art of song had long been fostered in practice among the people. Here as in Homer we find fixed epithets, formulaic expressions confined to certain connections, rhetorical adornments, idioms and whole passages which repeatedly re-occur unchanged or with slight variations. Assonance, Homoioteleuta, Parachesis and other Rhetorical figures and

[1] Besides those already named, Sāra (climax). This as well as Atisayokti are illustrated by Jagannatha in his Rasagangadhāra by Vedic quotations.

specially the most varied play upon words are of frequent application; the refrain repeating some principal thought is used with great freedom.

We might also add the use of Mālopamā or string of similes as in 1 M. 85 S. 8.

"शूरा इव राजान इव त्वेषसन्दृशो नरः"

In 1 M. 92 S. 4 Ushas is compared to a dancing girl नृतूरिव. This and the occurrence of नृतये in 10 M. 18 S. 3 would point to the existence of the element of dancing that is associated with dramatic representation. Rhetorical interrogation occurs in 1 M. 84 S. 17

"क इषते तुज्यते कः विभाय कः मंसते सन्तमिन्द्रं" etc.

But the most remarkable evidence of a certain taste for verbal jingle is furnished by the 13 Sūktas in succession, from the 127th to the 139th of the 1st Mandala of the Ṛg-Veda, which are remarkable for the almost monotonous recurrence of the embellishment known as *yamaka* (chime). A critical examination of the entire Vedic literature comprehending not merely the hymns but also the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads is very likely to yield interesting results bearing on the evolution of Sāhitya, but to sift this large mass of literature with the critic's eye is not within the scope and purpose of the present discussion. The treatment of the beginnings has necessarily to occupy a limited compass in an essay that purports to be a history of Sāhitya-śāstra and not of criticism in general. We have, therefore, to pass on rapidly to the early traces of the growth of Sāhitya in classical times.

Classical Literature in the Making.

Mr. Kane in the series of articles in the Indian Antiquary already noticed concludes from literary allusions and references that the grammarian Pānini was a poet who, according to Kshemendra, was the author of Pātāla-Vijaya and excelled in Upajāti metre. Both the Śārṇgadhara-paddhati and Subhāṣitāvalī ascribe to him a number of verses. The age of Pānini is generally taken to be the 4th century B.C.

The *Vārtikas of Kātyāyana* bear witness to the prevalence of Ākhyāikās before and in his time as witness the Vārtika on Pānini, IV. 3. 87. Kātyāyana, it has been suggested, was possibly Vararuci to whom a number of verses are attributed in the Subhāṣitāvalī. Patañjali speaks of a Kāvya composed by Vararuci. Patañjali is generally held to have lived in the 2nd century B.C. Goldstücker places him in this period. His Mahābhāshya refers to 3 ākhyāikās, Vāsavadattā, Sumanottara and Bhaimarathī and two poems dealing with Kaṃsa's death and the humiliation of Bāli (N. Bhāskarācārya's Age of Patañjali, Adyar Series, No. 1). The conclusion is plain. Artificial poetry was not a sudden growth. Traces of the earliest stages in this process might have been obliterated, but that it was spread over a number of centuries before the literature reached its most developed form and came to be equipped with canons and conventions firmly fixed might be taken for granted. Mr. Kane is inclined to think that the elaborations of critical canons and figures of speech commenced possibly earlier than the beginning of the Christian Era. Dr. Bühler discussing the antiquity of the Indian artificial poetry in connection with Indian inscriptions opines that "Indian artificial poetry developed itself not after but before the beginning

of the Christian Era" (Ghāte's translation in the Indian Antiquary, 1913).

Mention might also be made here of Yāska's definition of उपमा in Nirukta III. 13 to the following effect :—

"अथात उपमा यदतत् तत् सदृश्यमिति गार्ग्य स्तदासां कर्म्म ज्यायसा वा गुणेन प्रख्याततमेन वा कनीयांसं वा प्रख्यातं वा उपमिमीते, अथापि कनीयसा ज्यायांसं"।

But the object compared to was not always of the type required by this definition, in the Vedas, *e.g.*, in Ṛg-Veda, VIII. 3-18, Indra is invited to hearken to the words of the prayer like a lustful person. Such usages are a legion.

The Ṇāṭya-Śāstra.

The Bhāratiya-Nāṭya-Śāstra is the earliest extant systematic critical treatise in Sanskrit literature. The sudden emergence of a work so comprehensive in its scope militates against all ideas of evolution. The work in its present recension is not merely dramaturgic ; it has chapters on the histrionic art, music, dancing and prosody, and deals, besides, with many of the rhetorical topics. Nor are esthetics or Rasa-theory and psychology of the emotions including erotics overlooked altogether. Thus the work indicates considerable advance in critical thought. According to Bharata himself, the histrionic art on earth did not originate with him, but was brought down from heaven by one Kolāhala variously named Kohela Vātsya or Kohala. Bharata also mentions Śāndilya and Dhūrtita as some of the forerunners in this art. The account given by him of the origin of the mystery is interesting. It was primarily a celestial art and Bharata the sage was its originator and master-craftsman. A short time after Nahusha, a king of the lunar race, conquered heaven, he

wanted to have a dramatic performance in his capital on earth. The actors in heaven who had on a former occasion incensed the sages who had been to witness their skill, and had been cursed to be Śūdracāris by them, came down, lived on earth and left progeny; these were classed as Śūdras by Kauṭilya in his Artha-Śāstra. Bharata himself did not leave his heavenly abode. Pāṇini in the Sūtras

पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः (IV. 3. 110)
कर्मन्द-कृशाश्वादिनिः (IV. 3. 111)

gives the names of certain dramaturgic writers such as Śilāli Kriśāśva. Dr. Bühler at the other extreme relying on a story in Kathāsaritsāgara places him in 400 B. C. Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstrī considers the composition of the Nāṭya-Śāstra to have been prior undeniably to Pāṇini. He lays great stress on the occurrence of the word *Pahrava* in the Nātya-Śāstra, XXV. 89, and holds it to have been contemporary with the inscriptions of the Rāmgadh caves. These caves were discovered by Col. Ouseley in the Sirguja country and the inscriptions have been deciphered to belong to the Asoka script. Dr. Bloch has noted in them markings and holes that would go to show that the caves were used for theatrical purposes. The occurrence of the word *Lupadakhe* (लूपदक्ष) an expert in acting confirms the same theory. In the time of Kautilya whose date is taken to be the 3rd century B. C. the Kuśī-lavas appear to have been a numerous class. Manu, it might be noted, denounces the stage and enjoins on Brahmins not to take part in dramatic representations. Such an injunction evidently points to the prevalence of what the great law-giver regarded as an evil. Manu also mentions पह्लव for Parthians in the 10th canto, verses 43-44, whence Prof. Noldëke has come to the conclusion that

his work could not have been written before the 1st century B. C. Dr. Bühler came, however, to a different conclusion, and held that Manu could not have preceded the 5th century before the Christian Era. Those who hold to the theory of a Hellenic origin of the Indian drama would naturally be reluctant to assign the composition of the Nāṭya-Śāstra to a date prior to Alexander's invasion. The question of Hellenic influence would be referred to when we come to discuss the Nāṭya-Śāstra from a critical-point of view. It might here be pointed out in passing that the consideration of critical topics with reference to the drama has left certain permanent traces on the course of the development of the Sāhitya. The dramatic or dramaturgic bias was never worked off as we shall find later on. The importance of the drama might be indicated incidentally by reference to the following verses of Vāmana:—

सन्दर्भेषु दशरूपकं श्रेयः
दशरूपकस्यैव ह्रीदं सर्व्वं विलसितं
यदुत कथाख्यायिके महाकाव्यमिति।

That certain theories connected with literary craftsmanship were arrived at before the Christian Era, seems to us to be certain whether it be or be not possible to determine with conclusive definiteness the date of Bharata.[1] Of this several proofs might be adduced, and more will come to light when a thorough sifting of the evidence furnished by the literature of this twilight period is effected.

[1] *Nāṭya-Śāstra*—Edition-Nirṇaya Sāgar. Com. by Abhinavagupta—*vide* Sahitya Darpaṇa VI. 51 n.

—Com.-साहित्यकौमुदी by Vidyābhūsaṇa.

Prof. E. J. Rapson in his article Drama (Indian) in the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, has shown that Bharata's Naṭya-śāstra stands at the beginning of the Christian era and may be much older (Vol. IV, p. 886, §§ 3 and 4).

The Rāmāyaṇa.

The date of the Rāmāyaṇa which is believed by the orthodox to be the first specimen of secular poetry can hardly be pushed forward beyond the beginning of the Christian Era. Its pre-Buddhistic origin is taken to be demonstrable by many scholars. The second (Ayodhyā) and the sixth (Laṇkā) Kāṇḍas supposed to be the original nucleus out of which the whole has grown by accretions are assigned to 500 B.C., and the 1st (Ādi) and the 7th (Uttara) Kāṇḍas supposed to be later additions are referred to 200 B.C. and subsequent period. In the 2nd Kāṇḍa, Chapter 69, stanza 4, we hear of the performance of dramas at Ayodhyā—

नाटकान्यपरे ह्माहुः हास्यानि विविधानि च ।

In the 83rd chapter of the same Kāṇḍa, stanza 15 makes mention of actors and actresses. शैलूषाश्च तथा स्तोभिर्यान्ति. In the 4th Canto of the 1st Kāṇḍa we have this remarkable stanza (9).

रसैः शृङ्गारकरुणहास्य रौद्रभयानकैः ।
वीरादिभी रसैर्युक्तं काव्यमेतदगायतां ॥

The use of the world "*ādi*" and the mention of the other *rasas* evidently lead to the inference that this branch of literary study, namely, the consideration of the poetic sentiments, which we have designated as esthetics or *Rasa*-theory, was common.

Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra.

The conclusion as to the existence of erotic studies about the beginning of the Christian Era is confirmed by an examination of this work—the first of its kind in extant literature. Vātsyāyana is the patronymic of the proper

name Mallanāga. It is hard to believe that it could have been composed later than the Nāṭya Śāstra, considering the style in which it is written—a style distinctly aphoristic in nature and reminiscent of the Sūtra period (600 to 200 B. C.) The *terminus ad quem* of this work has been sought to be fixed by Prof. Chakladar as not later than the 3rd century of the Christian Era. Vātsyāyana himself mentions certain previous writers on erotics **औद्दालकि श्वेतकेतु, चारायण, सुवर्णनाभ, घोटकमुख, गोनर्दीय, गोणिकापुत्र, कुचुमार, दत्तक** (on whose work his own is based) and **बाभ्रव्य**. Prof. Chakladar in his article contributed to the Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta, Vol. 4, pp. 85-122, shows that five of the Sūtras are taken almost verbatim from Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra and possibly some others from Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra. Both these works belong to the Sūtra period which, as already mentioned, is generally held to lie between 600 and 200 B. C. The Kāma-Sūtra also embodies certain passages from the Artha-Śāstra (B. C. 300) and seems to follow the plan of that work. For this reason certain scholars, for example Roy S. C. Vasu Bahadur Vidyārṇava (in the Modern Review, March 1918, p. 274), have sought to identify Vātsyāyana with Kauṭilya. Śāma Śāstri who has edited and translated the famous work on statecraft of the Indian Machiavelli, in his note on the supposed identity of Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya, in the Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. 6, pp. 210-216, holds the authors of the Kāma-Sūtra and Nyāya-Bhāṣya to have been the same person. Mm. Dr. S. C. Vidyabhuṣan in the Indian Antiquary, 1915, p. 82, also accepts the same view. There is a Sūtra of Vātsyāyana which runs thus "**मृच्छकटिकाविमारकशाकुन्तलादीन्यन्यान्यपि**" etc., and it has been conjectured that the story of Avimāraka here alluded to is possibly that of Bhāsa's drama of the same

name, just as the stories of Ahalyā and Śakuntalā are very probably remembered from the two epics. In the Tantrākhyāyikā the earliest recension of the Pancatantra approximately dated 300 A. C., among the different Śāstras enumerated figures Kāma-Śāstra which might possibly be Vātsyāyana's work. Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa, Canto 19, Verse 31, reads like a close imitation of certain Sūtras while much the same might be said of the 17th Verse of the 7th Canto of Kumārasambhava. Peterson writing in J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. 18, pp. 109 and 110, holds the famous sloka in Śakuntalā beginning "शुश्रूषस्व गुरून् कुरु प्रियसखी" etc., to be moulded on another Sūtra. But more definite data for the determination of the chronology of this work are the mentions of कुन्तल शातकर्णि who reigned at the beginning of the Christian Era (Sir R. G. Bhāndārkār—Early History of Deccan, p. 3; *vide* also J.B.O.R.S., Vol. 3, pp. 441-2), and of an आभीर कोट्टराज.[1] From all these indications which help in fixing the upper and lower limits, Prof. Chakladar concludes that Vātsyāyana the author of the Kāma-Sūtra lived about the middle of the 3rd century A.C.

Regarding the predecessors of Vātsyāyana it is pointed out that Cārāyaṇa and Ghoṭakamukha, who according to Prof. Jacobi are the same as Dīrghacārāyana and Ghoṭakamukha of Kauṭilya's Artha-Śāstra, V. 5, would therefore have lived prior to the 4th centrury B.C.; while Dattaka and Vābhravya their predecessors must have lived still earlier. Of the others, Suvarnanābha is said to be the same that Rājaśekhara in his Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā refers to as the author of a work on a subject connected with erotics, namely, Rati-Nirṇaya, and

[1] Identified with ईश्वरसेन son of आभीर शिवदत्त of the 3rd Century B. C. (Archæological Survey of W. India, Vol. IV, p. 103, and Dr. Bhāndārkār on the Gurjaras, J.B.B.R.A.S., XXI, p. 430).

Kucumāra as the one who had according to the same writer's enumeration dealt with the Aupaniṣadic Section. If these identifications be correct, it seems a little remarkable that Vātsyāyana should not have mentioned any of his predecessors more contiguous to his own date but should have looked so far back as to the 4th century B.C. This would argue a certain break in the continuity of the study. There is another consideration which makes one demur to the conclusion of Prof. Chakladar. In examining the portion of the Nāṭya Śāstra that deals with erotics side by side with Vātsyāyana's Kāma Sūtra, one comes upon certain minute details of classification in the former work which are not to be met with in the latter. The comparative study of these works would lead one to suppose that the Kāma Sūtra is of a more elementary character in certain respects and improvements were effected by the Nāṭya Śāstra.

Thus the Kāma Sūtra (II. i. 1, 2) mentions only three varieties of males (nāyakas), *viz.*, शश, वृष and अश्व and three varieties of women मृगी, वड़वा and हस्तिनी whereas the Nāṭya-śāstra mentions 24 varieties (XXII. 96. 142) of females. The Sāhitya-śastra cannot be said to be primarily concerned with these topics, but it merely incorporates certain natural and elegant poses of lovers and their sweethearts in their mutual relations for purposes of literary representation. The classification of heroines, again, in relation to the hero is fuller in the Nāṭya-śāstra than in the Kāma Sūtra. The former mentions eight varieties वासकसज्जिता, विरहोत्कण्ठिता and so forth.

Dramaturgy as revealed in Bhāsa's Nāṭakas.

If the Nāṭakas of Bhāsa really possess the antiquity that is claimed for them by T. Ganapati Sastri, they would not merely confirm the conclusion about the development

of critical thought in India before the Christian Era but would also solve the question why Dramaturgy more than any other branch of literary criticism came to the fore in the earliest times. The learned editor of the dramas of Bhāsa relying on the disregard of the strict rules of grammar by the dramatist concludes that he was prior even to Pānini and belonged to the 5th century B C. Mm. H. P. Śāstri accepts the priority of Bhāsa to Pānini, and ascribes the comparative modernness of his *prākrit* to the emendations of scribes and points out certain *prākrit* words that are not to be found in the Prākrit of later periods, say, that of the time of Kālidāsa. K. P. Jayaswāl is inclined to refer Bhāsa to the middle of the 1st century B.C. The tests that he applies are both internal and external; and relate to the style as well as to the contents of the dramas. The language is palpably prior to the artificiality that cropped up since the Rudradāman inscription (2nd century A.C.). Neither long compounds nor studied alliteration distinguish his style. The word **महाब्राह्मण** is used in a good sense and not as in the Mahābhārata where it signifies a **चण्डाल**. The compound **आर्य्यपुत्र** means a Kumāra or a prince as in the Siddāpur inscription of Asoka. In the **प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायण**, page 34, the family of Udayana is described as comparable to **वेदाक्षरसमवायप्रविष्टो भरतो वंश:**, and it is pointed out that the force of such a simile came to be lost upon the compilers of the Purānas. Again the word **यक्खिणो** means as in early Buddhistic literature a female evil spirit. The story known as **पञ्चरात्रं** which is unknown to the present recension of the Mahābhārata is referred to as being contained in it. This indicates that Bhāsa was conversant with an earlier recension of the great epic. The latest recension, the one that has come down to us, is dated about 300 A.C. Therefore, the lowest limit for Bhāsa's dramas is about 250 A.C. The dramas depict a society

just adopting Buddhistic institutions, although Bhāsa himself makes no secret of hating them. Therefore he might be referred to the closing period of the anti-Buddhistic dynasties of the Sungas and the Kanvas. In the Praśasti or eulogistic verse a "one-umbrella Emperor" Rājasiṃha is mentioned. This would point to a period between Candra-gupta and the Kuśāns, 325 B.C. to the 1st century A.C. In trying to arrive at more definite results, Jayswal points out that Rājasiṃha is surnamed Upendra in मध्यमव्यायोग and by a pun as नारायण in the अविमारक. Among orthodox kings of the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C. there was one Kāṇvāyana Nārāyaṇa (53 to 41 B.C.) and there is just a possibility that he might be the monarch. Again, it has been concluded from the references in the Mahābhāṣya, the discovery of the theatrical structure at Jogimara cave, and the known devotion of Sumitra, son of Agnimitra, to the stage that histrionics was in special prominence in the Sunga period. The observations of the same writer in the J.A.S.B. 1913, p. 259, also bear on the state of the dramatic art about the time that Bhāsa is supposed to have lived and on the improvements effected by him. He quotes the verse of Bāṇa in the Harṣacarita which runs thus "सूत्रधारकृतारम्भै र्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव"—I. 15. It bears testimony to the appearance of the Sūtradhāra, of numerous actors, and to the occurrence of Patākās or episodes, in other words of a plot of many threads. If the bringing in of many actors in the course of the representation was an innovation due for the first time to Bhāsa, he is entitled to more credit than Sophocles who, as recorded by Aristotle, "raised the number of actors to three." Jayswāl is of opinion that Bhāsa invented the prologue which is however of a crude type in his dramas. The Nāndi was left out of histrionics by him. Nor is the भरतवाक्य in his dramas the sort of short epilogue of the

refined type that marks the conclusion of later dramas. Apart from the stage-direction of retiring to the dressing room (नेपथ्य), change of venue is not indicated. Bhāsa's *nāṭakas* fall into several categories. Thus स्वप्नवासवदत्त, बालचरित, अविमारक, अभिषेकनाटक and प्रतिमानाटक consisting of not less than five acts each might by reason of their other characteristics as well be treated as *nāṭakas*. पञ्चरात्र despite its lacking the Śṛngāra *Rasa* so essential to this end might on account of its three acts and a dozen actors be reckoned as a Samavakāra. Specimens of Vyāyoga are found in दूतवाक्य, मध्यमव्यायोग, दूतघटोत्कच, and कर्णभार—all one-act pieces, although in दूतवाक्य and कर्णभार female characters are not as few as they are enjoined to be in a Vyāyoga. उरुभङ्ग might be considered as an Utsṛṣṭikānka, and प्रतिज्ञानाटक as an Īhāmṛga, though in the colophon it is described as a Nāṭikā, in consideration of its four Acts and the representation of a battle, and चारुदत्त, though incomplete, seems to be of the same variety as मृच्छकटिक, *viz.*, a प्रकरण. It thus appears that 6 out of the 10 varieties of the Rūpaka are exemplified in the writings of Bhāsa. The term Vyāyoga itself is found in the name of one of the pieces. Side by side with this conscious attempt at variety in the dramatic art, there is in him a simplicity in the employment of rhetorical devices. The figures of speech used by him are of the commonest type—Upamā, Dṛṣṭānta and Arthāntaranyāsa which are employed in common parlance. If, however, Bhāsa is appreciative of the beauties of different types of drama, he is also in certain instances regardless of the strict rules of dramaturgy, and for this reason it has been supposed that the dramaturgic work, if any, that existed in his time was not Bharata's Nāṭya-Śāstra but one of its fore-runners.

The First Six Centuries of the Christian Era.

A long distance of time separates the Nātya Śāstra from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin who are the earliest writers on poetics and rhetoric as distinguished from dramaturgy; but, though the gap in the continuity of critical literature has yet to be filled in, it should not be supposed that there is a total lack of materials. Mr. Kane refers to a Girnār inscription of the 2nd century A. C. written in prose and characterised by compounds as well as figures of speech like अनुप्रास, उपमा, रूपक. Therein occurs the significant combination of words

" स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदारालङ्कृतगद्यपद्य " etc.

The question of Sanskritic culture in this period is with considerable minuteness dealt with in Dr. Bühler's article on the Indian Inscriptions and the Kavya which is translated in the Indian Antiquary of 1913. These inscriptions are regarded by him "as sound proof-stones for the theories about the development of Indian intellectual life" in this period. He refutes Max-Müller's theory of the renaissance of Sanskrit literature about the 6th century A.C., and, basing himself on the Gupta inscriptions in the 3rd volume of Dr. Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarum, he says that "it is possible to prove the existence of a Kāvya literature in Sanskrit and Prākrit during the first five centuries of our era" and the setting in of a great period of literature which brought into general prominence the style of the poetic school of Vidarbha or Berar before the middle of the fourth century.

This is also confirmed by the evidence furnished by Aśvaghosa's Buddha-caritam which was translated into Chinese between 414 and 421 A.C. Beal, the translator of the Chinese version into English, makes Aśvaghosa a

contemporary and minister of Kaniṣka who flourished in 78 A.C. Besides the Buddha-caritam he wrote a Kāvya entitled Saundarananda (J.A.S.B. 1909).

Von Lüders in his *Bruchstücke der buddhistischen Dramen* suggests that the two fragments of dramas found by him proceeded possibly from the same writer. These dramas are written in Sanskrit and Prākrit. There is an element of allegory in them much like that in Kṛṣṇa Miśra's Prabodhacandrodaya. The first drama deals exclusively with Buddhistic doctrines, and, among the characters that figure in it, we find abstractions like Buddhi, Dhṛti and Kīrti all of whom use the Sanskrit tongue. The second has a greater human interest and includes among its *dramatis personæ* a courtesan and a *vidūṣaka* besides the hero and Dhanañjaya. These dramas have been referred by Lüders to Kushān times, and ascribed to Aśvaghosa. The antiquity of these dramas is undoubted, whatever the truth might be underlying the attribution of their authorship to Aśvaghoṣa. The exact chronological relation between these dramas and those of Bhāsa is an interesting problem that still remains to be discussed. Of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha-caritam which in the colophon of all manuscripts is described as a Mahākāvya, Dr. Cowell says that it shows the author's acquaintance with the teachings of Hindu rhetoric or alaṃkāra and supports Dr. Bühler's theory as to the development of the classical Kāvya and *alaṃkara* in the early centuries of the Christian Era. Dr. Cowell, while calling Aśvaghosa the "Ennius of the classical age of Sanskrit poetry" by reason of his often being rough and obscure but full of native strength and beauty, points out the figures of speech recognised by *ālaṃkārikas* that are to be found in his poem. Upamā (simile), Utprekṣā (poetic fancy) and Rūpaka (metaphor)—the common figures of speech are of frequent occurrence. Personification is detected in VIII. 37, अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा

(allegory—Cowell) or indirect description (Dr. G. Jha) occurs in 1. 76, यथासंख्य, in V. 26.

In the 51st stanza of the 3rd Canto the use of the word रसान्तरं seems to be distinctly in the technical sense of a counter-emotion called forth to cancel one already prevailing in accordance with the definition in Sāhitya-darpaṇa—

रभसत्रासहर्षादेः कोपभ्रंशो रसान्तरं ।

The *Vāsavadattā of Subandhu* also furnishes substantial evidence as to the growth of the rhetorical science. The style is paronomastic in many places and the author is proud of his skill in the use of this device (pp. 357-8 Vānī-Vilāsa Edition). There is also the mention of many rhetorical devices and figures of speech as at pages 146, 158, 238, 303. The *terminus ad quem* of the date of Subandhu is the beginning of the 7th century—the date of the composition of Harṣacarita (Columbia University Edition of Vāsavadattā—Introduction, p. 12).

Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Kādambarī and *Harshacarita* also bear out this view as to the growth of Sāhitya in the 6th and 7th Centuries. Bāna is full of assurance as to the effectiveness of उपमा, दीपक, etc. (Peterson's Edition, p. 2). He distinguishes कथा and आख्यायिका and testifies to the prevalence of acrostics (p. 7).

This is also the place where we might refer to the mention made by rhetoricians from the 6th Century onwards of their predecessors. Aufrecht in Vol. XVI of Indische Studien refers to Dharmakīrti as one of the oldest writers on alaṃkāra on the strength of a passage in Vāsavadattā (p. 235, Hall's Edition). Bhāmaha mentions Rāmaśarmā, Rājamitra, Śākhavardhana, Medhāvi, (II. 19; II. 58; II. 45; III. 10; II. 47; II. 88, etc.).

Śauddhodani whose work served as the basis of Keśava Misra's Alaṃkāra Śekhara is also regarded as one of these

oldest writers. The following passage from the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara also furnishes a number of names and subjects of treatment pertaining to this period :—

"तत्र कविरहस्यं सहस्राक्षः समाम्नासीत्, औक्तिकमुक्तिगर्भः, रीतिनिर्णयं सुवर्णनाभः, आनुप्रासिकं प्रचेतायनः, यमकानि चित्रं चित्राङ्गदः, शब्दश्लेषं शेषः, वास्तवं पुलस्त्यः, औपम्यं औपकायनः, अतिशयं पाराशरः, अर्थश्लेषं उतथ्यः, उभयालङ्कारिकं कुबेरः, वैनोदिकं कामदेवः, रूपकनिरूपणीयं भरतः, रसाधिकारिकं नन्दिकेश्वरः, दोषाधिकरणं धिषणः, गुणोपादानिकमुपमन्युः, औपनिषदिकं कुचमार इति"—(p. 1).

B. Historical Survey—From the VIth to the XVIIIth Century.

Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha.

The chronological relation between Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin is one of the vexed questions of Sanskrit literary history. That Bhāmaha preceded Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Ruyyaka and even Udbhata is clear from the circumstance of his being quoted by all of these (*vide* J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 286). Bhāmaha's father was Rakrilagomin. On the one hand Mr. Narasiṃha Iyengar writing in J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 535, regards him to have been later than Daṇḍin, and, on the other, K. P. Trivedi the Editor of the Kāvyālaṃkāra in the Bombay Sanskrit Series, holds him to have been prior to the author of the Kāvyādarśa. Bhāmaha mentions a Nyāsakāra. The question has been asked, if this makes him later than Jinendra-buddhi author of काशिकाविवरणपञ्जिका, that is, later than the middle of 8th century A. C. Bhāmaha salutes Sārva whom he describes as Sarvajna. Now the Amarakośa gives the latter as one of the names of

Buddha. The Gomin in his father's name is a Buddhistic title meaning 'reverend.' The name Rakrila again sounds like Rāhula, Ramila, Somila, and the like, which are known to have belonged to Buddhists. Certain passages in the two works Kāvyādarśa and Kāvyālaṃkāra appear strikingly similar and there are a few others in either that look like the criticism of the other. Hence arises the puzzle as to which of them preceded the other and over this much learned ink has been spent. Now Namisādhu a commentator on Rudraṭa names the predecessors of his original in the order "दण्डिमेधाविरुद्र-भामहादि." Medhavirudra has been taken as one word by some critics on the analogy of Kalidāsa's appellation of Medhā-rudra (Trikāṇḍaśeṣa-Brāhamvarga—sloka 26). It is noteworthy, however, that Namisādhu elsewhere in his commentary uses the name Medhāvi (II. 40, 88, etc.). The question that consequently suggests itself is, which Rudra is signified? Is it Rudrabhaṭṭa the author of the Śṛngāratilaka ? The answer to this question is generally in the affirmative. Further it is to be noted that Udbhata wrote a commentary entitled Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa (Udbhata, Chapter 1). Therefore, Bhāmaha cannot be later than the first half of the 8th century but might have flourished in the latter half of the 7th century. On this ground he becomes posterior to Daṇḍin whose age is supposed to be the end of the 5th or of the 6th century A. C. Mr. Kāne writing in J. R. A. S., 1908, p. 545, and following and Pāthak contributing to J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXIII, p. 149, support Mr. Iyengar in this view.

R. Narasinhachar at p. 90 of the Indian Antiquary, 1912, seeks to refute this view. According to Dr. Bühler, Bhāmaha was a Kāśmirian and belonged possibly to the 6th century. Narasinhachar in his Introduction to the Kāvyāvalokanam, a Kannada work on poetics, brings into

prominence verse 961 in it which gives certain predecessors of the author in this order

"वामनरुद्रटभामह दण्डी"

Taruṇavācaspati, who did not follow Daṇḍin at a longer distance of time than three centuries or so, in commenting on Kāvyādarśa, I. 21, II. 235, and IV. 4, represents Daṇḍin in accordance with tradition as criticising Bhāmaha. As to the quotation from the Nyāsakāra proving Bhāmaha following Jinendra-buddhi, it is pointed out that there were many Nyāsakāras ; there was one पूज्यपाद न्यासकार a commentator on Pāṇini who has been assigned to the close of the 5th century by Mr. Rice, and it is not unlikely that this Nyāsakāra might have been referred to by Bhāmaha, and it is perhaps this Nyāsakāra who is mentioned in the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa (*vide* J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXIII, p. 94).

The controversy as to either Daṇḍin or Bhāmaha quoting or criticising the other is inconclusive. It might well have been that certain ideas concerning poetics and rhetoric were current in a particular school, and therefore the criticism might as well be supposed to have been levelled against the school as against a particular writer. The continuity and antiquity of the tradition in favour of Bhāmaha's priority are entitled to great weight. Abhinavagupta and Mammaṭa revere him and call his work the Ākara or the source of rhetorical disquisitions. भामहादय आलङ्कारिका: or the rhetoricians beginning with Bhāmaha is a form of expression which we frequently note as in

Vāgbhaṭa's Kāvyānuśasana—p. 116 (Nirnaysagar edition).
Ruyyaka's Alamkārasarvasva, p. 3 ,,
Vidyādhara's Ekāvali —p. 30 (Bombay Skt. series).

भामह—काव्यालङ्कार—Printed as appendix to Pratāparūdrīya in Bombay Sanskrit Series.

Prof. H. Jacobi in his article on the Vakrokti and the Antiquity of Daṇḍin (Z. D. M. G., Band XLIV, p. 138) on these grounds shows him to have been posterior to Bhāmaha. It is therefore taking no undue risks to regard him as the predecessor of Daṇḍin and as one who therefore flourished at the beginning of the 6th century.

In determining the age of Bhāmaha one is also under the necessity of doing the same for Daṇḍin. Attempts to fix his time began with Wilson who supported by Peterson held him to have been later than Vāmana (8th century) and to have been so late as to belong to the eleventh century. Mr. Lewis Rice discovered an inscription dated 1128 A. C. (Inscriptions from Śrāvana Belgola, p. 43) in which a verse by Daṇḍin praising the Jaina writer Śrīvardhadeva author of Cuṛāmaṇi occurs. This would argue a very late date for him, but Peterson says that this Daṇḍin is another individual and the author of Mallikā-Māruta. Considerable ingenuity and learning have been exercised in the interpretation of Rājaśekhara's verse quoted in the Śarṇgadharapaddhati:

त्रयोऽग्नयस्त्रयो देवास्त्रयो वेदास्त्रयो गुणाः ।
त्रयो दण्डिप्रबन्धाश्च त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुताः ॥

Does this verse refer to the author of Kāvyādarśa, and, if so, what are the two other pillars of his fame ? Indian scholars of the old type have all along assumed the second work to have been Daśakumāracaritam and scholars of the West also for a considerable time accepted this tradition without question. Mr. Agashe both in the Indian Antiquary, 1915, p. 67, and in his introduction to the reprint of Bühler and Peterson's edition of Daśakumāracaritam writes against this view and with great force of argument. The Daśakumāracaritam is characterised by numerous instances of अश्लीलत्व (indecency), ग्राम्यत्व

(vulgar suggestion), श्रुतिकटुत्व (cacophany), व्याकरणदुष्टत्व (solecism) and many other faults that the writer of Kāvyādarśa very emphatically condemns. Is it likely that the same writer should have composed both these works? Would an exponent of the correct school be in his own composition guilty of such flagrant breaches of his own precepts? On the assumption that the śloka quoted above applies to the author of Kāvyādarśa, different scholars have put forward various works as included in the trinity. Thus the Mṛcchakaṭika has had advocates of its claim to that honour. Pischel who started the bold theory after having given up Bhāsa's authorship of the same evidently misunderstood Pratihārendurāja's comment on Udbhaṭa's Kāvyālaṃkārasārasaṃgraha (Nirṇaya-Sāgara Edition, p. 26). Peterson in assigning Daṇḍin to a late epoch of Indian history considered the Mṛcchakaṭika to have been composed in a period in which people had begun to forget Sanskrit composition. This view, to say the least, is very strange, and is wholly opposed to the impression of the large body of Indian scholars. The Mṛcchakaṭika was written at a time when the Sanskrit language was just assuming a rigid classical form, and not when people came to forget composition in Sanskrit. The nearer we come to our own times the more strict becomes the adherence to the rules of grammar and Sāhitya, and it is difficult to prove the contrary. Jacobi in the Indische Studien, XVII, p. 44, suggested that the other work besides Kāvyādarśa and Daśakumāra was called Chandoviciti. It is true that in Kāvyādarśa, V. 2, in the sloka beginning "छन्दोविचित्यां सकलः" etc., Dandin declares his intention of avoiding the discussion of Prosodic topics as they were dealt with in Chandoviciti. Now छन्दोविचिति as one of the branches of study had been recognised from the earliest times. It might again be that the XVI Chapter

of the Nāṭya-Śāstra is specifically referred to in this word. We might compare Vāsavadattā "छन्दोविचितिमिव तनुमध्यां." Peterson thinks that the third pillar of his fame is a work entitled Kalāpariccheda which he believes to be mentioned in Kāvyādarśa, III. 171—a work not available. Agashe however holds on the strength of certain quotations that the term Prabandha means a creative poetic work and not a scientific treatise at all. Even in the face of the sloka, or perhaps in keeping with it, *viz.*:

"जाते जगति वाल्मीकौ कविरित्यभिधाभवत्।
कवौ इति ततो व्यासे कवयस्त्वयि दण्डिनि॥"

it is strongly to be suspected that Rājaśekhara's verse does not refer to Daṇḍin the author of Kāvyādarśa. And it seems to be much better to think of the great poetician as not engaging in any work of creative literature which strangely violates for lack of power or of care the dicta that he authoritatively lays down in his critical work. This would well accord with the indigenous tradition which speaks of a Daṇḍin who was Kālidāsa's contemporary and of whom perhaps "दण्डिनः पदलालित्यं" is a justified appreciation. The contention that Daṇḍin the author of Kāvyādarśa did not write Daśakumāracaritam is fortified by the mention of the name of Daṇḍin in various authors as one of the earliest writers on Sāhitya, and by the absence in such works of any reference to Daśakumāracaritam. Thus Pāthak in his Introduction to Nṛpatuṇga's Kavirājamārga, p. 13, points out that 6 verses in the same are literal translations from Kāvyādarśa as also most of the verses in the 3rd *Pariccheda*, but the Daśakumāracaritam is not referred to at all. N. A. Ramanuja Iyengar writing in 1914 similarly pointed out that Nāgavarmā an Âlaṃkārika of the 12th century mentioned Daṇḍin along with Bhāmaha, Rudraṭa

and Vāmana. It is curious that Daśakumāra is not mentioned in any Sāhitya Treatise till the end of 11th century, namely, in Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa.

This point need not however be laboured further. The date of Daṇḍin has been sought to be settled more definitely by reference to the genealogies of the Kanarese Dynasties. Taruṇavācaspati the earliest commentator on Dandin in commenting on Kāvyādarśa III. 114, says that the Kāñcī in it is to be understood to refer to the city under the rule of the Pallava kings who were the rulers of Southern India till the middle of the 8th century. Daṇḍin possibly lived in the reign of Rājavarmā, a Śaiva king, as is to be gathered from Kāvyādarśa II. 279.[1] This Rājavarmā is perhaps Narasiṃha-varmā II whose other name was Rājasiṃhavarmā. The period of his existence is therefore the last quarter of the 7th century. Dr. Fleet is entitled to credit for this identification. The praise that is put into the mouth of this king in II. 279 is such as would be worthy of a Śaiva king. The occurrence of the word "पश्य" as in I.5 and I I.172 confirms the tradition of the book having been composed for the benefit of a pupil. Now Narasiṃha Varmā's son, Mahendra Varmā, was the

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[1] Com. on Kāvyādarśa—by साधुतरूणवाचस्पति—Madras Edition by Prof. Rangacarya.
—हृदयङ्गमव्याख्या—Ed. Rangacārya 1910.
—रसिकरञ्जिनी—by Visvanātha.
—by धर्म्मवाचस्पति.
—काव्यादर्शसुक्तावली—by Narasimha Kavi. His ancestors from the fifth generation downwards were कीर्त्तिकर, हरहरि, रुचिकार, कृष्णशर्म्मा.
—by भगीरथ.
—by विजयानन्द.
—काव्यादर्शमार्जन—by Harināṭha, brother of Bhānu and Viśvadhara.
—वैमल्यविधायिनी—by Mallināṭha, son of Jagannatha.
—चन्द्रिका—by Bhīma.
—कृत—by Vādighanghal (?)
Com. by Tribhuvancandra.

author of a burlesque **मत्तविलास**. Narasiṃha-Varma being the son and successor of Parameśvara Varmā it might safely be concluded that he lived in the latter half of the 7th century.

In the opening verse of Kāvyādarśa occur the words "**सर्व्वशुक्ला सरस्वती**." There is a tradition that this called forth a rejoinder from a Vidyakā or Vijjakā in the following words (*vide* Śārṅgadharapaddhati and Subhāṣitāvali)

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामां विज्जिकां मामजानता ।
वृथैव दण्डिना प्रोक्तं सर्व्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

This Vijjakā has been identified with the queen of Candrāditya the eldest son of Pulakeśī II, conqueror of Harṣa (Indian Antiquary, Vol. VIII, p. 163, and Vol. VIII, p. 44) from the Nerur and Kochre Grants which are dated 659 A.C. Daṇḍin if he did not precede her might be taken to have been her contemporary. Rao Saheb T. A. Gopinātha Rao at page 200 of the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, holds the same view on the strength of certain other inscriptions.

Agnipurāṇa.

The age of the Agnipurāṇa is another puzzle of Indian literary history. The orthodox view about the date of the Purāṇas is that they were composed by a single individual, Vyāsa, and were therefore produced in the same epoch. The writer of the Kṛṣṇānandinī Ṭikā on Baladeva's Sāhityakaumudi says in keeping with this traditional view that "Bharata threw into concise Kārikās the science of poetry as it stood in the Vahṇipurāna." (Prof. Peterson—Report of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 12, Vol. 1883, J.B.B.R.A.S.) The commentator Maheśvara on the Kāvyaprakāśa says likewise :—"**अग्निपुराणादिभ्य उद्धृत्य काव्यरसास्वादकारणं अलङ्कारशास्त्रं भरतमुनिः कारिकाभिः संक्षिप्य प्रणिनाय**" ।

Pandits Jhālkīkara and Dvivedi fall in with this view. On the other hand, R. L. Mitra in the second volume of his edition of the Agnipurāṇa quotes Prof. Wilson to this effect:—"It is evident that it is a compilation from various works. From the absence of any exotic materials, it might be pronounced earlier with few exceptions than the Mahomedan invasion. From the absence also of any controversial or sectarial spirit, it is probably anterior to the struggles that took place in the 8th and 9th centuries of our era between the followers of Śiva and Vishṇu." The Purāṇas that abound in episodes are generally taken to be comparatively modern. Judged by this test also, as also by their contents, Viṣnu, Vāyu and Agnipurāṇa appear to be much older than the rest. Chapters 5th to 15th give accounts of Rāma, Kṛṣna and of the Paṇdavas after the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. These chapters prove conclusively that the work is long posterior to the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata and written at a time when those works had become old and abstracts of them were likely to be prized by general readers. The manner in which the summaries have been given precludes the idea of their being the germs out of which the epics have been elaborated. In 33 chapters from the 218th onwards dealing with Rājadharma, quotations or what appear like them from the Mahābhārata, the Kāmandakīya-nītisāra and Śukranīti occur frequently. The principles enunciated are the same that have been illustrated in the fables of Pancatantra and the Hitopadesa. The chapters from the 278th onwards deal with medicine. It is curious that Agni the interlocutor proposes to explain the Âyurveda in the very words in which Śuśruta was taught by Dhanvantari. Therefore it might be taken to be subsequent to the age of Śuśruta; and not merely so, but the interval was long enough to lead to confusion between the surgeons and the physicians, for

it is to be noted that Dhanvantari and Śuśruta are represented indiscriminately as such. There is also the mention of a sage Sālihotra who taught horse-treatment. The whole of the Ṛṣi's work, the Purana says, is not available, but only a version by the fourth Pandava namely Nakula. It has been brought to light and might here be noted in passing that in 1381 A. C. a Sanskrit work named Sālotar appeared in Persian garb under the name Karrat-ul Mulk.[1] The treatment of poetics in Agnipurāṇa, chapters 336 to 347, shows no trace of the Dhvani theory. It might therefore be presumed that the Agnipurāṇa or at any rate the portion of it that deals with poetics dated from a period previous to Ānandavardhana. The occurrence of two verses in the Agnipurāṇa (chapter 338, 10-11 and 354, 14-15) which are cited in the Dhvanyaloka, p. 222, also lend colour to this view of the pre-Dhvani character of the Agnipurāṇa.

Vāmana.

The age of Vāmana again is not without its difficulties. Bühler in his report of Kaśmirian Manuscripts (p. 651) refers him to the 10th century. Dr. Cappeller in his edition of the Kāvyālaṃkāra makes Vāmana posterior to 1000 A. C. This is the lowest limit. The upper limit is that suggested by MM. Pandit Durga Prasad who holds him to have been not earlier than the 7th century. Between these two there is the opinion of Messrs. Regnaud and MacDonell who place him in the 8th century. Dr. Pischel in his introduction to Śṛngaratilaka for the first time joined issue with Cappeller and held Dandin to have been his predecessor and regarded him as not referable to a date later than the 8th century. The question

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अग्निपुराण—Edn. in two Vols. by R. L. Mittra—Also Bangavasi Edition.

अभिधावृत्तिमातृका—by Mukulabhatta son of Kallaṭa Bhaṭṭa.

of the date of Vāmana the author of the Kāvyālamkāra is bound up with another, namely, whether he was the same as the author of Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini composed by a Vāmana and Jayāditya. It has to be noted that the Nyāsa a commentary on the Kāśikā is mentioned in II. 112 of Māgha's Śiśupālavadha, and again that quotations from Māgha figure in the Kāvyālaṃkāra. Reference to the Kāśikā has been traced in Itsing the Chinese traveller's Itinerary. His travels were accomplished between 671 and 695 A. C. It is therefore clear that Dr. Cappeller's contention as to our Vāmana having also been the author of the Kāśikā is untenable. Max Müller in "India: what it can teach us," p. 338, says that the Kāśika could not have been later than 660, and Mr. Kane in his article in the J. B. B. R. A. S. says that Vāmana could not be earlier than 750 A. C. The arguments advanced by him supplement those of Mr. Pāthak in J. B. B. R. A. S. 1908 who conclusively refutes Kielhorn's view that Māgha in Śiśupālavadhā II. 112 could not have referred to the Nyāsa and supports the commentators Mallinātha and Vallabha's interpretations of this stanza. For it is to be noted in the first instance that Pratīhārendurāja the pupil of Mukula, the author of Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā and the son of Kallaṭa refers to Vāmana as an authority on the Alaṃkāra Śāstra in his commentary on Udbhaṭa (Deccan College Manuscripts, Fol. 59, 61). From Rājataraṇginī, V. 66, we learn that Kallaṭa was a contemporary of Avantivarman. Now Avantivarman's regnal period was 855 to 883. Therefore Mukula lived about 900 and Pratīhārendurāja, his pupil, cannot be later than the middle of the 10th century; consequently Vāmana who must have preceded him could not be later than 900 A. C. Secondly, the Vāmana-Sūtra is frequently quoted by Abhinavagupta. At page 37 of the Locana he says that the verse beginning

"अनुरागवती सन्ध्या" was introduced in the Dhvanyāloka by Ānandavardhana with special reference to the views of Vāmana and Bhāmaha. Again Abhinavagupta distinctly says that Vāmana flourished before Ānandavardhana who was a *protege* of Avantivarman (855 to 883). On this ground the date of Vāmana might be pushed back to the first half of the 9th century. Further, the Rājataraṇgini IV. 497 mentions a Vāmana who was the minister of King Jayāpīda (745 to 776). The tradition that passes current among the pandits of Kāśmir looks upon this Vāmana to have been an Alaṃkārika. Dr. Bühler in his Kāśmirian Report records his inclination to accept this tradition. This would place Vāmana in the second half of the 8th century. That Vāmana did not live anterior to 750 A. C. is a proposition that rests on very firm ground. Under the figure Rūpaka (IV. 4, 3, 6, p. 50, of the Nirnayasāgar edition) Vāmana quotes Bhavabhūti's śloka beginning "इयं गेहे लक्ष्मीरियममृतवर्त्तिर्नयनयोः." Now it is well known that Bhavabhūti's patron Yaśovarman was subdued by Lalitāditya of Kāśmir. V. Smith at page 793 of J. R. A. S. 1908 fixes the year of Yaśovarman's accession as 728 A. C., and Dr. Bhandarkar, with all the authority that his name connotes, in his preface to Mālatīmādhava, p. 10, says that Bhavabhūti lived towards the end of the 7th century. Vāmana quoting from Bhavabhūti cannot therefore be earlier. In view of these considerations we might with some assurance hold Vāmana to have flourished in the latter half of the 8th century. Pandit Vāmanācārya Jhālkīkara proceeds upon a ground of a different nature. There is in the 3rd Adhikaraṇa—second Adhyaya of the Sūtravṛtti a quotation from Amaruśatakam, namely, the śloka beginning "दृष्टैकासनसंगते प्रियतमे." About the composition of the Amaruśatakam the traditional legend is that Śankarācārya (born in 845 Vikrama year = 788 A.C.)

animated by infusing his own spirit the body of a king Amaru in which life was extinct, and thus composed the string of verses. Śaṅkara's authorship of the Amaru-śatakam is accepted by its commentator Devaśankar.

Udbhaṭa.

Udbhaṭa the author of the Kāvyālaṃkārasārasaṅgraha called also Alaṃkārasārasaṃgraha is to be accorded a place in the chronological order immediately after Vāmana. There is no doubt about his having preceded Ānandavardhana who quotes him. In his case as in the case of Ānandavardhana speculation is considerably steadied by the express mention in the Rājataraṅginī. Stanza 494 of the Xth book of the Kaśmirian chronicle tells us that Udbhaṭa was Sabhāpati under Jayāpīda whose reign extended from 779 to 883 A.C. Udbhaṭa in 6 chapters of 175 stanzas in all deals with 41 figures of speech. His work might be said to have been the first of its kind and served as an exemplar to a host of others that are solely concerned like itself with the consideration of the figures of speech. He was the author of a larger work of which this is supposed to be an abridgement, namely, a commentary on Bhāmaha entitled Bhāmahavivaraṇa which is not extant at the present date, but which seems to have been available in Hemacandra's day, that is in the eleventh century, and also at the time of the commentator Pratīhārendurāja who quotes a verse from it in explanation of *Rūpakālaṃkāra*. Udbhaṭa was fortunate in having Pratīhārendurāja as a commentator who followed

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वामन—काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति—Kāvyamālā—XV. Also Vāni-Vilāsa and other Editions.

—Com. साहित्यसर्वस्व—by Maheśvara.

—Com. कामधेनु or काव्यालङ्कारकामधेनु—by Gopīndra Tippabhūpāla—a Cāndra King. Ed. Granthapradarśini, 1859 (Venkataraṅganāthaswāmi).

him at no long distance of time. Pratīhārendurāja a disciple of Mukulaka lived in the Konkan district in the ninth century, and from his tīkā entitled Laghuvṛtti as also from Hemacandra and the author of Dhvanyālokalocana, we learn that Udbhata was also the author of a poem Kumārasambhavam, examples of the figure Upamā from which are quoted in Alaṃkārasaṃgraha.

Rudraṭa or Rudrabhaṭṭa.

The next writer of note whose works have come down to us is Rudraṭa also called Śātānanda. Bühler in his Report of Kāśmirian Manuscripts assigned him to the latter half of the 11th century (J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, p. 67). This position has clearly to be abandoned in view of the fact that Namisādhu a Svetāmbara pupil of Śālibhadra composed in 1069 A.C. a commentary on Rudraṭa's work. This information is furnished by the commentator himself in his concluding śloka :—

पञ्चविंशतिसंयुक्तैरेकादशशतात्ययैः ।
विक्रमात् समतिक्रान्तैः प्राव्रषीदं समर्थितं ॥

The reading षट्सप्तति in place of पञ्चविंशति which is observed in certain Manuscripts would make the verse metrically defective and is therefore wrong. In any case Namisādhu would belong to the latter half of the 11th century and Rudraṭa's work is regarded by him as of some antiquity, his own commentary being based on a preceding gloss. This being so, to place Rudraṭa in the 11th century is out of the question. The antiquity of Rudraṭa is borne out by the enumerations of the old poeticians regarding their predecessors. Namisādhu

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रुद्रट—काव्यालङ्कारसंग्रह—or अलङ्कारसारसंग्रह—J. R. A. S., 1897—Text, p. 830 ff. —with Com. लघुवृत्ति—by Pratiharendurāja.

himself in his commentary on I. 2 gives a list of poeticians in the order Daṇḍin, Medhāvi, Rudra, Bhāmaha. Udbhaṭa and Bhāmaha precede him in Ruyyaka's list. In the Pratāparudra he is named after Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha. The commentator Ananta on Bhānudatta's Rasamanjarī reckons him amongst the ancients. The question of the identity or otherwise of the authors of the Śṛngāratilaka and of the Kāvyālaṃkāra is discussed at length by Pischel and Jacobi in the pages of Z.D.M.G. Band XLII, the former[1] holding them to have been one and the same person and the latter[2] combating this view. Pischel among other grounds says that Rudraṭa is the ordinary Kāśmirian contraction for Rudrabhaṭṭa of which the shortest form is Rudra. Exigencies of metre often determined the form to be used. In prose all the three forms are met with. Bhuvanapāla in his commentary on Hālā cites verse 232 as coming from Rudrabhaṭṭa, although it is a quotation from Kāvyālaṃkāra, VII. 98 by Rudraṭa. In the Śārṇgadharapaddhati there are 16 stanzas ascribed to Rudraṭa all of which have been traced either to Śṛngāratilaka or Kāvyālaṃkāra. Thus the verses "एकाकिनी यदबला" etc., and "मलयानिलाः" etc., are attributed to Rudra while in the Subhāṣitavalī the first verse is assigned to Rudraṭa, and the second, to Rudra. According to Peterson, in a certain MS. of Śarngadhara the second verse is assigned to Bhaṭṭarudra. In the MSS. the author has been called Rudrabhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭarudra, Rudrabhaṭa. The second verse of the Kāvyālaṃkāra pays obeisance to Gaurī, the opening verse of the Śṛngāratilaka to Umā. This coupled with the name indicates that the author of the two works was a Śivite. Jacobi's contention that from the precedence given to Viṣṇu in the illustrations of certain figures Rudraṭa the author of the

[1] Along with Weber, Bühler, Aufrecht.

[2] As well as P. Durgaprasad.

Kāvyāḷamkāra is to be concluded to have been a Viṣṇuite is misconceived. The illustrations prove nothing as to the religious leanings of the author; otherwise Daṇḍin might be taken to have been a Buddhist. Nor is any separation of personalities warranted by the attitude adopted in relation to courtezans. For in both the treatises they are spoken of disparagingly. Lastly the definitions given of the Upāyas in the two books are very similar. The elaborate treatment of Rasas, Vṛttis and Avasthās in the Śṛngāratilaka and the conciseness of treatment in the Kāvyāḷaṃkāra prove nothing. The *rasas* being more related to the Nāṭya than to the Kāvya, and the Śṛngāratilaka being primarily concerned with the Nātya, it must be so. Thus it becomes difficult to distinguish the two personalities. The oldest writer who quotes from Rudraṭa is Pratīhārendurāja, on his own statement a pupil of Mukula (Introduction to the Commentary on Udbhata

विद्वदग्रान् मुकुलकादधिगम्य विविच्यते ।
प्रतीहारेन्दुराजेन काव्यालंकारसंग्रहः ॥)

and an inhabitant of Konkana (कौङ्कणः) from a verse at the end of the same commentary. Mukula was a son of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa as he states in the colophon of his Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā and Kallaṭa lived in the reign of Avantivarman (855 to 884. A.C.) according to the Rājataraṅginī. Thus bearing further in mind that Namiśadhu's commentary on Rudraṭa is based on earlier authorities पूर्व्वमहामतिविरचितवृत्त्यनुसारेण, itself having been composed in 1069 A.C. (1125 Vikrama year), we do not hesitate to push Rudraṭa back beyond the beginning of the 10th century, and to regard him as the contemporary of Udbhaṭa or, as anterior to him, if at all, by a few decades only.

Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and the Age.

The three centuries included in the period immediately preceding and following the first millennium might be called the golden age of Sanskrit criticism. By the end of this period almost every bit of original speculation was finished. The critical controversies of the age resulted in the emergence of ideas that, with rare exceptions, were faithfully transmitted from generation to generation through the following centuries. The circumstances that led to this remarkable quickening of the critical consciousness might, if properly investigated, be found to have been far-sweeping in their effects. Their operation was not limited to this department of Sanskrit culture but was felt in other spheres as well. Whether this epoch is or is not entitled to be called the age of Sanskrit Renaissance is a large question which it is not proposed here to broach. But it is clear from extant records that, in the sphere of criticism, the literary mind of India was unusually active. The theory that Dhvani is the essence of the highest class of poetry was established on a firm basis by Ānandavardhana in the Dhvanyāloka. It would remind one of what is said with regard to the special charm of Milton's poetry, namely, that it suggests more to the mind than what it conveys to the ear.* This theory was

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अलङ्कारतिलक—Kāvyamālā, III.

Com.—रसतरङ्गिणी—by Gopālabhatta

काव्यालङ्कार संग्रह—with com. by Namisādhu composed in 1069 Kāvyamālā, II.

Com. वनतरङ्गिणी

Com. by Āśādhara of Vyāghreśāla Vamśa and son of a Jaina Sallakṣena. Circ. 1236.

* "Its effect is produced, not so much by what it expresses, as by what it suggests."

Its merit lies less in its obvious meaning than in its occult power." Macaulay's Essay on Milton.

ध्वन्यालोक—or काव्यालोक or सहृदयालोक—by आनन्दवर्धन—Kāvyamālā, xxv

—लोचन—by अभिनवगुप्त—Kāvyamālā, xxv

Com.—चन्द्रिका—cited in Locana, pp. 178, 185, 233, Vyaktivivekavicara p. 1.

Com.—लोचनव्याख्याकौमुदी—Sc. of परमेश्वराचार्य्य.

destined to play a very important part in the history of Śahityaśāstra. It was in this age, again, that the Sūtras of Bharata were closely studied from different points of view. The Kāvyaprakāśa in setting forth the nature of the experience called Rasa mentions certain predecessors of Mammaṭa. The Nāṭya Sūtras, we learn from there, were interpreted by four schools of philosophical thought represented respectively by Śrī-Śankuka, Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta, to the last of whom Mammaṭa shows the greatest deference. Śrī-Śankuka was the Naiyāyika exponent. It has been suggested that he was a contemporary of Ajitapāda (circ. 816) and he was the author of a poem Bhuvanābhyudaya. The School of Mīmaṃsā also interpreted the Sūtras of Bharata in the light of their own theories. Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa is the representative of this school. The Sāṃkhya exponent was Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka author of Hṛdayadarpaṇa which is characterised as a "**धनिध्वंसग्रन्थ**" a work aiming at the demolition of the Dhvani theory. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is quoted by Abhinavagupta in the Locana, and also in the Kāvyaprakāśa as well as by Ruyyaka. Mahima-Bhaṭṭa the author of the Vyaktiviveka, refers to him at page 19, in the words **एवञ्च भट्टनायकेन**. His controversy with Mahimabhaṭṭa, an advocate of the Dhvani theory, tends to prove that they were contemporaries. The ascendancy gained by the Dhvani theory is, perhaps, as much due to Abhinavagupta, the Ālaṃkārika exponent of Bharata-Sūtra, as to Ānandavardhana himself. Abhinavagupta brings us to the very end of the 10th century. He belonged to Kāśmir and was the son of Sukhala. At pages 27 and 63 of his **ध्न्यालोकलोचन** he quotes Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's **हृदयदर्पण**. The details that researchers have brought to light about Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, though meagre, are well worth remembrance, From various passages in the Locana we can infer that the Kārikās

(making up Dhavni) and the Vṛtti or amplification known as Āloka were not written by the same person. Who the author of the original Kārikās or aphorisms was is uncertain. But that Ānandavardhana was the composer of the Vṛtti might be taken as comparatively certain. Thus in the Sūktimuktāvali—Jahlana's anthology—there is a śloka ascribed to Rājaśekhara which runs thus—

ध्वनिनातिगभीरेण काव्यतत्वनिवेशिना।
आनन्दवर्द्धनः कस्य नासीदानन्दवर्द्धनः॥

From the Rājataranginī (V. 34), we learn that Ānandavardhana lived in the reign of Avantivarman which extended from 855 to 883. Thus he flourished late in the ninth century. From another extant work written by him we gather the name of his father as Nona.

Mm. Durgā Prasād Dvivedī, in his preface to the Kāvyamalā edition of the Dhvanyāloka, mentions three other works of the same writer—Arjunacaritam, Viniscayaṭīkā-Dharmottamavivṛti and Viṣamavānalīlā (in Prākrit). Ānandavardhana mentions the name of Udbhaṭa who, as we have already seen, stands on the border-line between the 8th and 9th century.

Ānandavardhana's commentator Avinavagupta followed him half a century later. This is gathered from the colophon to his बृहत्प्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्षिणी in which the following śloka is found—

इति नवतितमेऽस्मिन् वत्सरेऽन्त्ये युगांशे
तिथिशशिजलधिस्थे मार्गशीर्षावसाने।

Details of his genealogy and of his preceptors are also obtainable from his other works. His Upādhyāyas were Bhaṭṭendurāja, Lakṣmaṇagupta and Bhaṭṭa Tauta [1]

[1] Bhaṭṭa Tauta composed काव्यकौतुक which is quoted by Candīdāsa in his Kāvyaprakāśadīpikā. Mention is made of Tauta in Ruyyaka's Vyaktiviveka vicāra as also in the Dhvanyālokana, p. 178.

and his grandfather was Varāhagupta, his father Sukhala, and his younger brother, Monorathagupta. It is not necessary to enumerate here all the 23 works that he is reputed to have composed, but it is of importance to remember that, in the Sāhitya line, he was the author of a नाट्यालोचन, and also a commentary अभिनवभारती on Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra. This last-named work, which is cited by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on Śakuntalā, if found, would be of great service in ascertaining the original form of the Nāṭyaśāstra, as there is hardly a text, perhaps, in a more unreliable and inchoate condition than that of the Nāṭyaśāstra. From the stanza at the end of the Locana we know that, previous to Abhinavagupta's, there was a commentary on Dhvanyāloka by name Candrikā.

The views of the Candrikā are at many points sought to be refuted by Abhinavagupta. The author of the Candrikā seems to have belonged to the same family as Abhinavagupta, as is indicated by the use of epithets निजपूर्व्वसगोत्रै:, पूर्व्ववंश्यै: in relation to him. The text of the Locana is available to the end of the 3rd Uddyota of the Dhvanyāloka.

Rājaśekhara.

There is a refreshing originality and unconventionality in the matter and method of Rājaśekhara's work on poetics. His treatment of the subject is not after the pattern that was getting stereotyped about this time, and as an observer and recorder of the manners of his times and the characteristics of the different races of India in his age, he shows a very keen zest. Nor is the happy play of imagination that marks his dealing with dry critical theories less remarkable (as in the case of the fable of Kāvyapūruṣa and Sāhityavidyā), He traces the lineage of his craft through सुवर्णनाभ, श्यामदेव, वामन, उद्भट, अपराजिति, दौर्द्धिषि, रुद्रट, कालिदास, वाक्पतिराज, अवन्तीसुन्दरी

and आनन्द. Of these the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 6th, and 9th are no more real to us than mere names. To recover their works or to fix their dates seems at present to be an equally unpromising task. Ānanda is generally known to have been an eminent writer on poetics. Rājaśekhara's wife was named Avantīsundarī—a gifted lady whose opinion on rhetoric he quotes thrice in his work. Mr. Fleet and Prof. Kielhorn have definitely shown that his pupils Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla whom he mentions in the Prologues to his dramas ruled during the last decade of the ninth century or in the very beginning of the 10th. Rājaśekhara's life-time might be placed between 880 and 920 A.C. He describes himself as यायावरीय, that is belonging to the यायावर family, but he is himself often referred to as the Yāyāvarakavi as in Soḍḍala's Udayasundarī (Ucchvāsa 8), and Dhanapāla's Tilakamanjarī (St. 33). In his dramatic works, with an evident feeling of pride, he refers to his forefathers अकालजलद his great-grandfather, सुरानन्द famous at the court of Cedi, तरल and कविराज. His father was by name Durduka or Duhika and a great minister, and his mother was Śilāvatī, That Mahendrapāla was reigning between 903 and 907 A.C. and Mahīpāla in 917 is evidenced by the Sidiyoni inscription (Epigraph. Ind., Vol. I, p. 171). It is to be noted that Vākpatirāja, whom Rājaśekhara quotes, was the author of Gaudavāho, and Udbhaṭa and Ānandavardhana (also cited by him) lived in the preceding century, as already seen by us. On the other hand Somadeva in the Yaśastilakacaṃpu which was completed in 960 and praised by Soḍḍala—a Valabha Kāyastha of Lāṭadeśa—was patronized by king Vatsarāja of the same country and king Nummunirāja of Konkana who flourished about 999 A.C. The conclusion thus seems to be inevitable that

Rājaśekhara lived, as already said, at the very commencement of the 10th century. The dramatic works of Rājaśekhara are well known—his early productions, Bālarāmāyaṇa and Bālabhārata as well as Viddhaśālabhanjikā. On the other hand, the Karpūramānjarī appears to be a product of maturer years along with Kāvyamīmānsa. He composed also the poem Haravilāsa which appears from its title to have been in honour of the God Śiva and possibly indicates his religious leanings. The editors of the Gaekwad-Oriental-Series Kāvyamīmānsa argue that the work, as it has come down to us, is merely a fragment of a larger composition, to the other projected, if not executed, parts of which he refers in passages like रीतयस्तु तिस्रः तास्तु पुरस्तात् (p. 10. l. 5), and तमौपनिषदिके वक्ष्यामः (p. 11. l. 10). Keśavamiśra in his Alaṃkāraśekhara quotes verses professing to be from the Kāvyamīmānsa but not found in the extant treatise. This also seems to lend countenance to the conclusion about the existence of other parts of the work.

Dhanaṁjaya and Dhanika.

After the admirable edition prefaced by a comprehensive introduction by Dr. George C. A. Haas of the Columbia University, little additional information is likely to be brought afresh to light as to the date of the author of the Daśarūpa. The last stanza of the Daśarūpa runs thus :—

विष्णोः सुतेनापि धनञ्जयेन विदग्धमनोरागनिबन्धहेतुः ।
आविष्कृतं मुञ्जमहीशगोष्ठीवैदग्ध्यभाजा दशरूपमेतत् ॥

from which we learn the name of Dhanaṃjaya's father to have been Viṣṇu, and that of his royal patron as Muṇja. This Muṇja has been identified with Vākpatiraja II who reigned in Mālava in the last quarter of the 10th

century. Information regarding this ruler, his patronage of literary men, and his liberality in making grants of land pours in from various sources. Dr. Buhler in the Epigraphia Indica, I. 26, and in the Journal of the Vienna Oriental Society shows that this monarch bore a number of names besides those already mentioned, and was the 7th Raja of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. (Fleet's The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, 2nd edition, p. 432, and Dr. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan, p. 214.) He succeeded his father Sīyaka on the throne in 974 and continued to reign down to the year 995 when the Chalukya King Tailapa II or Taila vanquished, captured and executed him. The 15th section of the 1st Prakāśa of Merutunga's Prabandhacintāmani gives an account of this ruler. His patronage of men of letters is celebrated by many authors, by Padmagupta in the Navasāhasāṃkacaritam, by Halāyudha in the commentary on Pingala's Chandahsūtra. Munja himself enjoyed the reputation of a poet. *Dhanika*, son of Viṣṇu, was an officer with the designation of **महासाध्यपाल** at the court of Utpalarāja. Dhanika's commentary is called **अवलोक**. It has been suggested that the author of the Daśarūpa and that of the Avaloka were one and the same person. Colour is lent to this supposition by the similarity in the father's name of both and also by the fact that subsequent writers have very often mentioned Dhanika where they have had to refer to the Daśarūpa. On the other hand, says Dr. Haas, "there are in the commentary a number of indications of a difference in authorship, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that

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धनञ्जय—दशरूप—Haas's Edition—Columbia University I. O. Series. Also Jīvānanda's and Nirnaya Sāgar Editions.

—Com. **अवलोकन**—**अवलोक** by Dhanika—Cal. Edn., 1878.

—Com. by Nṛsiṇha Bhaṭṭa.

—Com. by Pāni (?) quoted in Oxf. 35.

—Com.— **दशरूपकपद्धति**—by Kuravīrarāma.

Dhanika, the author of the commentary, was some contemporary of Dhanamjaya, very probably his brother who collaborated in the production of the work." This was the view accepted by Keith in A Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Indian Institute Library, Oxford, 1903, p. 4. He seems to have composed also a separate treatise on poetics entitled Kāvyanirṇaya —verses from which appear in his *ṭīkā*.

Kṣemendra and Bhojarāja.

The perplexities besetting the determination of the ages of authors considerably grow less as we leave behind the tenth century of the Christian era. On the very border-line between this century and the next stands Kṣemendra the author of the two treatises औचित्यविचारचर्चा and कविकण्ठाभरण on poetics, and also of सुवृत्ततिलक and कला-विलास. Like Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmānsā, Ksemendra's treatises bear witness to the freshness and originality of the Hindu brain in this period. The movement of the Indian mind, one feels irresistibly, had not yet become confined to worn-out channels. The national genius even in the midst of classical traditions with their restraints and conventions sought out "fresh fields and pastures new," and diverted itself with "unconfined restraint, imprisoned liberty." Kṣemendra bore another name—Vyāsadāsa. From the colophon to the Suvṛittatilaka and also other works from his pen, it is evident that he lived under Anantarāja whose reign, as can be ascertained from the Rājataranginī, extended from 1028 to 1080 of the Christian era. He was a contemporary of Bhojarāja, the *rāja* of Malwa. The 259th stanza in the 7th Canto of the Rājataranginī is this :—

स च भोजनरेन्द्रश्च दानोत्कर्षेण विश्रुतौ ।
सूरौ तस्मिन् क्षये तुल्यं द्वावास्तां कविबान्धवौ ॥

where the initial स: ("he") refers to Anantarāja. Besides the four works already mentioned, Kṣemendra wrote meny others, in all totalling 28 (*vide* Kāvyamālā Part I, p. 35) a perusal of which list would tend to vindicate the epithet महाकवि or a great poet that is generally ascribed to him. He was the son of Prakāśendra and the grandson of Sindhu. He studied Sāhitya under Abhinavagupta and the Dharma-Śāstras under Soma. His upādhyāya was Gangoka. He served not merely under Anantarāja of Kāshmir but also under his son Kalaśa. His son was called Somendra and he was religious teacher to Udayasiṇha and to Lakshmanāditya as the crown prince.

Kṣemendra himself has recorded that one of his books, the Samayamātṛka, was finished during the reign of King Ananta in the 25th year of the Kāśmirian cycle corresponding to 1150 A. C. (Bühler's Report, p. 46).

"Kṣemendra's favourite method," (says Prof. Peterson at p. 158, J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XVI) "is to give first one or more examples of verses which comply with his rule and to follow with one or more examples of verses which do not. It must be said for him that he deals out praise and censure as a true critic who is no respector of persons."

Bhojarāja, the author of Saraswatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, was the King of Dhārānagar in Malwa. Pandit Durgāprasād has brought to light a grant of land made by this monarch to Dhanapati Bhaṭṭa son of Bhaṭṭa Govinda in his own

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औचित्यविचारचर्चा Kāvyamālā—I.

Com.—सहृदयसञ्जीविनी—by Śrīśvetāraṇyanārāyaṇa Ed. Mad., 1906.

कविकण्ठाभरण—Kāvyamālā—IV.

भोज—सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण—Cal. Edn. 1813.

—Com. रत्नदर्पण—by Rāmasiṇhadeva or by Ratneśvara at the command of Rāmasinhadeva—Cal. Edn. 1894.

Com.—दुरूहचित्रप्रकाशिका—by Lakshmīnātha Bhaṭṭa.

—Com. मार्जन By Harinātha.

hand-writing and dated Samvat 1078 corresponding to 1022 B. C.

Mahimabhaṭṭa.

To the earlier part of the 11th century also belonged Mahimāchārya or Rājānaka Mahimabhaṭṭa, the author of the Vyaktiviveka. Mahimabhaṭṭa refers to Abhinavagupta as a living rhetorician. In the controversies that were going on about this time, Mahimabhaṭṭa, though he does not appear to have enjoyed a large following, adopted a position opposed to the Dhvani School. He set himself to show that Dhvani is a process of inference. He also criticised Kuntaka well-known as the author of the Vakrokti-Jīvita.[1] Mahimabhaṭṭa could not have been anterior to 1000 A. C. as he quotes Ānandavardhana (of the latter half of the 9th century) the contemporary of Avantivarman, and Abhinavagupta (993-1015) as well as Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, a contemporary of Śankaravarman (884-902 A. C.—Duff's Chronology of India, p. 102). Hemacandra the author of the Kāvyānushāṣana who, as we shall presently find, lived at the latter end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th, quotes him and also Mammaṭa (Kāvyaprakāśa, pp. 304-7). He was thus a contemporary of Bhoja (996-1051). It appears that a short while before Mahimabhaṭṭa's composition of the Vyakti-Viveka, a work aiming at the demolition (refutation) of the Dhvani theory and entitled हृदयदर्पण had been written, but Mahimabhaṭṭa in his eagerness to eclipse the fame of Ānandavardhana by an unaided effort on his own part did not look into this treatise although it clearly countenanced his own views—

"सहसा यशोऽभिसर्त्तुं समुद्यताहृष्टदर्पणा मम धीः (p. 1)

[1] This book lives only in quotations and references. It is so mentioned in Alankārasarvasva, p. 8; Alankāravimarṣini, pp. 8, 12, 150, Vyaktivivekavicāra, p. 16, and also in Alankārasarvasvavyākhyā by Samudrabandha.

S. Ganapati Shāstrī holds the view that from the only passage where Mahimabhaṭṭa refers to Bhaṭṭanāyaka, an opponent like himself of the Dhvani School, it might be concluded that Bhaṭṭanāyaka was the author of the हृदयदर्पण. The passage runs thus: एवञ्च भट्टनायकेन द्विवचनं यदुक्तं तन्नजनिमौलिकयैव (p. 19 of the Trivandrum edition of Vyakti-Viveka). Mahimabhaṭṭa also attacks Kuntaka the author of the Vakrokti-Jīvita and tries to prove that Vakrokti merges in अनुमान. Mahimabhaṭṭa himself, be it noted, does not in so many words mention वक्रोक्तिजीवित as the writing of Kuntaka; he refers to the Kāvyalakṣaṇa-Grantha of Kuntaka, but Ruyyaka his commentator mentions the Vakrokti-Jīvita. It is to be further noticed that Abhinavagupta's Locana contains a reference to the 'Darpaṇa' and the Vyakti-Viveka[1] was written within a short while after the 'Darpaṇa.' Therefore it is reasonable to conclude all the three to have been more or less contemporaneous. Again, Mahimabhaṭṭa describes himself as the disciple of the great poet Śyāmata (Verse 36-Vimarṣa III). Now if this Śyāmata be no other than the Śyāmata mentioned by Kṣemendra in his औचित्य and सुवृत्त, as might reasonably be presumed in view of the latter's age, *viz.*, 11th century, it is quite conceivable that the pupil of Śyāmata should have flourished in the 11th century. Mr. M. T. Narsinha Iyengar at pp. 65-69 of the Journal of the R. A. S. for 1908 arrives at the same conclusion as to Mahimabhaṭṭa's date. The upward limit being fixed by quotations from Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and Bhaṭṭanāyaka, the lower limit is also easily determined by the circumstance of his being quoted by Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka and Hemacandra.

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[1] व्यक्तिविवेक – Trivandrum Skt. Series, V, 1909.
Com.—व्यक्तिविवेकविचार – by Ruyyaka acc. to Alaṅkāravimarśinī, p. 13.

Mammaṭa.

The Kāvya-prakāśa,[1] as recorded by a succession of commentators, is not the work of a single hand. Rājānaka Ānanda in commenting on the figure Parikara and also on the following verse at the end of the work—

इत्येषमार्गो विदुषां विभिन्नोऽप्यभिन्नरूपः प्रतिभासते नः ।
न तद्विचित्रं यदमुत्र सम्यग् विनिश्चिता संघटनैव हेतुः ।—

says that Mammaṭa, after whom it is generally known, wrote up to the Parikara figure of speech in the 10th *ullāsa* while the rest was finished by Alaṭa. Other commentators including Mānikyacandra, Sarasvatītīrtha, subscribe to the same view. Dr. Stein refers to the tradition prevalent among Kashmirian Pandits pointing to the same conclusion and also to the form Alaṭa rather than Alaka (as in many MSS.) as the only form known to them. Mr. Kane, at p. 208 of Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, brings forward further corroborative evidence as to the double authorship in the commentary of Arjunavarmadeva, 13th in order of succession from Bhoja Paramara, and a prince whose inscriptions range between 1211 to 1216 A.C. (pages 29 and 55 of the Kāvyamāla edition of the Amaruśataka). It is curious that Arjunadeva thinks of the double authorship even in connection with the treatment of *Doshas* which would lead one to infer that "Alaka had a hand not only in the tenth *ullāsa* as said by Ānanda, but also in the 7th."

The date of Kāvya-prakāśa has been settled with considerable certainty. Dr. Bühler's assignment of it to a period after the end of the 12th century—the date

[1] काव्यप्रकाश—There are various editions, the largest and latest being that with Jhalkikara's बालबोधिनी (Bombay Edn.)

of Jayratha the author of the Alamkāravimarṣinī according to him (Kāshmir Report, p. 68), is now a thing of the past. In the Alamkāravimarṣinī itself, the Kāvya-prakāśa and Mammaṭa as its author are referred to thrice. Dr. Peterson in 1884 was for placing him in the beginning of the 12th century, and to this Dr. Bühler assented in 1885. That the Kāvya-prakāśa existed before the year 1335 is conclusively proved by the circumstance that Mādhavācārya, in his Sarvadarśana-sangraha under the section dealing with Pātanjaladarśana, says "तदुक्तं काव्यप्रकाशे." This, however, is the lowest limit. Pandit Jhalkikara holds that Mammaṭa wrote the Kāvya-prakāśa towards the end of the 11th century as he was anterior to Mānikyacandra his commentator, and later than Bhojarāja the monarch who composed Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa. The date of Bhoja is unanimously placed between 993 and 1051 A.C., and Bhoja is referred to by Mammaṭa in the 10th *ullāsa* in the words भोजनृपतेरस्यागलीलायितं under the figure उदात्त. Again, Mānikyacandra wrote his *tīkā* named संकेत in 1160 A.C.—the first of a long line of commentators since he mentions no predecessor in this task. Mānikyacandra was a Jain of Guzrat and lived in 1216 Saka year—1160 A.C.—as he himself gives out in the colophon to his *tīkā*. Jhalkikara differentiates this Mānikyacandra from a later person of the same name mentioned in मेरुतुंगाचार्यकृत प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि who was the disciple of a Jaina Ācārya of Sripattana, who again was a contemporary of Jayasinha—a prince of Guzrat in 1150 Vikrama year. That Mammaṭa

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The text of काव्यप्रकाश is most be-commented—काव्यप्रकाशे टिप्पणाः सहस्रं सन्ति, the most important and known among them are mentioned below. Dr. G. Jha counted 49 in 1898 but the total number would lie in the vicinity of 70.

Com.—काव्यप्रकाशसंकेत – by Ruchaka or Ruyyaka (1129-1150).

Com.— ,, by Mānikyacandra disciple of सागरेन्दु or सागरचन्द्र circ. 1160.

Com.—काव्य प्रकाशविवेक – by Śridhara Sāndhivigrahika—quoted by Candidāsa of the 12th century.

came after Bhoja is the opinion of the commentators Mānikyacandra, Jayantabhaṭṭa and Bhīmasena. That he was a worshipper of Śiva is gathered from the *tīkā* —निदर्शन—where he is described as one all the impurity of whose soul has been destroyed by his initiation in the 36 truths according to the Śaiva *āgama*. The form of his name argues him to have been a Kashmirian. Viśvanātha in his commentary supports this view by pointing out that the word "*cinku*" is of indecent significance in the Kashmirian language (Vth *ullāsa*). "The numerous precise details given by Bhīmasena Dīkshita the author of the Sudhāsāgara commentary as to his geneaology cannot be accepted without demur," says Jhalkikara. That Mammaṭa was a Vaiyākaraṇa is very ably shown by Pandit Jhalkikara at pp. 9-10 of his Introduction.

Regarding the division of the authorship of the Kāvyaprakāśa there is a tradition current in Bengal to the effect that the Sūtras of Bharata used by Mammaṭa are known as Alamkārasūtras and the Vṛtti by Mammaṭa is called Kāvyaprakaśa. Pandit Jhalkikara shows this to be unreliable.

Com.—काव्यप्रकाशदीपिका by Candidāsa, grandfather of Viśvanātha, quotes साहित्य-हृदयदर्पण.

Com.—सारसमुच्चय by Ānandakavi—a Kāśmirian, A.C. 1294.

Com.—वालचित्तानुरञ्जनी—by Sarasvatītīrtha, 1242 A.C.

Com.—दीपिका or जयन्ती by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, Sambat 1350—1293 A.C.

Com.—काव्यप्रकाशदर्पण—by Viśvanātha, 14th Century.

Com.—on the *Kārikas* called hence प्रतिच्छायाव्याख्या known as काव्यप्रदीप by Govinda Bhaṭṭa (or Thakkura) son of Keśava—16th Century.

Com.—on same—काव्यप्रदीपोद्योत by Nāgoji or Nāgeśa Bhatta, 18th Century. Chandorkar'as Edn. Poona.

— „ काव्यप्रदीपप्रभा by Tatsat Vaidyanātha Bhatta whose date given in his Udāharanacandrikā विषद् वेदमुनिक्ष्मामितवर्ष is 1740 Saka year. Kāvyamāla XXIV.

Com.—on काव्यप्रकाश—निदर्शन by Rājānaka Ānandakavi, 17th Century.

Com.—माहेश्वरी mentioning परमानन्द भट्टाचार्य by Maheśvara Nyāyālnkāra—end of 16th or beginning of 17th Cent. Calcutta Edn. 1876.

Com.—कमलाकरी by कमलाकर author of the tīkā साहित्यरत्नमाला on Gītagovinda 17th Century. Benares Edition.

T. Ganapati Sastri agrees with Bhimasena Dikshita and says that a proper interpretation of the passage भोजनृपतेस्त्यागस्तोलायितं would make Mammaṭa a contemporary of Bhojarāja, and, on this supposition, he says there would be nothing inconsistent in the tradition that Kayyaṭa and Kavaṭa were the younger brothers of Mammaṭa and that all three of them were contemporaries of Bhoja. Uvvaṭa himself states in his commentary on the Vājasaneyi Samhitā that it was written during the reign of Bhoja (भोजे राज्यं प्रशासति). Sastri and Dikshita would therefore place Mammaṭa in the first half of the 11th century. Prof. Macdonell seems to hold to a convenient *via media* by adopting 1100 A. C. as Mammaṭa's date. T. Ganapati Sastri further claims in favour of his assignment of अभिनवगुप्त, महिमभट्ट and मम्मट to the last decade of 10th, the early part of the 11th century and the middle of the 11th century respectively that it allows the necessary interval for the several commentaries on the Kāvyaprakāśa which sprang up in the 12th century A. C. such as Ruyyaka's (1129-1150) and Mānikyacandra's (about 1160 A.C.).

Vāgbhaṭa.

Whether the Kāvyānuśasana and the Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra were composed by a single individual or by two is a disputed question. Dr. Julius Eggeling in his Catalogue

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Com.—विस्तारिका—by Paramānanda Cakravartin—a Bengali later than Vidyānātha.

Com. - उदाहरणप्रदीप—by Nāgeśa Bhatta, 18th Century.

Com.—सुधासागर, सुधासार or सुखोदधि by Dikshita Bhimasena of the 18th Century.

Com.—नरसिंह मनीषा by Narasinha Ṭhakkura later than Paramānanda's tīkā.

Com.—सुधमनोरञ्जनी—by Mallari Lakṣmana Śāstrī. Madras Edn.

Com.—उदाहरण चन्द्रिका—by Tatsat Vaidyanātha—1740 Saka year.

Com.—तात्पर्यविवरण—by Maheścandra Nyāyaratna. Calcutta Edn. 1866.

As for the rest, they are nearly 45 in number and in most cases either the name of the author or the name of the tika or merely an indication that it is a commentary on काव्यप्रकाश is to be gathered from the Catalogues of MSS.

of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office made a mistake in holding that Vāgbhaṭa, the son of Nemi and Mahādevī, was the author of Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra, and, in accordance with the conclusion of Lassen, referred him to the reign of King Jayasiṃha (1093 to 1154) but the two personalities are to be kept apart. In illustrating the figure of speech *Saṅkara*, the Vāgbhatālaṃkāra gives the Prakrit form of the author's name as **वाहड़** the son of Soma (*vide* Dinavardhanasūri's explanation of the sloka "**वंभड़मुत्ति संपुड्डमुत्ति**," etc.). Śiṃhadevagani in his gloss gives the Sanskrit name of the author as Vāgbhaṭa and calls him a great poet and a high minister. In the same gloss under the figure *Samuccaya* mention is made of an excellent ruler of the excellent city of Anahillapatākāpura who was the son of Kāmadeva. (Sec. IV, Stanza 132). From the Prabhābatī-carita of Probhācandramunīndra, the existence of Vāgbhata in the Vikrama year 1179=1123 A.C. is clearly gathered. From the same work we learn that Vāgbhaṭa was living in 1273 (Vikrama year) corresponding to 1157. The commentators give the name of the ruler of Anahillapura as Jayasiṃha and from the English translation of Hemachandra's Dvyāśraya-Kāvya in the Indian Ant., Vol. IV, the regnal period of Narasiṃha is found out to have been 1083-1143 A.C. This Vāgbhaṭa has to be distinguished from the author of the Kavyānuśāsana, for, in the latter work under the section dealing with *Guṇa*, occurs the sentence which conclusively establishes from the mouth of the later of the two namesakes his non-identity with the earlier. The sentence runs thus:—

दण्डिवामनवाग्भटादिप्रणीता दशगुणाः वयं तु माधुर्यौजःप्रसाद-लक्षणांस्त्रीनेव गुणान् मन्यामहे।

The author of the Kāvyānushāsana is on this ground referred to the century following that in which Bāhada flourished.

Amarasiṇha or Amaracandra.

It might not be inappropriate here to set down the meagre details that are known of the author of the *Kāvyakalpalatā*. He was the disciple of Jinadatta Sūri. The idea that he might have been the great lexicographer naturally suggests itself. About this latter person, as Pundit Jhalkikara in the Bombay Skt. Series edition of the अमरकोष points out, we know that he was a Buddhist. A MS. dated 1257 A. C. having been found, it is safe to conclude that he existed before that age. The sloka beginning "धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामर" which makes अमर one of "nine gems of the court of Vikrama" meets with little credence from scholars The Kāvyakalpalatā gives practical directions as to the manipulation of verse, alliteration, paronomasia, and other figures of speech. From the nature of the work one would rather be confirmed in the supposition that it was composed by the lexicographer. Pundit Jhalkikara says that अमर lived before 1100 A.C. In the Kāvyakalpalatā he mentions another work by himself entitled अलङ्कारप्रबोध.

Hemacandra.

The 12th century also was fertile of productions in the department of Poetics. The note of originality which is remarkable in the earlier treatises is not so

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वाग्भटालङ्कार—Kāvyamālā XLVIII, also Calcutta Edn. of 1883.

Com.—अवचूरि

Com.—समासान्वय—by Khemahamsagani.

वाग्भट—काव्यानुशासन—Nirnaya Sagar Edn.

Com —अलङ्कारतिलक—by self.

अमर—काव्यकल्पलता—The sūtra is said to be by अमर while the Vṛtti is the production of अरिसिंह son of Āṣāḍa.

Com.—कविशिक्षावृत्ति—by अमरचन्द्र.

Com.—काव्यकल्पलतावृत्तिपरिमल—or मकरन्द. Readers of काव्यकल्पलता are referred to this in I-V as written by the Vṛttikāra himself. It is by Śubhavijayagani.

evident, but it is replaced by greater system and method. The treatment conforms more and more to the preciseness of expression enjoined by Logic. Of the works on Sāhitya that this century brought forth the Kāvyānushāsana of Hemacandra is one of the most important. Hemacandra was a Śvetāmbara Jain. Details of his life are to be gathered from Somaprabha's Kumārpāla-pratibodha-Kāvya the date of which has been ascertained to be 1184 A.C. Kumārapāla reigned from Samvat 1199 to 1230 corresponding to 1121 to 1152 A.C. Kumārapāla was the pupil of Hemacandra. The name of the preceptor of Hemacandra himself is known to have been Devendra Sūri.

Jayamangala of the court of Jayasiṃha 1094—1143 wrote his कविशिक्षा about this time. It is quoted by Ratnakaṇṭha in his commentary on स्तुतिकुसुमाञ्जलि. Nāgovarman's Kāvyālokanam also is a product of this century.

Ruyyaka.

Belonging to the first half of the 12th century Ruyyaka or Ruchaka seems to have been a contemporary of Hemacandra. Ruyyaka owes his place in the history of the Sāhitya-Śāstra to his two compositions—one a short monograph on erotics—सहृदयलीला, and the other, a treatise exclusively devoted to the figures of speech, called अलङ्कारसर्व्वस्व. His pupil the poet Mankhuka, the author of the Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam, wrote the Vṛtti to his text, and therein he referred to Ruyyaka as his preceptor. It is curious that Ruyyaka should quote from the work of his pupil, but we find that he actually cites 5 verses from the Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam in illustrating the figure of speech समासोक्ति. (Śrīkanthacaritam, Verses II. 49,

काव्यानुशासन—with Com. अलङ्कारचूडामणि or काव्यानुशासनवृत्ति by Hemacandra himself—Kāvyamālā—LXXI, 1901.

IV. 70, V. 23, VI. 16, X. 10). That he was the preceptor of Mankhuka is gathered from the last (XXVth) canto of the latter's Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam. Like many of his predecessors in the Rhetorical line he was a native of Kāshmīr, and was the son of Rājānaka Tilaka the author of the Udbhaṭa-viveka. Ruyyaka quotes four stanzas in the early part of the Sarvasva from a poem of his named Śrīkaṇṭhastava. Colonel Jacob (R.A.S.J. 1897) suggests the probability that the stanzas at present found in Mankhuka's work and quoted in the Alamkāra-sarvasva were originally Ruyyaka's own. The difficulty of the master quoting from the work of the pupil disappears if, on the strength of Burnett's Tanjore Catalogue manuscript, we regard the Vṛtti with the illustrations to be by Mankhuka. In this manuscript occurs the verse गुर्व्वलङ्कारसूत्राणां इत्था तात्पर्य्यमुच्यते, and an anonymous commentator assigns the work to Mankhuka. There are 36 stanzas common between the Alamkārasarvasva and the Kāvyaprakaśa. This gives rise to a puzzle as to which of them is entitled to priority. The general trend of opinion based on the colophon of the Sahṛdayalīlā is that Ruchaka and Ruyyaka are the same person.

The opening stanza of the Alāmkarasarvasva has got two readings in the 2nd line :—

गुर्व्वलङ्कारसूत्राणां इत्था तात्पर्य्यमुच्यते ।

and निजालङ्कारसूत्राणां इत्था तात्पर्य्यमुच्यते ॥

The former is the reading of the ancient palm-leaf manuscript, and it is this reading, adopted by the commentator Samudrabandha, coupled with the closing couplet

इति मंखुको विततने काश्मीरक्षितिपतिसान्धिविग्रहिकः ।
सुकविमुखालङ्कारं तदिदमलङ्कारसर्व्वस्वं ॥

अलङ्कारसर्व्वस्व—Kāvyamālā XXXV—with Vṛtti by Mankhuka—Com. अलङ्कार-विमर्शिनी—by Jayaratha—XIII Cent. Kāvyamālā XXXV.

and the colophon to the Kavyamala edition—"इतिरुय्यकभवद्राजानकरुय्यकस्य"—which has given rise to the perplexing question as to which of them two, Ruyyaka or Mankhuka, wrote the Alamkāra-sarvasva. The long-standing tradition of double authorship instead of being contradicted is only confirmed by the stanza in the Śrīkaṇṭha-caritam as under :—

"तंश्रीरुय्यकमालोक्य स प्रियं गुरुमग्रहीत्
सौहार्दं प्रश्रयरसस्रोतस्सम्भेदमज्जनं"

In the Introduction to Vyakti-viveka, Ganapati Śāstrī has described the author of the Alamkārasarvasva as the writer of other treatises साहित्यमीमांसा, नाटकमीमांसा, and as a critic of Mahimabhaṭṭa who flourished in the 1st half of the 12th century.

The commentator Samudrabandha adorned the court of Ravi-varma-bhūpa *alias* Sangrāmadhīra, the King of Kolamba (Quilon) in Travancore. This king was born in 1265 A.C. (*vide* Sastri's Introduction to Pradyumnābhyudaya—Triv. Skt. Series, 8). In the काव्यप्रकाश Jhalkikara (p. 19) thinks him to have preceded Mammaṭa by a short time. In support of this view he points out that in the Śloka राजतितटीयं (p. 758) he refutes the opinion of Ruyyaka, as also at p. 768 of the text beginning "योऽलङ्कारो यदाश्रितः." The writer of Kāvyapradīpa also interprets the whole of the passage at p. 516 from "ननु स्वरितादि गुणभेदात्" to "कथमयं शब्दालङ्कारः" in this light.

Com.—सञ्जीवनी—by Śrīvidyāchakravartin.
Com.—by झलकि—quoted by रुय्यक.
" " Samudravandha—Trivandrum Skt. Series.
हृदयलीला—Kavyamālā—V.

Vidyādhara.

The *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara set the fashion for a type of rhetorical treatises which aimed at panegyrising the writer's royal patron at the same time that they dealt with the theoretic aspects of the subject. To this type conforms Narasiṃha's Naṇjarāja-jaśobhūshaṇa which is as yet unpublished, as also does Pratāparudrajaśobhusaṇa which we shall have occasion presently to notice. The illustrative verses in all these seek to bring out the accomplishments of the patron. A comparatively recent work of this pattern—one in which the glories of the Peshwas Madhava Rao the First and his uncle Raghunath Rao are sung—has been brought to light by Dr. Bhandarkar (Search for Skt. MSS. 1887-88, 1890-91). It bears the name Alamkāramanjūsha. Of the various works that quote the Ekāvalī, the one nearest to it in point of time is the Rasārṇavasudhākara of Śingarāja which has been assigned to the second half of the 14th century. Mallinātha whose date is debated to lie between the 14th and 15th centuries also quotes it in his commentaries on Meghadūta, Kirātārjunīya and Śiśupāla-vadha. Vidyādhara who was also called Maheśvara was the author of the *Kelirahasya* in addition to the Ekāvalī—an erotic work compressing the contents of a larger work—Ratirahasya. The age of Vidyādhara has been approximately ascertained from his exclusive eulogies of Nara-siṃha or Nṛsimha—a king of Kalinga or Utkala. Vidyādhara might be presumed to have been a court-poet as well as the contemporary of a monarch of this name. Eight Utkala kings bearing the name of Narasimha figure in Robert Sewell's Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India. Calculations based on inscriptions on various grants (Journal of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 132-3, and Vol.

LXV, Part I, p. 232) have helped to fix their regnal periods. Of these the 1st Narasiṃha whose date goes back beyond the commencement of the Christian era is out of the question, as also is the 2nd prince of that name who reigned from 1013 to 1024 A.C., since Vidyādhara has mentioned the poet Harihara and King Arjuna of Malwa (in the 1st Unmesha—11th sloka of the text) both of whom flourished in the beginning of the 13th century (Dr. R. G. Bhāndārkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1887-8, 1888-9, 1889-90 and 1890-1, p. lxvi), and also Śrīharṣa of the 12th century and the Kāvyaprakāśakāra (of 11th-12th cent.). Vidyādhara also quotes Bihlana of the latter part of the 11th century. Nor could he have been the *protege* of the last two Narasiṃhas of Sewell's enumeration as the Ekāvalī is quoted by Singabhūpāla in the Rasārṇava-sudhākara and Mallinātha—both of the 14th century. Kapila Narasiṃha reigned for a year 1329-1330. A monarch who reigned for so short a period could not have been eulogised in such magniloquent terms as those employed by Vidyādhara. Of the three remaining Narsiṃhas Vidyādhara's patron must have been one entitled to the epithet हम्मीरमानमर्दन (Ekāvali, pp. 176, 177, 257, 260 of Trivedi's edition). The hero of the Hammira Mahākāvya of Nayacandra Sūri was a prince who began his reign in 1283 A.C. and attempted the conquest of Southern countries (Dr. Bhāndārkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1887-90, pp. lxvii and lxviii). It is therefore reasonable to presume that it was either Kesari Narasiṃha (1282-1307) or Pratāpa Narasiṃha (1307-1327) of Sewell's list at whose court Vidyādhara lived and wrote. The composition of the Ekāvalī has for these reasons to be assigned to the beginning of the 14th century.

एकावली—with com. तरला—by Mallinātha—Bombay Skt. Series.

Śingabhūpāla.

The Rasārṇavasudhākara of Śriśingabhūpāla is a treatise on the Rasa theory and dramaturgy. In three *Vilāsas* it deals with the topics that are comprehended in these subjects—topics that are treated in the Daśarūpa in four chapters. From the introductory verses of the work we gather that the author of the treatise, Śingabhūpāla of the Rechalla dynasty, was the ruler of the country lying between the Vindhyas and Śriśaila of which Rājāchalam was the capital. He was the son of Ananta or Anapota and Annamambā. His great-grandfather and grandfather were respectively Dācayanāyaka and Śingaprabhu. In M. Śeṣagiri Śastri's Report on a Search for Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts, 1896-97, pp. 7-10, Śingabhūpāla is named Śinganāyaka and the date of the prince is given as about 1330 A.C. on the strength of a biographical sketch of the Rājās of Venkatagiri.

Vidyānātha.

Vidyānātha's Pratāparudra-yaśobhūṣana is an example of that curious literary taste that permitted writers to achieve two objects inconsistent in their nature at one and the same time. It is not merely a treatise on the poetical and dramaturgic science, but it also aimed at bespeaking the favours of a royal patron for its writer. This combination of two objects, one personal and the other theoretical, did not escape censure, and we come across Dharmasūri the author of Sāhityaratnākara flinging irony in the following śloka :—

अलङ्क्रियाः पूर्व्वतरैः प्रणीताः प्रयोजिताः काञ्चन नायकेन ।
केचित्तु कुत्रिभरिभिर्निवद्धाः चोदीयसा काञ्चन नायकेन ॥

The Pratāparudrīya is extensively quoted by Mallinātha in his commentaries on the Mahākāvyas, although, relying perhaps on the widespread reputation of the treatise, he does not think it necessary to mention the name of the author. Vidyānātha appears to have composed this work only, for, as is quite apparent, the other work ascribed to him by Dr. Aufrecht entitled Pratāparudrakalyāṇa is merely a model drama forming part of and illustrating the dramaturgic discussion in the 3rd Prakaraṇa of Pratāparudra-yaśobhūṣaṇa. Pratāparudra was evidently his royal patron. From Vidyānātha's own description, we learn that he was a Kākati Vīrarudra so-called because he worshipped the goddess Kākati—the tutelary deity of his family, installed in the Ekaśilā town—the capital of the Andhra or Trilinga country. The name Pratāparudra was ascribed to the Prince, because he was as brilliant as the sun, just as the name Vīrarudra was given to him in the belief that he was Viṣṇu incarnated in the Kaliyuga. From numerous illustrative ślokas, details as to his lineage, his kingdom and his character are to be gathered. In the drama incorporated in the 3rd Prakaraṇa, the story is told how Pratāparudra in the course of his warlike expeditions defeated and turned back Sevana, a Yādava king. This Sevana has been identified with Rāmacandra or Rāmadeva—6th king of the Yādava line of Devagiri, whose dates are Saka 1193 to 1231, corresponding to 1271 to 1309 A.C. (Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan, p. 92). The age of Pratāparudra has been definitely fixed with the help of inscriptional evidence (Epi. Ind., Vol. VII, pp. 128-132, Vol. VIII, pp. 166-167, Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, pp. 9 to 20). It is not necessary to recapitulate the details that

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रत्नापणसुधाकर—Trivandram Sanskrit Series.

प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण with Com. रत्नापण by Kumārasvāmin, son of Mallinatha—Balamanorama Edn. Madras.—Com. रत्नाप—Ed. Bombay Sanskrit Series, LXV.

are brought to light by these inscriptions which are all dated the closing years of the 13th and the first twenty years of the 14th century. Materials of this type relating to Pratāparudra and his near relations in the ascending line are summarised at pp. 16 to 21 of K. P. Trivedi's valuable Introduction. Robert Sewell, in his Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, gives the date of Pratāparudra as 1295 to 1323 A.C. In the I. O. Catalogue, as well as in Śeṣagiri Śaśtrī's Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts the dates are 1268 to 1319. The history of Warangal about this time shows that the country was invaded by Mahmud Tughlak's army, and in 1323 Pratāparudra was imprisoned and sent to Delhi. Vidyānātha, therefore, as the *protege* of Pratāparudra, might safely be assigned to the first half of the 14th century.

Viśvanātha.

To the same century belongs Viśvanātha, the author of the Sāhitya-darpaṇa or the Mirror of Composition, over the contents of which we have to run our eyes in Part II. Viśvanātha wrote a Nātikā-Candrakalā, and a Kāvya entitled Narasiṃhavijaya, Prabhāvatī another Nātikā, Praśasti-Ratnāvalī a करम्भक in 16 languages, राघवविलास and कुवलयाश्वचरित, respectively a Mahākāvya in Sanskrit, and a Kāvya in Prākṛt. Narasiṃhavijaya is most probably in praise of Narasiṃha II who held regal sway, circ. 1279-1307.[1] The Kāvyaprakāśadīpika, a work quoted in another commentary on Mammaṭa's treatise, namely Kāvyaprakāśadarpaṇa of the 13th century, was written by his grandfather's younger brother Candīdāsa. Viśvanātha seems to have been an Oriya from his giving a familiar local equivalent of the word चिङ्ग used in the 5th Ullāsa of Kāvyaprakāśa, and he might,

[1] J.A.S.B. 1903, p. 29 ff.

with considerable certainty, be referred to the beginning of the 14th century. Viśvanātha himself wrote a commentary on the Kāvyaprakāśa, and to this he gave the name Kāvyaprakāśadarpaṇa. At many places in the same, he refers to his authorship of the independent work साहित्यदर्पण. In the colophon to the Sāhityadarpaṇa he describes himself as the son of Candraśekhara Mahākavi, author of पुष्पमाला and भाषार्णव dealing with the characteristics of Sanskrit, Śaurasenī, Mahārāṣṭrī and other Prākṛt dialects. He was the grandson of Nārāyaṇadāsa whom, in the chapter dealing with Rasa, he describes as having vanquished Dharmadatta at the court of the Utkala King Jaysiṃha. The father of Viśvanātha as well as he himself were सान्धि-विग्रहिकमहापात्र at the court of a king of Kalinga. Dr. Stein's Catalogue of Manuscripts at Jammu, p. 64, describes a manuscript of the Sāhityadarpaṇa dated the Vikrama year 1440 equal to 1384 A.C. Viśvanātha quotes a verse which speaks of a Mahomedan King Allaudin—

सन्धौ सर्व्वस्वहरणं विग्रहे प्राणनिग्रहः
अलावद्दीननृपतौ न सन्धिर्न च विग्रहः ॥

Allaudin, the might of whose arms penetrated the Deccan as far as Cape Comorin, was poisoned to death in 1315; therefore, even if this verse be taken to have been composed in Allaudin's life-time, Viśvanatha cannot be pushed back beyond 1300. The Sāhityadarpaṇa therefore must have been composed between 1300 and 1384. As already mentioned, Viśvanātha's grand-father (or, according to some, his great-grand-father) vanquished Dharmadatta at the court of Narasiṃha of Kalinga. Of the many kings that ascended the throne about this time, Narasiṃha III, who reigned between 1328 and 1361, and Narasiṃha IV do not seem likely to have been

Viśvanātha's patron (*vide* Dr. Bhāndārkar's note on the Kings of Kalinga in the Introduction to Mr. Trivedi's edition of the Ekāvalī). Narasiṃha II who assumed the crown between 1270 and 1303 was very probably the monarch, and in his inscriptions he is styled 'Kavipriya.' Viśvanātha's grandfather Nārāyaṇa's contest with Dharmadatta in that case would have been an incident of the reign of Narasiṃha I who came to the throne between 1220 and 1253 A.C.

Bhānudatta.

The date of Bhānudatta, author of the two works on Rasa-theory and Erotics, namely Rasataraṅginī and Rasamanjarī, has not yet been ascertained with perfect precision. The lower limit of the epoch in which he lived is indicated by the date of his commentators. The Vyākhyā Rasikaranjinī on the Rasataraṅgiṇi by Venidatta was composed in 1553, according to Prof. Nilmoney Chakerbutty's Chronology in J. A. S. R. 1907, p. 211. The commentary entitled Vikāśa on the Rasamanjarī by Gopāla *alias* Vopadeva, son of Nṛsiṃha, has been referred to 1438 by Prof. Chakerbutty in the Chronology already mentioned. At the end of Rasamanjarī the following śloka occurs—

तातो यस्य गणेश्वरः कविकुलालंकारचूड़ामणिः
देशो यस्य विदेहभूसुरसरित्कल्लोलकिर्मीरितः।
पद्येन स्वकृतेन तेन कविना श्रीभानुना योजिता
वाग्देवीस्तुतिपारिजातकुसुमस्पर्द्धाकरी मञ्जरी॥

साहित्यदर्पण—There are various editions including Nirnaya Sāgara and Jivānanda's edns. with *tīkā* by Ramacandra Tarkavāgīśa.

Com.—साहित्यदर्पणलोचन by Anantadāsa, son of Viśvanātha.

Com.—*ibid*, by Mathurānātha Śukla.

Com.—साहित्यदर्पणवृत्ति, by Rāmacandra Tarkavāgīśa, dated 1701.

from which we learn the name of his father as Gaṇeśvara and his native country as Videha (North Bihar). Despite the fact that the reading विदर्भ is met with in some manuscripts (which is evidently a mistake), the Pandits of Bihar claim him on the strength of long-standing tradition to have been one of their countrymen, and are familiar with many details about his genealogy. His father composed a treatise रसरत्नदीपिका from which there are quotations in the Rasataraṅginī, and his great-grand-father was Śankara Miśra, the author of the Upaskāra and a commentary on the खण्डनखण्डखाद्य of Śrīharsa. Śankara Miśra, according to them, was alive in the year 1327 of the Śaka Era corresponding to 1405 A.C. We are to suppose that he was a very old man at this date in order to avoid a conflict with the date of Gopāla's commentary which is 1438. Although the date of Bhānudatta is not susceptible of more exact determination, it seems safe to conclude that he flourished in the 15th century and possibly in its first quarter.

Jayadeva.

The identity, as well as the date, of the author of the Candrāloka are as yet in a nebulous state. That he

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रसतरङ्गिणी—by Bhānudatta, author also of अलङ्कारतिलक, in Regnaud's La Rhetorique Sanskrite.

Com.—नौका, by Gangārām Jādin, dated 1732, Ed. Benares 1884.

Com.—रसिकरञ्जिनी with Vyākhyā to same by Venidatta, great-great-great grandson of महीदास, composed in 1553 (J.A.S.B., 1907, p. 211).

रसमञ्जरी—with vyākhyā व्यङ्ग्यार्थकौमुदी composed in 1635 by Ananta Pandita, great-grandson of Nīlkantha of Punyastambha on the Godavari and the grandson of Bālapandita, son of Trimbaka Pandita, patronized by King Candrabhānu of Benares. Benares Skt. Series 83.

Com.—समञ्जसा on vyākhyā by Gangarāma Jadi, circ. 1732.

Com.—on vyākhyā by Viśveśvara, son of Lakshmīdhar.

Com.—रसमञ्जरीप्रकाश by Nāgeśa, 18th century.

Com.—विकाश by Gopāla called also Vopadeva, son of Nṛsimha, dated 1497.

preceded the 16th century is certain, since it was the 10th chapter of his comprehensive work on Sāhitya that served as the basis of Appaya Dīkṣita's Kuvalayānanda. Besides the rhetorician and the Naiyāyika (logician), there was Jayadeva, the author of the Gītagovinda. Tradition in this country as well as the opinion of modern scholars agree in holding Jayadeva the author of the drama प्रसन्नराघव to have been the composer of the चन्द्रालोक. He describes himself as पीयूषवर्ष and gives the names of his parents as महादेव and सुमित्रा. On the other hand, the author of the गीतगोविन्द was the son of भोजदेव and रामादेवी. The Alamkāraśekhara of Keśava Misra mentions a जयदेव पण्डित कवि under a king of Utkala. The editor of the Venkateśvara edition of the चन्द्रालोक is indignant at the statement made by Dayānanda Sarasvatī of the Ārya Samāja that Jayadeva was the brother of the grammarian वोपदेव and a Vaidya by caste. But the confusion that he makes between the two Jayadevas in the face of the known parentage of both is no less remarkable. On the simple assumption of the identity of the two, he proceeds to fix the date of the author of the चन्द्रालोक as the beginning of the 13th century—the date of Lakśmana Sena of Nadiya who is said to have fled his kingdom when Bengal was invaded by Kutbuddin in 1263 Vikrama year (corr. to 1205 A.C.). The author of the Candrāloka may, however, be roughly assigned to the 13th century as he seems on certain points to be indebted to Ruyyaka and two of his verses are quoted in Śārngadharapaddhati (A.C. 1363).

Rūpagosvāmī.

The three poetico-dramaturgic works by which Rūpagosvāmī is known bear, all of them, traces of a resolve to make literature the vehicle of religious instruction. This is a new phase in the evolution of the Sāhitya-literature

an account of which must remain incomplete without a full treatment of the psychology of Bhakti. Rūpa-gosvāmī composed three dramas: Vidagdhamādhava (1583), Lalitamādhava and Dānakelikaumudi (1509): of these Lalitamādhava keeps very close to the dramaturgic canons just as Śrīharṣa's Ratnāvali in a previous age had done. This parallelism extends a little further also. The Ratnāvalī was used as a text by Viśvanātha for the illustration of the dramaturgic portion of the Sāhitya-darpaṇa. The Lalitamādhava is similarly utilised by Rūpa himself in his Nātakacandrikā. Rūpa avoided the treatment of the other topics comprised in the Sāhityaśastra in reference to Kavikarṇapūra, son of Śivānanda, and a great favourite of Śrīcaitanaya. Kavikarṇapūra's Alamkāra-kaustubha was a larger work dealing with all the Sāhitya-topics, but there was one deficiency in it which Rūpa-gosvāmī set himself to make up, namely the absence of a full treatment of the Śānta or quietistic sentiment. This is elaborated in Rūpa's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu and Ujjvalanīlamani. The former is a treatise devoted exclusively to the elaboration and illustration of the sentiment of Bhakti or religious devotion which is the chief variety of the quietistic sentiment. But religious devotion is of various shades and grades according as the

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चन्द्रालोक—Calcutta Edition.

Com.—बुधरञ्जिनी by Vengalasūri—Madras Edn.

„ —रामा or हरिलीचनचन्द्रिका by Vaidyanatha Payagunda (bet. 1740-1830). *Vide* Gharpure's edition of Bālambhaṭṭi (Bombay).

„ —राकागम by Gāgabhaṭṭa *alias* Viśvśveśvara, son of the Mīmānsaka Divākarabhaṭṭa in l. 3101 called सुधा.

„ —by वाग्रचन्द्र.

„ —चन्द्रालोकदीपिका.

„ —शारदागम or चन्द्रालोकप्रकाश by प्रदोतन भट्टाचार्य्य, son of मिश्र बलभद्र written by order of वीरभद्र, son of Rāmachandra and grandson of वीरसिंह of Bandella family. Dated 1583.

„ —शारदशर्व्वरी by Virupākṣa.

„ —चन्द्रालोकनिगूढार्थदीपिका Benares, 1895.

Vaiṣṇava looks upon the Supreme Being as his master, his friend, his beloved or the object of his parental affection. Regarding the third phase of religious devotion, one might well recall the phraseology of mediæval Christianity according to which Christ was the bridegroom and the Church as well as the devotees his bride. In the Ujjalanīlamani, likewise, this amalgam of religious devotion and erotic sentiment is presented with Kṛshna and Rādhā as the hero and heroine, and his moods and relations with her as the determinants, accessories and consequents. In the preface to the Caitanyacandrodaya, Kedārnātha and Vāsudeva Śāstri have shown that Rupagosvāmī and Jīvagosvāmī were contemporaries of Caitanyadeva who was born in 1533 A.C. The first half of the 16th century might, therefore, be regarded as the period in which Rupa lived and wrote. The Viśvakosa Lexicon gives certain details about Jīvagosvāmī. He was born in 1523 A.C. (Saka year 1445). There is a difference of opinion among the Vaiṣṇavas with regard to the exact date of his birth and some hold him to have been born in 1513 (Saka 1435), but there is unanimity as to his spending the first 20 years of life at his home and the rest till his 85th year at Vrindāvana. In 1540 (Śaka year corresponding to 1608) he died. His father was Vallabha, and Rūpa and Sanātana were his uncles.

नाटकचन्द्रिका. भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु, Cossimbazar Edition.

उज्ज्वलनीलमणिः, Nirnayasagar and Cossimbazr Editions.

Com.—किरण by Viśvanātha Cakravarti, xvii, Cent.

Com.—किरणलेश.

Com —आगमचन्द्रिका and आत्मप्रबोधिका.

Com.—लोचनरोचनी of Sanātana.

चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय—Cossimbazar Edition, 1899, with C. सारबोधिनी by Viśvanātha

Com.—by himself called किरण.

Com.—by Lokanātha. Also Com. by Vrindāvana Candra.

Kavikarṇapūra.

Kavikarṇapūra, a dramatist and rhetorician, was a contemporary of Rūpa Gosvāmī. A great favourite of Śrī Caitanya, he was born in 1524 in Kancanapalli in Nadiya and was the father of Kavicandra, the author of काव्यचन्द्रिका. The Alamkāra-kaustubha is a comprehensive Sāhitya treatise modelled on the Sāhitya-darpaṇa, although the illustrations clearly testify to the religious enthusiasm of its author. In his secular life he bore the name of परमानन्द दास and was a Vaidya by caste. He justifies the amalgamation of the sentiments of religious devotion and love in the 10th Pariccheda in the passage which runs thus :

शान्तशृङ्गाररसयोर्युगपत् कीर्त्तनं न दोषाय ।

Then he cites the following śloka :

निर्व्वाणनिस्वरसमेव पिवन्तु केचित्
भव्या न ते रसविशेषविदो वयन्तु
श्यामामृतं मदनमन्थरगोपरामा-
नेत्राञ्चलोच्चुलुकितावसितं पिवामः ॥

अत्र पूर्व्वार्द्धे शान्तः परार्द्धे शृङ्गारस्तथापि शृङ्गं । शान्तस्य न्यक्कृतत्वात् शृङ्गार एव पुष्टः—दशमः परिच्छेदः ।

Appaya Dīkshita.

An interesting chapter in the history of Sanskrit criticism is furnished by the sharp onslaught on Appaya Dīkshita made by Jagannātha Pandit. Appaya Dīkshita, son of Śrīrangarājādhvarīndra Baradācārya is known to

have been the author of three treatises in the critical line कुवलयानन्द, चित्रमीमांसा and वृत्तिवार्त्तिक. He was a prolific writer and an acute dialectician. By his treatises Advaita-siddhānta, Shivashraistha and also by the exercise of his acute logical skill in discussions, he is said to have converted his maternal uncle Tātārya from his dualistic faith (Dvaitism). This story has been poetically recorded by Appaya Dīkshita's grandson Venkatādhvari in his Viçvaguṇādarsha Campu—2nd and 3rd ślokas, with an evident feeling of pride in the achievement of his ancestors.

काञ्चीमण्डलमण्डनस्य मखिनः कर्णाटभूभृद्गुरोः।
तातार्य्यस्य दिगन्तकान्तयशसोयं भागिनेयं विदुः॥

It appears from the śloka that he hailed from Kanchi or Conjeveram in the Drāvida country. Venkatādhvari was, however, a follower of the Rāmānuja tenets—a fact rather surprising, considering that his grand-father was such an ultra-Advaitist. Venkatādvari's father, the son of Appay was a "Śleshajamaka-Cakravarti", *i.e.*, an unrivalled monarch in the use of paronomastic devices and chime. Venkatādhvari is said to have presented his Vicvaguṇādarsacampu at the court of the Peshwa, Baji Rao where the passages glorifying the Brahmins in their struggles against the spread of Mahammadan sway both religious and political, secured him a rich reward from the admiring Peshwa. A romantic story of the life of Appaya Dīksita is current in the Deccan—as to how his wedded wife in a former birth found him out in this as a low-caste woman, and was maintained by him in his own household without any carnal connexion. Later in life he separated from his Brahmin wife, and disappeared with her in the image of Śiva in a temple, and thus got out of reach of social calumny.

The concluding sloka but one of the Kuvalayānanda runs thus—

श्रमं कुवलयानन्दमकरोदप्पदीक्षितः ।
नियोगाद् वेङ्कटपतेर्निरुपाधिकृपानिधेः ॥

We thus gather that the Kuvalayānanda was written at the instance of Venkaṭarāja. A full account of Appayadīkṣita's life is given in the second part of Jādavābhyudaya (Vānī Vilāsa Publication). In the chronology of Indian authors by N. Chakerbutty in J.A.S.B., Vol. III, p. 211, 1550 A.C. is given as the probable date of Dīkṣita. He wrote under the patronage of Cinna Boma Nāyaka of Velur, whose inscriptions are dated Śaka 1471 and 1488 and who was a vassal of the Venkaṭarāja. Dr. Aufrecht identifies Venkaṭarāja with Venkaṭa of Vijaynagara (circ. 1535 A.C.) while Dr. Hultzsch identifies him with Venkata I of Pennakonda whose inscriptions range from Śaka 1508 to 1535. (Hultzsch, Report, II, pp. xii & xiii).

In any case, there is no doubt about Appayadīkṣita having lived in the first half of the 16th century. Both Vṛttivārtika and Citramīmānsā were left incomplete—the former breaking off at Lakṣaṇā and the latter at the figure of speech अतिशयोक्ति; the Kuvalayānanda is a string of verses defining and illustrating the 100 figures of speech recognised in the Candrāloka, with the addition of nearly a score of others.

Keśava Misra.

Keśava Misra's Alamkāraśekhara is said to be a commentary on Śauddhodani's Alamkārasutra. Sauddhodani's work has not been printed separately and, as for Keśava Misra's treatise, it cannot, on analysis, yield back the original composition of Śauddhodani. It was written under

the patronage and at the request of Mānikyacandra. A king of that name began to reign in Kangra in 1563 A.C. Mr. Nilmani Chakravarti says that both Mr. Eggeling and Dr. Bühler were erroneous in their identifications of Mānikyacandra (J. A. S. B. 1907).

It was in this century that Prabhākara wrote his अलङ्काररहस्य and रहस्यप्रदीप. The date of the latter work is given as 1584.

Gangānanda Kavirāja.

The Karnabhūśana of Gangānanda is a work wholly devoted to the Rasa-theory with the psychological considerations that figure in such works. Gangānanda lived in the reign of Śrī Karṇa Maharaja of Bikaner, Śaka 1562-1583 (1506-1527 A.C.), and the treatise in question, it appears, was composed by way of compliment to the prince whose name it bears. Śrī Karṇa had another name Lūṇa Karṇa. Gangānanda was the son of Bhavadatta Vikaji.

वृत्तिवार्तिक—Nirnaya Sagar Edition, Kāvyamālā—XXXVI.

चित्रमीमांसा— ,, Kāvyamālā XXXVIII, 1893.

Com.—सुधा—by Dharmānanda son of Rambala Vāsistha of Bharatpura.

—Com. चित्रमीमांसागूढ़ार्थप्रकाश—by Bālakṛshna Payagunde.

—चित्रालोक.

कुवलयानन्द—Vānivilās Edition.

Com—लघ्वलङ्कारचन्द्रिका—by Devidatta.

Com.—अलङ्कारचन्द्रिका—by Vaidyanāth Payagunde son of Tatsat Rambhaṭṭa, Edn. Bombay, 1912, with Com. on same अलङ्कारमञ्जुषा by Rāmacandra.

Com.—रसिकरञ्जिनी—by गङ्गाधराध्वरिन् who gives the number of Appaya's works as 100 (Kumbhakonam, 1892).

Com.—अलङ्कारसुधा—by Nāgeśa.

Com.—काव्य मञ्जरी—by Nyayavagīsha Bhaṭṭācārya

Com.—षट्पदानन्द—by Nagesa.

Com.—उदाहरणचन्द्रिका—by Vaidyānātha son of Rāmacandra and grandson of Viṭhalabhaṭṭa Dated, 1683.

चन्द्रालोकेश्वर—Kāvyamāla L. 1895.

कर्णभूषण—Nirnayasagar Edition Kāvyamālā LXXIX, 1903.

Jagannātha.

In Jagannātha, the author of Rasagangādhara and Citramimānsākhaṇḍana, Appaya Dīkshita met with a critic of great vigour, mastery over literary Sanskrit and bold originality. He was a Tailangi, the son of Parama, or Peramabhaṭṭa and the pupil of Jnānendra, Mahendra and other eminent doctors. The prince of pundits—Jagannātha's command of mellifluous language might well bear comparison with that of Jayadeva the author of the Gītagovinda. The romantic story of Jagannātha falling in love with a Mogul damsel and giving up the religion of his forefathers is widely current. But the element of truth contained therein is a matter of dispute. Jagannātha lived at Delhi under Shah Jehan and Dara Shah who was murdered in 1659. A writer of profound confidence in his scholarship and literary craft, proudly he says in the Rasagangādhara :—

"निर्माय नूतनमुदाहरणान्यरूपं
काव्यं मयात्र निहितं न परस्य किञ्चित्"

"All the poetical illustrations are his original and nothing has been set down from the writings of others." The thoroughness of his resolve to upset the views of Appaya Dīkshita, but for their different ages, would indicate a personal grudge. In the Chitramīmānsākhaṇḍana he premises thus :—

"रसगङ्गाधरे चित्रमीमांसाया मयोदिताः
ये दोषास्तेऽत्र संक्षिप्य कथ्यन्ते विदुषां मुदे ॥"

He proceeds item by item to refute the views of Appaya Dīkshita on the figures of speech. Dīkṣhita's work so far as available comes down to *Apahnuti*, but Jagannātha's critical work adds the figure of speech भ्रान्तिमान् to the

list. In his जगदाभरणकाव्य he describes the fame of Dara Shah, and towards the conclusion of भामिनीविलास says दिल्लीवल्लभपाणिपल्लवतले नीतं नवीनं वयः। Mahāmahopādhyāya Durgāprasād and Pandit Vāsudeva Paṇasékaṛ dismiss the legends that have gathered round the figure of Jagannātha and the Mogul damsel on the ground that the ślokas which testify to his love of the Moslem beauty are not to be found in the works examined by them. The names of thirteen books from his pen have been found out of which nine are in print. There is considerable strength in the contention of Pundits Durgā Prasād and Vāsudeva in view of the fervently religious tone of the Karuṇā-laharī and Pīyusha-laharī and of the marked absence of verses countenancing the said legends from the extant works in which such verses are most likely to occur. On the basis of the data furnished by his extant works Paṇdita-rāja Jagannātha's personal history might be constructed. His father Peramabhaṭṭa received his training at Benares and became learned in many subjects under distinguished teachers of the time, like Jnānendra Vikshu. His mother's name was Lakṣmī. He was schooled mostly by his father. In his mature youth the Pādshah Shajehan honoured him, and he was also a favourite of Dara Shah. Aurangjebe with his religious bigotry ascended the throne in 1658 when he threw his father into prison. With this event the royal-favour that Jagannātha had enjoyed naturally terminated. The last years of the Pandit's life were spent at Benares or Mathura.

रसगङ्गाधर—with Com. गुरुमर्मप्रकाश of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, Kāvyamālā XII.
Com.—विषमपदी.

चित्रमीमांसाखण्डन—Kāvyamālā, XXXVIII.

The नाट्यप्रदीप of सुन्दरमिश्र was composed in 1613. It is a work quoted by Ratnakaṇṭha on Amarakośa and by Vāsudeva on Karpūramanjarī.

Ghāsirama Pandita's रसचन्द्र bears the date 1696.

साहित्यसुधासिन्धु—in 8 tarangas by Viśvanātha son of Trimalladeva and grandson of Anantadeva is also referred to this century.

Viśveśvara.

Both the treatises of Viśveśvara, that we propose to notice, pertain to the departments of poetics and rhetoric—the Alamkārakaustubha and the Kavīndrakarnābharaṇa. He was a prolific writer, and if he did not exactly "lisp in numbers", he began his literary career very early in life, it is said, at the age of 10; and as many as 20 or 21 of his productions are known to exist at the present date. He was not merely a poetician but also the writer of poetry of various types. This is proved by the names of some of his works such as आर्य्यासप्तशती, नवमालिका नाटिका, मन्दारमञ्जरी कथा, रोमावलीशतकं, वक्षोजशतकं, लक्ष्मीविलासः, शृङ्गारमञ्जरीसट्टकं, षड्ऋतुवर्णनं, होलिकाशतकं. He was also a scholiast of considerable activity and wrote commentaries on the Naiṣadhīyacaritam and Bhānudatta's Rasataranginī and Rākāgama (also called सुधा) on Jayadeva's Candrāloka. In the poetico-rhetorical line he seems to have written other treatises, besides the two that have appeared in print, namely काव्यतिलकं, काव्यरत्नं, अलङ्कारमुक्तावली, अलङ्कारकुलप्रदीपः. Erotics obtained from him the Rasacandrikā. In the colophon to the Kavīndrakarṇābharaṇa he gives his parentage thus—लक्ष्मीधरोयमुदसूत मुदं प्रसूतां विश्वेश्वरस्य कृतिरस्य चिरस्य लोके. Pandits Durgā-Prasād and Kāśīnāth Pāndurang assign him to the first quarter of the 18th century. He was a native of Almora in the heart of the Himālayan regions and belonged to a Brahmin family locally well-known as "Padiake Pande." He died a man of about 40. In the 10th śloka of the

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अलङ्कारकौस्तुभ—Nirnaya Sāgar Edn. Kāvyamālā, LXVI, 1894.
Com.—सोपज्ञ.
Com.—by Viśveśvara.
Com.—by Venkatācārya.
Com.—by Śrīnivāsa.
कवीन्द्रकर्णाभरण— Kāvyamālā, VIII.
अलङ्कारग्रन्थ—of Kāśīlakṣmana Kavi—is a work of the early part of this century.

Kavīndrakarṇābharaṇa, Viśveśvara declares the scope of the work to be the treatment of 58 varieties of acrostics, riddles and other purely verbal embellishments in four sections.

Baladeva Vidyābhuṣana.

With Baladeva Vidyābhuṣana we reach the limit of the period over which our survey extends. A life of Baladeva appeared in the Vishnu Priyā,—a Bengali magazine of the last century. It was written by Vihāridas Sānkhyatirtha. Baladeva we learn therefrom was a Brahmin devotee of Śrī Caitanya and a disciple of Dāmodaradāsa guru of Uddhavadasa. He held a debate with the Ramanuja sectarians of Galba or Gālavāshram and went to the Court of Jaysiṇha of Jaypur. He was the author of many other works such as काव्यकौस्तुभ, छन्दः-कौस्तुभ. The Sāhitya-Kaumudī is based on the Bharata-sūtravṛtti. The nature of his work is indicated thus in the second verse :

सूत्राणां भरतमुनीश्वरर्णितानां
वृत्तीनां मितवपुषां कृती ममाख्यां ॥

The beginning is exactly after the fashion of Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa and the body is also divided into 11 *paricchedas* after the manner of the older work. He indicates his close adherence to the scheme of Mammaṭa by the words व्याख्यातमिदं काव्यलक्षणं before he actually reaches the end of his treatise, simply because the original that he was following was concluded at that point. In the conclusion he writes

मम्मटाद्युक्तिमाश्रित्य मितां साहित्यकौमुदीं
वृत्तिं भरतसूत्राणां श्रीविद्याभूषणो व्यधात् ॥

Śivarāma.

The Rasaratnahāra of Śivarāma is primarily an erotic treatise. The amorous sentiment in all its ramifications with its ensuants, accessories, determinants is treated, although the other sentiments are also touched upon. Śivarāma appears to be a very recent writer since he refers to Nāgeśabhaṭṭa's Paribhāṣenduśekhara and Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, as we know from many sources, flourished in the first half of the 18th century. In the colophon to his own *tika* on the Nakṣatramālā he numbers his works thus :—

काव्यानि पञ्च तनुतेऽपि च पञ्चसंख्याष्टीकास्तु सप्तदश चैक उणादिकोषः।
भूपालभूषणमयो रसरत्नहारो विद्याविलास इनपूर्व्व शरत्फलाद्याः॥

He was the son of Kṛṣṇarāma and the grandson of Śrīlokacandra. His other works in the Sāhitya line are Alamkārasamudgaka which seems to be an independent treatise and the *tika* Viṣamapadā on the Kāvyaprakāśa. The Navarasaratnakāra of R. G. Bhandarkar's Report 1882-83 seems to be the same work as that which is printed in the Kāvyamālā series.

साहित्य कौमुदी—with Com. कृष्णानन्दिनी Kāvyamālā LXIII, 1907. The following works existing in the form of MSS. were produced in this century :—

अलङ्कारचिन्तामणि—by Śāndarāya.

अलङ्कारमञ्जूषा—by Śivaśankara a native of Ramavo near Surat writen in honour of the Peshwas Madhava Rao I and his uncle Raghunath Rao—Dr. Bhandarkar's Search for MSS. 1881, 1887-8 1890-91.

काव्यकौमुदी—in 10 paricchedas by Ratnabhūṣaṇa.

रसार्णव—by Sinhamalipah said to have been a Tanjore prince of the 14th century.

रसरत्नहार with Com. लक्ष्मीविहार by self—Kāvyamālā VI Tika by Venīdatta.

PART II.

Some Critical Topics arising out of Sāhitya Literature

Nāṭyaśāstra.

The Nāṭyaśāstra is the first work in point of time that has come down to us in the department of Sāhityaśāstra. Its value as an authoritative work in its subject is equal to its historic importance. Its terms, its theories and its classifications for the most part bore unquestioned sway with subsequent writers on dramaturgy as well as poetics. By Sylvain Levi, the value of whose work on the Indian Theatre is unique, it has been styled "Une volumnieuse Encyclopaedie du Theâtre." The description is literally justified. Neither in the classical works nor in modern treatises on dramaturgy in Europe do we come across a compendious treatment of the varied questions connected with the theatre that can compare with it in fulness. Mr. Fitzgerald Hall has called it an "Institute of Mimetics", and indeed histrionics in its various aspects occupies by far the greater part of the volume of the Nāṭyaśāstra and dominates the conception of the whole. Bharata says—

आङ्गिको वाचिकश्चैव आहार्य्यः सात्विकस्तथा
त्रयस्त्वभिनयो विप्राश्चतुर्धा परिकल्पितः ॥

VIII, St. 9

All these four aspects of acting, pantomimic, declamatory, scenic and psychical are followed into minute details. Pantomime comprehending gestures, facial expression, gait, etc., takes up six chapters, from the 8th to the 13th. Chapters 26 and 27 deal with kindred matters. Declamation

is dwelt upon in Chapters 14 and 17. Scenic representation together with costume is treated in 21st and 23rd chapters. Pantomime and declamation in Bharata's language constitute नृत्य but dancing or नृत्त is also an important element of a drama. "The introduction of this element," object the Ṛṣis, "is neither in imitation of nature, nor does it help on the object of the drama. Why then," they ask, "has it a place on the stage?" Bharata replies—

अत्रोच्यते न खल्वर्थं कञ्चिन्नृत्तमपेक्षते
किन्तु शोभां जनयतामिति नृत्तं प्रवर्त्तितं।
प्रायेण सर्व्वलोकस्य नृत्तमिष्टं स्वभावतः
मङ्गल्यमिति कृत्वा च नृत्तमेतत् प्रवर्त्तितं॥
(*Chap. IV, St. 246-247*).

that is, "it is pleasing to all men and it has a religious use." The choregraphic art is for these reasons fully detailed in Chapter IV. Psychical conditions on which histrionics is based are treated in the 22nd chapter. Music, vocal and instrumental, is the subject of seven chapters from the 28th down to the 34th. Prosody or Metrics is treated in the 14th and 15th. Theatrical architecture, the construction and the plan of the stage and of the auditorium, is the topic of the 2nd chapter, while the religious ceremonies to be performed at the consecration of the edifice are set forth in the 3rd chapter. All these with the exception of Prosody pertain to the province of histrionics. There is a gradual transition to Dramaturgy and this also is accorded a very full treatment. The religious ceremonies preliminary to an actual representation accompanied by music, dancing, and chant are described in Chapter V. The various categories of the drama with their differences and points of

agreement are discussed in the 18th chapter. The 19th and 20th describe the elements of a drama, the links in the plot, the dramatic style, the tone and conduct of a piece—what, in other words, is called Vṛtti. In the 24th and 25th chapters the rôles, the *dramatis personæ* of different types, male as well as female, are enumerated. The mythical origin of the drama is narrated in the first, 36th and 37th chapters. The other problems that find a place in treatises on the Sāhityaśāstra are also not overlooked. Thus the greater part of the 22nd chapter is concerned with Erotics. It classifies the various kinds of women in relation to the hero and describes the moods and occupations of lovers, as well as the sending of messengers and the mutual amorous conduct of the hero and heroine. The Rasa theory of which Bharata was the originator is set forth in Chapters VI and VII. The 16th chapter is devoted to rhetoric and poetics and is concerned with the Doṣas or the *vitia,* the guṇas or the qualities of excellence, and the Alaṃkāras, *les parures* or the figures of speech.

Bharata the Founder of the Rasa School.

In Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra the entire Rasa-psychology is found in an elaborate form and the additions and improvements made by subsequent writers are mostly of a minor character. He enumerates the Rasas as eight and says that they were so numbered by Druhiṇa. His enumeration of the *sāttvika* and *vyabhicāribhāvas* also has not undergone alterations. The interpretations given by him of the terms *bhāva, rasa,* etc., on the basis of their derivation contain more intelligible explanation of the process of literary and dramatic representation and appreciation than those of his successors who took care to couch their meaning in precise logical terminology.

Regarding the mutual relations between *bhāva* and *rasa* he says—

न भावहीनोऽस्ति रसो न भावो रसवर्जितः। परस्परकृता सिद्धि-स्तयोरभिनये भवेत्॥ व्यञ्जनौषधिसंयोगो यथान्नं स्वादुतां नयेत्। एवं भावा रसानेव भावयन्ति परस्परं॥

नाना भावाभिनयव्यञ्जितान् वागङ्गसत्वोपेतान् स्थायिभावानास्वादयन्ति सुमनसः प्रेक्षकास्तस्मात्काव्ये रसा इति अभिव्याख्याताः।

The cardinal *rasas* are four according to Bharata and herein his dictum is mechanically repeated by those who come after him. These are the erotic (शृङ्गार), the tragic or furious (रौद्र), the heroic (वीर), and the odious or horrible (बीभत्स). The other *rasas* are derived from these in the following order—

शृङ्गाराद्धि भवेद्धास्यः रौद्राच्च करुणो रसः।
वीराच्चैवाद्भुतोत्पत्तिर्बीभत्साच्च भयानकः॥

The corresponding stanzas in the Agnipurāṇa read like mere echoes of these verses. The Agnipurāṇa however adds a ninth *rasa*, *viz.*, the contemplative or शान्त. In the Sāhityadarpaṇa reference is made to the opinions of some who add a tenth, वात्सल्य. Bharata's explanation runs thus as to विभाव and other states.

विभावो विज्ञानार्थः। अनुभावयन्तीति अनुभावः। विभावानुभाव व्यभिचारिपरिस्कृतः स्थायिभावो रसतां लभते।

Again—विविधमाभिमुख्येन रसेषु चरन्तीति व्यभिचारिणः। चरन्तीति गत्यर्थः। यथा सूर्यः।

The position of Bharata in Poetics is of great importance. If Poetics alone be considered, the oldest writer would be Bhāmaha, but Bharata who preceded him also made contributions not unworthy of the earliest dramaturgist. In him we find in a fairly developed form many of the concepts that were subsequently accepted and amplified.

It is remarkable that the critics who stand at the source of the stream of writers on Sāhitya in India and on Poetics and Rhetoric in Europe should give a conception of poetry that is dramatic. Aristotle lays stress on tragedy as the perfect literary product in the 26th section of his Poetics where it is shown to be superior to the epic. The last stanza of Bharata's 16th Chapter likewise says that spectators at a theatre enjoy the Kāvya with all its beauties. Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the 6th Chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra brings out Bharata's import in these words "काव्यं तावत् मुख्यतो दृश्यरूपात्मकमेव." Bharata further sets forth the whole of the *Rasa*-theory with the psychology of the emotions. That the main beauty of poetry is the presence of a poetic sentiment was clearly perceived by him as when he said—न हि रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्त्तते ।...Chap. VI, p. 62. and again—

योऽर्थो हृदयसंवादी तस्य भावो रसोद्भवः
शरीरं व्याप्यते तेन शुष्केन्धनमिवानलः ॥—Chap. VII. 7.

The Bhāvas are those that make us experience the essence of poetry manifested through words, gestures, etc.—किं भावयन्तीति उच्यते—वागङ्गसत्वोपेतान् काव्यार्थान् भावयन्तीति भावाः । Regarding the production of *Rasa*, Bharata seems to anticipate the view of the Dhvani school by the use of the word व्यञ्जितैः in विभावानुभावव्यञ्जितैरेकोनपञ्चाशता भावैः । The Rasābhāshas or the Rasa-semblances are not to be clearly found in Bharata's exposition. But he seems to hint at them in Chapter VI, 40th st.—"शृङ्गारानुकृतिर्यातु हासः"।

The Indian and the Hellenic Theatre.

The discussion of the origin of the Indian drama resolves itself into two questions, one connected with the

indigenous beginnings from the earliest times, and the other with the influence exercised by the Hellenic drama. The conclusion that is associated with the names of Wilson, Pischel and Levi is that the Indian drama is an independent growth uninfluenced in its origin by exotic types, and agrees with Weber's (Indien Studien, XIII, 354, *et seq.*; 487, *et seq.*) in holding that the essential elements of a drama existed side by side in the pieces Bālibandhana and Kaṃsavadha which are mentioned in Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya. We have no intention to re-state the arguments of the two troups of scholars engaged in the Weber-Windisch *versus* Pischel-Levi controversy—one in favour of the Hellenic influence and the other against it. We shall merely subjoin certain considerations that naturally spring from the reading of the Bhāratīya Naṭyaśāstra to enforce the view that the Indian drama is to be regarded as a true and independent creation of the Indian brain. We recapitulate some details derived from Vitruvius as to the performance of the Hellenic drama and the construction of the theatre in Greece. The Greek theatre was in the form of a segment of a circle, the arc being the auditorium and the chord the stage. The arc or semi-circle was made up of sweeps of steps rising from the orchestra and spreading out on either side. The gallery or rather the amphitheatre was made large enough to accommodate the entire population of a city and there are remains of a structure which could seat 30,000 spectators. Between the lowest tier of seats and the stage, the space, that is the orchestra, was marked by an altar called *thymele* on which the chorus stood when not participating in the action. The stage was an elevated rectangle which stretched from one end of the auditorium to the other, and had little depth. It was called *logeum*, in Latin *pulpitum*. The space in the rectangle was known

as the *proscenium*. The whole structure including the stage was without roof or covering, bare to the blue sky overhead. The entire edifice was on a colossal scale. It is interesting to note, side by side with this cursory sketch of the Greek theatre, the details as to the construction and plan of the Indian theatre that can be gathered from the Nāṭyaśāstra. The *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* or *Nāṭyaveśma* was broadly divided into two parts, the Rangapītha and the Prekṣāgṛha or Prekṣakaniveśana. The Nāṭyamaṇḍapa might be of three varieties ज्येष्ठ, मध्यम, अवर...according to size, being meant respectively for Gods, Kings and vulgar people. These are respectively called *Vikṛṣṭa* (long-drawn), *Caturasra* (rectangular) and *Tryasra* (triangular). Sir S. M. Tagore in his work on the Indian drama says that the stage was to be 20 cubits square. This might apply to one type of theatres only, but Bharata is very circumstantial and specifies different measurements for the three kinds of theatrical buildings. The *Jyestha* or largest-sized is to measure a hundred and eight cubits, the middle-sized 64 cubits, and the small-sized 32 cubits, that is, in length. The middle-sized, that is, human theatres are to be 32 cubits in breadth also. Larger than this is not desired, since the performance would become अव्यक्त or indistinct. "In a *viprakṛṣṭa maṇḍapa* the recitation becomes greatly distorted and would not reach very far though the words are uttered aloud" (Chapter II, stanza 22). In a very large building erotic gestures and movements on which many eyes are fixed would become extremely indistinct owing to the distance from all (stanza 23)." Here is a noticeable difference from the practice of the Greeks who used the mask which enlarged features, the *cothurnus* which elevated the figure, and a peculiar apparatus attached to the mask to increase the power of the voice, and left the orchestra, more or less corresponding

to the pit of the modern theatre, unoccupied. The *encyclema* or the stage-curtain, in Latin called *aulaeum* was lifted from below. But it was wholly otherwise on the Hindu stage; the curtain instead of being pulled up by means of a pulley was, to use the words of Sir S. M. Tagore, "held in position and carried away as the necessity arose by two females chosen for their beauty and figure." This circumstance might seem to lend colour to Weber's theory based on the derivation of the word *yavanikā* meaning the Greek cloth, when it is taken in connection with the fact recorded by Strabo that young females of western origin were imported into India. Strabo's account about the commerce in beautiful Greek girls is confirmed by a like statement in the Periplus of the Errythrean Sea, as also by the fragment of a Greek farce played in Egypt which set forth the adventures of a Greek *Charitain* in the power of an Indian king (Oxyrrhynchus, Papyri, Fasc. III). But in the face of the striking dissimilarities in the stage-craft already pointed out, these are hardly sufficient to support the theory of a Greek origin of the Indian drama. Further, it has to be remarked that the Indian stage was not a democratic institution. The enormous accommodation that was provided by the Hellenic theatre and the arrangement for the entertainment, if need be, of the entire body of free citizens, are features that are conspicuous by absence from the theatrical structures of this country. Like the Elizabethan drama before the foundation of the public theatres, the Hindu drama was kept alive by representations in the houses of men of means, princes and aristocrats.

रम्भोर्वश्योप्रभृतिभिः स्वर्गे नाट्यं प्रवर्त्तते
तथैव मानुषे लोके पार्थिवानां गृहेषु च ॥

Again the measurements given for the construction of

theatres also bear witness to the same truth. The injunction against the construction of large theatres is definite and the seats for the different castes were marked off in a manner precluding all ideas of equality.

To resume Bharata's prescriptions as to the construction of the theatre, measurements are to be taken very carefully with the thread, the breaking or dropping of which from the hand would prognosticate diverse evils (slokas 32-38). The length of 64 cubits is to be divided into two. This measure has again to be halved, giving 16 cubits. The space of 16 cubits thus obtained × 32 cubits—the breadth throughout—is to be used as the stage. It is further sub-divided into two equal halves each measuring 8 cubits × 32, of which the one in the rear is to serve as the green-room and the one in front as the stage. There is also to be a verandah (मत्तवारणी) alongside the stage towards the auditorium. In the hall or auditorium which is to measure 48 cubits × 32 cubits, accommodation for the spectators is to be provided consisting of seats raised 1 cubit above the ground and erected with bricks and timber, the whole arrangement being such that a clear view might be had of the stage from the auditorium. Posts or pillars are to be erected showing the parts to be occupied by spectators of different castes. The white pillar is to indicate the space for the Brahmins, the red for the Kṣatriyas, the yellow for the Vaiśyas, the bluish for the Śūdras. The Vaiśya pillar is to stand at the north-western extremity and the Śūdra pillar in the north-eastern corner. The south-eastern and south-western spaces are to be divided between the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas. Sir S. M. Tagore says that "the part to the east of the stage was to be occupied by the king or other cultured and wealthy patron, that to the south by the Brahmins, the part to the north and lying close to the stage was to be occupied by boys and

King's Officers, while at the extremities Heralds, Eulogists, Guards and Connoisseurs were to be accommodated." Says Bharata "कार्य: शैलगुहाकारो द्विभूमिर्नाट्यमण्डप:" (st. 69) that is, the theatrical building is to be (vaulted) like a mountain-cave and to consist of two floors (evidently one for the stage and the other for the hall). The Raṅgaśīrṣa or the top or roof of the stage is neither to be flat like the side of a fish nor in form similar to the back of a tortoise. There are to be two doors the one जनप्रवेशन "admitting the spectators" and the other leading to the stage. Terrestrial theatres might also be square-shaped (32 × 32 cubits). In that case the measurements for the stage remaining the same, those for the hall are to be suitably modified. Thirdly, in a triangular structure, the stage also is to be triangular and to be located at one of the angles. We have thus in the Indian theatre a nearer approach to the complete inclosed room of modern times than in the Hellenic choral theatre.

Another detail regarding the Hellenic stage is that men personated female characters, as the female carriage and voice would have been wholly inadequate to the energy which was required of the tragic heroines. It was otherwise on the Indian stage. Bharata in the 24th Chapter speaks of the different kinds of actors and actresses that were suitable for particular rôles. He mentions the following female characters that had to be represented as belonging to a royal household.

महादेवी तथा देवी स्वामिनी स्थायिनी तथा ।
भोगिनी शिल्पकारी च नाटकीयाश्च नर्त्तकी ॥ 25
अनुचारी तथायुक्ता तथा च परिचारिका ।
तथा सञ्चारिणी चैव तथा प्रेषणकारिका ॥ 26
महत्तरा प्रतीहारी कुमारी स्थविरा तथा ।
आयुक्तिकास्तु भूपानामिष आभ्यन्तरो गण: ॥ 27

The sort of actress to be selected for the rôle of a heroine is indicated in stanzas 114-115. The 116th sloka repeating almost the same words that occur in the 34th stanza says that a *nartakī* a gifted dancing-girl, is very rare and is not met with one in a thousand. The accomplishments of a *gaṇikā*, a courtezan, are set forth in stanzas 108-113. Again, certain dramatic species such as नाटक, भाण, प्रकरण, वीथी and अङ्क are सुकुमार that is, of a gentle and delicate character, and being pervaded by the sentiment of love are to be represented by women (Chap. XXVI, st. 21-22), but in dramatic representations marked by violent movements and action women are not to take part (st. 23).

The time of representation, again, is another matter in which the practice of Hellas and that of India were contrasted. In the former the representation took place in the broad day. The Romans sometimes used a projected awning over the *proscenium* for protection against the rays of the sun. Here in India, however, representations are recommended for almost every hour of the whole day, excepting midnight and noon, twilight and the time of meals (st. 84). The slokas immediately preceding this in the 28th Chapter run thus :—

यच्छ्रोत्ररमणीयं स्याद्यच्चौत्थानिकं च यत् ।
पूर्वाह्णे तत् प्रयोक्तव्यं शुद्धं वा विद्धतं च यत् ॥
सत्वोत्थाने गुणैर्युक्तं वाक्यभूयिष्ठमेव च ।
पुष्कलं सत्वसंयुक्तं अपराह्णे प्रयोजयेत् ॥
कैशिकीवृत्तिसंयुक्तं शृङ्गाररससंश्रयं ।
नृत्तवाद्यविगीताढ्यं प्रदोषे नाट्यमिष्यते ॥
यत्तु माहात्म्यसंयुक्तं वाक्यप्रायमेव च ।
प्रभातकाले तत्कार्यं नाट्यं निद्राविनाशनं ॥

Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra, according to Prof. E. J. Rapson, was written at the very beginning of the Christian era, but it might also be much older as we have already seen. It is strange from the view-point of those who uphold the theory of the Hellenistic origin of the Hindu Drama that, in regard to the dramatic situations and embellishments, the supposed imitators should have gone far ahead in theory at least, and, possibly, in practice also, of their masters. Aristotle in his Poetics speaks of two devices or instruments by which the change of fortune in a tragedy might take place (Secs. 10, 11)—namely, reversal of situation and recognition. These two parts of the plot turn upon surprises. A third part, says the great law-giver in Poetics, is "the scene of suffering." "The scene of suffering is a destructive or painful action such as death on the stage, bodily agony, wounds and the like." Among the 64 elements of the five junctures, *i.e.*, *sandhis* there is one comprised in the *Garbhasandhi* called *Nirodha*. Stanza 74 of the 19th chapter defines it as व्यसनसंप्राप्ति that is, coming by misfortune. And in the last *sandhi*, that is, *denouement*, there is another called *Upagūhana* which is defined as "अद्भुतस्य संप्राप्तिः" that is, meeting with a surprise. But these are merely two out of the 64 elements into which the action of a drama is analysed by Bharata. Perhaps, there is something morbid in this quest of theoretical subtlety and multiplication of categories, but that it is indicative of considerable advance in speculative dramaturgy is beyond doubt.

That the Indian Drama was hedged in by a number of conventions is a common-place of criticism. The ancient Greeks also insisted on a certain degree of propriety or seemliness in the same manner that the Indian Drama was hedged in by a number of dramatic conventions.

"Fear and pity," says Aristotle, "may be aroused by spectacular means, but they may also result from the

inner structure of the piece, which is the better way and indicates a superior poet * * * Those who employ spectacular means to create a sense, not of the terrible, but of the monstrous, are strangers to the purpose of Tragedy." It is undeniable that the prohibitions of the Hindu dramaturgists went much further, and propriety was attended to in a stricter fashion and to a larger extent. In Chapter XXI, stanzas 188-89, Bharata prohibits the use of sharp and dangerous weapons on the stage.

न भेद्यं नैव स्थेयं च न प्रहर्त्तव्यमेव च ।
रङ्गे प्रहरणैः कार्य्यं संग्रामादं तु कारयेत् ॥

It is curious that, despite these injunctions, in stanzas 102, *et seq.*, of the 25th Chapter, he proceeds to describe the various ways of simulating death. As to decency and seemliness, the reason assigned by Bharata is contained in Chapter 22, stanza 283—

पितृपुत्रस्नुषाश्वश्रूदृश्यं यस्मात्तु नाटकं ।
तत्त्वेतानि सर्व्वाणि वर्ज्जनीयानि यत्नतः ॥

एतानि refers to osculation, embracing, etc., mentioned in stanzas 281-82 preceding.

The Scope of the Sāhitya Śāstra—A Glance over the Contents of the Sāhitya-darpaṇa.

Let us take a comparatively recent work of a comprehensive character and run our eyes over its contents. This would enable us to ascertain the topics that were thought properly to appertain to the province of an *ālaṅkārika*. By seeking to characterise these topics in the language of Western criticism, we shall form a fairly satisfactory idea of the nature and scope of the Sāhitya

Śāstra. The Sāhitya-darpaṇa of Viśvanātha Kavirāja was the first treatise in this line to be placed before the English-reading public in an English garb. It was edited by Roer in 1851, and translated by Messrs. Ballantyne and Pramadā Dās Mittra in 1875. This fact coupled with the high estimation in which it is held by the Pandits, particularly in Bengal, clearly testifies to the reputation for completeness enjoyed by the work. The first chapter deals with the uses of poetry which are found to comprehend the four objects of human endeavour, and discusses the various definitions of Kāvya, and accepts the one that deems *Rasa* or poetic sentiment ('taste' in Mittra's translation) to be its soul or essence, and refutes some of the other definitions. The second chapter deals with the word, the *vākya*, '*la phrase*' (Regnaud), a completed sentence, and *mahāvākya*, '*la grande phrase*' (Regnaud), that is, the elements of a piece of composition; and the three kinds of meaning—the direct or denotation, the secondary or indication '*le sens figuré ou metaphorique*,' and the suggested or '*l'allusion*' are treated with their varieties and subdivisions, and a fourth *tātparya*, the sense of the phrase, is alluded to. The third chapter plunges into the discussion of *Rasa* or poetic sentiment, its objects, determinants and consequents. The different kinds of heroes and their boon companions, the different types and conditions of heroines and their associates in love intrigues, the rendezvous, the respective modes of life, the feminine graces, the stages in the growth of love, gestures and signs of passion, the messengers of love and their accomplishments, the involuntary and transitory states, the eight poetic sentiments with a ninth and a tenth, the quietistic and the affectionate admitted by some, with a detailed treatment of the first, that is the erotic, are set forth. The semblances or *Rasābhāshas* conclude the

chapter. The three different orders of poetry according to intrinsic quality are next approached—excellent, middling and inferior. The first or excellent poetry is shaded off into five thousand three hundred and and fifty-five subtle varieties; the second, into eight. The fifth chapter deals in greater detail than before with the suggestive power of language, and after distinguishing it from the two others, and showing these to be unsuitable for the purpose, concludes that the suggestive power alone leads to the perception of the poetic sentiment, although by some it is denominated *rasanā* and not *vyanjanā*. The sixth chapter gives a further classification of poetry. Poetry is either spectacular or recitative. Poetry that is represented to the eye is of 10 principal varieties constituting the different species of the drama. The drama and its elements are elaborately set forth—the entire technique of dramaturgy as understood by the Hindus is here detailed, the prologue, the elements of the plot, the five junctures, the intermediate scenes, asides, confidential remarks and the other conventional features of a dramatic composition are reviewed in succession. The minutæ of the conventions, the different modes of address by different characters, the tongues to be spoken by them, the concluding benediction, pass muster one after another. The characteristics of the different kinds of the drama, and how far each of them is to contain the elements already spoken of, are next laid down. The minor dramatic varieties, 18 in number, are similarly treated. Poetry that is to be recited and heard is either in verse or in prose. The distinctive names given to isolated stanzas and strings of stanzas to the number 5 are stated. The author then passes on to the three varieties of versified poetic literature—the great poem, the minor poem, and the anthology. Poetic literature in prose is either wholly arrhythmic or partly rhythmic, rich with big

compounds or slightly punctuated with them, and fall into two categories—*kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*. *Caṃpu* is a mixed variety partly in verse, partly in prose, and when eulogistic of princes is called *viruda*; written in a number of languages, it bears the name of *karambhaka*. The blemishes or defects of style—in Latin *vitia*, come up for discussion in the next chapter. They are fivefold as they relate to the word, to a part of the word, to the sentence, to the meaning, or to the poetic sentiment. Some of them are exclusive, others belong to more than one of these categories. The defects cease to be defects under certain conditions, and then become positive graces. Certain poetic conventions are next set forth, on the ground that compliance with them cures the defect known as conflict with established facts and critical opinions. The qualities or excellences of style are the subject-matter of the next chapter—sweetness, energy and clarity—and how they are attained. The author is concerned to show how the multifarious qualities enumerated by the ancient writers are either included in those three or are not separately entitled to the name of qualities. The ninth chapter deals with the four kinds of style—*Vaidarbhī*, *Gauṛī*, *Pāncālī* and *Laṭī* which would remind one of Quintilian's three-fold division of oratorical style into Attic, Asiatic and Rhodian (the Institutes, Book 11) and Matthew Arnold's Attic, Asiatic and Corinthian. The last or tenth chapter is devoted to the definition and illustration of the various figures of speech, verbal as well as ideal, "those of style and those of meaning" in Prof. Saintsbury's words. This brief *resumé* of the ideas and problems handled, though with little originality of discovery or remarkable mode of exposition, in साहित्यदर्पण is sufficient to enable one to envisage the scope and nature of Sanskit alaṇkāra. The free and unfettered speculation, the freshness of individual presentation, the consciousness

of the tentative character of the results achieved, are not characteristics that distinguish the majority of the *Sāhitya* treatises, as they do the critical works of Europe. But this point apart, it is easy to see that the concepts and speculations that come within the purview of the *Sāhitya*-literature of India are remarkably various. The discussion of the different styles, of the faults and beauties of style constitute an element that is of the essence of the works of *Rhetoric* of ancient Greece and Rome, such as those of Aristotle and Longinus and Quintilian. The definition of poetry, the consideration of the essence of poetry, the classification of poetical literature, are discussions that pertain to the province of *Poetics*. Poetics as a department of critical speculation had its origin as far as traceable in the discourses of Plato, and is yet, in the West, a progressive subject of study. Aristotle's Poetics and Horace's Ars Poetica are typical works representing this line of thought. The detailed treatment of the drama that we observe in a large number of *sāhitya* treatises, the elaboration of the minutiæ makes up a separate field of critical investigation to which the name *Dramaturgy* is given by way of distinction. The theory of *rasa* or the poetic sentiment might be regarded as the counterpart of the theory of beauty or Esthetics in the West. The discussion of the various causes, effects and subjects of the emotions, and their division into 8 or 10 varieties, partake, at the same time, of the nature of Psychology of the Emotions in a semi-scientific form. There was one special topic belonging to this branch on which the *literatures* of India loved particularly to dwell, and this was Erotics. The classification of the hero and of the heroine, their respective associates, the signs, gestures, moods and ways of lovers constitute the subjects included in Erotics, which reached a high degree of perfection at the hands of Oriental poets

and critical thinkers. *Hermeneutics*, the philosophy of language, is another façade of the composite edifice, comprehending a consideration of the three-fold function of words and phrases, namely, denotation, indication and suggestion, and also of *tātparya*, according to some. All these, therefore, make up the 'tangled skein' to which the name *Alaṃkāra*, and, from the eleventh century onwards, *Sāhitya* has been given. All these threads of investigation are not combined in all treatises. They are treated more or less fully in different treatises. Some of them are included, others, omitted. There are treatises devoted to one topic only; others, again, of an original character, making up land-marks in the evolution of *Sāhitya*, start new theories and ideas that are ultimately taken up into the ample flood.

Classification of Sāhitya Treatises.

It is thus not difficult to group the several topics treated in the works on *sāhitya* under a number of heads. They are six according to our enumeration and may be described as—

(1) *Hermeneutics* or the philosophy of language;
(2) *Poetics*;
(3) *Rasa-Theory*—the counterpart of Esthetic studies in the West;
(4) *Psychology of the Emotions* with special treatment of *Erotics*;
(5) *Rhetoric*; and (6) *Dramaturgy*.

The published works that have been examined divide themselves into a number of categories according as they deal with one or more of these topics; those that deal exclusively with one topic are included in categories that might be called simple; if they deal with many, the categories to which they belong might be called composite.

Thus the works falling within the simple category of *Poetics* are :—

I. (1) Ananda-vardhana's Dhvanyāloka.

(2) Rājaśekhara's Kāvya-mīmānsā.

Both these are highly original works. The former is concerned with the establishment of the theory of Dhvani, and the latter, despite its avowed object of treating of literary criticism, gives multifarious interesting details that throw a flood of light on contemporary India, her geography, her social condition.

(3) The *Kāvyakalpalatā* of Amarasiṇha is not concerned so much with the speculative problems of criticism as with the practice of versifiers ; it lays down practical rules for the turning out of verses.

II. (4) Appaya Dīkshita's *Vṛtti-vārtika*—an unfinished treatise dealing with the three-fold significance of language—is purely a work on *Hermeneutics*.

III. The only specimen of an exclusively *Dramaturgic* work is

(5) Rūpa's Nāṭaka-Candrikā.

IV. Under the head of *Erotics*[2] are to be included the following :—

(6) Ruyyaka's Sahṛdayalīlā.

(7) Bhānudatta's Rasamanjarī.

(8) Śivarāma's Rasaratnahāra.

(9) Rūpa Gosvāmi's Ujjvalanīlamani, and

[1] The names Rhetoric and Poetics are used with considerable looseness in general. Rhetoric in Aristotle is concerned with prose literature, in its three divisions, pistis (means of persuasion), lexis (style) and taxis (arrangement) and includes the treatment of figures of speech and the faults of style.

[2] Schmidt in his Indischen Erotik enumerates the following rhetorical works as taking cognisance of Erotics :—Agnipurāṇa, Alamkāraśekhara, Kāvyapradīpa, Kāvyānuśāsana (Vāgbhaṭa), Kāvyālamkāra (Rudraṭa), Candrāloka, Daśarūpa, Dhvanyāloka, Nāṭyaśāstra, Pratāparudrīya, Rasagangādhara, Rasataranginī, Rasamanjarī, Rasaratnahāra, Vāgbhaṭālamkāra, Śṛingāratilaka, Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Sāhityakaumudī, Sāhityadarpaṇa, Sāhityasāra.

(10) Rūpa Gosvāmi's Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu also claim inclusion in this class, but the Erotics, which they treat of, is a curious amalgam of the psychology of religious devotion and amatory sentiment.

V. *Rhetoric* with special reference to figures of speech is represented by the following treatises :—

(11) Udbhaṭa's Kāvyālaṃkārasaṃgraha.
(12) Kshemendra's Aucityavicāracarcā.
(13) Ruyyaka's Alamkārasarvasva.
(14) Appaya Dīkshita's Kuvalayānanda.
(15) Viśveśvara's Alamkārakaustubha.
(16) Viśveśvara's Kavīndrakarṇābharaṇa.

Of these, Kshemendra's Aucityavicāracarcā aims at demonstrating that *aucitya* or propriety lies at the root of all the beauties of language, *guṇa*, *alamkara*, etc., while Viśveśvara's Kavīndrakarṇābharaṇa deals with acrostics. With these exceptions, the works included in the group given above are concerned with the treatment of the figures of speech. Of the composite varieties, we come across some treatises that combine in them the treatment of two topics, while there are others that with a larger scope address themselves to the consideration of nearly all the topics that pertain to the province of Sāhitya.

VI. Among these

(17) Jagannātha's Rasagangādhara,

one of the recent, as it is also one of the most powerfully suggestive works might be said even in its unfinished form, to constitute a class by itself. Its scope might be described as *Esthetico-Rhetorical* as it deals with the figures of speech after some of the topics included in *Rasa*-discussions are disposed of. But there are two categories in which subjects with a natural affinity between them receive attention. These are the Poetico-Rhetorical, and the Esthetico-Psychological classes respectively. The

boundaries of Poetics and Rhetoric touch each other at many points.

VII. In the *Poetico-Rhetorical* group are included :—

(18) Bhāmaha's Kāvyālaṃkāra.
(19) Daṇḍīn's Kāvyādarśa.
(20) Vāmana's Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti.
(21) Kshemendra's Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa.
(22) Mahimabhaṭṭa's Vyaktiviveka.
(23) Appaya Dīkshita's Citramīmānsā.
(24) Jagannātha's Citramīmānsākhaṇḍana.

The Citramīmānsā does not deal with all the topics of Rhetoric but with the figures of speech only.

Vallabhabhaṭṭa's Alaṃkārakaumadī is a short monograph of very recent times, and is written on the same plan as the Kuvalayānanda, with this peculiarity that all the illustrations bring in the name of Rāma.

The Alaṃkāra-Manihāra of Śrīkrishna Brahmacārin is a very modern production, and is, so far as it is published, found to be preoccupied with the figures of speech. There are two other treatises which, in addition to the topics that works of this category are concerned with, incorporate also discourses on the Rasa-Theory. These are :—

(25) Keśava's Alaṃkāraśekhara.
(26) Vāgbhaṭa's Alaṃkāra.

VIII. The *Esthetico-Psychological* variety includes a number of works, two of which show the intrusion of other topics as well. The main category is represented by—

(27) Rudrabhaṭṭa's Śringāratilaka.
(28) Bhānudatta's Rasatarangiṇī.
(29) Rūpa Goswāmi's Ujjvalanīlamaṇi.
(30) Gangānanda's Karṇabhūshaṇa.

(31) The Daśarūpa of Dhanaṇjaya is not wholly dramaturgic, although the name itself would lead one to imagine

so. It is better regarded as dramaturgic with a large Esthetico-Psychological scope.

(32) The Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhoja also belongs to this variety, but it is not Dramaturgy, that is in its case the superadded topic but Rhetoric.

IX. Last of all, there are the conprehensive treatises in which four or more than four of the topics are handled. At the head of this group by reason of chronological priority, if not for any other, stands—

(33) Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra. In this only 4 figures of speech are dealt with. Hermeneutics, the subtle disquisition on the property and power of language, has no place in it.

(34) The Agnipurāṇa—the exact date of which is hardly ascertainable—despite its encyclopædic character, leaves out Hermeneutics and the Psychology of the emotions.

(35) Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṃkāra omits Hermeneutics and dramaturgy.

(36) Vāgbhaṭa's Kāvyānuśāsāna likewise excludes from its scope these two.

(37) Mammaṭa's Kàvyāprakāśa set the type on which were moulded a number of treatises. Its comprehensive character is less than that of the Sāhitya-darpaṇa by reason of the exclusion of the psychological portion and dramaturgy. The manner and contents of the Kāvyā-prakāśa are followed in the works :—

(38) Vidyādhara's Ekāvalī, and

(39) Jayadeva's Candrāloka.

(40) Hemcandra's Kāvyānuśāsana is also concerned with four topics and leaves out Hermeneutics and Psychology.

(41) Viśvanātha's Sāhitya-darpaṇa embraces all the six topics, and is the most comprehensive of all in its scope. This distinction accounts for the vogue that it

has enjoyed in Bengal, although apart from its eclectic character, there is little in it to commend it to critical readers.

(42) Kavikarṇapūra's Alaṁkārakaustubha also embraces all the topics with the exception of Dramaturgy.

Acyuta Rāya's Sāhitya-sāra[1] is a work produced in the last century, and therefore lies outside the period which we have proposed to ourselves for survey. It is a very full treatise but leaves out dramaturgy. In addition to the works which have been worked up into the foregoing scheme of classification, a number of treatises are known to have been printed sometime or other in the course of the last century. Some of them like the Sāhitya-sāra fall outside the limits of this survey. In tracing the evolution of the Sāhitya literature, we propose to draw the line at the end of the 18th century. Poeticians have, no doubt, arisen since then, but their work is mostly of the nature of compilation. This description applies to the Kāvyā-dīpīka of Kānticandra Mukhopādhyāya, and the Śabdārtharatna of Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati (1872) which is interesting by reason of the numerous passages incorporated in it from the Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari which was till then unpublished. The list of books that stand outside the limits of our survey by reason either of inaccessibility or of extreme modernness includes the following :—

1. Abhinayadarpaṇa—attributed to Nandikeśvara.
2. Alaṇkārakaumudī—by Vallabhabhaṭṭa—a monograph of a few pages and a recent work.

[1] The date of this work is gathered from the following colophon to have been 1753 Saka year = 1831 A.C.—

शाकेऽग्निबाणसुनिभूमितवर्षे खरसमाह्वयेऽपि वत ।
श्रावणसितदशमीज्ये पूर्णोऽभूत् पञ्चटिकायां ॥

With a commentary खरसामोद by the author himself, it has been published by the Nirnayasagara Press.

3. Alaṇkāracintāmani—by Ajitasena Devayatīśvara—a work of the 10th Century.
4. Alaṇkāramuktāvali—by Rāmasudhīvara son, of Nṛsimha, with commentary Ratnaśobhākara of Kṛṣṇasuri.
5. Alaṇkārasaṃgraha—by Amṛtānanda.
6. Alaṇkārasūtra—by Candrakānta Tarkālaṇkāra—a work produced late in the 19th Century.
7. Kavikarpaṭikā— by Śankhadhara.
8. Kavikalpalatā of Deveśvara or Devendra, son of Vāgbhaṭa—a single Fasciculus of which was printed by the A. S. of Bengal. It is commented on by Sūryakavi and Vecārāma.
9. Kāvyacandrikā—by Rāmacandra Nyāyavāgīśa, son of Vidyānidhi, with the commentary of Jagadbandhu Tarkavāgīsha.
10. Kāvyadarpaṇa—by Rājacūṛāmani Dīkṣita with commentary by Ravi Pandita.
11. Kāvyarasāyaṇam Nāma Sandarbha—1903, Calcutta.
12. Kāvyālaṇkārasūtra—by Yāskamuni with commentary of Akhilānanda Śarmā.
13. Kuvalayānandakārikā—by Āshādhara—which, as its name indicates, is a convenient manual based on Appaya's work.
14. Trivenikā or Śabdatrivenikā—by Āshādhara—a very brief monograph.
15. Budharanjinī.
16. Yaśovantayaśobhuṣaṇa—by Pandita Rāmakarṇa.
17. Rasamādhava—by Dāji Sivāji Pradhāna.
18. Rasamīmānsā—with com. Chāya by Gangārāma Jādi of the 18th Century.
19. Vrittālaṇkāra—by Pandita Chavilal Suri of Nepal—evidently a recent work—1907.
20. Sringārataranginī—by Dharma Sūri or Dharma Pandita with com. Maṇdāra of Malladi Lakshmaṇa Sūri
21. Sāhityasangraha—by Kāla.

Of these excepting those numbered 2, 6, 8 and 13 the works have not been available.

Other Topics discussed in Works on Sāhitya.

On an examination of the treatises that have been generally termed Rhetorical or Poetico-rhetorical, it is found that they are mainly pre-occupied with four topics, *viz.*, the different kinds of style, the faults or blemishes of style, the beauties or qualities of style and the figures of speech. All these receive a concise treatment from Bharata, and this is to be expected at an incipient stage of literary criticism. Thenceforward a process of constantly increasing subtlety of classification reinforced the original number of terms and concepts. The qualities of style according to Bharata are ten—

श्लेषः प्रसादः समता समाधिर्माधुर्य्यमोजः पदसौकुमार्य्यं ।
अर्थस्य च व्यक्तिरुदारता च कान्तिश्च काव्यार्थगुणा दशैते ॥

Bhāmaha in his eagerness to establish the theory of वक्रोक्ति as essential to poetry does not touch on the *guṇas*. But Daṇḍin and Vāmana and Vāgbhata recognise them. The Agnipurāṇa raises the number to nineteen and ranges them under three heads—verbal, ideal, and those that improve both the word and the sense. Thus the fashion for elaborate classification set in. Bhoja in the सरस्वती-कण्ठाभरण increases the number to 24. The desire to simplify, however, manifested itself from time to time. Thus Kshemendra lays down that the guṇas are merely the clarity or transparence of the words, of the sense, and of the poetic sentiment. Mammaṭa's dictum runs thus:—माधुर्य्यौजःप्रसादाख्यास्त्रयस्ते न पुनर्दश । केचिदन्तर्भवन्त्येषु दोषत्यागात् परेस्थिताः । अनेन भजन्ति दोषत्वं कुत्रचित्ततोदश । Vidyādhara in his Ekāvalī agrees with this view and

shows how the three include the rest. श्लेषः समाधिरौदार्य्यमपि स्रोक्तमोजसा। अर्थव्यक्तिः प्रसादश्च कथञ्चिन्नातिरिच्यते। समता दोषराहित्यं पृथक् स्यान्नपुनर्गुणः। सौकुमार्य्यं च कान्तिश्च भवेद्दोषविपर्य्ययः।

The Guṇas and the Rītis.

Of the styles (*rītis*) themselves which ultimately came to be recognised as three in number, we find no mention in Bharata who knows only the vṛttis. The distinction between vṛtti and rīti can hardly be mistaken. Vṛitti, dramatic style, signifies the conduct of the piece, its atmosphere, the manner in which it is to proceed from start to finish. Rīti on the other hand is structural device पदसङ्घटना रीतिः, and, in the West, exhibits the varieties known as a loose style, a periodic style, etc. The occidental analogues to the three *rītis* Gaurī, Vaidarbhī and Lātī are referred to elsewhere. Bhāmaha mentions Gaurī and Vaidarbhī, and as to the other *rītis* remarks—

"गतानुगतिकन्यायान्नानाख्येयममेधसां"।

Dr. Bühler's conclusion as to the emergence of the Vaidarbhī and other styles during the first six centuries receives colour from Bhāmaha's way of dealing with the *rīti*. It is also confirmed by Daṇḍin's verse—

अस्त्यनेको गिरां मार्गः सूक्ष्मभेदः परस्परं।
तत्र वैदर्भगौड़ीयौ वर्ण्येते प्रस्फुटान्तरौ॥

Thus premising, Daṇḍin in the next verse includes all the ten *guṇas* enumerated by Bharata among the characteristics of his favourite style, while to the other style, Gaurī, which he disparages, he ascribes श्लिष्टमस्पृष्टशैथिल्यमव्यक्ताधरोत्तरं ग्रथितं, and, as illustrations of the two styles, he furnishes in sharp contrast the following two sentences मालतीमाला

लोलालिकलिला (Gaurī), and मालतीदाम ललितं भ्रमरैः (Vaidarbhī). Daṇḍin and Vāmana were the great exponents of the *rīti* school—those that regard *rīti* as the basis of poetry—काव्यस्यात्मा रीतिः, as Vāmana says—which might be likened to the view of a particular school of Western criticism according to which poetry is a matter of style. Vāmana's view is on all fours with Daṇḍin's.

Thus Vāmana says—

अस्पृष्टा दोषमात्राभिः समग्रगुणगुम्फिता ।
विपञ्चीस्वरसौभाग्या वैदर्भी रीतिरिष्यते ।

After giving the characteristics of Pāñchālī and Gauṛīa, he deprecates both of them in these words इतरे गौड़ीयपाञ्चाल्यौ न ग्राह्ये श्लोकगुणत्वात् । तदारोहणार्थमितराभ्यास इत्येके ।

Gaurī and Pāñchālī styles are to be cultivated as steps to the attainment of Vaidarbhī. The Agnipurāṇa mentions a fourth—लाटजा. Rudraṭa recognises three to the exclusion of Lātī. The Kavya-prakāśa uses a different set of names उपनागरिका, परुषा and कोमला respectively for Vaidarbhī, Gaurī and Pāñchālī.

The Doshas or the Faults.

The process of multiplication of species, however, is most marked in the evolution of *doshas* and *alaṇkāras*—the faults and the figures of speech respectively. In the case of the former starting from Bharata and coming down to Mammaṭa one notices a series in almost arithmetical progression. Thus Bharata discovers ten varieties of faults in the stanza running thus :—

गूढ़ार्थमर्थान्तरहीनं भिन्नार्थमेकार्थमभिप्रतार्थं ।
न्यायादपेतं विषमं विसन्धि ग्रब्दच्युतं वै दश काव्यदोषाः ।

Daṇḍin raises the number to 15 by drawing out न्यायादपेत into the six varieties देशविरोध, कालविरोध, कलाविरोध, लोकविरोध, न्यायविरोध, and आगमविरोध; as for the rest, he is nearly at one with his predecessor Bhāmaha who has the following categories in common *viz.* अपार्थ, व्यर्थ, एकार्थ, ससंशय, अपक्रम, शब्दहीन, यतिभ्रष्ट, भिन्नवृत्त, विसन्धि, but प्रतिज्ञाहीन, हेतुहीन, दृष्टान्तहीन, three of the types mentioned by Bhāmaha—are not to be met with in Daṇḍin. The Agnipurāṇa divides the faults into those that affect the word and those that affect the sense. Vāmana goes a step further and looks upon the faults as falling into 4 classes *viz*, पदगत, पदार्थगत, वाक्यगत, वाक्यार्थगत. This basis of division is adopted and handed down by Rudraṭa, and Bhoja, till we come upon Kshemendra and regard with relief the simplicity of his statement *viz*, शब्दार्थरसानां वैमल्यानि गुणाः—तेषां कालुष्यापि च दोषाः। The faults become numerous in Mammaṭa's exposition; they are 70, and are distributed in the following manner—those that affect the word being sixteen, those that vitiate the sentence counting 21, those affecting the sense and poetic sentiment respectively making up 23 and 10. When it is considered that the faults cease to be faults and become positive graces, or in other words, as Longinus held, "there are hardly any faults *in se* and *per se*," one is irresistibly tempted to hold with Quintilian—"It is often difficult to distinguish faults from figures of speech."

The Figures of Speech.

The *rītis* and the *guṇas* have received the measure of attention, to which they are entitled, from Orientalists. It was only the other day that a paper was read at the Conference of Orientalists held at Poona on the *guṇas*. The *śabdālankāras* were also treated from the stand-point of historical development by Mr. Kane in the Indian Antiquary, 1912. In this article Mr. Kane dealt with the

various bases of division of the Alaṇkāras, but restricted himself principally to the consideration of the verbal figures of speech. The Arthālaṃkāras have not yet received a similar treatment. This is best done with the help of tables showing the way in which the Arthālankāras increased in number and variety from the time of Bharata who recognized only three *viz.* उपमा, रूपक and दीपक to the end of the 18th Century.

Modes of Classification.

Apart from the formal division into शब्द and अर्थ which is tacitly accepted by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin as the only mode of division, Indian rhetoricians have attempted classification of figures of speech according to their essential affinities and disparities. The Agnipurāṇa, in the verse—

स्वरूपमथ सादृश्यमुत्प्रेक्षातिशयस्तथा
विभावना विरोधश्च हेतुश्च सममष्टधा ।

says that, of these eight, स्वरूप and सादृश्य represent two classes,—स्वरूप manifesting two varieties निज and आगन्तुक, and सादृश्य, four varieties one of which is उपमा. The other six signify individual types. The Agnipurāṇa recognises the mixed variety शब्दार्थालंकार. Upamā in the Agnipurāṇa is exhibited in 18 forms, and in Daṇḍin in 21.

Vāmana in beginning the second *adhyāya* of the fourth *adhikaraṇa* says संप्रत्यर्थालंकाराणां प्रस्तावः । तन्मूलत्वोपमा thus expressing one of the basal truths of Rhetoric. All the other figures of speech are treated by him as constituting the varied manifestations of Upamā—उपमाप्रपञ्च. There is no advance in the matter of classification in Udbhaṭa. Rudraṭa exhibits a new mode of division—

अर्थस्यालंकारा वास्तवमौपम्यमतिशयः श्लेषः ।
एषामेव विशेषाः अन्ये तु भवन्ति निःशेषाः ॥

But all the same he defines and illustrates a number of these others that fall outside his four main classes.

The figures of speech, according to Bhoja, are of three kinds—verbal, ideal and both verbal and ideal, each variety including 24 types. Thus the last two varieties which make up the *arthālaṅkaras* number 48 among which he includes the five *pramāṇas*, (**अर्थापत्ति** and **अहेतु, वितर्क, भाव, सम्भव, क्रम, संसृष्टि** being excepted). Each of these 48 is subdivided into a number of varieties. Neither the two Vāgbhatas nor Mammaṭa attempt a classification other than the twofold formal division. Ruyyaka attempted a classification of the figures of speech (of sense) distinguishing them according as they are based on **औपम्य** resemblance, **विरोध** opposition or contrast, **शृङ्खला** chain-arrangement, **गूढ़ार्थ निबन्धन** a hidden meaning, **लोकन्याय, काव्यन्याय** and **तर्कन्याय** universal, poetic and logical convention, **संसृष्टि**, and **संकर** collocation and commixture of figures. Vidyādhara and after him Vidyānātha virtually go upon the same principle of classification although the latter is a bit more circumstantial than the author of the Ekāvalī.
This classification slightly modified has been used to accommodate the 100 figures of *Candrāloka*.

Keśava's Alankara-śekhara reduces the perplexing multifariousness of individual figures to 14—**अन्यदेशत्व** and 13 others with familiar names.*

Daṇḍin puts forth **आशी:** and **क्रम, लव** and **आवृत्ति** as additional types. Of these **क्रम** is recognised by Vāmana as well. Rudraṭa's list includes **भाव, अनुमान, मत, अन्योक्ति उभयन्यास, पूर्व्व, अहेतु, तत्व, अविशेष, उक्ति** and **अवयव**.

Among the 48 primary kinds of figures that Bhoja recognises are to be found **अहेतु, वितर्क, भेद, भाव, सम्भव** and the six *pramāṇas*. Mammaṭa does not deny recognition to **अनुमान** while he disputes the claim of **अन्याख्य, ऐतिह्य, भाव, आगम** and **सम्भव** to distinct mention as they are

* उपमा, रूपक, भपङ्क्ति, उत्प्रेक्षा, दीपक, सहोक्ति, समासोक्ति, विरोध, विभावना, विशेषोक्ति, स्वभावोक्ति, सार, समाहित।

devoid of वैचित्र्य or poetic charm. Mammaṭa includes certain figures of speech, in others recognised by himself and totally repudiates others.* अनुमान, निश्चय, अवसर occur in the earlier Vāgbhaṭa, the son of Nemi, while the later Vāgbhaṭa recognizes अन्योक्ति, अन्य, अपर, पूर्व्व, सम्पत्ति, अहेतु, मत, उभयन्यास, भाव and आशी:. अन्योक्ति and अनुमान are admitted by Hemacandra while *anumāna* is recognised by Mammaṭa Ruyyaka, Vidyānātha, Viśwanātha, Viśweśwara and Baladeva. The Pratāparudra further mentions अन्यापङ्गव. The Sāhityadarpaṇa has the additional varieties known as अनुकुल and निश्चय. In Jayadeva's Candrāloka the large total of 100 appears for the first time including आवृत्तिदीपक a variant of दीपक. Appaya's Kuvalayānanda, though for the most part based on Candrāloka, proceeds a few steps further in the multiplication of figures. Fifteen figures of speech that are briefly mentioned by Candrāloka and not illustrated by him like the others are fully treated by Appaya. These are रसवत्, प्रेय, ऊर्ज्जस्वि, समाहित, भावोदय, भावसन्धि, भावशवल and the eight *pramāṇālamkāras*—प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान, उपमान, शब्द, अर्थापत्ति, अभाव (अनुपलब्धि), सम्भव and ऐतिह्य. Appaya's own additions are स्मृत्यलंकार, आत्मगुह्यलंकार and श्रुत्यलंकार।

Collocation and Commixture.

Daṇḍin admits two varieties of संकीर्ण. Vāmana uses the term संसृष्टि. Both *Samsristi* and *Saṅkarx* appear for the first time in Udbhaṭa. As to the commixture of figures, very picturesque language is used by Rhetoricians. The ideas contained in those similes were retained by subsequent Rhetoricians, though in more logical language. Thus Bhoja brings in the similes—तिलतण्डुलवत्, क्षीरनीरवत्, छायादर्शवत्, पांशुपानीयवत्।

* *e.g.* उपमान he includes in उपमा, अनम in उपमेयोपमा, परिणाम in रूपक, वितर्क in ससन्देह, ललित and वाक्यार्थरूपक in निदर्शना, प्रस्तुताङ्कुर in समासोक्ति and अप्रस्तुत प्रशंसा, पूर्णरूप and अनुगुण in तद्गुण, उन्मीलित in मीलित and so on. (*vide* Jhalkikaras Edition of काव्यप्रकाश.)