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STUDIES

IN THE

HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS

BY

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apuvam yad vastu prathayati vina karanakatam
jagad grava-prakhyam nija-rasa-varal sarayati ca
kramat prakhyopakhya-prasara-subhagam bhasayati tat
sarasvatyas tattvam kavi-sahi dayakhyam vijayatam

— Abhinavagupta

VOLUME I

CHRONOLOGY AND SOURCES

TO

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

PREFACE

An announcement was made long ago, in the *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie,* of a treatise on Sanskrit Poetics and Metrics from the able pen of Professor Hermann Jacobi, which would perhaps have rendered the writing of this work superfluous. On being informed, however, that the learned Professor has now abandoned the project of writing it, I have ventured to set forth, in the following pages, the results of some of my researches in the subject, with the hope of drawing the attention of scholars to a discipline which has not yet been systematically investigated, but which, forming as it does the foundations of a study of Classical Sanskrit Poetry, is not without its importance in the general history of Sanskrit literature. These investigations were originally embodied in my thesis for the Doctorate of the University of London (1921); but the present publication, though not altogether divested of the form of a dissertation, has been so considerably altered re-written and supplemented that it may be taken as an entirely new work.

My original intention was to write a comprehensive history of Sanskrit Poetics; but in the course of my studies I realised that the available materials were not enough for such an ambitious undertaking. In the following pages, however, I have attempted to approach the subject from the historical point

of view, instead of presenting a mere epitome of the different topics of Alamkara, as Regnaud's *Rhetorique Sanskrite* (1884) does. Presuming a general knowledge of the details of Sanskrit Poetics, which may be gathered from any standard text-book or even from Regnaud's useful résumé, and taking the representative writers (and, as far as necessary, the neglected commentators and so-called minor writers), I have made an attempt to trace the development of the discipline through its fairly long and varied course of history which covers more than a thousand years. The first volume of the work, therefore, deals with the preliminary but important question of chronology and sources, on the basis of which the second volume proceeds to set forth the history through its divergent systems and theories.

Although the subject possesses great interest and importance, workers in the field cannot be said to be too numerous. Since Buhler's memorable discovery (1877) in Kashmir of the bulk of the old forgotten Alaṃkāra literature, the devoted enterprise, however, of a small but excellent band of scholars has brought to light and given us useful editions of most of the important texts, besides collecting a great deal of valuable information on the subject. There can be no doubt that much yet remains to be done in this direction, but these additions to our knowledge have shed so much light on the whole subject that little room is left for mere guess-work with regard to the general theme, and the historical method may be tentatively applied to a systematic presentation. It is now clear that

'the works on Alaṃkāra are not sporadic or isolated productions, but constitute an extensive literature, ranging over a fairly long period, of time, and embodying, with an abstruse technique and ingenious theories, a systematic discipline which possesses an interesting course of history.

It is needless to say that I have made, as the references will indicate, a careful use of the accumulated but scattered labours of previous workers, supplementing them with my own studies. But as some of the problems still require elucidation, while the proffered solutions in some cases have not received recognition, I have taken the opportunity of re-examining the disputed points, re-arranging the available data and re-thinking the entire subject. I have, however, avoided useless discussions as much as possible, confining myself to stating my own view and leaving it to speak for itself. Regarding questions of chronology, 1 have made extensive use of the chronological materials scattered throughout the various reports, journals, catalogues and notices of Sanskrit MSS. I have also enjoyed the privilege of utilising the manuscript-materials in the India Office, British Museum and elsewhere ; and I take this opportunity of expressing my obligations to the authorities concerned for extending this privilege to me. My thanks are also due to Dr. Ganganath Jha for getting the entire MS of Abhinavagupta's bulky commentary on Bharata copied for my use, and to Dr. Thomas and the Curator of Madras Government Oriental MSS Library, as well as to my friend and colleague Pandit Anantakrsna Sastri,

for procuring forme transcripts of the rare MSS of Abhinava's *Locana* IV and Kuntala's *Vakrokti-jivita.* With the help of these transcripts I have been able to publish the texts of the last two works ; and I have also in contemplation an edition of Abhinava's erudite commentary on Bharata, if I can collect sufficient materials towards it.

In this work I have confined myself to Sanskrit Poetics and have not taken into consideration the numerous vernacular works on the subject which, together with the theme of Dramaturgy which I have also omitted, deserve more room for a detailed and separate treatment. The Bibliographies, which are meant to supply information about editions and MSS of texts and commentaries, do not pretend to be exhaustive ; but it is hoped that no useful or important point has been overlooked. Instead of merely repeating the entries of different MSS in Aufrecht (as Dr. Haricand Sastri does), I have, in compiling these, economised space by simple references to his indispensable *Catalogus Catalogorum,* at the same time consulting the original catalogues when necessary and the original MSS when available, and correcting in this way what seemed to me wrong, misleading or superfluous entries. I have also tried to supplement them by entries from catalogues and reports published after the date of Aufrecht's monumental work.

A word of explanation may be deemed necessary regarding the use of the term "Poetics" to designate a half-theoretical and half-practical discipline which is known in Sanskrit as the *Alamkara-sastra* or

the *Sahitya-sastra.* Prof. Jaeobi, who seems to have been the first to make this term current, has sufficiently explained its scope in *ZDMG* lvi, 1902, p. 393, fn 1. It may be remarked that the commonly used term "Rhetoric" is inadequate in explaining the standpoint of a study which includes a great deal more than a mere practical treatment of rhetorical categories ; while the expression "Aesthetics" is misleading in this connexion, inasmuch as the theoretical scope of Alaṃkāra is not fully co-extensive with what is expressed by that term in modern philosophical studies.

There remains for me now the pleasant duty of recording the manifold encouragement and help I have received in the course of these labours. I am greatly obliged to some scholars for their kind and prompt reply to my queries, especially to the late Professor Rhys Davids, and to Professors Keith and Jacobi. On learning that I was studying Sanskrit Poetics, Prof. Jaeobi evinced a genuine interest in my work and encouraged me with suggestions from his expert knowledge of the subject. After I had finished my work in England, he invited me very kindly to Bonn, where I had the privilege of working with him and prosecuting these studies further, as well as of enjoying his genial friendship and hospitality, I had then the opportunity of laying the rough outlines of this modest work before that veteran scholar and profiting by his criticism. I must also **thank Dr.** Thomas of the India Office Library for **his keen** interest in my work and for his uniform courtesy jnd kindness in rendering me all facilities

I required. I cannot also omit acknowledging my obligations to Sir E. Denison Ross for his many acts of kindness during the time I studied at the London School of Oriental Studies. I am also deeply grateful to Dr. L. D. Barnett, under whom I worked in the same School and with whom it was always a pleasure to work, for his goodness in watching the progress of this essay and reading patiently through its first draft, as well as for his unwearied help, kind sympathy and steady encouragement. It is a pleasure and privilege also to return my heartfelt thanks to many friends in England, Germany and elsewhere, whose kind words of sympathy never failed to cheer me in a foreign land.

In a work like this, errors, both of omission and commission, are hard to escape ; all suggestions for correction or improvement will, therefore, be thankfully received. To avoid unnecessary delay in printing and transmission of proofs, the book had to be printed in India ; but those who are acquainted with the conditions of printing here will realise its difficulties and condone its imprefections. Although care has been taken to make this work free from errors of pen and print (and in this connexion I must thank the promptness and zeal of the Calcutta Oriental Press), a few obvious but unwelcome misprints and slips, especially with regard to diacritical marks, have unfortunately crept in, for which I express my apology to the generous reader.

CALCUTTA
May 15, 1923.

S. K. De

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I BEGINNINGS

(1)

There is an interesting passage in the *Kàvya-mïmamsâ* in which Rajasekhara, while giving us a sornewhat fanciful account of the divine origin of Poetics, mentions at the saine time the naines of the supposed original exponents of the discipline. It is said that the Spirit of Poetry *(kâvya-purusa),* born of the Goddess of Learning *(sarasvatï),* was set by the Self-existent Being to promulgate the study of Poetics in the threu worlds ; and he related it in eighteen *adhikaranas* to his seventeen will-born pupils. Thèse divine sages, in their turn, are said to hâve composed separâte treatises on the portions respectively learnt by them. Thus Sahasraksa wrote on *kavi-rahasya,* Uktigarbha on *auktika,* Suvanja-nâbha on *riti,* Pracetâyana on *anupràsa,* Çitrângada on *yamaka* and *citra, S*esa on *sabda-slesa,* Pulastya on *vâstava,* Aupakâyana on u*pamâ,* Pârâsara on atusaya,Utathya on *artha-êlesa,* Kubera on *ubhaya-lamkâra,* Kâmadeva on *vainodika,* Bharata on *rupaka* Nandikesvara on *rasa,* Dhisaim on *doşa,* Upamanyu on *guna* and Kucamâra on *aupaniçadika.* This ten-dency on the part of a Sanskrit author towards glorifying his science and thereby investing it with an ancient unalterable authority is not unusual, and such legendary accounts are ofteu fabricated where

the actual origin is forgotten ; but it is curious that we do not meet with them elsewhere in Alaṃkära literature, although they find expression in Bharata and in Vätsyäyana with regard to the origin of the allied disciplines of Dramaturgy and Erotics respectively. The historical value of this passage of Rajasekhara may, indeed.be well doubted ; but^Jt^ is possible that this unique account, apart from its obviously mythical garb, embodies a current tradition, implylng the actualexistenee, at some remote and forgotten period, of early expounders of poetic theory, some of whose names are still familiär, but most of whöse works have apparently perished.Thus Suvamanabha and Kucamära (or Kucumära) aro also cited with reverence by the author of the *Kama-sutra* (L. 1. 13, 17), both of them as authorities on Erotics, but the latter especially as well-versed in the particular subject of *aupanisadika,* which is thus included in Erotics as well as in Poetics.[1] The present-day text of the *Nätya-sastra,* which goes by the name of Bharata, deals in an encyclopaedic manner with various topics, but Bharata is well known, as described by Rājasekhara, as an authority on *rūpaka.* No work of Nandikeśvara on *rasa* has yet been discovered ; but bis name is associated with a number of works, mostly läte compilations, on erotics, music, histrionic art, grammar and *tantra.*[2]

1 Cf. *Journal of the Department of Letters,* Calcutta University, iv p. 95.

2 Aufrecht i 276, ii 59, iii 206. The writer on Erotics is cited as Nandisvara in *Panca-sayaka* (Bik. 533, Peter-

This traditional account may lead one to make the tempting suggestion of a very early systematic investigation of rhetorical issues hut for the serious difficulty that there is hardly any material in the ancient literature itself to enable us to trace the origin of Poetics to a very remote antiquity. The Alamkara-sastra is never mentioned among the orthodox disciplines which constitute the so-called *vedangas,* nor do we meet with any passage in the Vedio *Samhitas, Brahmanas* or the earlier U*panisads* in which we may find a real basis for a system of Poetson ii 110), whom Aufrecht is inclined to identify with Nandin quoted by Vatsyayana (1.1.8); but the name Nandikesvara is given in *Rati-vahasya* (*ABod* 218a, Schmidt *Ind. Erotik* 1911 pp. 46, 59). The work on histrionic art, attributed to Naridikesvara, is known as *Abhinaya-darpana* (ed. Poona 1874. MSS: *10C* 3028, 3090 ; Oppert i 16, 950, 2503, 7264, ii 450, 2205, 5473 ; Burnell 436 ; SgS ii 304 ; W*RAS* 109 ; *Madras Cat.* 12980-85). Nandikesvara is better known as an authority on music, and is cited as one of his sources by Sarngadeva (13th century) in his *Sanigita-ratnakara* (I. I. 17) and by his commentator Kallinatha p. 47. Works on music attributed to Nandikesvara are : *Nandikesvawmte Taladhyaya* in Weber 1729, and *Bharatarnava Andhra-taka-sahita (Madras Cat.* 13006-08), supposed to be a condensed version of Nandikesvara's work by Sumati, treating of dramatic gestures and *tula.* This probably explains why the last chapter in the existing version of Bharata's *Natya-sastra* (ed. Kavyamala) is designated *nandi-bharata-samgita-pustaka.* The other names mentioned by Rajasekhara cannot be conneted with works, actual or traditional, on Poetics or kindred topics. Curiously enough, an *Alamkara-sutra,* consisting of 75 *sutras,* is ascribed to Vatsyayana himself in Hultzsch 269.

ics. The word *upamd,* for instance, is found as early as the *Ṛg-veda* (V. 34. 9 ; I. 31. 15), and Sāyana explains it in the sense of *upamāna* (as in Pācini I I . 3. 72) or *drstanta* ; but there is nothing unusual in this use of the general idea of similitude, which need not be interpreted as having a particular speculative significance. It is conceded, on the authority of Yaska and Panini, that the conception of u*pama* or similitude considerably affected the Vedic language as well as its accent ; but beyond this grammatical or philological interest, there is no indication of a dogma, much less of a theory, of Poetics in the Vedic times. Nor should undue emphasis be laid on the use of poetic figures in Vedic literature ; for between this unconscious employment of figures of speech and the conscious formulation of a definite system, there must necessarily be a long step.

(2)

The first evidence of a definite, if somewhat crude, activity in this direction is traceable in the *Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta.* From the investigation of the peculiarities of the general form of language, which began early, attention was apparently directed to the analysis of the poetic forms of speech ; but the question was still regarded entirely from the linguistic point of view. The term *alamkara* in the technical dense does not occur in the *Nirukta,* but Yaska uses the word *alamkarisnu* in the general sense of 'one in the habit of adorning', which Panini explains in

I I I . 2. 136 and which is apparently the meaning of the word occuring in the *Satapatha Brahmana* (xiii. 8. 4. 7 ; iii. 5. 1. 3G), and in the *Chandogya Upanisad* (viii. 8. 5). But in the *Nighantu* iii 13, a list is given of particles of comparison relating to the Vedic u*pama*, comprising twelve varieties, which are illustrated in the *Nirukta* i 4, iii 13-18 and ix *G*. Six of these varieties, viz., those indicated by the particles *iva, yatha, na, cit, nu* and *a,* are discussed in connexion with Yāska's treatment of *upamarthe nipatas* or particles indicative of comparison (i 4), and partly included in what he designates as *karmopama* in iii 15. Then Yaska mentions *bhūtopama,* in which the *upamita* becomes the *upamāna* in character, and *rūpopamā,* where the *upamita* resembles the u*pamana* in point of form. The fourth variety occurs where the particle *yathā* is used. Then corned *siddhopama,* in which the standard of comparison is well established.and known to surpass every other object in a particular quality or act, and is characterised by the suftix *rat.* The last variety is *luptopama* or suppressed simile, also called *arthopama* (equivalent to the *rupaka* of later theorists), which is illustrated in iii 18 (also ix 6), where the example is given of the popular application of the terms *simha* and *vyaghra* in a laudatory and *svan* and *kaka* in a derogatory sense. The term *upamāna* itself is used by Yaska, but only to denote these particles of comparison (vii 31). The significance of comparison in general is also referred to in i 19, ii 6, iii 5, iv 11, v 22 and vii 13. Incidentally Yaska quotes (iii 13) the grammarian

Gārgya's definition of *upamā*[1], which is important from our point of view. As explained by Durga-carya, it lays down that *upama* occurs when an object which is dissimilar is reckoned, through similarity, with an object having similar attributes[2]. It also states as a general rule that the standard of comparison should be superior in merit and better known than the object of comparison ; but the reverse case is also admitted and illustrated (iii 14-15) by two examples from the Rg-*veda*. The definition, too wide as it is, recalls Mammaṭa's similar dictum, and undoubtedly establishes a very early, but more or less definite, conception of the poetic *upamā*.

By the time of Pāṇini, this conception of *upamā* seems to have been tacitly recognised, and we find him using in this connexion the technical terms u*pamana*[3], *upamita*[4] and *samanya*[5] as well as general expressions like u*pamma*[6] (used in the sense of the rhetorician's *upamana), anpamya*[7], u*pamarthe*[8]

---

[1] *athata upama yad atat tat-sad' sam iti gargyah, tab asam karma jyayasa va gunena prakkyatamena va kaniyamsam vaprakkyatam vopamimate" thapi kanlyasa jyayamsam.*

2 evam atat tat-svarapena gunena guna-samanyad upatmyate ityevam gargyacaryo manyate,

3 II. **1.** 55 ; III. **i. 10**, **2.** 79, 4. 45 ; V. **4.** 97, **137** ; VI. **1.** 204, 2. **2,** 72, 80, **127, 145,** 169.

4 II. 1. 56.

5 11/1.55; II. 4.5; VIII. 1.74.

6 II. 3. 72.

7 I.4. 74; IV. 1.69; VI. **2. 113.**

8 VIII. 2. **101.**

and *sadrsya*[1] It is noteworthy that in nearly fifty *sūtras* distributed all over his work, Pāṇini incidentally discusses, from the grammarian's point of view, the influence of the conception of comparison on the language, in the varied dominion of affixes, including case and feminine suffixes, *krt, taddhita* and *samasanta* terminations[2], in the making of compounds[3] and in accent[4]. The same influence is also traceable in the idea of *atideśa,* a term which is not used by Pāṇini himself but which is made clear by his commentators, and which may be translated as 'extended application by analogy or similarity'. Kātyāyana, in several *varttikas*[5], follows Panini in noting the same influence of the idea of similitude, while Śantauava in his *Phil* satra* discusses it in connexion with accentuation.[6] In the *Mahabhasya* on I I . 1. 55, Patanjali has defined and illustrated Panini's use of the term *upanmna.* A *māna* or measure, he says, is that which is employed in ascertaining a thing unkuown ; *upamana* is approximate to the *mana* and determines the thing not absolutely (but approximately), *e.g.,* when we *say 'a gavaya* is like a COW'[7]. Strictly speaking, a writer on Poetics will not accept the example adduced by Patañjali as

1 IL 1.6-7; VI. 2. 11.

2 I . 4. 79 ; II 3. 72 ; III. 1. 10, 2. 79, 4. 45; IV. 1. 69, 4. 9 ; V. 1. 115-16, 2. 39, 3. 96, 106, 4. 97, 137.

3 II r. 7, 31, 55-6; VI. 2. 11.

4 V. 1. 18 ; VI. 1. 204, 2. 2, 11, 72, 80, 113, 127, 145, 169 etc.

5 on I . 3. 21 ; II 1. 55, 2. 24,4. 71 ; III. 1. 10 etc.

6. eg. II. 16, IV. 18.

7 *Manam hi namanirjnata-jnanartham upadiyate nirj-*

an instance of poetic u*pama*[1], inasmuch as the characteristic charminguess essential in a poetic figure is wanting in such a plain expression ; but this grammatical analysis of the general idea of comparison is an early and near approach to the technical conception of Poetics.[2]

(3)

A special interest attaches to these rules of Pāṇini and the dicta of early grammarians, inasmuch as they form the basis of what may be termed the grammatical sub-divisiou of the figure *upamā* into direct (s*rauti)* and indirect *(arthl)* simile as well similes based on *krt* and *taddhita* suffixes, recognised as early as Udbhata's time. Thus[1] the authority for the s*rauli upamā,* in which the notion of comparison is conveyed by particles like *yatha, iva, va* or by the suffix *vat,* when *vat* is equivalent to *iva,* is supposed to be based on two rules of Panini (V. 1. 115-16), which lay down that the suffix *vat* is applied to the standard of comparison in the locative or genitive case aad takes the place of the case-ending and *iva,* as well as to a noun which should otherwise be in the instrumental caste in the sense of *tena tulya* (like that), if the similarity consists in an action and not in quality. Thus we get

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liatam artham jnasyamiti, tat-samipe yan natyantaya mimite tad npamanam, gouv iva gavaya iti, ed. Kielhorn I p. 397-

1 *go-sadrso gavaya iti nopama. Citr. mim.* p. 6.

2 The conception of up*ama* appears to be fully established in Bhartrhari's *Vakyapadiya,* e.g. i. 63.

the forms *mathuravat (=mathurayam iva) patali putre prākarāh,. caitravat (=— caitrasyaiva) maitrasya gavah,* as well as *brahmanavad* (= b*rahmanena tulyam) adhite,* but not *caitravat krsah.* In the same way, we have compounded simile like *kumbhaviva stanau,* according to the *varttika (ivena samaso vibhaktya-lopah)* on Panini I I , 4. 71, which is, therefore, taken as an instance of compounded direct simile (*samasaga srauti upama).* Similarly, the ending *kyac,* according to Pacini I I I . 1. 10, is applied to a noun in the objective case, which is expressive of *upamāna* in the sense of 'behaviour' *(ācāra),* and gives us a simile in phrases like *pauram janam sutiyasi* ; while the next rule of Pācini lays down that the suffix *kyah* may be applied to a noun in the nominative case in the sense of 'behaving like' and forms the basis of a simile in such expressions as *tava sada ramaniyate srih.* It is needless to cite more examples, for this will he sufficient to indicate that some of the speeulations on poetic speech can be traced back to the early grammatical analysis of the same ideas, as well as the fact that even in the age of Panini, some of these conceptions appear to have been well established and to have considerably influenced his enquiry. It must be admitted that these tentative sallies of the grammarians are not definite enough to indicate the existence of a system, but the stock of notions, thus indirectly relating to Poetics, though not large, yet throws an interesting light on the genesis of later speculations on poetic speech.

If any deduction is permissible from the name 'Alamkara' (lii embellishment) given to the disci-

pline as well as from the contents of the earliest existing works on the subject, it will appear that the science started *a posteriori* out of the very practical object of analysing poetic embellishments of speech with a view to prescribe definite rules of composition ; but it cannot be doubted that it received a great impetus from the highly developed enquiry into the forms of language made by the grammarians. From iuternal evidence as well as from the testimony, which admits of little doubt, of some of the ancient authorities on Poetics, it is clear that the theoretical background of the discipline was, to some extent, founded on the philosophical speculations on linguistics, so that Grammar, one of the oldest and soundest sciences of India, was its god-father and helped it towards ready acceptance. Ānandavardhana speaks of his own system as being based on the authority on the grammarians, to whom he pays an elegant tribute as the first and foremost thinkers *(prathame hi vidvamso vaiyakaranah, vyakarana-mulatvat sarva-vidyanam,* p. 47) ; while Bhāmaha, one of the earliest known formulators of poetic theory, not only devotes one whole chapter to the question of grammatical correctness—a procedure which is followed by Vāmana—but also proclaims openly the triumph of the views of Pāṇini (vi 63). Apart from such details as the linguistic analysis of the idea of comparison referred to above, it can be easily shown that some of the fundamental conceptions of poetic theory, relating to speech in general, we avowedly based on the views of the grammarians to the exclusion of other schools of opinion.. Thus the question whether the convention (samketa).where

by the expressed meaning of a word *(abhidha)* is to be understood, is accepted by a reference to the views of the grammarians on this point. The grammarians hold, in opposition to the Naiyāyikas, Saugatas and Mimamsakas, that the import of a word is either *jati, dravya, kriya* or *guna,* as expressed by the dictum *catustayi sabdanam pravrttilh* cited from the *Maha bhāṣya*[1] by Mukula (p. 4) and Mammaṭa *(Svp.* p. 2.) Indeed, the whole analysis of the two functions of word and its sense, called *abhidha* and *laksana*[2] are borrowed from the grammatics-philosophical ideas already elaborated by the grammarians ; and even the new aesthetic system of Ānandavardhana, in establishing the third function *of vyanjana* attempts to seek an authority for its theory on the analogy of the quasi-grammatical theory of *sphoṭa,* which is associated with the name of the pre-paṇinian grammarian Sphoṭayana, and which we find fully developed in the *Vakyapadiya*

(4)

Some of these ideas, again, arc more or less recognised in the different philosophical systems, which concern themselves with *sabda* or speech in general,

1 I have not been able to trace this sentence in the *Mahabhasya,* but its purport has been sufficiently explained at the very commencement of that work. Cf. also *Kumārasaṃbhava* ii *17,* where this view is clearly mentioned, although Mallinatha would explain the *catustayi, praytti* **with** referee to the four *vivartas* of *vac*

2 *Cf.'Mahabhasya* on VIII. 1. 12

in connexion with the question of scriptural revelation and interpretation. The theory of *sphota,* which, however, has only a far-fetched relation to Poetics, has also its significance in some systems of philosophy ; and the idea of manifestation, implied in the *vyanjana-vrtti,* which consists not in the expression of something new but in the manifestation of something already existing, is not altogether unfamiliar to Indian speculation. .A similar train of thought meets us in the Sāṁkhya idea of causation (i 117-18), in which the effect is not produced but is already comprehended in the cause and therefore can only become manifest. We find another analogy in the general idea of the Vedantin's *moksa* or liberation, which consists of a condition, not to be produced but to be made manifest or realised, by the removal of enveloping obstacles.[1] The theory relating to the other two functions of words *(abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā),* which play such an important part in poetic speculation, had already engaged the attention, not only of the philosophical grammarians, but also of the philosophers themselves, especially the Naiyayikas and the Mimariisakas. The Naiyayikas, for instance, hold that by denotation *(abhidha)* of a word,, we understand not only the individual *(vyakti),* but also

1 It is notewprthy that the *Vedanta-sutra* makes a direct use of the term *rupaka* in the technical sense (L 4. I), upon which Appayya Diksita remarks : *bhagavata badarayanena "nanumanikam apyekesam iti cen na sarira-rupaka-vinyasta-grhiter darsayati ca" iti sariraka-sutre rupakam angikrtam (Citr.mim.* p. 54 ed. *Kavyamla 1907).* cf also *Vedanta sutra* iii. 3. 18.

the genus *(jati)* and the quality *(gunaj*[1] ; while the Mimamsakas maintain that it signifies primarily *(jati),* and the *vyakti* is understood by implication *(aksepa)* through its inseparable connexion with *jati.*[2] The *Nyaya-sutra,* again, gives an exhaustive list of the relations through which a word may be used in a secondary sense, the idea of secondary sense, variously called *gauna, bhakta, laksamnika* or *anpacarika artha,* being tacitly admitted in almost all the systems.[3] Indeed, the theories of Poetics on these points are considerably mixed up with the doctrines of the Nyaya and Mimamsa schools ; and even Bhamaha's early work devotes a considerable space to the discussion of the logic of poetry and the expressive functions of words.

We shall note in its proper place the influence of the Nyaya, Samkhya and Vedanta doctrines on the poetic theory of *rasa ;* but it may be pointed out here that the conception of u*pama* (here termed *upamana),* by which is implied the general idea of analogy or comparison, plays an important part in the different philosophical systems in the discussion of the nature and criterion of knowledge. The *Maitri Upanimd,* for instance, treats of three *pramanas* (v 10, 14), viz., perception, *(drsta* or *pratyaksaj,* inference *(linga* or *anumana)* and analogy *(upama* or *upamana).* Kanada and Kapila, no doubt, reject analogy as an indepen-

1 *Nyaya-sutra* I I . 2, 68

2 *Purva-mimamsa* I. 3. 33 ff-

3 *Vedanta-sutra* II.3.16, III.1.7; *Nyaya-sutra* 11.2.64, also 12.11, 14, 15 ; *Samkhya-sutra* V 67 etc.

dent and authoritative evidence ; but the Naiyayikas admit it, the purpose served by it being, in their opinion, the perception of a likeness in an object not perceived before. Vātsyāyana, commenting on 1.1.3, defines it in terms almost similar to those used in the already quoted passage from the *Mahābhāṣya,*[1] as *samipya-manam upamanam.* According to the Naiyayikas, therefore, the object attained by analogy or u*pamana* consists in the recognition of the connexion between the appellation and the thing designated by it, and thus it forms the very foundation of expression. The idea of *atidesa-vakya* reappears as the means of analogical cognition, *i. e.,* as a helper of the actual perception of similarity between the well-known and the novel object at the first sight of the latter. The co-operation of the *upamāna* is-also maintained, to be essential in syllogistic reasoning, where it appears in the form of the syllogistic factor, called *upandya* (1.1.32) or statement of the minor premise. A relic of this idea of *upamāna* survives in Poetics in the treatment of Bhoja (iii 50), who distinguishes the figure *upamā* from the figure *upamāna,* although this view finds no supporter except Appayya Diksita, who adopts *upamāna* as a separate poetic figure.[2] It is needless to dilate more on this point; but

1 P. 7 *ante.*

2 *Kuvalay.* ed. N. S. P. 1913 p. 174. Nagesabhatta takes it as included in the figure *upamā* itself, and Vāmana appears to deal with one of its varieties (viz., *ananubhuta-vinaya)* as an nstance of what he calls *tattvakhvanopama,* or descriptive simile (IV. 2. 7).

the idea of *upamana,* together with that of *atidesa, is* similarly dealt with by the Mimamsakas. They,' however, consider that the *upamana* refers to an object, already familiar to us, as being similar to another object which is seen for the first time ; or in the words of Upavarṣa. quoted by Sabarasvāmin, the *'upamāna* or analogy, being similarity, produces an idea respecting an object that is not present, just as the sight of a *gavaya* revives the memory of a cow.[1]

(5)

Although these speculations have an indirect bearing on Poetics and might have suggested and helped to develop some of its fundamental theories, they cannot be taken as a definite basis of any deductions as to the antiquity of the discipline itself. It is striking indeed that we have no direct or indirect reference to Poetics as a *śāstra* in early texts, although at the end of the 9th century Rājaśekhara speaks of a tradition which makes it the seventh *aṅga.* Poetics is omitted in the enumeration of the different branches of study in the well-known passage in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VII. 1. 2. 4, ed. Böhtlingk). Apastambha (II. 4, 11), speaks of the usual six *aṅgas,* but Yājñavalkya (i 3) enumerates in all fourteen *sastras,* to which the *Visnupurana* adds four more, in which Poetic is not mentioned at all. In a

I *upamanam api sadrsyam a-sannikrste'rthe buddhim utpadavati. vatha gavaya-darsanam go smaranam* I. 1. 15.

similar list in the *Lalita-vistara*[1], there is a reference to *kavya-karana-grantha* and *natya*, which may be taken to imply Poetics and Dramaturgy respectively, but the designation 'Alaṃkāra' is not met with until we come to *Sukra-niti* which includes it, in company with Artha-śāstra, Kāma-śāstra and Silpa-śāstra, among thirty-two different *sastras*. It has been pointed out by Rhys Davids [2] that the bid Pāli texts, *Aṇgntlara* (i 72, iii 107) and *Saṃyukta* (i 38, ii 267), there are references to a similar study. These passages are interesting historically as being opposed to the science, but they do not expressly or by implication mention it as Alaṃkāra-śāstra.[3]

It seems likely, therefore, that Poetics as a technical discipline must have been of comparatively late origin, and probably began to develop in the first few centuries of the Christian era.[4] With the flourish-

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1 Ed. Lefmann I p. 156.

2 In a letter to me dated 24. 2. 1921,

3 In Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra* there is a chapter devoted to the procedure of writing *śāsanas*, where mention is made of *arthakrama, paripurnata, madhurya, audarya,* and *spastatva* as excellences which should be attained. These do not correspond to the *guṇas* defined in earlier Alaṃkāra-works, but perhaps represent the common-sense view of the matter.

4 Patanjali refers to a large number of poetical works (ed. Kielhorn I 283, 340, 426, 444 ; II 34, 102, 119,167, 313, 315 ; III 143, 338 etc.), which fact apparently indicates a considerable poetical activity in his age, preluding a systematic investigation of poetic principles ; but there is no reference to Alamkara literature in his time.

ing of Sanskrit learning and literature in the 4th and 5th centuries under the Gupta Emperors, its development probably proceeded apace. Bühler's epigraphical researches [1] have confirmed the indication, first given by Lassen, as regards the development of Sanskrit *kavya-style* in this period, and it may be taken as the prelude to a rhetorical activity which bore rich fruit in the 8th and 9th centuries in systematic investigations of poetic principles. His examination of the early inscriptions, not only proves the existence of a body of highly elaborate prose and metrical writings in the *kāvya-style* during the first five centuries A.D., but it also establishes the presumption that most of these *prasasti-writers* were "acquainted with the rules of Indian poeties" [2]. Buhler attempts to show that the manner in which these writers conform to the rules of Alaṃkāra, crystallised in the oldest available manuals like those of Bhamaha and Dandin, would go to indicate "the existence of an Alaṃkāra-śāstra or some theory of poetic art" [3].

From this period of time, we get more or less definite indications of the existence of doctrines of Poetics in the kavya-literature itself. In the two

1 *Die Indischen Inschriften,* trans. *IA* xiii, pp. 29f.

2 *Ibid,* p, 146.

3 p. 243. This conclusion is, to some extent, supported by a passage in the Girnar inscription itself (2nd century A. D.), which contains a reference to "prose and poetry embellished (with poetic figures) and rendered attractive by poetic conventions and expressions which are clear, light, pleasing, varied and charming" (*sphuta-laghu-madhura-citra-kanta-sabda-samayodaralamkra-gadva-padya El* viii p. 44.

earlier epics, no doubt, some of the more general terms of Alamkara (like u*pama, kavya, nataka, katha* and *akhyayika)* are used, but no chronological conclusion is safe from the admittedly composite character of the present-day texts. But in the *Buddhacarita* of Asvaghosa, as Cowell notes, we have the use of common poetic figures • like ***upama, u****tpreksa* or *rupaka,* as well as of elaborate ones like *yatha-samkhya* and *aprastuta-prasamsa* in an ingenious way, which presumably betrays an acquaintance with the teachings of Poetics. The very first verse uses the word *upama* in a some what technical sense, and we have also in iii 51 the use of the term *rasantara* to indicate a counter-emotion which cancels an already prevailing one. Cowell, therefore, is justified in remarking that a peculiar interest attaches to such poems "from theiv importance in establishing Prof Bühler's views as to the successful cultivation, in Northern India, of artificial poetry and rhetoric—*Mvya* and *alamkara*—in the early centuries of our era." This remark applies with greater force to the works of Kalidasa, which appear with all the polish and perfection imparted to them by a trained and careful artist. To the later theorists they supply an inexhaustible store-house of quotations lor the illustration of different poetic figures, expressions and principles. This conscious employment of varied and elaborate poetic figures and general observance of poetic rules in these early *kauya-ipoets* are not without their significance, and we may reasonably presume from **them a** general diffusion of the knowledge **of Poetics** in **this age,**

The same tendency towards the artificial or factitious composition is shown also in the prose romances of Subandhu and Bana. Subandhu prides himself on his skill in the use of sl*esa* in every letter of his composition[1], and his *Vasavattada* justifies this boast as a *tour de force* of extraordinary verbal jugglery. In the work itself Subandhu speaks of poetic compositions adorned with poetic figures like *slesta*, divided into u*cchvasas*[2], and displaying skill in the employment of *vaktra* metre. He specifies also two important poetic figures, viz., u*tpreksa* and *aksepa*.[3] Equally

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1 *pratyaksara-slesamayaprapanca-vinyasa-vaidagdhyanidhim prabandham / sarasvati-datta-vara-prasadas cakre subandhuh sujanaika-bandhuh* , ed. Srirangam, 1906, p. 357-8

2 Cf Bhamaha i 25-26 ; Dandin i 26-27.

3 s*atkavi-kavya-racanam ivalamkara-prasadhitam,* p. 303 ; *dirghocchvasa-racanakulam su-slesa-vaktra-ghatana-patu satkavya-viracanam iva,* pp. 238-39; *utpreksaksepau kavyalamkaresu* p. 146. The reading of the first of these passages in the Calcutta edition is *bauddhasamgatim ivalamkarabhusitam,* and the commentary of Sivarama explains it as *alamkaro nama dharmakarti-kyto grantha-visesah,* implying that Subandhu here refers to a work on Alamkara, so designated, by the Buddhist Dharmakirti. If this were so, and if this Dharmakirti can be identified with the Buddhist logician, who appears also to be quoted in the *Dhv.* pp. 217, then he is apparently one of the earliest writers on Alamkara whose work is now lost; for he is generally placed in the first half of the 7th century. This conflicts with the **accepted date** of Subandhu, and undue reliance need not be **placed** on an unauthenticated statement of a very late commentator. Levi is probably correct in denying that Subandhu

definite is Bāṇa's references to rhetoric in his mention, in one of the introductory verses of his *Kādayrhbari,* of the poetic figures *upama, jati* (= *svabhavokti). dipaka* and *slesa* as well as of poetic *rasa* and *Sayyā.* Bāṇa also refers to verbal puzzles, such as *aksara-cyiita, bindumati, gudha-caturthapada* and pra-he*tika* [1], and he seems to be aware of the *alamkarika* distinction between *kathā* and *akhyāyikā,*[2]

(5)

From all these indications, the inference is not improbable that with the growth of a body of highly finished prose and poetical literature, the science of Poetics or at least the investigation of rhetorical rules made considerable progress by the end of the sixth century A. D. The earliest known writers on Poetics, who lived somewhat later, themselves refer to still earlier authorities. Thus Bhāmaha speaks of Medhāvm and others, whom he cites and whose work he avowedly utilises. Similarly Dandin refers to earlier writings, and one of Tils commentators mentions in this connexion two theorists before Dan.din, viz, Kāsyapa and Vararuci, who are otherwise unknown to us as writers on Alainkāra. Apart from this fact of their own citation of earlier views,

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makes any allusion to Dharmakirtis literary activity (*Bulletin de l'Ecole d'Extreme Orient* 1903, p. 18).

1 ed. Peterson, p. 7

2 *ibid,* p. 7 and *Harsa-c. p.* 7

it cannot also be maintained with any cogency that the relatively developed style and treatment of even these early writers could have been evolved by themselves in the absence of earlier tentative works, the existence of which may be presumed, for instance, by the employment, by these writers, of certain technical words and formulas (e. g. *vakrokti, riti, guna* etc) without a previous explanation.

As a cognate branch of study, however, which probably supplied Poetics with a model and the poetic theory with the important content of *rasa,* Dramaturgy (*natya-sastra)* appears to have established itself a little earlier. Compartively early texts, both brahmanical and buddhistic, speak of some kind of dramatic representation, and we have a very early reference in Pāṇini to Kṛśāśva and Silālin as authors of *naṭa-sūtras* (IV. 3. 110-11)[1]. The early existence of treatises on the dramatic art is also evidenced by the fact that all the early authors on Poetics, Bhāmaha, Dandin and Vamana, omit a discussion of this subject and refer their readers for information to such specialised works. The older specimens of these are perhaps lost ; but Bharata's *Natya-sastra,* which is cited as the oldest known and most authoritative, cannot possibly be put, even in its present version, at a date lower than the 6th century A. D. Bharata himself, however devotes a whole chapter to the treatment of poetical *guṇas*

I It is interesting to note that both Amara and Śāśvata in their lexicons do not explain the technical terms of Alamkāra, although they have distinct references to dramaturgic technicalities and to *rasa.*

and *alamkaras* as decorative devices of dramatic speech. It seems, therefore, that the study of Alamkara was older than Bharata; and the tradition of opinion, followed by Bhamaha and Dandin, may have been post-Bharata in date, but was probably pre-Bharata in substance. Indeed, the different schools of opinion, represented by the *alamkara- riti-* and *dhvani-* theories, probably flourished some centuries before their views became crytallised in the present works of Bhamaha, Dandin and the Dhvanikara respectivly, none of whom, as wo shall see, can be taken as the absolute founder of the system he represents. This process of crystallisation must have covered a tentative stage, whose productions, if they had been extant today, would have shown Bhāmnha, Dandin and the Dhvanikara in the making. We cannot, therefore, start with the works of these writers as the absolute beginnings of the science, although with them we enter upon the historic and. the most creative stage of its existence. Taking this fact into consideration, we may presume without dogmatising that the Alaṃkāra-śāstra started as a separate technical discipline from about the commencement of the Christian era and probabably flourished in a relatively developed form in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The course of this development is unfortunately hidden from us, until it emerges in a more or less self-consciotts form in some chapters of Bharata and in the *Kavyalamkara* of Bhamaha.

Il BHARATA

(1)

Although Indian tradition glorifies Bharata, the reputed author of the *Natya-sastra,* with the title of *muni* aud places him in a mythic ago, the widest possible divergence of opinion exists among scholars as to his actual date; and he has been variously assigned to periods ranging from the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.[1] That lie is the oldest writer on dramaturgy, music and kindred subjects, whose work has survived, is generally admitted; but at the same time the question arises as to how far the extant version of his work represents his original text. As there are indications that it has been subjected to considerable rehandlings in later times before it assumed its present shape, this question has an important bearing on the date of the supposed author.

There are several passages in the present-day text which probably throw some light on this process

[1] Regnaud in *Annales du Mus. Guimet* ii p. 66, also introd. to Grosset's ed.; Pischel in *GgA,* 1885, pp.763 f; P. R. Bhandarkar in *IA* xli, pp. 157 f ; H. P. Sastrl *in JASB* v p. 352 f; Sten Konow in *Ind. Drama* p. 2 ; Rapson in art. on Indian Drama in *Encyclop. of Religion and Ethics,* vol. v p. 886.

of gradual interpolation and recasting. The curious colophon at the end in the Kāvyamālā edition, which appears to have puzzled its editor, designates the latter portion of the work as *Nandi-bharata.*[1] Rice mentions[2] a work called *Nandi-bharata* on music; while a chapter, apparently from a work on dramatic gesture, is referred to as *naadibharātokta-saṃkara-hastddhyāya* in a manuscript of a treatise on music and *abhinaya,* noticed in *Madras Catalogue* no. 13009. These works, probably late compilations, refer to Nandi or Nandikeśvara, whom tradition acknowledges as au ancient authority on music and histrionic art[3]. This designation, therefore, of the latter part of Bharata's text, a part of which deals, among other things, with music, probably implies that it was compiled or recast at some later period in accordance with the views of Nandikeśvara. The last chapter, to which this colophon is appended, also contains a prediction that the rest of the topic will be treated

1 *samaptas cayam [granthah] nandibharata-samglta-pustakam.*

2 *Mysore and Coorg Catalogue,* p. 292.

3 See above p. 2 *fn.* Similarly we hear of a work called *Matangabharata* by Laksmana Bhaskara, which apparently sets forth the views of Mataṅga, who is another old authority cited by Śārṅgadeva and his commentator, and by Śiṅgabhūpāla (i 51). It appears that the term *bharata* in course of time came to mean the dramatic art generally, as it also came to mean the actor ; and Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Ḥakuntalā* expressly refers to *ādi-bharata,* by whom he means our author, in contra-distinction to these later *bharatas.*

in detail by Kohala[1] (who apparently belonged to the same school[2]), plainly showing that the rewriting of the portion in question was done some time after Kohala, as well as Nandikeśvara, had spoken on the subject. Nandikeśvara's date is unknown; but Kohala, side by side with Bharata, is recognised as an ancient authority, as early as the end of the 8th century A. D., in Damodaragupta's *Kuttini-mata (sl.* 81). It is interesting to note in this connexion that Abhinavagupta, commenting on Bharata vi 10, says[3] that although *nāṭya* is usually said to

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1 *sesam prastara-tantrena kohalah kathayisyati* (emended for *kolahalali kathisayti* in the text), xxxvii 18.

2 see xxxvii 24. Kohala is cited as one of his sources by Śārṅgadeva (I. 1. 15) ; and Hemacandra, with reference to the classification of the different species of the drama, says: *prapancas tu bharata-kohaladi-hastrebhytfvagantavyali* (p- 329; also p. 325). Singabhupala (i 51) acknowledges him as an authority on the drama and allied arts. A work on music called *Tāla-lakṣaṇa,* probably a late compilation, is attributed to him (Aufrecht i 130b, 10*C* 3025,3089 ; *Madras Cat.* 12992 with a Telegu comm.), and a *Kohaliya Abhinaya-śāstra,* purporting to embody his views, is also entered in the last named catalogue (with a Telegu comm. no. 12989). Another work on music, entitled *Dattila-kohaliya,* is mentioned by Burnell p. 6ob, apparently a compendium of the opinions of Kohala and Dattila (or Dantila), who is mentioned by Damodaragupta *(si.* 123), and cited as an old authority by Śārṅgadeva (I. 1. 16) and his commentator Kallinatha (p. 49), by Śiṅgabhupala (i 51), as well as in various works on music (Peterson iv p. 43 extr.; *ABod* 199b; 201a).

3 *abhinaya-trayam gitatodye ceti pancangam natyatn ..... anena tu slokena kohaladi-matenaikadasangatvam ucyate.*

consist of five *angas,* the enumeration of eleven *angas* in the text is in accordance with the view of Kohala and others, to whose opinions the commentator makes many other incidental references. It is likely, therefore, that between Bharata's original work and its existing version, there came "Kohala and others" whose views found their way into the compendium, which goes by the name of Bharata and which indiscrirninating posterity took as genuine and unquestionable.

The process of incorporation must have occurred very early and was apparently complete by the end of the 8th century, when the work assumed more or less its present shape. Udbhata, about this time, actually appropriates (iv 4) the first-half of the verse vi 15 of the *Natya-sastra,* and makes only enough verbal change in its second-half to admit *śanta* as the ninth *rasa* in the category of eight recognised by Bharata.[1] Abhiliavagupta, who commented on the

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i It may be noted that Abhinavagupta, immediately after the passage cited above, goes on to say : *nanu bharate tat-Samgrhitasyapi punar atroddesanirdese caitat krama-vyaty-asanadityudbhalah, neti lollatah..... vayam tvatra tattvam agre vitanisyama ityastam tavat* (on Bharata vi 10). This difference of opinion between Udbhaṭa and Lollaṭa on a question of textual interpretation supports our conclusion that Udbhaṭa was probably familiar with the text of Bharata, as Abhinava knew it and as it has come down to us. It is not clear, however, if this evidence is sufficient to confirm the tradition, recorded by Śārṅgadeva (I. i. 19), that Udbhata was one of the early commentators on Bharata. Abhinava himself refers to Lollata, Sankuka aud Bhatta Nayaka as

existing text at the end of the 10th century, himself mentions several other previous commentators, of whom Lollata and Saiikuka in all probability belonged to the 8th and the 9th centuries. These indications will make it clear at any rate that the text existed in its present form in the 8th century A. D., if not earlier.

(2)

We have, on the other hand, the tradition as well as the statement of Bhavabhuti, who refers to to the mythical Bharata as the *tauryatrika-sūtra-kara*[1], that Bharata's work existed originally in the *sutra-form,* which is also made likely by... Panini's earlv reference to such *nafa-sTitras* in his own time. Reminiscences of the *āntra* style may indeed be presumed in the *Natya-sastra* vi and vii, which deal with *rasa* and *bhāva* ; for in ch. vi we find a

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the principal commentators whose views he sometimes thought worth refuting in detail. Sārṅgadeva omits from his list Bhaṭṭa Nayaka but adds Udbhaṭa, as well as one Kirtidhara who apparently flourished after Abhinava *(vyakhyataro bhiratiye lollatpdhhata-hankukah. / bhattabhinava-guptas ca śrimat-k'irtidkaro'p'araḥ).* Abhinava also cites Rahula (or Rahala) and Bhaṭṭa Yantra, but it is not clear whether they were also commentators on Bharata, Śārṅga-deva mentions Rahula elsewhere as one of his authorities, apparently on music (cf Hemacandra p. 316).

I *Uttara-caritat ad* iv 22 (ed N. S. P., 1906, p. 120)

dictum[1] on the genesis of *rasa,* put in the concise form of a *sutra,* to the elucidation of which, after the manner of a *bhāṣya* or *vrtti,* the rest of the chapter (written in prose with verse-quotations) is apparently devoted. It should also be noticed that a preliminary explanation is added at commencement of the chapter to reconcile this curious portion of the text with the rest of the work. Bharata, we are told, being requested by the sages, explains the characteristics of a *samgraha, karika,* and nirukta, and incidentally gives an illustration of a sutra-grantha by putting a part of the text in that form, This discussion of the nature of a *samgraha, kārika, niritkta* and *sūtra* would not have been relevant to the subject in hand but for this flimsy explanation, which, however, affords a device, far-fetched as it is, to introduce into the *karika-text* some vestiges of the older sutra-form. It is not maintained that a *sutra-text"* is necessarily older than a text in the *karika-form;* for in our *sutra-text* itself there are quotations in the *vrtti* of *amthaddha* or *anuvamsya slokas,* betokening the existence of earlier teachings on the subject, and disproving at the same time the orthodox belief that Bharata was the earliest teacher of the *natya-veda.* But if the tradition that Bharata's original work was eom-

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I *tatra vibhavanubhava-vyabhicari-samyogad rasa-nispattih,* ed. Grosset p. 87,1. 8 ; ed. Kāvyamāla p. 62, L 6. This dictum is cited as a *sūtra* by all later writers, including Abhinavagupta, and presumably by his predecessors Lollata and others.

posed in the *sutra-form* be accepted, then this portion of the existing version may be presumed to have been a survival of the original form.

If we get the lower limit to the date of Bharata's work at 8th century A.D., the other limit is very difficult to settle, when we consider that there were apparently two versions, one based on the other. But it is not clear what weight should be placed on the testimony of Bhavabhuti; for if in the first quarter of the 8th century Bharata was known to him as a *sutra-kara,* it is not intelligible how at the end of the same century, Udbhata makes use of Bharata's *karika,* and Lollata and others, immediately following, apparently comment on the same text. The short space of less than half a century is not enough to obliterate all signs of the older version and replace it entirely with a new karika-text which, to all intents and purposes, is taken as the only authoritative version in later times, and in which, strangely enough, we find still lingering traces of the earlier *sutra-text.* The only possible explanation of Bhavabhuti's reference is that the historical Bharata, who was the sutra-*kara* on the three arts of dancing, singing and instrumental music, had already, in Bhavabhuti's time, become identified with the mythical Bharata; for the passage in the *Uttara-carita* gives an obviously mythical account, thpugh the mouth of Lava, that b*hagavan Valmiki,* having composed his story of R*ama,* gave it to *bhagavan* Bharata the *sutra-kara* on the three arts and apparently the *natyacarya* of the gods) who revised it and got it acted through celestial nymphs.

But this does not exhaust all our textual difficulties. Independent prose-passages also survive, in the midst of *kārikas*, in chs. xvii, xxviii, xxix, xxxi and xxxiv, which, forming an integral part of the text, cannot be taken as mere *vṛtti*, but which resemble, in some respects, the prose smrti-fragments or, more closely, the prose-fragments in the recently published *Bhela-saṃhitā*. Again, the *anubaddha* or *anuvaṃśya ślokas*, referred to above, correspond to the *parikara-* or *samgraha-slokas* in later writings, and certainly indicate the probability of earlier speculations on the subject. These verses are generally taken from two distinct sources, for some of them are in *āryā* while others are in *anuṣṭup* metre.

From the facts adduced above, we are confronted with the problem of the inter-relation of these apparent survivals in our text, which contains vestiges of (1) independent prose-fragments (2) *cnnuamsya slokas* in a*rya* and *anustup* metres and (3) *sutra-bhāsya* style, as well as (4) the present systematic *kārikas*. We have no room to dilate upon this point, but an examination of these passages will reveal that these different styles do not belong to the same period, but they probably indicate several stages in the growth of particular *forms of* composition of dramaturgic works in general, each stage betraying its own partiality towards a particular form Taking the present *karika-text* as the starting point, we find in it traces of an **earlier s***utra-bhasya* style, of which it is presumably **a** recast. In the *sutra-bhasya,* again, there **are fragments of metrical quotations, which indicate, in**

their turn, another and still earlier *karika-stage* : while the independent prose-fragments perhaps represent the earliest form taken by such technical treatises. We can, therefore, distinguish in their order of development (1) a stage of prose-treatises (2) a tentative period of *kariha-writing (3) tha sutra-bhāṣya* stage and (4) the final period of compilation of compadiums, which reverts again to the *kdrika*-form. [1] This conclusion perhaps finds some support in -the repetition, more or less, of a similar phenomenon in the sphere of the Dharma-śāstra, the Artha-śāstra, the Vaidya-śāstra and probably the Kāma-śāstra. The loss of earlier tentative treatises makes it difficult to dogmatise; but if this conclusion is correct generally, then our text may be supposed to contain remnants of all these styles and forms. It is not argued here that Bharata's work itself passed through all these ,stages or forms, from a rudimentary prose-version, into a systematic metrical manual; but our text contains enough to betray the existence of previous speculations in prose and in verse, as well as indicate the fact that it might have itself been once written in the sutra-bhasya form which was recast, with considerable additions from other sources, into a convenient metrical compendium.

I This conclusion does not apply to the more or less imitative periods after the 10th century in which we find the *karika* and the sutra-style, existing almost side by side e. g. we find in the respective works of Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka.

(3)

Taking the substance of the work, apart from the vexed question of different versions, the portion of the *Natya-sastra*, which deals principally with music, has been conjectured [1] on internal evidence to have been compiled about the 4th century A. D. ; and it may appear likely that the other portions were also put into their present shape about the same time. Pischel's argument, however, on the date of the work, derived from the reference to Pahlavas in a text of such composite character is of doubtful value in determining the question finally ; but it perhaps makes it probable that the upper limit of its date cannot be put too early. On the other hand, Raghavabhatta on S*akuntala*[2] and Vasudeva on *Karpura-manjari*[3] quote one Mātṛguptācārya as a writer on dramaturgy ; and Sundaramisra in his *Natya-pradipa* (dated 1613 A.D.), commenting on Bharata's remarks on *nandi*, says *asya vyakhyane matrguptacaryaih.....iyam udahyta*[4]. This has been taken by Levi to imply that Mātṛgupta wrote a *vyākhyāna* or commentary on Bharata, and that, assuming him to be same as the poet who lived under Harsa-vikramaditya *(Raja-tarang.*

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1 *IA* xii p. 158 f.

2 ed. N. S. P., 1922, pp. 5,6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 20, 57, 62, 74, no, 123, 126, 151, 154, 199 etc.

3 ed. N. S. P., 1900, p. 5 ; cf Aufrecht i 448a.

4 quoted in *IOC* iii p. 347. This Matrgupta is also cited by Ranganatha on *Vikramorvasi* (dated 1656 A. D., see *AFl* 144) ed. N. S. P., 1914, p. 5.

in 125-252), we get in him a very early commentator ou Bharata. But this evidence does not appeal* to be conclusive ; for our Mātṛgupta, as Raghavabhaṭṭa's profuse quotations shew, probably wrote an indepenent metrical work on dramaturgy, in which he might have in the usual course commented on Bharata's precepts ; and the word vy*akhyana* need not be construed bo mean a commentary. This author, cited only by late commentators, is therefore to be distinguished from the poet of that name ; and probably he belongs to comparatively recent times, being certainly unknown to Abhinavagupta, Dhanika and other older writers. But he must be earlier than Śarṅgadeva (beginning of the 13th century) who mentions him in his work as an authority on music.

We are in a position, however, to infer that the substance of Bharata's work is probably much older than that of Bhamaha[1], who may be assigned to the last quarter of the 7th century. Bhāmaha, in his trecitnient of poetic figures *(kavyalamkaras)*, groups them in a curious but suggestive way, which probably indicates the different periods in the growth and multiplication of such figures [2]. At the outset, he names and defines only five poetic figures (ii 4), r*e*-

1 Besides showing himself conversant with some theory of *rasa* (ii 281, 283 f), Dandin mentions the dramaturgic technical terms *sandhi, anga, vrtti* and *laksana* and refers to a*gamantara* for their discussion (ii 366).

2 Cf Jacobi in *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.* xxiv (1922) pp. **220f.**

cognised, as he says, by other writers, viz., *anuprasa, yamaka, rūpaka, dīpaka* and *upama.*" This represents the first stage ; but in course of time, six other figures appear to have been added, and Bhāmaha mentions and deals with them next in ii 66. Then he goes on to enumerate, two (or three, including *svabhavokti)* more figures admitted by writers like Medhāvin (ii 88), who also appears to have dealt with *upamā* etc. (ii 40). Finally, Bhāmaha defines and illustrates a further long list of twenty-three more figures in a separate chapter (iii 1-4). The differentiation and multiplication of poetic figures with the progress of speculation is a familiar fact in Alaṃkāra literature, and the way in which Bhāmaha successively enumerates and groups these figures probably shows that to the original five mentioned by him at the outset, others were added in course of time as the study itself advanced. Now Bharata, in his treatment of *alaṃkaras,* names (xvi 41) only four such figures known to him, viz., *yamaka, rupaka, dipaka* and *upama.* These four in reality correspond to the five mentioned by Bhamaha ; for *anuprasa* may be taken as falling in the same class as *yamaka,* the one being *varnabhyasa* and the other *padabhyasa.* At the same time the very fact *anuprasa* is thus differentiated from *yamaka* may indicate further refinement in the analysis of these poetic figures. It is clear, therefore, that Bharata's work belonged to a period when the number of figures had not yet multiplied ; and one, if not more, stages must have intervened between it and Bhamaha's *Kavyalamkara* in which the number had already swelled into nearly forty in

all. [1] To this intermediate stage belonged Madhavin and others, whom Bhāmaha cites, and the loss of whose work makes it difficult for us to trace the development thus indicated by Bhāmaha.

There are also indications that Bharata's teachings are probably older than Kālidāsa, who generally adheres to Bharata's dramaturgie prescriptions[2]. Kalidasa refers to Bharata as the mythical n*atya-cārya ;* but apart from this, it may be pointed out that while Bharata ignores Maharastri as one of Prakrits used in the drama, it is well known that in Sanskrit dramatic works, including those of Kalidasa, Prakrit verses are in Maharastri and the prose-parts are in Sauraseni and other allied Prakrits. In R*aghu* xix 36, again, Kalidasa speaks of *anga-sattva-vacancUraya nrtya,* which, as Mallinātha rightly points out, agrees with Bharata's dictum *samanyabhinayo nama jneyo vaganga-sattvajah*[3].

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i By the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century, Bhaṭṭi illustrates as many as 38 different species of poetic figures, indicating that the process of refinement had proceeded very far indeed even in his time.

2 The discovery of the dramas, ascribed to Bhāsa, does not invalidate this argument for it is possible that they follow a tradition or a system of opinion of which all traces are now lost, and the date of Bhāsa itself is uncertain.

3 The *Amara-koṣa* only mentions *āṅgika* and *sāttvika abhinaya.* This lexicon, which is said to have been translated into Chinese about 561-66 A. D. (see Nandargikar's introd. to *Meghaduta,* 1894, p. 73), admits after Bharata the eight *rasas,* and explains some of the dramaturgic technicalities, giving three synonyms of the actor *(sailalin*

The lewer limit of the date of Bharata's work, therefore, can be provisionally shifted back to the fourth or fifth century A.D., while it is almost certain that it existed in its present shape in the 8th century A.D. The upper limit cannot be put too early, because of the mention of *sakas, yananas, pahlavas* and other tribes, and probably does not go beyond the commeneement of the Christian era. It is difficult to settle the relative age of the *sutra* and the K*arika-texts* ; but if the tendency towards su*tra-bhasya* style may be presumed to have been generally prevelant in the last few centuries B.C., then the suspected *sūtra-text* of Bharata belongs apparently to this period[1]. It was certainly much earlier than the present k*arika-text,* in which Bharata already appears as a mythical sage as an expounder of the *natya-veda.*

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krsasvin and *bharata)* from the names of the three well-known teachers on dramaturgy. Pāṇini refers to the formation of the first two terms, but not that of the third ; but this silenee of the grammarian does not prove anything. The Jaina *Anuogadarasutta* (ed. N. S. P. 1915, fol. 134-145, also quoted *in* Weber ii 2, pp. 701-02) which, Winternitz thinks, was probably put together by the mi4dle of the 5th century, mentions nine *rasas,* which, however, have hardly any reference poetic or dramatic *rasas ;* but the enumeration is interesting from the inclusion of *prasamta* (not mentioned by Bharata), apparently from religious motives.

1 It will be shown later that the tradition that Bharata was the author of a *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa,* which forms in substance *of* the karika-verses of Mammata's *Kav. prak.,* is entirely err eous, as is also the statement made use of by Levi

(4)

TEE COMMENTATORS ON BHARATA

The names of the reputed as well as actual commentators on Bharata mentioned by Abhinavagupta and Śarṅgadeva are:

1 Udbhaṭa.
2 Lollaṭa
3 Śankuka
4 Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka
5 Rahala or Rahula ?
6 Bhaṭṭa Yantra ?
7 Abhinavagupta
8 Kīrtidhara
9 Matrguptacarya ?

Of these, we have already discussed the unauthenticated or doubtful names marked here with an interrogation.[1] Of Kirtidhara we know nothing. No commentary on Bharata exists today except that of Abhinavagupta, which, voluminous as it is, certainly deserves to be published.

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that these *kurikas* are abridged from the *Agni-purana.* Somadeva in his *Yahastilaka* (959-60 A. D.) refers, indeed, to a *bharata-pranita kavyadhyaya* (Peterson ii p. 45.) which, considering Somadeva's date, could not have alluded to this tradition of Bharata's authorship of Mammata's *karikas,* but possibly, from the terms of reference, to ch. xvi of the *Natya-sastra,* which deals with k*avralamkaras* and *gunas* as embellishments of the dramatic speech.

1 see above p. 26 fn

LOLLATA AND SANKUKA

Lollata and Sankuka are known definitely as commentators on Bharata not only from Abhinavagupta's references to them as such, but also from numerous other writers following him [1]. To Sankuka, who is also cited as Sanku, are also ascribed several Verses in the anthologies of Sarngadhara, Jalhajia and Vallabhadeva[2], which indicates that there was also a poet of the same name, Kalhaṇa mentions (iv 703-5) a poet Sankuka and his poem *Bhuvanabhyudaya.* The reference is to the time of Ajitapīḍa, whose date is given as 813 by Cunningham and as 816 A.D. by S.P. Pandit. If our Sankuka is identical with this poet, then he may be assigned to the first quarter of the 9th century. As to the date of Lollaṭa, we have no materials to decide but all later citations agree in supporting the tradition that he was earlier than Sankuka, whose theory on *rasa* is said to have been directly levelled against that of Lollaṭa. Judging from his name, Lollata was probably a Kasmirian ; and if any chronological inference may be drawn from Abhinavagupta's reference to an opinion of the Kasmirian Udbhata being

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1 e. g. Mamata *Kav. prak. ad iv* 5, p. 87 (ed. B S. S. 1917) ; Hemacandra p. 67 comm., p.215 ; *TaraIu* pp. 85, 88 ; Govinda in *Pradipa ad iv* 5, p. *63.* etc.

2 in the first two, Sankuka is called the son of Mayura. who is identified by some with the author of the *Suryasataka,* a contemporary of Bana.

controverted by Lollata[1], he may have been later than or contemporaneous with Udbhata, whose latest date is 813 A. D. These hypothetical facts give us the curious conclusion that Udbhata, Lollata and Sankuka were probably contempqraies or lived sufficiently near one another in point of time.[2]

BHAṬṬA NĀYAKA

Besides referring to him as a commentator on Bharata, Abhinavagupta *(Locana* p. 27), as Well as Jayaratha (p. 9), quotes under the name of Bhatta Nayaka a verse sub*da-pradhanyam asritya,* which Hemacandra (p. 4) gives as a quotation from a work, entitled *Hrdaya-darpana,* which is also cited without the name of the author by Mahimabhatta and his commentator. This makes it probable that some lost work of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's probably bore that title, and also indicates the probable source of the quota-

1 The passage is cited above p. 26 footnote.

2 The theory of *rasa* advocated by Lollaṭa probably obtained in the schools before he definitely formulated it and became its first noted champion ; for Abhinava in his commentary on Bharata (ch. vi, the same passage utilised later by Hemacandra, Comm. p. 57, 11. 18-19) says that Dandin in his idea of *rasa* follows the same view. Unless we presume Lollaṭa's priority to Daṇḍin, we should take this passage to indicate that this theory, or a dogma similar to it, had already been known to Daṇḍin, even before Lollaṭa brought it into prominence. It may also be noted that Lollaṭa is also taken by most later writers (e. g. Ḥemacandra p. 215, Mammata pp, 225 f; Mahimabhatta p. 27 etc) as as what is technically known as dir*gha-vyapara-vadin* with

tion which occurs immediately before the verse in question in Abhinayagupta. It is, however, not clear whether this *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* is in reality his lost commentary on Bharata. Mahimabhatta's anonymous commentator tells us that this *Hrdaya-darpaṇa,* like the *Vyakti-viveka,* was composed with the special object of demolishing the *dhvani-theory* formulated by Ānandavardhana [1] ; and this statement may explain why Abhinavagupta, the great champion of the *dhvani-theory,* takes so much pains to controvert Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's views in his *Locana* as well as in his *Abhinavarbharati.* This also adds a significance to the fact that Mahimabhatta, who had a similar object of combating the *dhvani-theory,* claims entire originality for his own treatment, boasting that he had never looked in the *Darpaṇa* at all[2]. The citations from the *Hrdaya-darpana* also indicate

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reference to the controversy about the function of *abhidhā* ; for he is said to have maintained that the primary function of Denotation of a word is so far-reaching that it is competent in itself to express all other implied or suggested sense. The Mimamsakas and grammarians had already discussed the question of *abhidhā* ; but it must not be forgotten that several attempts to explain the fact of suggested sense (*dhvani)* obtained before the Dhvanikara himself. It is probable that Lollaṭa was one of those who offered one of the several early solutions to the question, alluded to in the first verse of the *Dhvanyâloka.*

1 *darpano.....hrdaya-darpanakhyo dhvani-dvamsa-granthah* p. 1, explaining the pun in the word *darpana* used by Mahiman in 14.

2 *adrstadarpana. mama dhih* i 4.

that it was probably composed iu a metrical form, and apparently never took at all the shape ' of a prose commentary.

A careful examination of the very few passages apparently referring to this work will shew that the topics dealt with in it centre round the question of *dhvani* in poetry, in correlation with the theory of *rasa* intimately connected therewith. Abhinava, for instance, while discussing the verse *bhama dhammia vïsattho,* which is given by Ānandavardhana as an instance of suggestion with an expressed injunction implying a prohibition, refutes Bhatta Nāyaka's opinion as to this negative implication. In another place, Abhinava criticises the significance attached by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka to the word *aham* in the verse *atta ettha ṇimajjai,* which is discussed by Ānandavardhana as an example of suggestion of a contrary kind where the expressed prohibition implies an injunction. It is evident from these references that Bhatta Nayaka's work, like Mahimabhattas, was designed not merely as a refutation of the general theory of *dhvani,* but also as a special attack on Ānandavardhana's exposition of the same. To take a minute point, the Dhvanikara in i 13 uses the verb v*yanktah* in the dual number with a special object in view, as Ānandavardhana's (as well as Abhinava's) explanation rightly indicates. Bhatta Nayaka seems to have attacked this use of the dual number, **upon** which Abhinavagupta remarks : *bhatta-nayakena yad dvi-vacanam dusitam tad gaja-nimilikayaiva.*[1]

I Mahimabhatta also refers (p. 19) to this discussion, quoting these words of Abhinava from the *Locana.*

It is apparent, therefore, that the *Hrdaya-darpaṇa* was not a commentary on Bharata, but a metrical treatise in the *anuṣṭup* metre, dealing with the question of *dhvani,* and incidentally with the question of *rasa-dhvani.* No doubt, Abhinava in his own commentary on Bharata, as well numerous other later writers taking their cue from Abhinava, criticises at some length Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory of *rasa,* along with those of Lollata and Sankuka and with special reference to Bharata's particular *sutra* on the subject ; yet Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is nowhere mentioned directly as a commentator on the same text. It is probable that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's peculiar theory of *rasa* (which, however, bears a resemblance to Abhinava's own) called for a special refutation in the hands of this champion of the *dhvani-theory,* because Bhatta Nayaka denied the expressive function of *dhvani* and attempted to explain the concept by postulating the function of *bhogikaraṇa.* But there is no definite indication to shew that this theory of *rasa,* being a corrollary to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's general theory of expression, was not incidental to his main thesis, directed towards the demolition of the new idea of the *dhvani* and establishment of another explanation of the fact of Suggestion *(dhvani).* This may be the reason why Sārngadeva, in his enumeration of Bharata's commentators before his time, omits the name of Bhatta Nayaka. [1]

I See p. 26-27 above, footnote. Similarly Ruyyaka, while reviewing the different systems which obtained before his time, mentions Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka not as a commentator but

There can hardly be any doubt that Bhaṭṭa Nayaka was familiar with the text of the Dhvanya-*loka,* including Anandavardhana's vrtti, and should, therefore, be placed in a period later than the date of Ānandavardhana. This conclusion is supported by the statement of Jayaratha (p. 12) that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka lived after the Dhvanikāra, by whom Jayaratha, like many other later writers, invariably means Ānanda-vardhana without distinguishing him from the so-called Dhvanikara. On the other hand, the oldest writer to cite Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, is Abhinavagugta, from whom ho does not appear to be chronologically very distant. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, therefore, flourished Between the last quarter of the 9th century and the last quarter of the 10th ; and it will not be wrong if we assign him to the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th. This date makes it likely that he is identical, as Peterson suggested, with the Bhatta Nayaka who is mentioned by Kalhana (v 159) as having flourished in the reign of Saṅkaravarman, son and successor of Avantivarman of Kasmir.

ABHINAVAGUPTA

Although Abhinavagupta contented himself with the writing of commentaries in the field of Sanskrit Poetics, his works have almost the value of indepen-dent treatises for their profound erudition and critical acumen, and deserve a separate treatment. As his

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as an independent author who advocated a new system in common with other explanations of the *dhvani-theory* (p. 9, ed, Kāvyamālā).

reputation in Poetics rests on his exposition of the *dhvani-theory,* it will be better to take him up in connexion with the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana.

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Note. In addition to authorities already cited, see Heymann in *GN*1874 pp. 86f. ; Sten Konow, *Zur Fruhgeschichte des indischen Theaters,* Munchen 1917, pp. 106f. Works and articles on the origin and history of the Indian drama are numberles and some of them make incidental references to Bharata and his work : for bibliography, therefore, see Schuyler, *Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama,* Columbia 1906, which however is hardly exhaustive.

III BHAMAHA

(i)

The earliest direct citation of Bhamaha in later Alamkara literature is to be found in two passages in Ānandavardhana's *vrtti* on the *Dhvanyaloka* (pp. 30,207). The next interesting reference occurs in the commentary of Pratiharenduraja, who informs us (p. 13) that his author Udbhata composed a work, presumably a commentary, on Bhāmaha, which is described here as Bham*aha-vivaraṇa*. This statement is confirmed by Abhinavagupta *(Locana* pp. 10,40, 159, *vivaraṇakrt)* and Hemachandra (Comm. pp. 17,110) ; while Ruyyaka cites the commentary generally as *bhamahiya udbhata-laksana* (p. 183) and Samudrabandha discribes it as kavyalamkara-vivr*ti* (p. 89). There are also numerous passages in Udbhata's independent work, *Kavyalamkara samgraha,* which unmistakably copy some of the definitions of poetic figures directly from Bhāmaha, and do not hesitate to repeat the very language of the earlier work[1].

Vāmana, Udbhata's contemporary, also appears to betray an acquaintance with Bhamaha's text.

1 see, for instance, the definitions of the figures *rasavat, atisayokti, sasamdeha, sahokti, apahnuti, utpreksa,. yathasamkhya, aprastuta-prasamsa paryayokta, aksepa, vibhavana, virodha* and *bhavika.*

Bhamaha, for instance, defines the figure *upama* (ii 30) as *virudhenopamanena . . . . upameyasya yat samyam guya-lesena sopama ;* and Vamana seems to paraphrase this definition in the concise form of a sutra *upamanenopameyasya guna-lesatah samyam upama* (IV.2.1). [1] Again, speaking of effective implication *(atisayavan arthah)* to be found in *upama,* Bhamaha lays down (ii 50)

yasyatisayvan arthah katham so sambhavo matah
istam catisayarthatvam upamotpreksayor yatha.

Reading together Vamana IV. 2.20 and 21 *(anupapattir asambharah* and *na viruddho'tisayah),* we find that Vamana is apparently repeating the same view and in his *vrtti* on the first *sutra,* he adds *upamayan atisayasyestatvat* , making it clear in the next *sutre* that an effective implication *(atiśaya),* which is contradictory, should be avoided. Vāmana also reproduces anonymously a verse of an unknown poet whose name is given by Bhamaha (ii 46) with the same verse as Sākhavardhana. Such repetition of views in more or less standardised phraseology in a technical treatise, or the quotation *of* the same illustrative verse in a similar context need not be taken as conclusive ; but Vāmana, in his *vrtti* on V. 2.38, actually though not accurately quotes, a part of a verse from Bhamaha ii 27, and comments on the peculiar usage of the word *bhanguram* employed therein. [2]

1 Cf Bharata xvi 41.

2 The verse is quoted with Bhamaha's name in Jayamangala on Bhatti x 21, and anonymously in the *Vakrokti-*

This will justify us in placing Bhamaha chronologically before udbhata and vamana who as we shall see, flourished in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D., and will give us one terminus to the date of Bhāmaha.

With regard to the other terminus, controversy has been keen and busy. Pathak finds in the mention of a *nyāsakāra* in Bhaīmaha vi 36 a clear reference to the Buddhist Jinendrabuddhi, author of a commentary (ed. Varendra Research Society) on the *Kāśikā,* and comes to the conclusion that "as the *nyāsakāra* (meaning Jinendra) lived about 700 A.D., Bhāmaha must be assigned to the 8th century".[1] Against this K. P. Trivedī has demonstrated [2] that the allusion to the opinions of the *nyāsakāra* cannot be taken as an unmistakable reference to Jinendrabuddhi's views, and that the existence of some other n*yasakaras* are also made probable by the citations of Mādhava, as well as by a punning passage in Banas H*arsa-carita.*[3] Jacobi [4] has joined issue by adding a doubt on the correctness of the date assigned by Pāthak to Jinendrabuddhi who, on the authority of Kielhorn, was probably later than Haradatta (d. 878 A.D.),

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ita (along with other verses from Bhāmaha,) and in *Locana* p. 40 anonymously.

1 *IA* xli p. 232 ff, at p. 235 ; see also *JRASBom* xxiii pp. 25-26.

2 *IA* xlii pp. 204 f, and at pp. 260-1.

3 *kṛta-guru-padanyāsaḥ* (ed N. S. *V.* p. 96), explained by bafikara as *krtobhyasto guru-padc durbodha-sabde nyaso vrttir vivarano yaih.*

4 *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.* xxiv (1922) pp. 210-11.

No fresh light is thrown on the question by the conjecture[1] that Bhamaha in i 42 refers to the *Meghaduta* by his condemnation of the poetical device of employing clouds, among other things, as messengers; nor by Pāthak's other equally fanciful supposition that Magha, ii 8Gb refers to Bhamaha i 16[2]. Nothing, again, is gained by the controversy over the question whether Bhāmaha, the son of Rakrilagomin and worshipper of Sārva, was a Buddhist, as indicated by the opening and closing verses of his work.[3] Jacobi's recent researches, however, have shown[4] that Bhamaha has made considerable use of the teachings of Buddhist philosophers in ch. v, and that the Upper limit to Bhamaha's date should be determined with reference to that of Buddhist Dharmakīrti, some of whose philosophical doctrines Bhāmaha has utilised, even to the repitition of Dharmakirti's actual phraseology. Dharmakirti is placed by Jacobi between the sojourn in India of Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing respectively (630—643 and 673—695 A. D.), as he is not known to the former, while the latter refers to him among those of late years[5]. The upper limit,

1 Haricand, *L'Art Poetique de I'Inde* p. *77.*

2 But see Daṇḍin i 10 ; Vāmana I. 1. 1 *(vṛtti)* ; Rudraṭa ii 1 ; Anandavardhana p. 5, for the same idea of *sabda* and *artha* as constituents of poetry.

3 On this controversy, sec *JRAS,* 1905, pp. 535 f; *JRASy* 1908, pp. 543f ; Trivedi introd. to *Prataparudra ;* Haricand in *op. cit.* p. *71* ; *Brahmavādin* 1911 etc.

4 ***op, cit.*** **pp. 211-12.**

5 see Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion,* 1896, p. 181,cf p. Iviii. Taranatha in his *Geschichte* (tr. Schiefner

therefore, of Bhamaha's date should be fixed at the third quarter of the 7th century A. D.

This will place Bhāmaha approximately in the period between the last quarter of the 7th and the last quarter of 8th century ; and as it is probable that he might have been a younger contemporary of Dharmankirti's and also presumably lived some time before his commentator Udbhata, it will not be wrong if WE place him towards the end of the 7th and the commencement of the 8th century A. D.

(2)

We have already discussed the relation which Bharata's treatment of *alaṃkāras* might have borne to Bhāmaha's much fuller and later disquisition. What we find in Bharata constitutes the earliest speculation on the subject that we possess : but Bhāmaha himself tells us that he had predecessors whose work he apparently utilised. While referring to these predecessors (or contemporaries) generally as *anye*[1], *apare*[2] or *kecit*[3], Bhamaha cites twice by name one Medha-

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pp. 184-5) makes him a contemporary of the Tibetan king, Strong-bstan-sgam-po, who died about 650 A. D. Cf Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 130.

1 i 13, 24 ; ii 4, 57 ; iii 4 ; iv 12 etc.

2 i 14, 15, 31 ; ii 6, 8 ; iii 4 ; iv 6 etc.

3 ii 2, 37, 93 ; iii 54 etc. He also cites one Ramaśarman in ii 19, but from ii 58 this author appears to be a poet The Raǰamitra -cited in ii 45 appears from iii 10 to be a *kāvya*.

via in ii 40,88. One of these passages is referred to by Namisādhu on Rudrata xi 24, where (as well as in two other places on i 2, ii 2,) the full name is given as Medhāvirudra, which form also occurs in Rājaśekhara (p. 12)[1]. This writer, who was earlier than Bhāmaha **but** probably later than Bharata, is also cited by Vallabhadeva on S*isu* xi 6.

At one time it was believed [2], on the indication given by the *Jayamahgala* ōn Bhatti,, that the *alaṇ-k*ara-chapters in that *kavya,* especially canto x, was meant to illustrate the rhetorical teachings of Bhamaha in particular ; but the date now assigned to Bhāmaha will readjust his relation to Bhaṭṭi in a new light. Bhaṭṭi tells us in xxii 35 that he composed his poem in Valabhī ruled over by Śrīdharasena.. [8] It appears that no less than four Sridharasenas ruled at Valabhi roughly between 550 and 650 A.D., of whom the last flourished, as his latest grant shows,

1 Rājaśekhara couples Medhāvirudra's name with that of Kumāradāsa and adds the information that he was a born-blind poet. The name does not constitute the names of two different poets, Medhāvin and Rudra, as some writers unfortunately suggest, nor need we take it on the late authority of the *Trikanda-sesa* as a name of Kalidasa.

2 Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxiv.

3 *kavyam idam vihitam maya valabhyam / sridharasena-narendra-piUitayam.* Jayamangala reads sri*dhara-sunu-narendra*^{0} in the second line, but this cannot be supported in view of the fact that we do not hear of any prince of the name Narendra, son of Śridhara, in the list of Valabhi princes known to us, Mallinātha and Bharatamallika do not comment on this verse.

in 651 A. D. Bhaṭṭi, therefore, at the latest, lived in the first half of the 7th century ; and if, as his editor concludes,[1] he may be assigned to the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, he was certainly older than Bhāmaha by almost a century. Bhāmaha probably knew his work and therefore remarked, while dismissing verbal jugglеries like *prahelikā* (ii 20):

kāvyānyapi yadimāni vyākhyā-gamyāni śāstravat
utsavah sudhiyam eva hanta durmedhaso hatah

with a pointed reference to Bhaṭṭi's self-boasting in xxii 34 :

vyākhyā-gamyam idaṃ kāvyam utsavaḥ sudhiyām alam
hata durmedhasas casmin vidvat-priyataya maya.

The treatment of *alaṃkāras* in Bhaṭṭi may, therefore, be presumed to supply one of the missing links in the history of rhetorical speculations anterior to Bhāmaha. A remarkable coincidence of treatment, which probably started the theory of Bhaṭṭi's appropriation of Bhamaha's teachings, is at once noticeable not only in the order, number and naming of the different poetic figures, but also in their respective characterisation ; but a detailed examination will at the same time shew that beneath this general agreement there are enough discrepancies which will indicate that neither of them follows scrupulously the views of the other. The agreement apparently shows that the two authors were not chronologically distant from each other by such a considerable length of time

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[1] ed, B, S, S. introd. p. xxii.

as might betoken a material difference in the number, order or definition of the poetic figures ; while the discrepancies may be reasonably explained as indicating that they did not probably draw from the same source.

The special object of this particular canto in Bhaṭṭi being that of illustrating the various forms of poetic figures prevelant in his time, we may presume that it was probably based on a particular treatise on Alaṃkāra to which the poet faithfully adheres. He mentions in all 38 such independent figures, along with 39 sub-species of some individual figures. He does not himself give the names of these figures, but they are indicated by the *Jayamangala,* as well as in some MSS which apparently preserve the traditional nomenclature. These, with one trifling exception *(udara= udatta),* correspond to the particular names given to them in Bhāmaha. AH to the order or sequence of treatment, a comparative table will show that Bhāmaha gives the first 23 figures (up to vise*sokti)* in the same order as in Bhatti with the exception of the pairs, *rupaka* and *dipaka, arthantaranyasa,* and *aksepa,* which are given in an inversed order. The rest of the figures appears with a slightly different arrangement, because Bhāmaha admits *aprastuta-prasamsa* omitted by Bhatti? and adopts a somewhat different order in mentioning the five figures here treated in common, until we come to *virodha.* From here, again, the order is the same, excepting that Bhamaha mentions *bhavika* (which is separately illustrated in another canto by Bhatti) and Bhatti admits an unknown figure *nipuna,* and adds

hetu which is expressly rejected by Bhāmaha. As the exposition of Jayamangla shows, Bhatti generally follows the definitions of Bhāmaha, where the figures are common (even in the cases of sub-species of these figures[1]), with only a few exceptions.

These exceptions, though few, are yet significant. They refer in particular to the figures *yamaka* (of which Bhaṭṭi mentions 20, while Bhamaha only 5 sub-species), u*pama* (where the treatment of sub-species is slightly divergent), *rūpaka* (of which the four sub-species of Bhaṭṭi do not correspond to the two of Bhamaha), *aprastuta-prasamsa* omitted by Bhatti, and *nipuna* omitted by Bhamaha. At the same time, Bhāmaha mentions but rejects *prahelikā, hetu, sūkṣma, Jeṁ* and *varttа,* of which Bhatti admits only *hetu* (probably as an after-thought) and *vartta.* Bhatti does not recognise *Svabhavokti* which is mentioned but apparently disfavoured by Bhamaha. It is possible that Bhatti's original ended naturally with *asis,*

I e. g. the figure *aksepa,* of which the two sub-divisions *ukta-visaya* and *vaksyamana-visaya* are found in both Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi, they being unaware of the different interpretation of Vāmana and the somewhat fine differentiations of Dandin. The same "remark applies to *dipaka* and its three sub-species, which do not agree with the exposition of Bharata, Daṇḍin or Vāmana. Cf also the three sub-species of sl*esa,* viz. *sahokti-sl upama-sl*[0], and *hetu-sl*[0], illustrated by Bhaṭṭi and mentioned by Bhāmaha in iii 17, although later writers, like Dandin and Udbhata, speak of sl*esa* as coming with many other figures. Pratiharenduraja distinctly alludes to this division admitted by Bhāmaha : *bhāmaho hi "tat sahoktyupama-hetu-nirdesat trividham yatha" iti slistasya traividhyam aha* (p. 47).

as Bhāmaha's work itself does ; but he tacked on *hetu* and *nipnna* [1] as two supplementary figures popular in his time. The *bhāvika,* which both Bhamaha and Dandin call a*prabandha-guna,* is illustrated by Bhatti in a separate canto (xii), entitled *bhavikatva-pradarsana.* But by far the greatest divergence is noticeable in the treatment of the subspecies of *yamaka, rūpaka* and *upama.* No two writers are indeed agreed with regard to the treatment and classification of *yamaka,* and Bhaṭṭi on this point is scarcely in agreement with any of the known writers on the subject, such as Bharata, Daṇḍin Rudraṭa, the author of the *Agni-purāṇa* and Bhoja among earlier authorities. Probably he is drawing from some old author whose work is not known to us [2] In the classification of *rupaka* which Bhamaha sub-divides into s*am astavastu-visaya and ekadesavivarti,* Bhaṭṭi seems to follow a different tradition, which mentions four sub-species, respectively designated as k*amalaka (visisfopama-yukta), avatamsaka*

1 This figure is included in *udara* or *udutta* by Jayamaṅgala, while Bharatamallika and Mallinatha take it as an illustration of *preyas* on the authority of Daṇḍin and Devanātha (the latter probably a commentator on Mammaṭa having the same name).

2 The names of some of these sub-species of *yamaka* are now lost but for the naming of them in Bhaṭṭi, and later authors speak in altogether different terminology. Some of these are apparently preserved in Bharata, who mentions as many as ten sub-species, but in most cases they are differently defined. For instance, the *samudga* of Bhaṭṭi may be the same figure as defined by Bharata, but *the yukpada* of

(sesarthanvavasita or *khanda-rupaka*[1]*), ardha-rūpaka* and *lalamaka (anvarthopamā-yukta).* In the sub-species of *upamā,* Bhaṭṭi illustrates *upamā* with *iva-avid-yatha* (in common with Bhamaha); and his *luptopama* and *taddhitopama* probably correspond to some extent to *samasopama* and u*pama-With-vat* mentioned by Bhāmaha; but Bhaṭṭi does not illustrate *prativastupyama* of Bhamaha nor does he refer, to *nindo*[0]*, prasamso*[0]*, acikhyaso*[0] and *mala*[0]*,* criticised by Bhāmaha but recognised by Daṇḍin[2]. At the same time, Bhutti's saho[0] and *sama*[0] have nothing directly corresponding to them in Bhāmaha.

It will be clear from this brief exposition that, leaving aside the sub-species, there is a general agreement between the treatments of Bhaṭṭi and Bhāmaha with regard to the independent poetic figures. It

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Bhaṭṭi x 2 is called *vikrānta* by Bharata and is known as *sandanta* in Rudrata. Similarly the *padonta* illustrated in x 3 is called °*amredita* in Bharata ; while *cakravala* of Bharata is different from the figure so named in Bhaṭṭi and seems to coincide with the *kanci* of the latter, while the *kanci* of Bharata is an altogether different sub-species It appears **that** names like *vrnta, mitkuna,* or *vipatha* cannot be traced in any of the existing works, but some of the kinds illustrated by Bhaṭṭi under these strange names may be found under different designations in other writers later than Bhaṭṭi. In naming these in Bhatti, Jayamangala is probably following a tradition or an authority entirely unknown to us.

1 mentioned in *Vugblsatalamkara* iv 66.

2 Bharata (xvi 49-50) mentions n*indo*[0] and p*rasamso*[0] while his *kalpito*[0] probably
kalpito[0] is **admitted** by V
defined in a different sense.

may be noted that Bhāmaha agrees with Bhatti in taking *ananvaya, sasamdeha, upamar-rupaka* and ut*preksavayava* as self-standing figures, while Dandin includes the first two in the sub-species of upama and the last two in those of *rupaka* and *utpreksa* respectively.[1] Bhāmaha also agrees with Bhatti in rejecting *prahelika, suksma* and *leva* ; but *vartta* and *hetu,* also similarly rejected by Bhāmaha, are admitted by Bhaṭṭi. Daṇḍin expressly recognises all these, excepting *vartta,* in place of which he probably admits the more comprehensive *svabhāvōkti,* which is disfavoured by Bhāmaha and not illustrated by Bhaṭṭi. The most material discrepancy with reference to independent figures occurs in the remarkable omission in Bhatti of *aprastuta-prasamsa* (which, like *svabhāvōkti,* is a recognised figure in later times) and in the occurrence of *nipuṇa* unknown in later literature. Coming to the sub-species, however, the discrepancies are more striking. Admitting that some of the fine differentiations, as in the case of Daṇḍin's inumerable sub-varieties of independent figures, may have been invented by the ingenuity of the author himself, this argument does not seem to apply very well to Bhaṭṭi, who was himself no theorist but only professed to illustrate the poetic figures popular in his time and presumably based his treatment on some standard treatise. The conclusion, therefore, is likely

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I Daṇḍin is followed in this view by all later writers, except Vāmana, who still regards these as independent figures. It seems therefore that Vamana VI. 3. 33 is a criticism of Dandin ii 359, and not *vice versa,* as Peterson supposes.

that Bhatti made use of a text unknown to Bhāmaha but not materially differing from Bhāmaha's own sources; and that the interval between these two authors did not witness much change in the discussion of poetic figures, except what is apparent in the simplification of the treatment of *yamaka* and *rupaka,* in the dropping of a figure like *nipuṇa* and adding an important figure or an important sub-figure like *aprastuta-prasaṁsa* - or *prativastuṗama* - respectively. The progress is not so remarkable as that indicated by the enormous stride made in the interval between Bharata, who mentions only four independent figures, and Bhatti ,who menṭions thirty-eight.[1]

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Mss. Oppert 3731 ; *Madras Cat.* 12920.

Commentary. The only known comm. is *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* by Udbhaṭa, which is now lost. See above p. 45.

1 Although the name Bhāmaha is not a common one in Sanskrit, it attaches itself (besides two verses in *Subkas,* 1644-1645 that are also found in our text ii 92, iii 21) to a commentator on Vararuci's *Prakrta-prakasa,* who is probably a different author. The *Kāmadhcnu* comm. on Vāmana also cites several verses from a treatise apparently on the *kalās* by Bhāmaha (p. 29, ed. Benares); but as our Bhāmaha, as **well** as his *Bhāmahaṁlaṃkaṙa* (p. 39), is also cited in several places in the same commentary, it is possible that these verses occurred in some lost chapter of his work where he mentioned **the** names of the *kalas (atra kalanam uddesaḥ kṛto bhamahena* preceding the verses cited).

IV DANDIN

(1)

The date of Daṇḍin is one of the most difficult problems in the chronology of Alaṃkāra literature. Auandavardhaua does not directly cite him, as he cites Bhāmaha, and the earliest mention of Daṇḍin's name occurs in Pratlhārenduraja (p. 26). Daṇḍin's own work gives us hardly any clue. His references to the *Brhatkatha* written in *bhutabhasa* (i 38), or to the *Setubandha* known to him in *māhārāṣṭrī* version (i 34) throw little light on the question; and no definite chronological conclusion is deducible from the verses ii 278-79, which express, under the form of the figure *preyas,* the supreme gratification of a certain king, Rājavarman (or Rātavarman), on the occasion of his obtaining the much-coveted beatific vision of his adored deity.[1] The solution

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I Rajavarman is conjectured by some (Rangacarya's preface p. 8 ; also Agashe's preface to *Dahakumura*^{o} ed B. S. S. pp. lvii f)to be Rajasiṃhavarman, otherwise known as Narasinihavannan 11 of Kanci (end of the 7th century), one of whose *birudas* (viz, *kalakala* which is also a name of Siva), Dandin is supposed to have alluded to in iii 50; while iii 25 is presumed to imply a pun referring to the royal token *(maha-varaha)* of Calukya Pulakesin I I. But the passage under discussion looks like a reference to a legendary rather than a contemporary prince; and, as Pischel suggested, the entire verse 278 may have been taken directly from a work referring to his story. Cf Jacobi *op. cit.* p, 214.

proposed to the *prahelika* in iii 114 (also cf iii 112) by Tarunavacaspati and other commentators that it refers to the Pallava kings of KSiicī[1] only supports the Tamil tradition that Daṇḍin was probably a South Indian author. The allusion to Daṇḍin i .1, again, in a verse attributed by Sārṅgadhara (no. 180) to Vijjā or Vijjakā (whose date is unknown but who is tentatively supposed by SOME to be Vijaya, wife of Candraditya and daughter-in-law of Pulakesin I I , about 659 A. D.)[2], implies merely a pleasant raillery at the expense of Daṇḍin by some later boastful poetess.

The only definite terminus to Daṇḍin's date is obtained from references in South Indian vernacular works on Alaṃkāra, belonging in all probability to the 9th century A.D., which cite him as an established authority. The Sinhalese treatise *Siya-bas-lakara*, which Barnett thinks cannot 'in any case be later than the 9th century A.D."[3], citss Dandin in v 2 as one of its authorities. The Kauarese work *Kavirājamārga,* attributed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Amoghavarṣa Nṛptuṅga (who flourished about the first half of the 9th century), gives six verses[4] which

1 The phrase *asta-varna* occurring in the *prahelika* is also found, as Mr. G. K. Śaṅkara points out in the Mamandur Inscription of Mahendravarman I. Premacandra on Dandin interprets *pundraka* instead of *pallava* in the verse, which fact indicates that it is capable of a different interpretation.

2 See Agashe *op. cit.* pp. lix f.

3 *JRAS*, 1905, p. 841. The work has been edited by Hendrick Jayatilaka, Colombo 1892.

4 viz., those defining *asndharanopama, asambhavopama, anusayaksepa, visesokti, hetu* and *atisayokti* respectively.

are exact translations of corresponding verses in Dandin. Pathak, in the introduction to bis edition of this work (p. 19), further adds that in ch. iii most of the verses " are either translations or adaptations from the *Kavyadarsa",* and that there are also convincing indications of Daṇḍin's " influence on other parts of the work " as well.

This will give us the 9th century as the lower limit to Daṇḍin's work, a conclusion which may also be established by showing that Daṇḍin was probably earlier than Vamana, who may be assigned to the beginning of the same period. We need not enter into this point in detail here, but there are several unmistakable indications which show that Vāmana's work betrays a further progress in the elaboration of some of the fundamental ideas which are dealt with by Daṇḍin. The stress which Daṇḍin puts on the theory of *riti* (which he calls *marga)* is carried to its furthest extreme by Vāmana, who elevates *riti* to the rank of the very essence of poetry. While Dajiḍin mentions two types of *marga,* Vāmana adds an intermediate third *riti;* and from Mammata ix 4 we learn that Vāmana was the first to suggest this three-fold division.[1] Again, while Bhamaha and Dandin apparently engage in a controversy over the classification of *kavya* into *katha* and *akhyayika,* Vāmana peremptorily brushes aside all discussion and

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I It is noteworthy also that Daṇḍin is unaware of the more or less technical term *riti,* made so familiar by Vāmana, but uses the almost synomymous expresston m*arga,* also used by Vāmana in I I I . 1..12.

refers the curious reader to the works of "others."[1] *Dandin* is also anxious to show, in the course of a long digression, that the word *iva* is indicative of *utpreksa* (which figure itself is admitted by Bhamaha only in deference to the views of Medhāvin[2]); but to Vamana (TV. 3. 9, *vrtti)* it is already an established fact. Such instances can be easily multiplied, but what is given here will be enough to indicate Dandin's priority to Vamana[3], and fix the lower limit of his

1 *yac ca kathakhyayika maha kavyam iti tallaksanam ca nativa hrdayangamam ityupeksitam asmabhih, tad anyto grāhyam,* on I. 3. 32.

2 ii 88.

3 It is supposed by Kielhorn (with whom Peterson in his pref. to *Dasakumara*^{o} agrees) that Dandin ii 51, in which some of the *upama-dosas* are justified, is directed against Vāmana IV. 2. 8f, implying thereby that Daṇḍin is later than Vāmana. But if we take the texts of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana together on this point, we can only make out the following facts. Bhāmaha, in accordance with the opinion of Medhavin, brings forward (ii 39-40) seven *upama-domsas viz.*, deficiency *(hinatva),* impossibility *(asambhava)* disparity of gender *(liṅga-bhcda),* disparity of number *(yacana-bheda),* contrariety *(viparyaya),* excess *(adhikatva)* and non-similitude *(asadrsya).* Dandin, tacitly assuming these, only remarks about two pairs of them (viz., disparity of gender and number, excess and deficiency) that they do not necessarily disturb comparison if they do not;wound the cultivated sensibility. In this he is substantially following Bhāmaha who says generally that the *upameya* cannot in every respect be similar to the *upamāna* (ii 43), a dictum which is implicitly accepted by post later writers, who define *upama* as *bhedabheda-pradhim upame.* Therefore, deficiency etc, become faults

date at the end of the 8th and the commencement of the 9th century[1].

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only when they disturb the sense of appreciation of the man of taste. Vāmana, on the other hand, mentions six *upatmī-dosas* instead of seven, including v*iparyaya* in *adhikatva* and *hinatva* (IV. 2. 11 *vyttt),* with the final pointed remark: *ata evasmakam mate sad donah.* It appears, therefore, that Dandin ii 51f is a link in the chain between Bhamaha ii 39f and Vāmaha IV. 2. 8f.

1 Pischel's argument (pref. to *Śrng. til.)* that Dandin is identical with the author of *Mṛcchakaṭika* on the ground that Daṇḍin ii 362 (ed. Bibl. Indica) occurs also in that drama (ed. N.S.P. 1916 i 34) lands us, apart from other objections, in the absurdity of identifying Daṇḍin with Bhāsa as well, inasmuch as the same verse is also found in the *Cārudatta* (i 19) and the *Bālacarita* (i 15). The attribution, again, of the same verse in Sarngadhara 3603 and Vallabhadeva 1890 to Bhartrmentha and Vikramaditya further discredits Pischel's theory. The occurrence of the verse in Daṇḍin ii 226 with an introductory *iti* (cf Premacandra's remarks on this point; only shows that Daṇḍin did not disdain to borrow well-known verses for purposes of illustration and criticism, as he himself admits in a general way in i 2. It should also be noted that in the Bibl. Indica ed. of the text, the verse is given twice (1) as a half-verse quotation in ii 226 and (2) in full in ii 362. But this reading, on which apparently Pischel's theory was based, is doubtful, and is contrary to readings in other MSS. In the Tibetan version of the text *(JRAS,* 1903), as well as in the Madras edition, the verse occurs only once as a half-verso quotation in ii 226, the full verse being omitted in the text and given in the latter only in the accompanying commentary. This reading is also apparently followed in B.S.S. ed. **of the text** which is in course of publication. Pischel is hardly **accurate in stating that Pratiharendu attributes this** verse to

(2)

The upper limit is not so easy to settle. Peterson, following Maheśacandra Nyāyaratna, points out[1] that Dandin ii 197 is a reminiscence of a passage in Bana's *Kadawbari* p. 102, 1. 16 (ed. B. S. S.), and Jacobi is inclined to accept this view. Bana lived about (506-647 A.D. in the reign of king Harṣa, whose biographer he was. Jacobi also points out a resemblance between Dandin ii 302 and Magha ii 4. Pathak, again, remarks[2] that Daṇḍin's three-fold classification of *karman* into *nirvartya, vikarya* and p*rapya* (ii 240) is taken from Bhartrhari's *Vakyapadiya* iii 45f. Bhartṛhari, according to I-tsing, died about 651 A.D. while Māgha probably belongs to the second half to the 7th century[3]. Thus Bāṇa, Bhartṛhari and Māgha probably all belong the same age and flourished in the first half or the middle of the 7th century.

Daṇḍin : for the commentator, in the course of his discussion on *utpreksa,* simply says that Dandin has already discussed at great length that the verse *limptiva* is an illustration of *utpreksa* containing *atisaya,* p. 26.

1 Pref. to *Dasakumara*[0], new ed. 1919, p. ix. Other such reminiscences are presumed in Dandin i 45 (= S*akuntala* i 20, ed. M. Williams; Cf. J*RAS,* 1905, p. 841f), ii 286 (= Raghu viii 57), ii 129 (= S*akuntala* i 26) etc. Tarunavācaspati is of opinion (on i 2) that Daṇḍin consulted the usage of poets like Kalidasa. See other parallel passages collected together by Agashe (preface to D*asakumara,*[o] pp, liv f).

2 *IA* xli p. 227

3 See Kielhorn in *GN,* 1906, heft ii. Cf Magha ii 83 where he shows himself fully conversant with Poetics.

These evidences, although suggestive, do not in their nature appear to be decisive ; and we are ultimately thrown upon the question of Daṇḍin's relation to Bhāmaha, which might support these evidences and with reference to which, indeed, the chronology of Dandin should be settled. If Bhamaha's priority to Daṇḍin can be definitely established, then we arrive with this at a more or less satisfactory limit to the date of the latter. The question is, no doubt, beset with many difficulties; but so far as a comparative study of their respective texts indicate the presumption is strong in favour of Bhāmaha's priority; because, while Daṇḍin criticises Bhāmaha's innovations, Bhamaha apparently never does so in case of Dandin's innovations which are indeed much more numerous. The, materials for such a critical study (apart from a consideration of their general theories) consist of several passages, occurring in their respective texts, which are either (1) identical or very similar in phraseology, or (2) so closely related to each other that the one author appears to be criticising the other. As the question has already engaged a great deal of controversy[1], which has thrashed out almost all the details, we will here discuss it very briefly.

As instances of the first group of passages, we may cite Bh ii 81 and D ii 214, Bh iii 52 and D iii

1 *IA*, 1912, p. 90; *ibid*, p. 232; *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 535 f., *ibid, p.* 545; *JRASBom* xxiii p. 19; Trivedi, introd. to *Pratapa-rudra*^{o} p. 32 ; Rapgacarya's pref. to *Kavyadarsa*; Anantacarya in *Brahmavadin* 1911 (also published as a pamphlet) ; Jacobi in the article cited, etc.

363, Bh iii 5 and D ii 276, Bh iii 8 and D ii 295, Bh iv 8 and D iv 5. The verbal coincidence, indicated by these passages, is so striking that there can be no doubt that it should be taken as something more than merely accidental. It does not, however, preclude the possibility of their being taken from a common source, or being standardised definitions common enough in such technical treatises.

The second group of passages, also betraying enough verbal similarity, is more interesting and important; because they certainly express contradictory views of their respective authors, if not actually meant as direct mutual criticism. In two of these passages, Bhamaha and Dandin are, each in his turn, rejecting an illustration which is adduced by the other, but both citing the illustration in question in exactly identical phraseology. Thus Bhamaha rejects (ii 87) the figure *hetu,* citing the illustration *gato stam arko bhatindur yanti vasaya paksinah,* characterising it as bad poetry, to which, he says, some writers give the name of *cartta.* Dandin does not mention v*artta,* but approvingly cites (ii 244) the same half-verse under the figure *hetu,* pointedly remarking that the illustration uuder discussion is good. Similarly, the half-verse *himapahamitra-dharair* is given as an instance of the fault *avacaka* by Bhamaha (i -Al), but Dandin gives the verse iu full in a differeut context (iii 120) as an example of a variety of *prahelika;* Bhamaha apparently condemning it as faulty, while Dandin taking it as a piece of ingenious construction. Taking the examples in their contexts as quoted from a common source, the passages apparently indicate

that Dandin is not in agreement with Bhamaha (who condemns these) but expressly justifies their propriety.

A closer contact of views and similarity of expression are to be found in those passages in this group, which relate to (1) the discussion of the comparative merits of the *gandiya* and *vaidarbha mārgas* (Bh i 31-35 and D i 40 f) (2) the distinction between prose *hathā* and *ākhyāyika* (Bh i 25f and D i 23f) and (3) the enumeration of the ten *doṣas* (Bh iv 1-2 and D iv 2-4) ; and those who maintain Dandin's priority to Bhamaha hold that in these cases the latter is undoubtedly criticising the former. In the first of these instances, Bhāmaha's remarks merely show that he is more or less indifferent to the literary value of *marga* or *riti* as modes of composition, and laughs at the distinction which some writers make between *gauda* and *vidarbha* types, himself giving preference, if any, to the former. In his opinion, as he says iu the next verse (i 36), what is important in poetry is not *rlti* but *vahrokti* It appears that the view which Bhāmaha is criticising was traditional or referred to as a matter of common controversy, as he himself says in this connexion : *gatanugatika-nyayan nanakhyeyam amedhascm.* Jacobi points out that the *gauda marga,* long before Dandin, could never establish for itself a good reputation, and Bana had already condemned it as *aksara-dambara (Harsa-carita* 1. 5. 7). Dandin, on the other hand, attaches great importance to *riti* in poetry, which under the name *marga,* occupies a considerable part of his treatment ; but he acknowledges, in spite

of his own distinguishing of two such extreme types as *gauda* and *vaidarbha,* that there are various other intermediate modes finely differentiated (i 40), and that the types admitted by him are not capable of exact definition (i 10If), although he himself prefers the *vaidarhha.* It may also be added that Bhāmaha is unaware of the peculiar analysis of *mārga* given by Dandin with reference to the ten essential *gunas,* but he mentions casually (and not in connexion with *riti)* only three *gunas* which may be admitted in all good composition. The respective characterisation, again, of the two *rltis* has hardly any point of contact, and Bhāmaha's remarks, if supposed to be levelled against Dandin in particular, are certainly off the mark ; for each of them approaches the subject from the standpoints of entirely different schools of opinion[1].

Similar remarks apply to the other two cases, in which one hardly finds any direct reference by Bhamaha to Dandin. Dandin does not accept as characteristic or essential those marks of distinction between a *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* which Bhāmaha enumerates, and apparently quotes in this connexion the half-verse i 29a from Bhāmaha i 27b. The distinction, denied by Dandin, is admitted, along with Bhāmaha, by earlier as well as later writers ; for Bana designates his *Harṣa-carita* as a *kathā* and his *Kadarribari* as an *akhyayika*[2], and some such distinction is also implied by the *Amarakoṣa.* With regard to the other passages which enumerata

1 This point will be discussed in detail below in Part II.
2 See Tarunavacaspati's remarks on Dandin i 25.

the *dosas,* it appears that Bhamaha, following the traditional recounting of ten orthodox *gunas* (cf Bharata xvi 84[1]), mentions the same number, but adds that pratijna-hetu-drstanta-hinatva is not desirable in poetry (iv 2). At the same time this eleventh defect is interesting to him from the standpoint of logical exposition, and he deals with it in v If, apparently considering that defective logic is also to be looked upon generally as a notable flaw in composition. Dandin enumerates the same ten *gunas* in exactly similar phraseology, and conservatively maintains the view that the so-called eleventh fault is difficult to judge and unprofitable to discuss[2].

1 The definitions, however, do not agree. See Jacobi *op. cit.* pp. 222 f.

2 Emphasis is also put on some verbal resemblance between Bh i 22 and D i 21-22. In these passages, however, the standpoints of the two theorists are quits distinct, although they use similar phrases. Bhamaha here expresses his disapproval of a disastrous ending, perhaps in conformity with a similar conventional prohibition in the drama. Dandin, on the other hand, takes the ultimate triumph of the hero for granted, and does not trouble himself about the admittedly forbidden tragic ending. He only means to express the view that it will be artistically more effective if the rival of the hero is set forth at the outset in all his glory and then his downfall is secured through the superior virtue of the hero himself. One does not also find any point in Bhāmaha ii 37-38, which criticises the classification of the figure *upama* into many sub-varieties (like nindo°, *prasamso°* and *acikhyaso°)* but which is taken by some to imply an attack on Dandin's elaborate sub-division of the same figure. The *tri-prakāratvam* cannot possibly refer

From the above discussion, the conclusion is very probable that Dagdin was familiar with the text of Bhamaha whom, as a notable predecessor expressing ṣontrary views, he could hardly ignore. On this point we have the almost unanimous testimony of Dandim's commentators[1], who expressly state that in most of these disputed passages Dandin controverts the earlier opinions of Bhāmaha. It will not be necessary, therefore, to enter into the details of their respective theories, which not only indicate some fundamental and important differences, as one should expect in writers belonging to two different schools of opinion, but also the fact that Daṇḍin, in dealing with most of the topics, has gone into greater details and finer distinctions, apparently betokening that in his age the study was more advanced and fraught with greater complexity than in that of Bhāmaha[2].

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to Daṇḍin, who mentions not three but thirty-two sub-varieties ; while *nindo°*, *prasamso°* etc. are also mentioned by Bharata.

1 e. g. Tarunavacaspati on i 23-24, 29 ; ii 235, 237, 358; iv 4 etc ; Harinātha on i 15 (cited in *ABod* 206b); Vādijaṅghāla on i 21.

2 see, for instance, their respective views on *riti, guna* and *dosa,* on *alamkara* (which .last element Dandin does not distinguish fundamentally from *gunas,* ii 3), on *vakrokti* (Bh ii 85 and D ii 362), their respective order of treatment of *alaṃkāras* (which Bhāmaha deals with in successive groups, while Daṇḍin's thirty-five independent poetic figures are given as if they are well recognised), Daṇḍin's minute and fine differentiation of infinite sub-species of individual figures, their respective treatment of *yamaka, upama, utpreksa,*

If this conclusion of Bhāmaha's probable priority is. accepted, then we get his date as the upper limit to that of Dandin, the lower limit being, as already discussed, the same as that of Bhāmaha, namely the date of Udbhaṭa's contemporary, Vāmana. Dandin, therefore, flourished probably in the beginning or in the first half of the 8th century.

(3)

There cannot be any doubt that Daṇḍin, like Bhāmaha, must have been indebted to his predecessors ; and if he does not mention any one of them by name, he gives enough evidence of his having utilised their works, including that of Bhamaha. Dandin, however, makes a general acknowledgement in i 2, and refers to the opinions of 'others" and of "learned men" (e. g. i 9, 10, ii 54) ; while he makes no secret of his having "observed" and probably borrowed his illustrations from earlier poets, to whom reference is made in i 30,100 ; ii f>5, 223, 225, 363, iv 7, 32, 42, 57[1]. The *Hrdayangama* commentary on i 2 mentions in particular two authors, named Kāśyapa and Vararuci, whose works Daṇḍin is supposed to have utilised. These may be mythical or tradítional names ; but Kaśyapa is also mentioned by another admirer of Darin's

ananvaya and *sasamdeha, upama-rupaka* and *utpreksavayava* (which last four Dandin does not accept as independent figures) etc. These points will be discussed in detail in the next volume.

x See this point discussed in Agashe *op. cit,* pp. liii f.

who composed the Sinhalese rhetorical work already referred to. One Kasyapa is cited by Panini in VIII.4.67, and a grammarian Kāśyapa, as Aufrecht notes, is quoted by Mādhava.

Pischel[1] has already negatived the suggestions of Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa[3], Peterson[3] and Jacobi[4] that Dandin in i 12 refers by the word *chando-viciti* to a treatise of his own, so named, on the subject of prosody. The word, however as indicated by Daṇḍin himself in the same verse, by his reference to it as *sā vidyā*, does not necessarily mean any particular treatise but the science of prosody in general ; for which, in addition to the references given by Pischel, one need only cite Rājaśekhara p. 6 and Hemacandra, Comm. p. 5. In iv 49, again, Dandin refers to a *kala-pariccheda*, which Peterson takes to be a clear reference to another work of Dandin's ; but it is more likely that this was an additional or supplementary chapter to his *Kavyadarsa*, as Tarunavacaspati suggests (p. 281!). It is noteworthy that the *Kamadhenu* commentary on Vāmana similarly quotes from a lost work or chapter of Bhamaha's on the k*alas*[5]

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON DAṆḌIN

The commentaries ou Daṇḍin, as the following Bibliography will show, are numerous. Most of

1 Pref. to *Srng. til.* p. 14 f. 2 On Dandin i 12.
3 In trod to *Daṁkumāra* p. ix-x 4 *Ind. Stud,* xvii p. 44.
5 See above p. 57 footnote.

these are comparatively modern, excepting perhaps that of Taruṇavācaspati as well as the anonymous commentary called *Hrdayangama,* both printed in the Madras edition. With this exception, they are hardly useful for a historical or critical study of Daṇḍin.

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Editions, (1) Bibl. Ind. 1863, by Premacandra Tarkavagisa, reprinted by Bhavadeva Caṭṭopādyāya, Calcutta 1881 (2) by Jivauanda Vidyasagara 1882 etc (3) edited and translated by Böhtlingk, Leipzig 1890 (4) with two comms. (one of Taruṇavācaspati and the other entitled Hṛdayaṅgama) by Raṅgācārya, Madras 1910 (5) by S.K. Belvalkar and Raṅgācārya B. Raddi with Sansk. comm. and English notes in B.S.S. (in course of publication : pt i (1919) and pt. ii first half (1920), already published). Our references are to the Madras edition unless otherwise indicated : this edition divides the work into four chapters instead of three.

MSS. Aufrecht i 102b, 779a, ii 20a, 193b, iii 22b; *SCC* vii 20, 22, 33.; *KBod* 485, 486; *Madras Cat.* 12830-33.

Commentaries. (1) by Taruṇavācaspati, *Madras Cat.* 12834 (printed in Madras ed). It appears to be an old comm. It does not refer, as other comms. mostly written in comparatively recent times do, to *very* late authors. But as it cites (on i 40) Bhoja ii 28, as well *Dasarupaka* i 8 (in comm. on i 31), it cannot be placed very early. This commentary (on i 30) also refers to a poet Hastimall who may be the Jaina poet Hastimallasena whose dramas and poems are mentioned in Oppert.

(2) *Hrdayangama* by an anonymous author. *Madras Cat.* 12833 (printed in the same).

(3) °*Mārjana*° by Harināṭha, son of Viśvadhara. *ABod* 206b ; Peterson vi p. 30 (extract). Hārināṭha also wrote a comm. on Bhoja's *Sarasvati-k*°. He must be later than Kesava Miśra whose work on Alaṃkāra he cites.

(4) °*Muktavatl* by Narasimha-suri, son of Gadādhara and grandson of Kṛṣṇa-śarman. Mitra 2394 (Aufrecht i 102b).

(5) °*Candrika* by Trisaranatatabhima. Mentioned in Hall's *Index* p. 63.

(6) *Rasika-rafijarîi* by Visvanatha. Oppert 4112 (Aufrecht i 103a).

(7) °*Vivrti* or *Kavya-tattva-viveka-kaumudi* by Krsnakimkara Tarkavagisa Bhattacarya of Gopālapura in Bengal. *IOC* 1497.

(8) Comm. by Vādijaṅghāla (or °ghaṅghāla). Stein pp. 61, xxviii, extract no 1179). The *Report of Peripatetic Party of Madras MSS Lib. 1917-19* mentions a recent acquisition of this comm. for the Library.

(9) Comm. by Bhagiratha. Aufrect i 102b.

(10) Comm. by Vijayānanda. Aufrecht i 102b,

(11) *Vaimalya-vidhayini* by Mallinatha, son of Jagannātha. Aufrecht ii 20a. This is perhaps the same Mallināṭha as is referred to by Viśveśvara in *Alamkaus*°, p. 69 as a commentator on *Kayyadarsa ;* and he should be distinguised from the better known Kolacala Mallinatha.

(12) Comm. (incomplete) by Tribhuvancandra, otherwise called Vadisimha, a Jaina. H*PS* iii, no. 57.

(13) anonymous comms. in Mitra 297, Oppert 7903 ; *SCC* vii 21. A comm by Dharmavacaspati

in Oppert 2581 is probably a mistake for Tarunavacaspati. Regnaud *(Rhetorique,* p. 367 fn) also mentions a commentary by Vācaspati and refers to Taylor ii 501: which probably refers also to this commentary.

V UDBHATA

(1)

Udbhata, who wrote a commentary on Bhāmaha as well as utilised the latter's work in his *Kavyalamkara-saṃgraha*, certainly lived before the final exposition of the *dhva*wi-theory by Anandavardhana[1] who, in the middle of the 9th century, actually cites Bhaṭṭa Udbhata twice at pp. 96, 108. Udbhaṭa's name indicates that he was probably a Kashmirian. Kalha^a (iv 495) mentions a certain Bhaṭṭa Udbhata who was a *sabhāpati* of king Jayāpl4a of Kashmir (about 779-813 A.D.) ; and Buhler,[2] to whom we owe the discovery of Udbhata's work in Kashmir, identifies him with the author of the *Kavyalamkara-samgraha*, Accepting this identification, we should, however, place the most flourishing period of Udbhata's activity, as Jacobi points out, in the first part of Jayapida's rather long reign; because this sovereign in the latter part of his career appears to have alienated the Brahmans by his oppression of the people. Udbhata, therefore, should be assigned to the end of the 8th century, and he may have lived into the beginning of the 9th.

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1 Cf the opinions of Pratlharenduraja (p. 79, l.18f), Ruyyaka and Jayaratha (p. 3) and Jagannātha (pp. 414-5).

2 *Kashmir Rep*, p, 65.

Besides a lost *Bhamaha-vivarana,* Pratiharendu tells us (p. 15) that Udbhaṭa wrote a poem, called *Kumara-sambhava,* from which are taken most of the illustrations in the text.

(2)

MUKULA AND PRATĪHĀRENDTURAJA.

Pratiharenduraja Udbhata's commetator, was, as he himself tells us, a native of Konkana and a pupil of Mukula. Mukula is known to us as the author of *Athidha-vrtti-matrka,* a work on the granrmatico-rhetorieal question a*bhidha.* From the last verse of this work we learn that the author's father was Bhaṭta Kallaṭa who lived, according to Kalhaṇa v 66, in the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-884 A.D.)[1], and was therefore a contemporary of Ratnākara and Ānandavardhana. Accepting Kalhana's statement, Mukula should be placed roughly towards the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th. His pupil Pratiharenduraja, therefore, belongs approximately to the first half of the 10th century.[2] In his commentary on Udbhata, called °*Laghuvrtti,* Pratiharendu quotes from Bhamaha, Dandin, Vamana, the *Dhvanyaloka* and Rudrata, actually naming the first three, and appears to be fairly familiar with the *dhvani-theory,* as explained by Ānandavardhana, to which, however, he does not subscribe.

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1 Buhler *op. cit.* pp. *66,* 78.

2 Cf Pischel, Pref. to *Śrng,tol* p. 12.

Peterson appears to suggest[1] the identification of Pratiharenduraja with Bhattenduraja, . whom Abhinavagupta refers to as *asmad-upādhyāya* in his *Locana* (pp. 25, 43, 116, 207, 213) as well as in his commentary on Bharata, where this teacher is quoted sometimes simply as *upādhyāya.* At the commencement and close of his *Locana*[2], Abhinavagupta indicates his immense indebtedness to this teacher, and in one place (p. 160),'we find in his praise the somewhat grandiloquent epithet *vidvat-kavi-sahrdaya-cakravartin*; which together with the fact that Abhinava also indicates that he learnt kav*ya* from Bhattenduraja will go to support the conjecture that this preceptor was apparently well-versed in both the theory and practice of poetry. Although chronology does not stand in the way, there are several reasons which might induce one to distinguish the two Indurājas. From Abhinava's commentary on the *Bhagavadgita*[3], we learn that Bhatteudu was the son of Sribhutiraja and grandson of Saucuka of the Kātyāyana-gotra; but of Pratihārendu's genealogy or personal history we know nothing, except that he was a Kaunkana and a pupil of Mukula[4]. Bhaṭṭendu appears chiefly

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[1] Introd. to *Subhas*[0], p. 11 ; but *contra* in Aufrecht i 59a.

2 ed. Kāvyamālā p. 1 ; and ch. iv (p. 42) in the *Journal of the Dept of Letters,* Calcutta University, 1923.

3 Bühler *op cit.* pp. 80 and cxlvii-viii.

4 It is curious that Abhinava, who takes care to refer to most of his teachers and " teacher of teachers " *(parama-guru),* should have omitted a reference to Mukula, whose work, if he was a *parama-guru,* should have been important

as a poet, who wrote, as Abhinava's quotations show, in Sanskṛit and Prakrit, and whose verses apparently supplied a ready source of apt poetic illustrations to his pupil's works, probably inspired by himself. If some of his opinions on *rasa* and allied topics are quoted by Abhinava in his commentary on Bharata, they bear no kinship to Pratiharendu's views, as expressed in the latter's commentary on Udbhata. Although the prefixes Bhaṭṭa and Prathlhāra, being mere honorific titles, need not make any serious difference, Abhinava's citation of his teacher always as Bhattenduraja (and never as Pratiharenduraja) is somewhat remarkable ; and in view of the fact that these two Indurājas were probably contemporaries, might this not indicate that Abhinava meant to imply a difference ? The two writers are never confused even in later anthologies, for the poet is always designated as Induraja or Bhaṭṭendurāja, The conjecture, therefore, is not unlikely that Abhinava's teacher may have been the poet Bhaṭṭendurāja, who is quoted under this designation in Ksemendra's two works[1] as well as in the poetical anthologies[2] of Sarngadhara, Vallabhadeva and

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to him, inasmuch as it is deals with the quasi-rhetorical question of the functions of word and its sense.

1 *Aucit vic.* under s/. 20, 31 ; *Suvrtta-til*^{o} under s/. 2, 24, 29, 30-

2 The verse *pardrthe vah pidam,* ascribed to Induraja in the *Paddkati* of Śārṅgadhara (1052) is quoted anonymously twice by Anandavardhana (pp. 53, 218). a fact which, however, is not decisive; because Abhinava's commentary is

Jalhana, The commentator Pratiharenduraja, *on* the other hand, was never known for his poetical pretensions, and was chiefly a writer on Poetics, who obviously belonged in his views to the older system of Udbhata, and did not, like Abhiitava, believe in the newly established doctrine of *dhvani,* with which, however, he appears to be fully conversant. Referring to this new theory of Anandavardhana, Pratiharendu states in one place (p. 79) that what is known as *dhvani* and taken to be "the soul" of Poesy by some thinkers is included implicitly by his author Udbhaṭa, in the treatment of some of the poetic figures under discussion, and therefore need not be separately considered. The standpoints of Pratlhārendurāja and Abhinava are so divergent that it is difficult to admit any spiritual relationship between the two ; for the former was in no way an adherent of the *dhvani* -theory, of which Abhinava was a recognised advocate.

BIBILOGRAHPY

Udbhaṭa

Editions, (1) Text ed. by Jacob in *JRAS,* 1897, PP. 829-53; (2) Text with Pratlhārendurāja's comm. by M. R. Telang, N. S. P. 1915 (this edition is useful for its comm., but some verses occurring

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silent as to the authorship of this verse, which occurs in *Bhallaṭa-śataka* 56 and is ascribed to another poet Yaśas in the *Subhas*° 947. The *Sadukti-karnamyta* attributes it to Vakpati, while Hemacandra (Comm. p. 257) and Jayaratha (p. 108)cite it anonymously.

in the comm, are given mistakenly as *kārikā*-verses) (3) by Banahatti, announced in B. S. S. Our references are to Telang's edition, unless otherwise indicated.

MSS. Aufrecht i 66b.

Mukula

Edition. By M. R. Telang N. S. P. 1916.

MSS. Aufrecht i 24b, ii 5a ; *WBod* 1164.

Pratiharenduraja

Edition. With the text of Udbhafca in N. S. P. 19_

MSS. Aufrecht i 59a.

VI VAMANA

(1)

The upper limit to Vāmana's date is given by his own quotation (IV.3.6 *vrtti)* from the *Uttara-rāmarcarita* (i 38) of Bhavabhūti, who is known to have flourished under the patronage of Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, in the first quarter of the 8th century[1]. The lower limit is given by Rajasekhara's quotation (p. 14) from Vāmana 1.2.1-3, and his reference to the Vāmanīyas, which indicates that by the end of the 9th century Vāmana had a respectable number of followers going by his name. We learn also from Abhinavagupta *(Locana,* p. 37) that Vāmana was probably known, in the middle of the 9th century, to Ānandavardhana who, however, never directly cites Vāmana but seems to refer, in a manner not to be mistaken, to the latter's riti-theory in his *vrtti* on iii 52. Like Bhamaha, Dandin and Udbhata, Vāmana probably lived before the *dhvani-theory,* under Ānandavardhana, came into prominence; apd Pratihārenduraja, who professes a great reverence for Vamana's views, expressly states (p. 81), while discussing *alamkara-dhvani,* that in such cases Vamana

1 *Raja-tarang*^{0} iv 144. Bhandarkar, pref. to *Malati-madhava* pp. xiiif; S. P. Pandit in pref. to *Gaudavaho* p. Ixviif; *WZKM ii 332f.* Vamana also quotes Subandhu and Bana fed. Cappeller pp. 38, 68).

has employed the term *vakrokti* (IV.3.8) [1] We will not be wrong, therefore, if we fix the lower limit of Vamana's date at the middle of the 9th century[2].

These considerations make it probable that Vamana lived between the middle of the 8th and the middle of the 9th century, and justify Buhler's identification, in deference to Kalhana iv 497 and " the tradition of Kasmirian Pandits", of our Vamana with the Vamana, who was a minister of Jayapida of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.). This conclusion makes Udbhata and Vāmana contemporaries and rivals ; and the way in which Rājaśekhara, Hemacandra and Jayaratha refer to the two rival schools of Vamaniyas and Audbhatas lends colour to such a supposition.

The *vrtti* on the *sūtras,* called *kavi-priya,* is composed, as its *maṅgala-śloka* indicates, by Vāmana himself (cf IV. 3. 33).

(2)

It has already been noted that Vāmana, in many

1 Even supposing with Jacobi that Vamana was contemporaneous with the anonymous Dhvanikāra, he cannot yet be shown to have been influenced in any way by the opinions of that school. The remarks of Ruyyaka (p. 7) and Jayaratha apparently support the trend of Pratiharenduraja's opinion, and Jayaratha expressly says, with reference to these old writers, that they were unaware of the views of the Dhvanikara *(dhvanikara-tnatant ebhir na drstam,* p. 3), Dhvanikāra being, in Jayaratha's opinion, the same as Ānandavardhana himself.

2 Cappeller's thesis propounded (in *Vamana's Stilregeln* pp. iiif; also pref. to his ed. pp viif) that Vāmana should be

respects, attempts to improve upon the system of Dandin. Vamana does not claim entire originality with regard to the illustrations he cites, and many of them may be traced to well-known sources. The rīti-theory itself, which Vāmana for the first time clearly aud systematically enunciates, is probably older that Bhāmaha, who alludes to the classification of the *gaudi* and *vaidarbhi;* and Vamana himself cites from unknown expositors of the past, e.g. in his *vrtti* on L 2. 11, 12-13, 3. 15, 29, 32; IL 1. 18, 2. 19 ; I I I . 1. 2, 9, 25, 2. 15; IV. 1. 7 etc., with *atra ślokaḥ* or *tatha cahuh.* While Dandin supplies an important link between these unknown authors and Vāmana, we find the theory in its completely self-conscious form in the latter. But it appears to have languished after Ānandavardhana came into the field, in spite of the fact that Vamana's influence apparently created a school known in later times as the Vamaniya. To this school probably belonged Maṅgala, who must have been a comparatively early Writer, being cited by Rājaśekhara (pp. 11, 14, 16, 20). Maṅgala, we are told by Hemacandra (Comra. p. 195), agrees with Bharata in his definition of *eyas,* and maintains with Vamana that Dandin is not right in emphasising it in the *gaudi riti,* inasmuch as it is common to all the *ritis.* This is all we hear about this writer, but all these indicate that in his opinions he leaned

placed later than 1000 A.D. is disproved entirely by the quotations given above. Cf Pischel *op. cit.* pp. 23f. The mention of Kavirāja need not, as Pischel shows, of itself place Vāmana as late as 1000 A.D.

towards the system of Vamana. A poet Mangala is quoted in the *SaduAti-karṇdmrta.*

(3)

THE COMMENTATORS ON VĀMANA

The existing commentaries on Vāmana are mostly late, and are therefore hardly acceptable to a historical and critical student. The *Kamadhenu* by a South Indian prince, Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla, is a lucid exposition of the text, and its popularity is indicated by its frequent publication in India.

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MSS, Aufrecht i 103a, 779a, ii 20b ; iii 22b ; *HPS* ii 28 (Kāvipriya entered here is apparently the vṛtti so named); *SCC* vii 24; *KBod* 487; *Madras Cat* 12837-12845.

Commentaries, (1) *Kāmadhenu* by Gopendra (or Govinda) Tripurahara (Tippa) Bhupala, apparently a South Indian prince. He cites, among numerous other authors, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha, Bhafta Gopāla (the commentator on Mam-

maṭa ?), Ghaṇṭāpatha (apparently of Mallināṭha) and Dharmadāsa Sūri's *Vidagdha-mukha-ṭnaṇḍana.* He is thus later than the 14th century. He cites a work called *Kavi-gajahkusa,* Ed. with the text in Grantha-pradarśinI 1895 ; in the Ben. S. S. and in the Srivani-vilasa Press. Our references are by pages to the Benares Ed. MSS: Aufrecht i 103a, ît 22b; *Madras Cat* 12842-45.

(2) *Sāhitya-sarvasva* by Maheśvara (*IOC* 566, *ABod* 207b). See under Śrlvatsalāñchana (under Commentators on Mammaṭa below).

VII RUDRATA AND RUDRABHATTA

(1)

The lower limit of Rudrata's date is furnished by the citation of Rudrata and the reference to his *kahu-vakrokti* figure (ii 16) by Rajasekhara (p. 31) at the end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th century. This conclusion is supported by two considerations. Vallabhadeva who, as we shall presently see, flourished in the first half of the 10th century, mentions twice in his commentary on Magha (on iv 21 and vi 28) that he also composed a commentary on Rudraṭa's treatise on Alaṃkāra, where he had discussed in detail the points in question; while in the same commentary Hultzsch notes numerous references, mostly anonymous, to Rudrata (ii 44,88 ; viii 26,37; ix 6; x 38; xii 55; xiii 40)*. Again, Pratiharenduraja, about the same time, quotes anonymously (pp 42, 49) Rudrata's karika-verses vii 35 and xii 4, as well as cites (p. 43) the illustrative stanza in Rudrata vii 36[2]. This sets aside altogether the conjectural date, viz, the second half of the 11th century, assigned by Bühler[3], as well as his revised

1 See Hultzsch's pref. to his edition of *Meghaduta* with Vallabha's comm., London 1911, p. x-xi. This Vallabhadeva must be distinguished from the compiler of the *Subhaf* who bears the same name.

2 Cf Pischel in *GgA*, 1885, p. 764.

3 *Kashmir Rep*, p. 67,

date[1], viz, the middle of the 10th century, which Peterson[3] first put forward.

The upper limit cannot be so definitely settled; but it seems probable that Rudrata was younger than Bhamaha, Dandin and Vamana, with regard to whose date his own time to be settled. We need not go so far as to hold with Jacobi[3] that Rudrata derived his idea of *vakrokti* from Ratnakara's well-known poem *Vakrokti-pancasika,* and therefore was later than Ratnākara, son of Amṛtabhānu, who lived under Bṛhaspati and Avantivarman ; but it is clear that if this new idea of *vakrdkti* did not originate in Ratnākara or even in Rudrata, it was defined for the first time by the latter and illustrated by the former as a particular poetic figure. This verbal figure is described as resting on *slesa* (paronomasia) and *kaku* (intonation) and is based on a deliberate misunderstanding of one's words for the purpose of making a clever retort (Rudrata ii 14-17). Bhāmaha (ii 85), on the other hand, had taken *vakrokti,* not as a particular poetic figure, but as a certain strikingness of expression which characterises all poetic figures; while Dandin had limited the range of *vakrokti* and made it a collective name for all poetic figures with the exception of *svabhavokti* (ii 362 and comm. thereon). Vamana

1 *IA* xii 30.

2 Peterson, i p. 14; also introd. to *Subhas$_0$* p. 105. Their arguments are based on the date of Nami-sādhu's commentary on Rudraṭa, which is now known to be dated .in 1069 A.D. See below on Nami-sādhu.

3 *WZKM\\i$ii.*

was the first to regard *vakrokti* as a special poetic figure *(arthalamkara),* but he too used the expression in a more or leap general sense to denote a particular mode of metaphorical expression based on *laksana,* or transferred sense (IV. 3. 8)[1], From this it appears that (1) the term va*krokti* travelled through all these writings from a very broad sense as the distinguishing characteristic of all poetic figures to the precise and narrow signification of a specific verbal poetic figure in Rudrata's definition ; a definition which, however, unquestionably established itself in all later writers (except in Kuntala who developed his idea directly from Bhamaha) ; (2) the order of development points apparently to the conclusion that Rudrata was probably later than Bhamaha, Dandin and Vamana; for in his time the broader and older connotation of *vakrakti* was out of date, and it came to be looked upon as a defined species of *sabdalamkara* ; and (3) its illustration by Ratnakara indicates its existence, independently of Rudrata, in the. 9th century A.D. These indications make it probable, apart from a detailed examination of Rudrata's other theories in relation to those of Bhamaha, Dandin and Vamana, that the substance of Rudrata's teaching was probably later than that of these older writers. If this conclusion is accepted, then Rudrata should be placed after Vamana, who is the latest member of this group ; and this gives us the upper limit to his date.

It seems probable, therefore, that Rudrata should be placed between the first quarter of the 9th century

1 Cf Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxiv.

and its end; and it will not be wrong if we accept the most plausible date assigned to him by Pischel[1], viz., the middle of the 9th century[2]. This date makes him a contemporary of Ānandavardhana, who never cites or refers to Rudraṭa, as he does to other well-known predecessors, and by whom this peculiar *alamkarika* connotation of *vakrokti,* if known, was not apparently recognised.

(2)

What is said here about Rudraṭa does not apply to Rudra or Rudrabhatta, although Pischel[3], Weber[4], Aufrecht[5] and Buhler[6] take the two authors to be identical. This identity is declared doubtful by Peterson[7] and is not admitted by Durgāprasāda[8] and

1 Pref. to *Śṛng til,* pp. 12, 26.

2 The suggestion of Jacobi that Rudraṭa, whose name implies that he was a Kashmirian, was a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir, successor of Avantivarman, does not make any essential difference to our conclusion, although it is not certain that the example of *vakrbkti,* given by Rudraṭa in ii 15 was at all prompted by Ratnākara, whose work contains similar railleries between Śiva and Gauri.

3 Pref. to *Ṣṛṅg- til.*; *ZDMG* xlii, pp. 296-304, 435.

4 *Ind. Stud.* xvi.

5 *ZDMG* xxvii pp. 80-1, xxxvi p. 376; *Cat. Bod.* 209b; *Cat. Cat.* pp. 528b, 530a.

6 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 67.

7 *Rep,* i p. 14; pref. to *Subhas*° pp. 104-5 ; but *contra* in ii 19 footnote.

8 Footnote to the ed. of *Ṣṛṅg.til.* p. 1.

Trivedl[1]. Finally, Jacobi has set at rest this controversy by showing elaborately, from an examination of their respective texts, that these two writers were in all probability different persons[2].

From v 15 of the *Kavyalamkara* of Rudrata, as interpreted by Nami-sadhu, it appears that Rudrata, also called Satānanda, was the sun of Bhatta Vāmukha and a follower of the Sāma-veda. Rudrabhatta's genealogy or personal history is unknown. But much has been made of the apparent similarity of the two names. The last verse of the S*rngara-tilaka,* however, expressly gives the name of its author as Rudra, with which description most of the MSS agree[3]; while both Nami-sādhu and Vallabha call the author of the *Kavyalamkara* by the name of Rudrata. They belong, again, apprently to two different religious persuasions, Rudra being a worshipper of Siva, and Rudrata omitting a reference to this

1 Notes to his ed. of *Ekavali* p. 3.

2 *WZKM* ii pp. 151-56; *ZDMG* xlii pp. 425f.

3 With the curious exception of a Kashmirian MS in Śāradā character (Bühler's *Kashmir Rep.* no. 264) where the name in given as Rudraṭa. This unique testimony raises a legitimate suspicion, but it can be explained as a piece of not unnatural confusion made by a Kashmirian scribe, to whom the more famous name of Rudrata must have been more familiar. The same remark applies to the South Indian MS in *Madras Cat.* 12955, in which, however, thes last verse gives the name as Rudra. This evidence, however, of the colophons of MSS is not decisive 5 and it is well known the that even later anthologies and writers of note make a similar confusion between the two authors.

deity and mentioning instead Bhavāni and Murāri (besides the usual Ganesa).

Taking the works themselves, Rudrata's text covers a much larger ground than Rudra's, and presents a distinctly different outlook. Rudrata puts a greater emphasis on the k*avyalamkaras* or poetic figures, which supply, as Nami-sadhu points out, the name of the work itself, and which absorb its eleven chapt ers, leaving only four concluding chapters for a brief supplementary treatment of *rasa,* the cognate topic of *nayaka-nayika* and the general problems of poetry. The key-stone of Rudra's system, on the other hand, is the idea of *rasa,* having special reference to srn*gara,* with just a summary description of the other *rasas* ; and the chief value of his work consists in his minute poetical treatment of the theme of srngara-rasa and *nayaka-nayika.* It will appear, therefore, that while Rudrata's scope and method are more ambitiously theoretical and comprehensive, Rudrabhatta merely singles out a part of the whole subject, and not troubling himself about definitions and rules (which appear almost word for word as in Rudrata) gives us, in his apt and finely composed illustrative verses, a practical poetical manual on the subject of love and other sentiments. Jacobi, therefore, rightly remarks that "Rudrata appears as an original teacher of poetics, while Rudra, at his best an original poet, follows, as an expounder of his *sastra,* the common herd."

With regard to the common topics, there is, however, a general agreement, even to minute details, which has misled some scholars to attribute the two

works to the same author. But beneath this general agreement, the two works reveal many points of difference which affect some of the f ndamental conceptions of their respective authors. Taking, for instance, their treatment of *rasa,* we find that while Rudra (i 9) follows the general tradition, prevailing from Udbhaṭa's time, of mentioning nine *rasas,* Rudrata adds one more, viz. *preyas* (xii 3), treating them in an order somewhat different from that followed by Rudra. Rudra enumerates and discusses at some length the *bhavas* (i 10-16), which are summarily referred to by Rudraṭa in one verse only (xii 4). A similar difference will be noted in the treatment of *vrttis,* of which Rudra (i 12) mentions, after Bharata (xx 24f), the usual four (viz. *kaisiki, arabhati, sattvati* and *bharatt),* originally taken as styles of' dramatic .composition but borrowed here apparently with a similar purpose from dramaturgy to poetry (cf Bharata l*oc. cit* 21). Rudrata, on the other hand, speaks (ii lOf), after Udbhata,[1] of five *vttis* (viz. *madhura, prandha, parusa, lalita* and *bhadra?))* which have nothing to do with the above four, but being comprised under alliteration *(anu prasa)* refer primarily to suitable sound-adjustment by special arrangement of letters. With regard to the cognate topic of *nayaka-nmjika,* similar maṭerial discrepancies can be detected. While Rudra describes at some length the eight conventional *avastheas*

1 Udbhata mentions only three *vrttis* in connexion with *anuprasa,* viz. *parusa, upanagarikri* and *gramya* (i 4-7).

(conditions or situations) of the *nayika* (i 131-32), Rudrata really mentions four (viz., *abhisarika, khandita, svadhina-patika* and *prosita-patika, xii* **41f),** although to make up for this unwonted divergence there is in some MSS a long passage (between xii 40 and 41), describing the usual eight conditions but irreconcilable to its context, and rightly stigmatised by its editor as interpolated. The third class of heroine, again, viz., the courteszan *(vesya)* appears to be favoured by Rudra (i 120-30), while Rudrata dismisses her in two verses only (xii 39-40) with an apparent note of condemnation. The tenfold state of a lover, beginning with desire and ending in death, is mentioned in passing by Rudrata (xiv 4-5), but Rudra defines and illustrates each of these states in detail (ii 6-30). While the trespasses in love, according to Rudra (ii 53), depend on time *(kala),* place *(desa)* and circumstances *(prasanga* Rudrata thinks (xiv 18) that a fourth condition, viz., the person concerned *(patra)* should be added.

All these indications make it highly probable that Rudrata and Rudra were two different persons; but if this is so, how are we to explain the fact that most of the verses in the *Srngara-tilaka* are, but for their difference in metre *(anustup* and *arya* respectively) identical almost word for word with the corresponding verses in the *Kavydlanikara*? This point has been emphasised with some plausibility by the advocates of the identity of the two writers. But it should be noticed that this extraordinary verbal coincidence does not extend beyond those verses which give the rules and definitions; for the illustrative stanzas in the S*rngara-*

tilaka, composed in a variety of metres, and forming a distinctive feature of this more poetical work, do not occur in the *Kavyalamkara* at all It is not unusual to find similar treatment and terminology in technical treatises, abounding in standardised and conventional rules and definitions; but this is not enough to explain this extraordinary plagiarism, tempered, it is true, by the presence of highly poetical and presumably original[1] stanzas composed to illustrate these dry rules and definitions. Nor is the explanation, which is based on the supposed identity of the two writers, at all free from considerable doubt in view of the discrepancies noted above. The real explanation probably lies in the supposition that Rudra, apparently a later writer and chiefly a poet, and never pretending to be an original teacher of Poetics, found in these ready-made rules of lludrata enough poetic possibilities, as well as an opportunity of displaying his own poetic powers, and proceeded forthwith to furnish the missing poetic illustrations.[9] As

1 Some stpnzas in the *Srng til.* are taken from earlier works like the *Amaru-sataka,*

2 These chapters in Rudrata are purely expository, and are not fully illustrated as the preceding chapters are. One may be led to suppose that Rudrata himself composed the *Srngara-tilaka* to supply this deficiency, but this hypothesis does not sufficiently explain the divergence of views on the points noted above, which apparently indicates that the task of supplementing could not have been undertaken by himself but by some other author, who held some views different from his own. It cannot be argued that chapters xii-xvi in question, which contain this deficiency, is a later

he did not apparently aspire to write an original thesis on the topics concerned, he did not trouble to alter the wording of the fixed canons and made only enough changes to suit the metre. While Rudrata is concerned directly with rules and prescriptions, Rudra is more practical in his object and treatment, and intends his treatise on love apparently to serve as a psychologico-poetical guide to the gay science, furnishing it, as he does, with and elaborate analysis of the various moods and sentiments, which belong to the province of Erotics as well Poetics[1].

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verse of ch. xi reads like the end of the work itself; for a similar remark applies to the closing verses of chapters iii, iv and v.

i The quotations from these two writers in later literature are unfortunately mostly anonymous, and do not materially help us in this question. Among the very few cases where the author's name is cited along with his verses, Mammata, himself a Kashmirian, correctly refers *(ad* ix 8a) the verse *sphutam arthalamkaram* to Rudrata (iv 32). Samudrabandha (p. 6) and Hemacandra (p. 286 Comm,) refers rightly to Rudrata vii 38-40 and vii 27 respectively. Ruyyka, which discussing Rudraţa's views, does not refer to his treatment of the *rasas* at all. On the other hand, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa (p. 35) cites *vāmatā durlabhatvam* from *ŚṛṅgrātiU* (ii 41), and correctly refers to the author as Rudra, Vallabhadeva in his anthology cites a number of verses from the *Kavyalamkara* (421 - i i 17; 730 = iii 57; i387 = vi 10; 1667 = ''11 30; 2047 = vii 71 J 2061 = vii 33; 2234 = vii 41; 2409 = vii 32), and with two exceptions,. gives the name of the author correctly as Rudrata* Similarly &ārïigadhara quotes eight verse from the *Śṅigāra-til.* (3409 = 195; 3567= i 35 5 3568 = i 81; 3670=11' 107 ;3S78«iir2; 3579=11'SP; 3675= i 51 ; 3754- i 30), and with two exceptions, agaltt,

(3)

Rudrabhatta's date is uncertain; but as Hemacandra (p. 110) is the oldest writer to quote and criticise his *mangala-verse* (i 1), we should place him between Rudraṭa and Hemacandra, i. e. later than the 9th century but earlier, probably not much earlier, than the 12th. One verse, however, of l!udra, which cannot be traced in his *Srngara-tilaka,* is quoted by Dhanika (iv 60, ed. N. S. P. 1917, p. 103) ; and if this Rudra is the same as our author, he should be placed before the end of the 10th century.[1]

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON RUDRATA

V A L L A B H A D E V A

Vallabhadeva's commentary on *Rudratlamkara,*

refers them correctly to Rudra. The two exceptions of Śārṅgadhara (viz. 3773 and 3788) are wrongly attributed to Rudra ; but Vallabhadeva quotes the very same verses (2234 and 1667), and correcting the mistake refers them rightly to Rudraṭa. Vallabhadeva's two exceptions (2247 and 3122) cannot be found in Rudraṭa to whom they are attributed, nor in Rudra. Jalhaṇa attributes 21 verses to Rudra, of which 5 cannot be traced in his work. Of these, *kiṃ gauri mam* occurs in Rudrata ii 15 ; *amba sete'tra* occurs in *Kavi. vacana-samuc. 505~Subhas°* 2247 (attributed to Rudrata) = *Sadukti-karna°* ii 73 (attributed to Bhatta); *ekakitfhyad abala* is attributed wrongly to Rudra (as in the *Paddhati* 3773) but correctly assigned by Vallabhadeva to Rudraṭa.

1 Ḍhanika also quotes anonymously from Rudraṭa (xii (4) in his coram, on iv 35, ed. N. S. P.

referred to by himself in his commentary on Māgha (on iv 21, vi 28) is the earliest known commentary on Rudrata and is still to be recovered. Vallabhadeva, who bore the surname of Paramaratha-cihna and who describes himself as the son of Rājānaka Ānandadeva[1], is a well-known commentator on several standard poetical works, including those of Kālidāsa, Māgha, Mayūra and Ratnākara. He was apparently a Kashmirian and probably belonged to the first half of the 10th century ; for his grandson Kayyaṭa, son of Candrāditya, wrote a commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Devi-sataka*[2] in 977-78 A.D., during the reign of Bhīmagupta of Kashmir (977-82 A.D.). His preceptor was Prakāśavarṣa who, Uultzsch thinks, is perhaps identical with the poet Prakasivarsa, who is quoted by *Sulhasitavali* and *Śārṅgadharapaddhti* and who wrote a commentary on Bhāravi (Aufrecht i 347). Our author must be distinguished from Vallabhadeva, the author of the *Subhasitavali,* who is assigned by Aufrecht to the 16th century[3]. From Hultzseh's list of Vallabha's quotations in his commentary on Māgha, it is interesting to note that he cites Medhāvirudra, Bhāmaha,

1 In the closing verse of his comm. on *Vakrokti-paficahikd,* Anandadeva seems to have held some high appointment in Kashmir (colophon in Kāvyamālā pt. i, p. 114: Mitra x no. 4064),

2 See footnote to the ed. of *Vakrokti-pancasika* in Kavyamala, pt i, pp. Cf-2 : and to ed. of the *Devi-'sataka* in *ibid)* pt ix, p. 1. Cf Hultzsch's pref. to *Meghaduta* p. ix.

3 Biihler *(Kunst Poesie* p. 71) however thinks that this Vallabhadeva flourished between 1400 and 1450 A.D.

Udbhata, Bhatti and the *Visamabana-lila* (apparently the **Prakrit** poem of Ānandavardhana).

NAMI-SĀDHU

After Vallabhadeva, comes Nami (known as Naini-sadhu or Nami-pandita), who is described as a Sveta-vikṣu, indicating that he was a Jaina belonging to that persuasion. He describes himself as "the bee that sucked honey from the lotus-feet of Srī-śālibhadra Sūri, the ornament of the *gaccha* of the city of Thārāpadra". We know that Jinabhadra Sūri, who was a pupil of Śilibhadra, wrote in *saṃvat* 1204«1148 A.D.[1] Salibhadra is also referred to "as Sri-sali-suri in another work of Nami's called *Saddvasyaka-tlkạ*, of which the date is given iu the work itself as *saṃvat* 1122 = 1066 A.D.[9] In one of the concluding verses of his commentary on Rudrata, Nami states that this commentary was composed in *saywat* 1125= 1003 A.D.[3] Among the writers on Poetics cited by Nami on Rudrata, we find the names of Bharata (p. 150, 156, 164), Medhāvirudra (pp. 2, 9, 145), Bhamaha (p. 2, 116), Dandin (pp. 2, 5, 169), Vāmana (pp. 11, 100, 116), Udbhaṭa (pp. 69, 82, 150) and the *Arjuna-carita* by Ānandavardhana. He also

1 Peterson i p. 68.

2 Peterson ifi p. 13.

3 *panca-vimsati samyuktair ekadasa samasataoih vikramat samatikrantaih pnavrsidam satnarthitam.* The reading *panca-vimkati*[0] in this verse is doubted on the authority of Kielhom's ,palm-leaf MS *(Report, 188*0-81, p. 63) which reads instead *sat-saptati*[Q]. This new reading will place Nami much

cites *Tilaka-manjari* (on xvi 3) apparently of Dhanapala, and one Jayadeva on prosody (on i 18, 20)[1].

ASADHARA

Peterson (ii. p. 85) brought to our notice another Jaina commentator on Rudrata, called Asadhara, son of Sallakṣaṇa and Ratni. He was a Jaina teacher who lived till *saṃvat* 1296=1240 A.D. He should be distinguished from Āśādhara, son of Ramaji Bhaṭṭa, a very late writer who composed a commentary on Appayya's *Kuvalayananda*[2]. At the end of his *Dharmamrta,* our Āsadhara gives his own history. He belonged to the family of Vyāghreravāla and was the son of Sallakṣana (or Lakṣaṇa) and Ratni. He was born in the fortress of Mañcjalakara situated in the country round the Sskarpbhari (Sambhar) Lake. He had by his wife SarasvatI a son named Chahada, who was a favourite of Arjunavarman of Mālava (first quarter of the 13th century). After the invasion of Sahimdina, king of the Turuskas (apparently Shahabu-d-din Ghur, Sultan of Delhi, who vanquished Pṛthurāja in 1193 A.D.), Āśadhara emigrated to

later; but it is not supported by other MSS (e.g. Mitra 3102 ; Stein 61 ; Peterson i p. 16), as well as by the evidences adduced above from other sources. Kielhorn's reading is obviously incorrect in itself, because it makes the verse deficient in metre.

1 Also quoted by Janārdana, *ABod* 198a. Wrote a *Chandah-sastra,* Kielhorn *Report* 1890-81 p. 87.

2 The two are confusedly Aufrecht i 54b and, following him, by Haricand Sastri p. 18.

Malava and lived in Dhara, where he learned the doctrines of Jaina faith and Jinendra-vyakarana from Pandita Mahavira, pupil of Dharasena. Āsadhara was reputed for his learning, being praised by the sage Udayasena, the poet Vilhana *(sic)* and the great *yati,* Madanakirti. He wrote more than 15 works, of which he gives a list, referring also to his commentary on Budrata[1]. His Tr*isasti-smrti-sastru* was composed in 1236 A.D,[2]

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1 Peterson ii p. 85 and fn; Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp, 1034.

2 Aufrecht i 54b.

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Nami-sadhu

Edition. Kāvyamāla 2, 1886, 1909, with the text (see above).

MSS. Aufrecht *ibid.*

Aśīdhara

MSS. Aufrecht i 103a, 779a. No MS of Vallabhadcva'S commentary on Rudraṭa is known.

Rudrabhaṭṭa

Editions. *(1)* by Pischel with an introd. Kiel 1886 (2) Kavyamālā pt. iii 1887, 1899. Our references are to Pischel's edition.

MSS. Aufrechti 660, ii 158a, 230b, iii 137a; *KBod 491* ***Madras Cat.* 12955.**

Commentary. *Rasa-tarangini* by Gopala Bhatta, son of Harivaṃsa Bhaṭṭa Draviḍa. See under Commentators on Mammaṭa and Bhānudatta, elow. Mentioned in Kāvyamālā ed. of the ixt (p. in). He calls his author Rudra. If the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, cited by Kumārasvāmin, be the same person, then he is earlier than the beginning of the 15th century. As Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, appears to be a South Indian writer, this conjecture is probable. Oppert's entry of *Vana-tarangini* (ii 2711, 1787) on Rudrata is apparently a mistake for this work, and the name Rudraṭa is a confusion for Rudra.

VIII THE WRITER ON ALAMKARA IN THE AGNI-PURANA

The writer on Alarmkara in the *Agni-purana* (chs. 336-346) attempts to treat the subject in what may be described roughly as an eclectic fashion, but apparently follows at the same time a tradition which is distinct from and probably older than that of the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana. The date of this apocryphal work is uncertain; but there is enough evidence to show that the Alamkara-section in it is chiefly a compilation by a writer, who was himself no great theorist but who wanted to collect together and present a workable epitome, conforming in essentials to the teachings of no particular system, yet gathering its material from all sources. This is apparent not only from its independent, if somewhat loosely joined and uncritical treatment, but also from the presence of verses culled from Bharata, Bhamaha, Dandin and probably other old unknown writers[1]. Bharata is cited by name in *Agni* 339, 6, and a large part of of its treatment of *natya, nrtya, abhinaya* and

1 Thus the verse *abhidheyena sambandhat (Agni* 344, tl-12), which is also cited anonymously by Mammata *(Sabda-vyapa°* p. 8) and in the *Kamadhenu* on Vamana IV, 3. 8, is attributed to one Bhartṛmitra by Mukula (p. 17). The, verse id not traceable in Bhartṛhari.

rasa follows Bharata's exposition, even to the literal borrowing and paraphrase of some of his well-known verses. Thus *Agni* 338, 12=Bharata yi 36, *Agni* 338, 7-8=Bharata vi 39. The definition of poetry *(Agni* 336, 6) and of poetic figure *(Agni* 341, 17) are copied literally from Dandin i 10 and ii 1 respectively. Cf also *Agni* 336, 13 = Dandin i 29 =Bhamaha i 27 ; *Agni* 336, 23, 25, 26=Dandin i 12, 15, 17=Bhamaha i 20. This will be enough to indicate not only the general nature of the work, but also the probability that these chapters of the *Purana* were compiled later than Dandin. Thus we get one terminus to its date at the first half of the 8th century. The other terminus is given by the anonymous quotation of *Agni* 338, 10-11 by Ānandavardhana (p. 222), who flourished in the middle of the 9th century[1]. We cannot draw any definite inference from the *Agni-parana's* omission of a direct reference to Vāmana's teachings, although the definition of the term *vakrokti* bears some resemblance (341, 33) to Rudrata's novel characterisation of the same figure (ii 14-16)[2]. On the other hand, this section of the *Agni-purāṇa* is not cited as an authority in the sphere of Poetics (if we except Bhoja's anonymous appropriations) until we come to the time of Visvanatha. Whatever may be the date

1 The tradition of opinion embodied in the *Agni-purana* is followed and further developed by Bhoja in his *Sarasvafi-k*^{Q} ; and this fact will certainly place the former work at least earlier than the 11th century.

2 This point need not be emphasised: for this idea of *vakrokti* .was prevalent, as Ratnakara's poem shows, in the 9th century.

of the *Purapa* as a whole, which is a kind of an ambitious cyclopaedia, incorporating sections on various departments of knowledge, we may, from what has been said, be justified in assigning the *alaṇikāra*-section to the beginning of the 9th century. This date is supported also by one of the most striking features of the work, which consists in the omission of all references to the *dhvani-theory,* although the concept of *dhvani* is casually included in the figure *ākṣepa*[1], after the manner of most old authors, who flourished before that theory came into prominence[3].

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1 The word *dhvani* is also used in the opening verse of this section (336, i; cf Bhoja i l); but apparently it alludes to the grammatical word, which reveals the *sphoṭa* and which is indicated by the,same term in the *Vakyapadiya.* Bhoja, in following this work, makes the same omission; but he betrays, in many places, a knowledge of the views of Ananda-vardhana and his followers.

2 Cf Ruyyaka pp. 3f.

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MSS. See Aufrecht.

IX THE DHVANIKARA AND ANANDAVAKDHANA

(1)

Ānandavardhana has been assigned by Buhler and Jacobi to the middle of the ninth century, on the strength of *Rājartarangiṇi* v 34, which makes him one of the ornaments of the court of Avantivarman, 855-84 A.D. We are pretty certain of the time of Abhinavagupta, Ānandavardhana's commentator ; for, as he himself states, his *Brhati Vrtti* on the I*svara-pratyabhijna* was written in 1045 A.D., while his *Krama-stotra* was composed in 991 A.D. From Abhinavagupta's remarks at the end of his °*Locana* commentary on *uddyotas* i and iii of the *Dhvanydloka,* it appears that the study of this famous work was traditional in his family, and that his own commentary was composed as a rejoinder to another, called the *Candrika* (p. 60), written by one of his predecessors in the same *gotra*[1] ; and four times in his °*Locana* (pp. 123, 174, 185, 215) he discusses or controverts the views of this earlier commentator, who is specifically referred to as the Candrika-

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I *catkirikfakaras tu pathitam...:ity-alam parva-vamsyaih saha vivadena bahuna,* p. 185; *ity-alam nija-purvaia-sagoaraih vivadena. p. 123.* etc.

kara at pp. 178 and 185.[1] This should certainly allow some generations to lie between Ananda-vardhana and Abhinavagupta, and negative completely Pischel's contention that in three passages Abhinavagupta speaks of Ānandavardhana as one of his teachers. These passages occur at pp. 37, 183, and 214 of the printed text but a perusal of them with reference to their context will show that the honorific word *guru,* if it at all refers to Ānandavardhana, must refer to him, not literally but figuratively, as *parampara-guru,* whose work was held in esteem in his family[2] ; or (which is more likely) the reference is to one or other of Abhinavagupta's teachers, such as Bhatta Tauta, or Bhattenduraja, the former of whom is cited as *asmad-upadhyayah* or *asmad-guravah* very often in Abhinava's commentary on Bharata. Again, Kayyata states that he wrote his commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Dem-iataka* (ed. Kāvyamālā, pt. ix) at about 977 A.D., so that by the end of the tenth century Ānandavardhana was well enough established in fame to have two such learned commentators. Finally, Rājaśekhara, who lived about

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I. This *Candrika,* is also referred to in a punning verse at the beginning of Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyakti-viveka* (i 5)*: dfavani-vartmany-ati-gahaue skhaliṭavi vaṇyaḥ pade pade sulabham \ rabhasena yat pravrtti praka'sakam candrikady adrqbaiva,* on which the commentator remarks: *candrika jyotsna dhani'vicarana-grantho'pi*(p. 1).

2 Jasobi, *WZKM. iv,* pp. 237-38.

the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century! mentions and cites Ānandavardhana, by name in his *Kavya-mimamsa* (p. 16), and this should certainly clear up any doubt as to. the authenticity of the date assigned by Kalhana and accepted by Bühler and Jacobi.

(2)

The celebrated work on Poetics known as *Dhvanydloka* (also called *Kavyaloka*[1] or *Sahfdayd-loka)*$_f$ of which or a part of which, Ānandavardhana is reputed to be the author, may be distinguished into two parts, viz. (1) the *Karikā,* consisting of verses and treating of *dhvani,* and (2) the *Vrtti* or exposition, generally in prose with illustrative verses, of the above k*arika,*. Now the question has been raised whether the *Karika* and the *Vrtti* are of the same authorship or should be attributed to different authors.

Abhinavagupta, who is followed in this respect by several later writers on Poetics, carefully distinguishes between the Karikakara and the Vrttikara, by directly opposing them, and also by using the term *vrtti-grantha* in contradistinction to the *karika*[2]. In three of these passages (pp. 123,130-1; ch.

1 The work is called *Kavyaloka* by Abhinava.

2 Pp. 1 59, 59-60, 60, 71, 78, 85, 104, 123, 130-1 ; ch Iv pp. 25, 29 37, 38, 39, 40 in the *Journal of the Dept of titters,* Calcutta University. For these passages collected together, see S. K. De in the *Bulletin of the Sch of Orient Stud,* i, pt 4, p. 3, and Haricand Sastri *op. cit. pp.* 86-87.

iv p. 29) Abhiuavagupta expressly tries to recocile the conflicting views expressed by the Karikakara and the Vṛttikara.

Buhler[1] first drew attention to this point : and Jacobi[2]," relying on Abhinavagupta's testimony, put forward the suggestion that the Dhvanikāra, the supposed author of the *Kārikā*, was a different and older writer who should be distinguished from Ānandavardhana, the author of the *Vrtti.* In support of this, it has been pointed out that one does not find complete agreement of opinion between the two parts of the work, although the one is an exposition of the other. On the other hand, it seems that the system as given in its bare outline by the Karikakara in his concise verses has been considerably expanded, revised, and modified by the Vṛttikāra ; and many problems not discussed or even hinted at by the former are elaborately treated of by the latter. In one place, for instance (p. 123), Abhinavagupta clearly points out that the classification of *dhvani* according to *vastu, alamkara,* and *rasadi* is not expressly taught in any *kārikā;* while in another place in ch. iv, Abhinavagupta states that the question as to the source of the endless variety of *artha* in poetry is mentioned by the Vrttikara but not touched upon by the Karikakara. Indeed, it seems that Ānandavardhana in his classical *Vrtti* attempted to build up a more or less complete system of Poetics upon the loosely joined ideas

1 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 65.
2 *ZDMG,* 1902, p. 405f.

and materials supplied by the *brief karikas; and* his success was probably so marvellous that in course of time the Karikakara receded to the background, completely overshadowed by the more important figure of his formidable expounder ; and people considered as the Dhvanikāra not the author of the few memorial verses but the commentator Ānandavardhana himself, who for the first time fixed the theory in its present form. The term "Dhvanikara" itself came gradually to be used in the generic sense of "the creator of the Dhvani School", and therefore indiscriminately applied by later writers to Ānandavardhana, who, though not himself the founder pf the system, came to receive that credit for having first victoriously introduced it in the struggle of the schools.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the apocryphal verse ascribed to Rajaśekhara in Jalhana, Ānandavardhana is regarded as the founder of the *dhvani-theory.* Similarly, Samudrabandha (p. 4), passing in review the five schools of Poetics before Ruyyaka, mentions Ānandavardhana as the founder of the fifth or last Dhvani School. This would also explain the two groups of apparently puzzling citations from the *Dhvanyaloka* met with in the works of later writers, in which they either confuse or identify Ānandavardhana with the Dhvanikara. **On** the one **hand, we have several** *karikas* cited under the name of Ānandavardhana, while on the other, **several passages which** occur in the ***Vrtti*** are given **under the name**

of the Dhvanikara. This confusion was so complete in later writers that even in the latter part of the eleventh century Mahimabhatta, who professed to demolish the new theory by his fierce onslaught in the *Vyakti-viveka,* quotes from the *Karika* and the *Vrtti* indiscriminately under the generic appellation of the Dhvanikāra. In the same way Kṣemendra, in the last quarter of the eleventh century, and Hemacandra, in the first quarter of the twelfth, make Ānandavardhana responsible for k*arikas* iii 24 and i 4 respectively, while, still later writers like Jayaratha, Visvanatha, Govinda, and Kumarasvamin regard Ānandavardhana himself as the Dhvanikara, to whom the *Karika,* as well as the *Vrtti,* is attributed [1]. Mammata, generally a careful writer, distinguishes Ānandavardhana from the writer of the *karikas,* whom he styles *dhvanikara* or *dhvanikrt* (pp. 213 and 214), but in one place (p. 445) he apparently falls into confusion and ascribes to the Dhvafiikara a verse which Undoubtedly belongs to the *Vrtti.*

(3)

If the Dhvanikāra, is thus distinguished from Anandavardhana, the question naturally arises—

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1 Kṣemendra, *Aucitya-vicāra,* p. 134 = *Dhvanyâloka* iii 24; Hemacandra, Comm. p. 26 = Vallabhadeva, *Subhāṣ°* 157 = *Dhvanyâloka* i 4; Govinda Thakkura, p. 16 = *Dhvanyâloka* p. 221; Viśvanātha, p. 114 = *Dhvanyâloka,* p. 130; Jayaratha, p. 119 = *Dhvanyâloka* p. 111; Kumāra-

who was this Dhvanikara, and what date should be assigned to him? Abhinavagupta does not give us any information on this point. Jacobi, in the learned introduction to his translation of the *Dhvanyaloka*, and following him, Haricand Sastri pose the question very ably without, however, furnishing a precise solution. Sovani's hypothesis[1] that the name of the unknown Karikakara was Sahrdaya, is hardly convincing, for his grounds for this identification are that (1) one of the alternative names of the work itself is *Sahrdayaloka* and that (2) the use of the words *sahrdaya* and *kavi-sahrahdaya* at the end of chapter iv of the *Dhvanyaloka* and in the beginning of Abhinavagupta's commentary is significantly corroborative. It is well known, however, as Haricand Sastri points out, that the word *sahrdaya* (lit. a man with a heart) is used in innumerable places in Alaipkara literature, as in the verses in question, to designate a man of taste, a judge of literary beauty, a connoisseur of *rasa*. Ānanda-vardhana himself discusses *sahrdayatva* at some length in his *Vrtti* (p. 160), and Abhinavagupta arrives at a concise definition of a *sahrdaya* thus: (p. 11) *yesam kavyanusilandbhyasa-vasad visadi-bhute mano-mukure varnaniya-tanmayi-bhavana-yegyata te hrdaya-samvadabhajah sahrdayak*, a definition which became so much standardized that

svamin, p. 64=*Dhvanyuloka iii* 3. All the passages are collected together, and arranged in Haricand Sistri pp. 84-86.

1 *IRAS, 1910*. pp. 164-67.

Hemacandra does not scruple to copy it literally (Comm. p. 3)[1].

En the absence of materials it is very difficult to decide the question finally. Jacobi maintains, on the indication of a passage in Abhinava, that this unknown Dhvauikāra was a contemporary of Mauoratha, who is placed by Kalhaija's *Rājatarahghn* (iv 497 and 671) in the reign of Jayaprda and his successor Lalitapida, Le. in the first part of the ninth century (about 780-813 A.D.); but there are difficulties which seriously stand in the way of our arriving at a definite decision on this point. While discussing the various theories which deny the existence of *dhvani*, Ānandavardhana quotes a verse anonymously with the remark, *tathā cdnyena krta evatra slokah*, upon which Abhinavagupta in his gloss remarks : *tatha canyena iti. gmMhakrt-samana-kala-bMvina manoratha-namna kavina.* If we suppose that by *granthakrt* Abhinavagupta means Ānandavardhana, then Mauoratha, who is thus made a contemporary of the latter, lives in middle or second part of the ninth century, i.e. somewhat later than the date assigned to him by Kalhana, presuming of course that both the Manorathas are identical persons. If, on the other hand, we suppose that *granthakft*

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i Mammata begins his work (p. 10) with a reference to *kavi* and *sahṛdaya*, who are etymologically distinguished by Vidyadhara (p. 21): and both Mammata and Vistva nātha declare that the *sahṛdaya* alone can have a true perception of *rasa* in poetry.

refers, as Jacobi conjecture to the anonymous Dhvanikara, we are confronted with the fresh difficulty that by the term *granthakrt* Abhinavagupta invariably means Ānandavardhana (pp. 12, 37, 90, etc.)- To remove this difficulty we must suppose either (1) that Kalhana is wrong, as Pischel argues, in assigning Manoratha to the reign of Jayaprda and Lalitapida, (2) that the two Manorathas were not identical persons, or (3) that Abhinavagupta himself has confused the Karikakara with the Vrttikara in a manner not usual with him. As there are no definite means of deciding any one of these equally plausible propositions, the conjecture that the original Dhvanikāra was a contemporary of the Manoratha of Kalhaija cannot be taken to have been definitely proved

(4)

it seems, ou the other hand, that the *karikas* date back to an earlier time than the first quarter of the ninth century, in which the Dhvanikāra is placed by Jacobi as a contemporary of Manoratha. The allusion to Manoratha and the apparent discrepancy in Kalharta's statement need not trouble us, nor need we challenge the otherwise trustworthy testimony of Abhinavagupta ; for it is quite reasonable to suppose that the Manoratha under discussion is perhaps a poet who was, Abhinavagupta says, contemporaneous with Anandayardhana, and therefore quite, a different person from the well-known

Manoratha of Kalhana. This is perhaps a much simpler explanation than straining the word *granthakrt* to mean the Karikakara in the face of Abhinavagupta's own distinct indication to the contrary ; and in this way we are not affected in the least by Kalhaiia's Manoratha, with whom we have nothing to do. If, on the other hand, we place the Dhvanikāra in the time of Kalhaiia's Manoratha, this would only leave a bare margin of two generations between the Karikakara and the Vrttikara, which does not seem to be enough to make room for a period of scholastic exposition of the former, of which undoubted traces are preserved to us in the few memorial verses —*parikara-ilokas* (pp. 34, 130, 137, 147, 163), *samgraha-slokas* (pp. 87, 223), *samksepa-slokas* (pp. 44, 74, 243)—incorporated by Ānandavardhana in his *Vrtti,* which itself, therefore, is not likely to be the first of its kind. These *slokas* are a sort of recapitulation-stanzas which are adduced by the Vrttikara from unknown sources sometimes to explain the meaning of the *karikas,* but more often to amplify and supplement them, But at the same time we need not suppose a very long intervening period between the original dogmatic formulator of a theory and its first thoughtful expounder : for it is not necessary that a system should always require a long stretch of time in forming itself. The phenomenon is not unusual that if a literary or intellectual movement is already afoot and is, at it were, in a fervescent state, a few generations, or at most a century, are enough to bring it *to* the inevitable culmination, or at least to sinae

preliminary completion. If we suppose that a system *of dhvani* had been in existence at a very early period, we should expect to find, as we do find to a certain extent, in the case of the rasa-theory, its influence working, at least indirectly, on the earlier writers who preceded Ānandavardhana, although this argument in itself does not carry with it a decisive force. It may be admitted, on the other hand, that the Dhvanikara apparently shows himself conversant with some theories of *rasa, riti* and *alamkara.* But this neither proves nor disproves his own antiquity or that of his system, for there is no evidence to show that he was aware of the particular views of BhSmaha, Dandin. or Vamana who championed these theories ; nor are these writers to be taken, like the Dhvanikara himself, as the absolute founders of the systems they individually represent. It only goes to establish that the" theory, enunciated by the Dhvanikara, may have existed side by side with these systems, as we find them in the extant works : for it could not have been much later, inasmuch as such a supposition would bring it too near the time of Ānandavardhana himself If the Dhvanikara was contemporaneous with Dandin or Vamana, he may be placed at most a century earlier than his commentator in the first half of the 8th century.

(5)

If Ānandavardhana gave the final authoritative **shape** to **the dhvani-theory** (only the details of whiich

were worked out by Ablinavagupta and others), the anonymous Dhvanikāra was not its absolute creator. This is made clear by the first *kārikā*, which tells us that the theory was already taught by earlier thinkers, and that it existed even at the time of the Dhvanikāra himself in various forms, handed down, as Ānandavardhana explains, in unbroken tradition *(paramparaya yah samamnatah)*, although it may not have been explained, as Abhinava adds in his gloss, in particular books *(avhcchinnena pravahena tair etad uktam, vinapi visiṣṭa-pustakesu. vivecaiidddityabhiprayahy* . p. 3). This implies without doubt that the school existed from a very early time, but some unknown writer gathered together, summed up, and fixed the theory in a form which obtained considerable literary esteem for his work and the honoured but somewhat vague appellation of the Dhvanikāra for himself. But his name and tame, in course of time, were eclipsed by those of his great Vṛttikāra, who succeeded in establishing the theory for all time and to whom posterity began to ascribe, not altogether undeservedly, all the honours of his predecessor, so that one of the latest writers on Alaṃkāra, Kumārasvāmin (p. 288), glorifies him with the curious but significant epithet—Dhvanyacarya.

(6)

Very little is known of Āuaudavardhaṇa's personal history. The colophon at the end of ch. iii *of*

his work in the India Office MS calls him *nonopadhyayatmaja,* while the colophon to ch. iv gives the form *jonopādhyāya.* Of these two forms of the name of his father, the former seems to be correct, for referring to Āriandavardhana's *Devi-sataka,* Hemacandra (Comm. p. 225) cites its author as *nona-sutah srimad-anandavardhana-narna.* Kayyata also, commenting on the last punning verse of the same work, refers to the author as the son of Noija, and mentions his two works, the *VisamaLana4ita* and *Arjunctrcarita,* supposed to have been punningly alluded to in that verse. Both these works are cited in Ānandavardhana's *Vrtti,* and the former appears to be a Prakrit poem. Ānandavardhana himself refers to another work of his own at p. 233, on which Abhinava adds the gloss : *granthantara iti viniscaya-tikayam dharmottamayam [dharmottamaya?] ya vivtir, amuna graniha-krta krta.* Abhinava in *"Locana* iv (p. 31) refers to another work of Ānandavardhana's, called *Tattvaloka,* in which the latter is said to have discussed, among other things, the relation between *havyanaya* and sastra-*naya.*

(7)

ABHINAVAGUPTA

Abhinavagupta's fame rests chiefly on his philosophioal works on Kashmir Saivaism, but he appears also to have,attained a considerable reputation in the realm of Poetics by his two remarkable commentaries on Bharata and ou Ānandavardhana, called respectively *Abhinava-bharathi* and *Kavyaloka-locana.* He

also cites in his °*Locaaa* (p. 178, also p. 29) another commentary *(vivaratiṇ)* of his own, now lost, on the *Kamja-hautuka* (apparently dealing with Alamkara) by one of his teachers *(asmad-upadhyaya)* Bhatta Tauta. Nothing is known of this Bhaṭṭa Tauta (also called Bhaṭṭa Tota); but it appears that Abhinava's commentary on Bharata was probably inspired by this teacher, who is cited there very frequently, just as his °*Locana* was inspired by his other teacher Bhaṭṭendurāja. The *Kāvya-hautuka* is also referred to in the anonymous commentary on the *Vyakti-viveka* (p. 13); and Hemacandra (p. 316) quotes three verses from Bhaṭṭa Tauta in his text and reproduces (p. 59) in his commentary (appropriating the passage directly from Abhinava on Bharata) an opinion of this teacher in connexion with the theory of *rasa.* Ksemendra in his *Ancitya-vicara* (under *sl.* 35) attributes to Tauta a fragment of a verse which is given in full but anonymously by Hemacandra (p. 3)[1]. Tauta is also cited by Candidasa in his °*Dipika* commentary oh Mammaṭa.

Bhaṭṭa Tauta, together with Bhaṭṭendurāja, who is extravagantly praised in the °*Locana* and whose relation to Abhinava we have already discussed, were probably his preceptors in Kāvya and Alaṛnkāra. His references to his instructors in philosophy, like Sidhicela[3], Lakṣmaijagupta and others, in his philosophical works possess no interest for us; but it may be noted that Abhinava, in his *Pratyabhĭjñā-vimartirii*

i This verse is ascribed, perhaps wrongly, to Māmaha (or Bhĭmaha?) in *Kāmadhenu* on Vāmana, p. 4, ed. Benares,

2 See Pref. to the ed. of ch iv, cited above.

laghu-vrtti, refers to Utpala as his *paramo-guru,* the teacher of his teacher. This description of Utpala is repeated in his *Locana* (p. 30), where Abhinava discusses the term *pratyabhijna,* used in the text (i 8), and refers to what is said on this point by Utpala. This Utpala is well known in the history of Kashmir Saivaism as the author of the *livara-pratyabhijna* (on whose *antra* and V*rtti,* Abhinava wrote a *laghuvrtti* and a *brhati vrtti* respectively) and is assigned by Bühler *(op. cit.* p. 79) to the first half of the 10th century. From what Abhinava himself says in his numerous works of Kashmir daivaism, we may indicate the line of spiritual succession *(gura-paramipara)* thus: Somananda–Utpala-v Laksmaija-gupta-^Abhinavagupta ; Somānanda being probably a pupil of Vasugupta who is taken as the earliest founder of the Pratyabhijña-śastra.

In the concluding portion of his *Paratrimsika-vivaranq,* Abhinava gives us an interesting personal and genealogical account, in which he tells us that he was the son of Kasmiraka Cukhala[1] and grandson of Varahagupta, and had a brother named Mano-rathagupta. As already stated, Abhinava's date is easily gathered from his own dating of some of his works, and may be fixed with certainty at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century.

1 Buhler's MS has *kasmiraka viculaka (op. cit.* p. civ) as well as °*cukhala* (p. clvii).

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1890, 1911; translation into German with an introd. by Hermann Jacobi in *ZDMG* lvi-lvii, 1902-03. (reprinted separately, Leipzig 1903). Our references are to the Kavyamala ed. of 1911.

MSS, Aufrecht i 273b, iii 59a.

Abhinavagupta

Editions. (1) Kavyamala 25, 1890, 1911 with the text (first three *uddyotas* only) (2) Fourth *uddyota* without the text by the present writer in the *Journal of the Department of Letters,* Calcutta Univ. 1923. The full title is *Kavyaloka-locana.*

MSS. Aufrecht i 273b, ii 59a, iii 59a. Burnell 55a probably contains all the four *uddyotas* ; also *Madras Cat.* 12893-94 (the last number containing only the fourth *uddyota,* while the other one all the 4*uddyotas).* Aufrecht's entry (i49) of a*nanda-vardhaniya-kavydalamkara-kamadhenu-tika* involves a twofold error, due perhaps to Oppert's inaccurate entry; for the designation *ananda-vardhamya* is incorrect, and by *Kavyalamkara-Kamadhenu-tika* is probably meant the commentary of that name on Vāmana (see p. 84 above), mixed up through a confusion with Abhinava's °*Locana.*

Commentaries. (1) *Locana-vyakhya-kaumudi* by Parameśvarâcārya. Oppert 2694.

(2) °*Anjana(?),* anonymous. *Madras Cat* 12895, extract (only on the first *uddyota).* The author erroneously describes Bhaṭṭenduraja as the *parama-guru* of Abhihava.

The *Candrika* comm. on Ānandavardhana, referred to by Abhinava and others, is apparently lost.

Abhinava bharatl on Bharata. The Trivandrum Palace MS,contains only ch. 1-6,9-13 18, 19, The MS in the posses-

sion of Dr. Gaṅgānāth Jhā of Benares, of which he kindly furnished the present writer with a transcript, contains 1-6, 7 (incomplete), 8-31; but there are numerous gaps especially in the last few chapters. It follows in general the Trivandrum MS. A MS has been recently acquired for the Madras Government Oriental MSS Library which is also incomplete. An edition of chaps, vi and vii (on *rasa* ond *bhāva)* is in preparation by the present writer. This voluminous but learned commentary deserves to be published.

No MS has been discovered of Abhinava's *Kāvyakautuka-vivaraṇa,* or of the *Kāvya-kautuka* itself.

For citations of poetical and Alaṃkāra works by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, see preface to the Kāvyamālā ed., and Jacob in *JRAS,* 1897, pp. 290 and 297. Only omit the name of Dhanika given by Jacob as an author quoted by Abhinava.

X RAJASEKHARA

(1)

Rajasekhara, sou of *mahamantriu* Duvduka or Duhika and SilavatI[1] and great-grandson of the poet Akalajalada of the Yayavara family, is better known as a poet and dramatist than as a writer on Poetics. In his *Bala-ramayam* i 12, Rajasekhara describes himself as the author of six works which must have existed even before this presumably early production of his[2]. It is not known whether his other three well-known dramas belong to this period, but it appears that he probably composed more than six works. Hemacandra (Comm. p. 335) cites a work of Rajasekhara's, entitled H*ara-vilasa,* as an example of a poem which bears the name of its author *(svanamankta),* and quotes two verses from the same (Comm. pp. 334-335); from which Ujjvaladatta also

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1 *Bala-rama*^{0} *ad. 17,13; Bala-bha° ad.i 8; Viddha-sala*^{o} *nd* i 5. Rajasekhara calls himself a Kaviraja *(Karpura-manj*^{9} i 9 ; *Viddha-sala°* i 5), which is, according to *Kav.mim.,* the seventh, out the ten stages, of poetic skill, one degree higher than that of a *mahākavi.*

2 In *Karpura-manj*^{o} i 9 we are told that Rajasekhara began his career as a *bala-kavi,* so called apparently from his two works *Bāla-rāmā*^{0} and *Bāla-bhā;* while in this Prakrit drama, as well as in *Viddha-sala*^{0,} he appears to have attained the distinction of a *Kavirāja.*

(ii 28) gives a half-verse. In the *Kavya-mimamsa,* again (xvii p. 98), there is a reference to another work of his own, called *Bhuvana-kosa,* for information on universal geograghy. Ujjvalaclatta (ii 76) also quotes a line from Rājaśekhara on the synonyms of Siva, which, if not occurring in the IIa*ra-vilasa,* was probably taken from an unknown lexicon by him.

In the two anthologies of Vallabhadeva and Sarngadhara, we get a considerable number of verses ascribed to Rājaśekhara, Of these, about 24 have been identified by Sten Konow in Rājaśekhara's four plays[1], but about 10 have not yet been traced in any of his known works, nor are they to be found in his *Kāvya-mimāṃsa.* These untraced verses, including most of the memorial verses on the poets, probably belong to another and younger Rājaśekhara[2].

There can be hardly any doubt that the *Kāmja-mimāṃsa* should be ascribed to the dramatist Rājaśekhara, although it is not mentioned in these enumerations of Rājaśekhara's works[3]. Our author gives his own name at the end of the first chapter as *yayavariya* Rajasekhara, which agrees with the description given in the dramas and which makes

1 ed. *Karpura-manj*^{0}, pp. 189-91.

2 This other Rājaśekhara may or may not be the Jaina Rajasekhara, author of the *Prabandhakosa* (1348 A.D.). Rice 282 mentions a work called *Karpurarasa-manhjari* by Balakavi, which apparently refers to Rajasekhara and his well-known Prakrit drama, and not to any work on Alaṃkāra.

3 Aufrecht notes *(ABod* 135a) that *the Kav. mim.* is cited by name by Sankara in his commentary on S*akuntala*

the later writers cite our author simply as *yāyc̆bvamt* The opinions of this *yāyāvara* family, to which he belonged and in which were born poets and scholars like Surananda[2], Akalajalada[3], Tarala[4] and Kaviraja, are cited frequently by him under the general designation *yāyāvariya*[5], as well as under the individual names of these famous members who are enumerated in the *Bala-ramayana* i 13 and elsewhere. He also quotes with respect the views of his wife Avantisundari (pp. 20, 46, 57), for whose pleasure, we know, he wrote his *Karpura-manjari* (i 11) and who seems to have been an accomplished authoress. The present work dues not also omit a display the author's love

1 *Bala-bha*^{0} i 6, 13; *Viddka-sala*^{0} i 5, and Dhanapala in *Tilaka-manj*^{0} ed. Kavyamala 85, 1903, *sl.* 33. Narayana Diksita on *Viddha-sala.* i 5 quotes Devala to show that *yayavara* means a kind of a householder *(dvividho grhasthah, yayavarah salinas ca).*

2 an ornament of the country of the Cedis *(ceditnaṇḍala-tnaṇḍanay* Rājaśekhara in Jalhaṇa). His patron Raṇavigraha is supposed by Bhandarkar *(Report,* 1887-91, p. xix) to have been the brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇa II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, whose dates range from 875 to 911 A.D. Quoted also in *Kāv. mim.* p. *75.*

3 Rājaśekhara's grandfather. Cited in *Śr.Paddhati 777=Subhas°* 843 *(daksinatya).* Famous for his poetical jems, some of which were plagiarised by Kadamdarirama (Jalhana 23a and b). Called m*aharastra-cudamani* in *Bala-rama*^{0} ; also see *Viddha-sala*^{0} i 5.

4 · Cited by Jalhaṇa, Author of a work, called probably *Suvarṇa-bandha.*

5 PP.2,3,4, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 23, 26, 27, 30, 31, 35,42, 43, 46, 50, 56, 58, 60, 62, 63, 78,90, 91,94,99, **100.**

for Prakrit dialects, as well as his knowledge of geography (ch. xvii), of which he gives ample evidence in Act x of the *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*. These and other details, on which we need not dwell any further, show that our Rājaśekhara is no other than the well-known dramatist.

(*2*)

The published text of the *Kavya-mimamsa* is apparently the first part of a projected extensive volume, of which a general summary or scheme is given in the first chapter and which is also indicated by occasional remarks (like *ṛitayas tisras tās tu purastāt* p. 10 and *tarn aupaniṣadike vaksyamah* p. 11) relating to topics to be dealt with in other succeeding parts. If the complete work, as projected, consisted of eighteen *adhikaranas,* we have now only one volume surviving on the preliminary topic of k*avi-rahasya* alone[1]. Keśava Miśra (pp. 32, *67)* quotes three verses from an Alaṃkāra-work by Rājaśekhara, which, if they belong to our author, were apparently taken, as their contents indicate, from some lost chapters on *uhhayalamkarika* and *vainodika* respectively.

The popularity of the *Kavya-mimamsa* with the later writers is indicated by the extensive use made of it by Kṣemendra, Bhoja, Hemacandra and the younger Vāgbhata. Hemacandra, for instance, has literally copied long passages from chs. viii, ix, xiii-xviii; while Vagbhata has borrowed the same (as

i Cf introd. to *Kau. mim.* p. xvii-xviii.

well as other) portions either directly from the same source or indirectly through Hemacandra[1].

Rājaśekhara himself is indebted to many old writers and cites directly the opinions of Meclhāvirudra (p. 12), Udbhaṭa and Audblmṭas (pp. 22, 44), Vāmana and Vāmanīyas (pp.]4, 20), Rudraṭa (p. 31), Mangala (pp. 11, 14, 16, 20) and Ānandu (p. 16), besides unnamed authors who are cited under the general designation *ācārya*.[2]. We also find the names of Aparajita (who is quoted in *Subhasitavali* 1024, and mentioned as a contemporary poet and author of *Mrgankalekha-katha in Karpura-mahjari, ad* i 8 but given in our text as Āparājiti), Surānanda, one of his ancestors, his wife Avantisundari, Palyakirti (p. 46), Syamadeva (pp. 11, 13, 17) and Vakpatiraja[3] (p. 62), all of whom, as the citations show, seem to have expressed some opinions on the topics under discussion.

(3)

The date of Rājaśekhara has been settled with some exactitude. We learn from his four extant

1 A comparative table is given of these wholesale borrowings at the end of the notes in the Gaekwad ed. of the text.

2 pp. 3, 9, 13, 16, 20, 23, 30, 35, 50, 51, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 78, 94, 99.

3 This Vākpatirāja (Bapai-rāa) is apparently the author of the *Gauḍavaha* (middle of the 8th century: Kalhaṇa iv 144) and must be distinguished from Munja-vakpatiraja, the 7th Paramāra king of Mālava, who reigned from 947 to 995 A.D, See below under Dhananjaya,

plays[1] that he was a teacher *(upadhyaya)* to a king named Mahendrapāla (otherwise known as Nirbhaya or Nibbhaya), and was also patronised by his son and successor Mahipala[2]. We also understand that one of his plays, the B*ala-bharata*, was performed at a place called Mahodaya, for which he shows a partiality also in his *Kavya-mimamsa.* Fleet has shown[3] that this Mahipāla should be indentified with the Mahīpāla of the Asni inscription, dated 917 A.D., and he agrees with Pischel[4] that Mahoilaya is another name for Kānyakubja or Kanauj[5], with which place this king, as well as Mahendrapāla, is connected in the Siyadoni inscription[6]. It has also been shown by Aufrecht[7] and Pischel[8] that Mahendrapāla, whose date appears to be 903-07 A.D. from Kielhorn's summing up of the names of the four sovereigns of Kanauj as presented by the Siyadoni inscription, went also by the *biruda* of Nirbhara or Nirbhaya (Nibbhara or Nibbhaya in the Prakrit form), a fact of which Fleet seems to have been unaware[9]. From these evidences, it is clear that Rajasekhara

1 *Viddha-sala*^{0} i 6; *Bala-rania*^{0} i 5; *Bala-bkara*^{o} i 7, 11; *Karpura-manj*^{0} i 5, 9.

2 *Bala-bhara*° i 7.

3 *IA* xvi 175-78.

4 *GgA,* 1883, pp. 1217f.

5 Cf. *Bala-rama*^{0} *x ad 87,* 89, 90. Rajasekhara's partiality for Mahôdaya is also apparent in our text at pp. 8, 94.

6 *El* i 170 f.

7 *ZDMG* xxvii.

8 *op. cit* p. 1221.

9 Fleet further shows *(op. cit* p. 175f) that this Mahendrapāla must not be taken, as Peterson and Durgāprasāda

must have flourised in the beginning of the **10th** century, and probably also lived towards the end of **the** 9th. This is also supported by the fact that the latest writer quoted by Rājaśekhara are Ratnākara and Anandavardhana, who belong to the middle or second half of the 9th century, while the earliest writer to mention Rājaśekhara appears to be the **Jaina** Somadeva, whose *Yaśastilaka* is dated 960 A.D.[1].

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are inclined to take him, to be identical with the feudatory Mahendrapāla, whose inscription from Dighwa-Dubauli, dated 761-62 A.D., he has edited in *IA* xv 105, and who is distinct from the pupil of Rājaśekhara.

1 For other details about Rajasekhara see Sten Konow's edition of *Karpura-mahj*[0] (Harvard Orient. Series 4, 1901) pp. 175f, which gives a full bibliography.

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XI DHANANJAYA AND DHANIKA

(1)

The date of Dhanañjaya may be taken as approximately settled. The author informs us (iv 80) that he was the son of Viṣṇu and that he flourished in the circle of distinguished literary men surrounding king Muñja, who himself seems to have been a man of taste and learning, as well as a patron of letters. We should not, with Peterson[3], confound this Muñja, better known as Muñja-vākpatirāja, with Vākpatirāja (or Bappai-rāa), the author of *Gauḍavaha,* who lived in the first half of the 8th century under king Yaśovarman of Kanauj and is re* terred to by Kalhaṇa (iv 144) and Rājaśekhara. Our Muñja appears to be the seventh ruler of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālava, who, as his own inscriptions record[3], came to the throne in 974 A.D., succeeding his father Harṣadeva Sīyaka, and reigned till about 995 A.D., when he was defeated, imprisoned and executed, as the Cālukya inscriptions attest[3], by the Calukya Tailapa II. Besides being known as Vak-

1 introd. to *Subhāṣ*[0] p. 115.

2 *Arch. Survey, Western Ind.xn 1 0 0 O - I A* vi 48-51; *IA* xiv 159-60. See Bvihler, *Das Navasahasanka-carita* (transl. in *IA* xxxvi pp. 624-25), 1888, p. n6f.

3 *IA* xii 270, xvi 18, 23, xxi 167-68; *EI* ii *212* f. All trie references (regarding Mufija's date) are collected together in Haas's introd. to his ed. of the *Dasarupaka (q. v)*

patirāja[1], owing perhaps to the fact that he was himself **a** poet, he had several other *birudas,* such as Amoghavarsa, Prthvi-vallabha, and S**ri-vallabha**; and one of his inscriptions calls him Utpalaraja[2], a fact, overlooked by the editors of the Kavyamala Series (pt. i p. 131), made them confound him with Utpala, the Saiva philosopher of Kashmir, who was Abhinavagupta's *parama-gunt;.* This ruler is mentioned by Saṃbhu[3], as well as by Padmagupta[4], as "a friend of poets" *(kavi-bandhava* or k*avi-mitra) ;* and Bhoja, his nephew and successor, appears to have inherited these traits of his character.

(2)

The *Daśarupāka* of Dhananjāya, in its treatment

1 Dhanika cites (on iv 54-55) one of Munja's verses twice, citing him in the first instance as Munja and in the other case as Vakpatirāja-deva; while Dhanapāla in his *Tilaka-mahjari-* uses both the names with respect to the same person. One of Munja's descendants, Arjunavarman, who ruled in the beginning of the 13th century, reproduces one of Munja's stanzas, with the remark that it was composed by one of his ancestors, "Munja, whose other name was Vakpatiraja" (Comm. on *Amaru-sataka,* ed, Kavyamala 18, 1916, p. 23). This verse is attributed to Munja also by Jalhaṇa 106a.

2 Kṣemendra quotes verses from Munja, in his three works *(Aucit.vic ad sl.* 16; *Kavi-kantha,*[0] under ii I ; *Suvrtta-til.* under ii 6) referring to him as Utpalarāja. See also Śārṅgadhara (126 *vakpatirajasya;* 1017 *utpalarajasya),* Vallabhadeva (3414 *sri-harsadevatmaja-vakpatirajasya),* and Jalhana (P 25b, 106a, *munjasya).*

3 *Rajendra-karna-pura, sl* 17, 36.

4 *Navasahasanka°* i 7, 8, ii 93.

of Dramaturgy, is apparently based on the time-honoured authority of Bharata; but as Bharata's huge compendium, both from the practical as well as theoretical point of view, is discursive and cumbersome with its load of histrionic and other matters, Dhanañjaya attempts to sift the mass of details, and, limiting himself only to Dramaturgy, restates the general principles in the form of a practical, condensed and systematic manual. These features of the new contribution apparently obtained for it such reputation ond currency that in course of time it seems to have superseded not only all other treatises on the subject but also the basic work of Bharata himself. Viśvanatha, for instance, refers now and then to Bharata and gives one or two (mostly conventional) quotations from his work ; but in the main he bases his treatment of dramaturgic topics on Dhananjaya; while Vidyanatha admits, in the *nataka-prakarana* of his own work, his indebtedness to the latter, with the remark *em prakviya dasarupoktarityanusarena* (p. 131).

(8)

Dhanika, also described as the son of Viṣṇu, and author of the °*Avaloka* commentary on Dhananjaya, was probably one of Dhananjaya's numerous illustrious contemporaries; for he may be assigned to the same period. Dhanika quotes from Padmagupta (also known as Parimala)[1], who wrote about 995 A.D.,

1 on ii 37b= *Navasahasanka*° vi 42.

as well as from Muñja, and is quoted in his turn by Bhoja in his *Sarasvati-kanthalharana* in the first half of the 11th century. He is also described in one of the MSS[1] as holding the office of *mahasadhyapala* under king Utpalaraja, who is apparently our Muñja-vākpati, the patron of Dhanañjaya. The suggestion that the author and commentator of the *Dasarapaka* are one and the same person, chiefly on the ground of the apparent similarity of names and the identity of the patronymic, as well as the inadvertant attribution of a verse of Dhanañjaya's to Dhanika in some later works like the *Sahitya-darpaṇa* (*ad* vi 64a—*Dasarupaka* iii 29), need not be seriously considered[3]. Jacobi, however, supports this suggestion[3]

I Wilson, *Select Specimens,* 3rd ed. I xx, xxi, endorsed by Hall p. 3 notes. It is curious to note that Dhanika (on iv 23 ed Parab) quotes *nidrârdha*^{0} which occurs in the *Caurapancasika* (ed. Solf no. 36) attributed to Bilhana: but this anonymous quotation (which also occurs in Kuntala) does not of itself place Dhanika later than the middle of the nth century, the date of Bilhaṇa; for the anthencity of the verse is not beyond question, as it is attributed to Kalasaka in *Subhas*° 1280 and Jalhaṇa 74a, and Bilhaṇa's authorship is still open to question. It is not safe, therefore, to base any chorono-logical conclusion on this quotation. Haas has not noticed the verse at all.

2 Haas (Pref. to ed. *Dasarupaka* xxxiv) is inaccurate in stating that there are in the commentary " a number of indications of a difference of authorship," and in support of this. Le dies. i. 20L-21a, iii 32b, iv 43c. Jacobi elaborately shows *GgA,* 1913, pp. 304f) that Haas has entirely misunderstood these passages,

3 *Op. cit* p. 303. Also Levi in JA, 1886, *p.* 221,

by pointing out that there is no se per ate *mang aid-carana* to the commentary. This hypothesis, however, cannot altogether get rid of the fact that Dhanañjaya and Dhanika are indeed distinguished by some later writers. For instance, Vidyanatha, in his numerous references to the *Daśarūpaka,* cites the the *kārikā-verses* and never from the commentary[1], although his commentator, Kumārasvāmin, falls in one place[2] (p. 29) into the error of attributing one of Dhanañjaya's verses (ii 23b) to Dhanika. It may also be urged that a *mangala-verse t*o the °*Avaloka,* occurring in one of the MSS, is rejected by Hall as spurious, chiefly on the ground that its style is "too pedestrian for so ornate a stylist as Dhanika" (p. 4 note). This 'pedestrian' stanza is apparently the same as that which occurs at the outset of Aufrecht's Bodleian MS, noticed by him in his *Bod. Cat.* 203a. On the other hand, the absence of the *mȧngala-verse* need not in itself be taken as decisive; for while Mammata has no separate *mati gala-verse* to his *Vrtti,* we find them in Vamana and Ruyyaka. Sarngadhara in his anthology attributes to Dhanika several verses (3417 and 3973), which the latter gives as his own in his commentary (on iv 3a and ii 10a). If, therefore, we suppose, as it is more likely, that the author and the commentator were not identical, then

1 p. 46. 101, 102, 104, 105, 114, 124, 131, 219, 221, 228.

2 in other passages the citation appears to be correct, pp. 47, 128, 130, 221, 233, 235, .59. Ranganatha on *Vikramôr*° (about 1656 A.D., p. 31 ed N. S. P. 1914) falls into the same mistake. Mallinatha on *Kumara*^{0} i 4 and *Śiśu*^{0} vii *11* quotes *Dasarupaka* correctly (ii 36b and ii 24a).

Dhanika may be taken as a brother of Dhananjaya (a supposition which explains the apparent similarity of names and the identity of patronymic), who collaborated in the production of the work[1] by writing the commentary.

From the °*Avaloka* we learn that its author composed poems in Sanskrit and in Prakrit, and also wrote a treatise, entitled *Kāvya-nirṇaya* (on iv 35), which alludes to the *Dhvangaloka* and apparently deals with the general topics of Poetics.

For other less known commentaries on *Dasarupaka*, see Bibliography given below.

1 This supposition does not militate against the passage (on iv 33), referred to by Jacobi, in which the commentator intimately identifies himself with the author saying *asmabhih .....nisidhyate*, meaning that the prohibition is made both by his author and himself.

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MSS. Aufrecht i 247b, 789b; ii 53b; iii 53b ; *SCC* vii 33, 34 *KBod* 484; *Madras Cat* 12887, 12888-91 (with °Avaloka).

Dhanika.

Editions. Printed in Hall's and Parab's editions, with the text.

MSS. Aufrecht i 248a, ii 53b, iii 53b; *SCC* vii 33, 34 (no *mangalacarana); Madas Cat.* 12 88 8-91 (no *mangala-verse).* Dhanika's *Kavya nirnava* is probably lost.

Other Commentaries on Dhananjaya

(1) comm. by Nṛsiṃhabhaṭṭa. Oppert 2615.

(2) °*Tika* by Devapani (cited by Rauganatha on *Vikramorva si* ed. N. S. P. 1904, pp. 6, 31; cf *AFl* 444 and *ABod* 135b). No MSS discovered. This is the author who is wrongly called Pāṇi by Wilson *(Select Specimens)* and Aufrecht. Being anterior to Raṅganātha, his date should be earlier than 1656 A.D. Rariganatha also refers to a *Sahasanklya-taka* in the same context (p. 31).

(3) °*Paddhati by* Kuravirama. Ms in Hultzsch 554 (only three pages). Kuravirāma is a modern but fertile South Indian commentator who lived at the court of Zemindars of Kārvēṭi-nagaram in North Arcot District, and wrote comms. also on two well-known poems, *Campu-bharata* of Anantabhatta and *Visva-gunadarsa* of Venkata. He mentions in his comm. on the last named poem a commentary by himself on Appayya's *Kuvalay*^{0}, as well on Dhananjaya. See Hultzsch i p. xi.

XII KUNTALA

(1)

Kuntala, also called Kuntaka[1], is better known in Alamkara literature under the descriptive designation of the Vakrokti-jivita-kara[2] from the peculiar name of his work *Vakrokti-jivita,* which itself is so called because of its central theory that the *vakrokti* is the ' soul' or essence of poesy. A MS of this work, long supposed to be lost, has been discovered in Madras and is being edited by the present writer for the Calcutta Oriental Series.

Kuntala's date[3] is fixed approximately by his quotation from the dramatist Rājaśekhara, on the one hand, and by Mahimabhaṭṭa's citation of Kuntala and his work, on the other. As Mahimbhaṭṭa flourished, as we shall see, towards the end of the 11th century, we may place Kuntala between the middle of the 10th and the middle of the 11th. As this date falls in with the known dates of Abhinavagupta (whose

1 by Mahimabhaṭṭa p. 58 and his commentator p. 16; Vidyādhara p. 51.

2 Ruyyaka, ed. Kāvyamālā p. 8, with Jayaratha (also pp. 12, 150 etc.) and Samudrabandha thereon (p. 4); Viśvanatha ed. Durgaprasada p. 14; *Kamadhenu* on Vamana I. I. I, ed, Benares p. 6, etc.

3 This question has been dealt with in detail in the introd. to my edition of the work, and is only briefly referred to here.

latest date is 1015 A.D.), we may take Kuntala as a contemporary of this commentator on Ānandavardhana. Although Abhinava refers to various views about *vakrokti* held before his time, it is remarkable that he never alludes to the Vakrokti-jivita-kara, who, as his title *rajanaka* indicates, was probably a Kashmirian, and whose work, if written before Abhinava's time, ought to have been, from its nature and contents, important enough to be thus entirely ignored by a rival theorist.

(2)

The first two chapters of the work, which is being published, give a general outline of his main theory; but it is not known how many chapters his original treatise comprised. The fourth chapter in the MS, however, which breaks off without completing the work, may be presumed to have formed its natural conclusion, inasmuch as it deals with the last variety of *vakratā* enumerated by the author. The running prose *vrtti*, accompanying the *karika-slokas*, and forming an integral part of the work itself, appears to have been composed by Kuntala himself; for not only the commentator expressly identifies himself with the author, but the citations of later writers[1] indicate that the *kārikās* should be taken *en, bloc* with the *vrtti*. Besides quotations from Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Anangaharsa (author of the *Tapasa-vatsaraja)*, Hala, Bana Magha, Bharavi, Bhallata,

1 comm. to *Vyakti-viveka* p. 16; *Kamadhenu* on Vamana p. 6.

Amaru, Mayura, Srlharsa, Bhatta Narayana, Rajasekhara, the author mentions by name Sarvaseua, Manjlra, Mayuraja (?), and the author of *Udattaraghava,* and quotes from Bhamaha, Rudrata and the Dhvanikara (=Ānandavardhaua). The work stands unique for its exposition of the theory of *vakrokti,* which is apparently developed on the lines indicated by Bhāmaha, as well as for its analysis of a poetic figure on its basis, which is implicitly accepted by all writers from Ruyyaka to Jagannātha[1],

I See Jacobi, *Ueber Begriff und Wesen der poetischen Figuren* in *GN* 1908.

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MS. Madras Government Oriental MSS Library, as noticed in their *Report of the Working of the Peripatetic Party, 1916-19.*

VIII KSEMENDRA

(1)

The industrious Kashmirian polygrapher Kṣemendra, with the surname Vyāsadāsa, is notable in Sanskrit Poetics for his two interesting treatises, *Aucitya-vicara* and *Kavi-kanthabharana.* He refers to another work of his[1], devoted to the treatment of poetic figures, entitled *Kavi-karnika.*

Kṣemendra himself gives us an indication of his date. The concluding verses of his two works, as well as of his *Suvrtta-tilaka* (ed. Kāvymaṭa pt. 2, 1886), state that he wrote in the reign of king Ananta of Kashmir; while the colophon to his *Samayamatrka* tells us that it was finished in the reign of the same king in 1050 A.D. His *Dasavatara-carita,* on the other hand, is dated by himself in 1066 A.D., in the reign of Kalasa, son and successor of Ananta. Buhler[2] is right, therefore, in filing the period Kṣemendra's literary activity in the second and third quarters of the 11th century[8].

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1 in *Aucit. vic. si.* 2.

2 *Kashmir Rep,* p. 46.

3 Dhanika, who lived towards the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, appears to quote (on i 61) two verses which occur in some MSS of Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkaṭhi* (ii 216, 217), and this apparently militates against this conclusion of Kṣemendra's date; but we know that the

(2)

Peterson proposed[1], against the opinion of Buhler, who appears to have left the question open, the identification of Kṣemendra with Kṣemarāja, the Saiva philosopher of Kashmir, who was a pupil of Abhinavagupta, and who wrote, among numerous other works, a commentary on the *Sivasutra* and on Abhinava's *Paramarthasara.* Stein supports this identification, but Peterson himself appears to admit later on[2] that his own theory is doubtful. In his *Ancitya-vicara,* Kṣemendra pays homage to Acyuta or Viṣṇu ; but we know that ho was, like his father, a Śaiva in his youth but was converted afterwards into Vaiṣgavisin, as he himself indicates, by Somacarya. This fact, as well as chronology, does not stand in the way of the proposed indentification, but there is no direct evidence to support it. Kṣemendra describes himself as the son of Prakāśendra and grandson of

Brhatkatha-manjari was composed about 1037 A.D., and as the four lines in question occur in one of the MSS only, it is generally admitted now, for this and other reasons, that they are later interpolations. Ksemendra *(Aucit. vie. ad sl.* I I , 16, 20) quotes Parimala (otherwise known as Padmagupta) who was a contemporary of Dhananjaya and Dhanika.

1 i p. 11, 85 and Buhler in *IA* xiii, 1884, p. 29. Buhler really proposed the indentification of Kṣemarāja, author of *Sambapancasika,* with Ksemendra who wrote *Spanda-samdoha,* but distinguished both from the poet Kṣemendra Vyasadasa (See *Kashmir Rep.* p, 81 and fn).

2 iv p. xxiii.

Sindhu[1], and the name of his preceptor is given as Gangaka[2]. He was also the father of Somendra, and preceptor of Udayasimha and *rajapntra* Laksanaditya[3]. We know nothing, on the other hand, of Ksemaraja's genealogy or personal history. But we are told at the end of the *Brhatkatha-manjari* that Kṣemendra learnt *sāhitya* from Abhinavagupta, while Ksemaraja at the end of his *Svacehandoddyota*[4] (as well as in the colophon to his *Stava-cintamaṇi)* is described as *śiṣya* of the same great philosopher. It is worth noting, however, that while Ksemendra's surname *Vyasadasa*[5] is given in all his works (with the exception of his *Kalā-vilāsa),* it does not occur in any of Kṣemarāja's philosophical treatises. Kṣemendra has taken care to let us know a great deal about himself, but Kṣemaraja always hides his light under the bushel and is apparently free from this trace of natural vanity. The question, therefore, cannot be taken as definitely settled, and can be satifactorily solved when, as Buhler long ago pointed out[6], the name of Kṣemarāja's father is found.

A list of Kṣemendra's numerous works is given below.

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1 concluding verse of the *Dasavatara.*

2 *Aucit. vie. ad sl* 31.

3 *Kavi-kantha*[0] *ad v* i (pp. 138, 139).

4 Buhler *op. cit.* App. ii p. clxix (extract).

5 Three stanzas are attributed to Vyasadasa in *Subhas*[0] (460, 1658, 3039).

6 IA xiii loc. cit.

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MSS. Aufrecht i 76b, 776b, iii 17a.

b. Kavi-ḳaṇṭhibhamṇa

Editions. Kāvyamālā pt. iv 1887. A monograph on the work with analyais and German translation by Schönberg, Wien 1884 (in *Sb. der Wiener Akad.)*

MSS. Aufrecht i 86b, iii 18b.

There is no trace of Ksemendra's *Kavi-karṇikā.*

The Works of Ksemendra. A revised list of the works of Kṣemendra, as mentioned by Peterson, Schönberg, editor of the Kāvyamālā (pt. i pp. 35, 115) and Aufrecht may be given here. Those which are quoted in *Aucitya-vicara, Kavi-kaṇṭhabharana* and the *Suvṛtta-tilaka* are marked respectively with the signs (A), (K) and (S).

1 Amṛta-taraṅga (or °turariga) (K) 2 Aucitya-vicāra 3 Avasara-sāra (A) 4 Kanaka-Jaṅakl (K) 5 Kalā-vilāsa (ed. Kavyamala pt. 1) 6 Kavi-kanthabharana 7 Kavi-karnika (A) 8 Kṣemendra-prakāśa (mentioned in *ABod* 38b) 9 Caturvarga-saṃgraha (A and ed. Kāvyamāla pt. 5) 10 Cārucaryā (ed. Kavyamala pt. 2) 11 Citrabharata-nataka (A and K) 12 Darpadalana (ed Kavyamala pt. 6) 13 Dasavataracarita-kavya (ed. Kavyamala 26) 14 Desopadesa (K) 15 Danapari-jata 16 Niti-kalpataru (may be the same as Niti-latā quoted in A) *17* Padya-kadaipbarl (K) 18 Pavana-pancasika (S) 19

Brhatkatha-manjari (ed, Kavyamala 69) 20 Bauddavadana-kalpalata (A) 21 Bharata-manjari (ed. N. S. P.) 22 Muktavali-kavya (A and K) 23 Munimata-mimamsa (A) 24 Rajavall (mentioned in' Kalhaina i 13) 25 Ramayana-katha-sara (ed. Kāvyamālā 83) 26 Lalitaratna-mālā (A) 27 Lāvaṇyavatl-kāvya (A and K) 28 Vātsyāyanasutra-saṙa (A aud quoted in the *Pancasayaka)* 29 Vinaya-valll (A) 30 Vetala-pancavirpsati (from the Brhatkatha-manjari) 31 Vyasastaka (A and K) 32 Sasi-vamsa-mahakavya (K) 33 Samayamatrka (ed. Kavyamala 12) 34 Suvrtta-tilaka (ed. Kavyamala pt. 2) 35 Sevyasevakopadesa (ed. Kāvyamālā pt. 2). The Hastijanaprakāśa, mentioned by Schönberg and Peterson is by Kṣemendra, son of Yadu Śarman (see Kavyamaṭa p. 115 fn and Aufrecht i 765). The Navaucitya-vicāra in Schönberg is probably the same work as Aucityavicāra. The Kalāvilāsa has been translated into German by R. Schmidt in *WZKM* xxviii, 1914, p. **406f;** the Darpadalana by the same in *ZDMG* lxix, 1915, p. if (also ed. and transl by B. A. Hirszbant, St. Petersberg, 1892).

XIV BHOJA

(1)

The earliest writer on Poetics who quotes Bhoja seems to be Hemacandra[1], who flourished as we shall see, in the first half of the 12th century; while Vardhamāna, who however did not write till 1140 A.D., mentions Bhoja in the second verse of his *Gaṇaratna*, the *Vrtti* on which explains this Bhoja as the author of the *Sarasvati-kanthabharana.* The latest writer quoted by Bhoja appears to be Rājaśekhara[2], whose latest date is the beginning of the 10th century, although some verses from the *Coura-pañcakika*[3] (no. 12, ed. Bohlen), attributed to Bilhaṇa, occur in the *Sarasvati-k°* *(nd.* i 152)[8]. Bhoja appears also to refer in one verse *(ad* i 71, p. 22) to Muñja, appearently Muñja-vakpatiraja of Malava. Jacob[4] in misleading in putting down the name of Nami-sādhu, (who did not write his commentary on Rudrata till 1069 A.D.) in the list of authors quoted by Bhoja; for the verses in question, though found in Nami, are not Nami's

1 p. 295 Comm., besides anonymous quotations.'

2 From *Karpura-manj°*, *Bala-bha*^{0}, and *Viddhasala*^{0}. See Sten Konow's ed. of *Karpura-manj°* pp. 198 f., for the quotations: also Jacob *JRAS,* 1897, p. 304f.

3 We have not based any chronological inference on this, because Bilhaṇu's anthorship of the work is not beyond question and Solf tries to demonstrate the existence of a poet called Cora or Caura, whose date is not known.

4 ap. cit. p. 304.

own but really quoted by him from previous authors[1] Bhoja also quotes about sixteen times from the *Dasarapaka* and its commentary, which belong to the time of Munja, i.e. the end of the IOth and the beginning of the 11 th century. The internal evidence of the text, therefore, places the author of the *Sarasvatik°* in the period between the second and the fourth quarters of the 11th century; and as this date tits in easily with the known dates of the 9th Paramāra ruler Bhoja of Dhārā, one of the well-known princes of the 11th century, noted for his patronage of letters, the two may be taken to have been reasonably identified. Our Bhoja. is frequently cited in later Alamkara liteniture as Bhojaraja, and some times simply as *rajan*[2] which designation, like that

I For instance, the verse *ayam padmasanasina°* (Bhoja *ad* i 51 p. 15) is found, no doubt, in Nami on xi 24, but it is really a quotation, along with several other verses in the same context, from Bhāmaha ii 55. Similarly the two verses *sa marutā* and *sapitavasti*, quoted by Bhamaha himself (ii 41, 58) from some previous authors (one of whose names is given as Rāmasarman) occur in Bhoja anonymously *(ad* i 121, pp. 43,44), but they are also quoted by Nami in the same context. There is no reason to suppose that Bhoja took these verses from Namt's comm. instead of going directly to Bhamaha, from whom he quotes several other verses directly (e.g, a*krosan nahvayan,* Bhoja *ad* iii 8, p. 144 = Bhamaha ii 94; Bhamaha ii 92 = Bhoja *ad* iv 51, p. 226-7 = *Subhas°* 1645 *bhamahasya).* Similar remarks apply to the other supposed quotations given by Jacob, whose mistake is probably due to the fact that Bhamaha's text was not available to him.

2 e.g. Vidyādhara pp. 98, 150, 192, 287, 304, and Mallinātha pp. 287, 304 etc.

of muni applied to Bharata, seems to mark him out *par excellence* in this literature.

(2)

Kalhana states (vii 259)[1] that king Bhoja of Dhara was the true friend of poets; and it is possible that he had himself literary predilections. He was the son and successor of Sindhuraja and a nephew Munja-vakpatiraja who was also, as we have seen a great patron of letters. The date of Bhoja is well known from his own and other inscriptions[2]. Alberuni[3] mentions him as still reigning in 1030 A D. while the data saka 964== 1042 A.D. is given by the *Raja-mrgahka* which is attributed to Bhoja. We know also that he fought with Calukya Jayasimha I I I between 1011 and 1019 A.D., and with the latter's successor Somesvara (1042-1066 A.D.), who according to Bilhaija took Dhara-by storm and forced Bhoja to flee. Bilhana himself speaks of Bhoja as of a contemporary ' whom he did not visit though he might have done so[4]. In Kalhana's assertion, referred to above, with respect to Bhoja and Ksitiraja, the phrase *tasmin ksane* is taken by Buhler to refer to the period when, after the nominal coronation of Kalasa in 1062

1 *sa ca bhoja-narendras ca danotkarsena visrutau / suri tasmin ksane tulyam dvavastam kavi-bandhavau.*

2 *IA* v 17, 318f, vi 53f ; *EI* i 230f.

3 ed. Sachau i 191. According to Merutunga, Bhoja succeeded Munja in *samvat* 1078= *1022* A.D. See, however, Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1882-83, pp. 44-45.

Buhler's ed. *Vikramanka°* p. 23 fn, also text xviii 96.

A.D., Ksitiraja became a sannyasin and sometimes visited king Ananta in order to console him. If this interpretation is correct, we get a limit to Bhoja's date at 1062 A.D.. A copper-plate of his successor Jayasiṃha, however, is dated 1055 A.D., and throws doubt on Bühler's conjecture. But all this will justify us in fixing Bhoja's date with great probability between 1010 and 1055 A.D.; i.e. roughly covering a part of the first and the whole of the second quarter of the 11th century, and he may have lived into the third quarter of the same century. The exact dates of his accession and death are unknown.

(3)

Besides his well-known *Sarasvatl-kanthabharana*, Bhoja appears also to have written it work called *Srngara-prakasa*[1], a MS of which has been recently acquired by the Government Oriental MSS Library, Madras[2]. It is composed in 36 *prakāśas*, and is described as the largest known work in Sanskrit Poetics. The first eight chapters are devoted to the quasi-grammatical question relating to word and its sense as the means of expression, and the theory of *vṛtti*. The ninth and the tenth chapters describe the blemishes and excellences of expression *(dosa*

1 This work is mentioned by Vidyādhara p. 98, Kumārasvāmin p. 114, 221; Rayamukuṭa and Sarvānanda on Amara ; Hemādri on *Raghu* etc.

2 mentioned in the *Rep. of the Working of the Peripatetic Party* of the Library, 1916-19,

and *guṇa)*; while the eleventh and twelfth chapters deal respectively with the *mahā-kāvya* and the drama. The next twenty-four chapters treat exclusively of the *rasas,* of which the *srngara* or love is maintained to be the principal and essential, and the work derives its name from Bhoja's theory that *srngara* is the only one *rasa* admissible[1]. As in the *Sarasvati-k°,* this work, in the manner of a cyclopaedic compilation, gives a large number of quotations to illustrate the rules and principles laid down. Śaradatanaya's *Bhavaprakasa,* which deals with the same subject, constitutes really a summary of the important chapters of Bhoja.

(4) .

The *Sarasvatl-kanthabharana* is not a very original work, but consists chiefly of a patient compilation in an encyclopeadic manner from earlier treatises, especially from Dandin, from whom he takes, according to the calculation of Jacob[2], no less than 164 illutrations. From the index of citations given by Jacob, we find that Vāmana is quoted 22 times, Rudraṭa 19 times, the *Dhavanyaloka* more than 10 times (six *of the karikas* being reproduced), while it is curious to note that Bhoja makes a good use of Bhatti's illustrations of the figure *yamaha* and its numerous

1 Cf Vidyadhara *raja tu srngaram ekam eva srngaraprakase rasam uraricakara* p. 98; Kumarasvamin p. 221 *srngara eka eva rasa iti srngaraprakasa-karah.*

2 loc, cit,

sub-species. While the chief value of Bhoja's work consists in its abundant wealth of illustrations and examples, numbering about 1500, to every rule and prescription, it is nevertheless interesting as embodying, in the main, a tradition of opinion, which is also represented in the *Agni-purāṇa*, but which in many respects stands apart from the orthodox Kashmirian school.

(5)

The commentators on Bhoja, as noted below, are not numerous, nor are they of much importance. Ratneśvara's commentary has been published several times together with the text, but so far only three chapters of it have been printed.

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MSS. Aufrecht i 699b; ii 167a, 232b; iii 145a ; *SCC* vii 47, 48; *KBod* 489; *SCB* 34 (with comm.); *Madras Cat*, 12962.

Commentaries. (1) *Ratna-darpaṇa* by Miśra Ratneśvara, (ed. with the text by Jivananda, Calcutta 1894; ed. Benares as above. MSS. Aufrecht i 699b, ii 167a, 232b, iii 145a; *KBod 490* ; *SCC* vii 49; *Madras Cat* 12963). The nominal author Ramasimhadeva,

mentioned in the introductory stanza 2, is apparently the author's patron. In the colophon, the author's name is given as Miśra Ratneśvara and in Benares ed. of the text, the commentary is said to have been written at the command of Rāmasiṃhadeva. In the Catalgues, the work is sometimes inaccurately given as by Rāmasiṃhadeva. The author refers to a comm. on the *Kāv.prak.* by himself. Only the first three chapters of this *Ratnadarpaṇa* have been published in the editions noted ; and both the Madras and Bodleian MSS contain these chapters only.

(2) °*Mārjana*¯ by Harinātha, mentioned by himself in his comm. on Daṇḍin *(A Bod* 206b),

(3) *Duskara-citra-prakasika* by Laksminatha Bhatta. Aufrecht iii 145 a. He may be indentical with Lakṣmlnātha who according to Kielhorn *Report* 1880-81 p. 71, wrote his *Pingala-pradipa* in 1601 A.D. Kielhorn's MS of this latter work appears to have been copied in 1660, while Burnell's *(Piṅgalartha-dipika* pp. 53b, 175b) in 1632 A.D.

(4) ° *Tika* by Jagaddhara, son of Ratnadhara and Damayantl. Aufrecht ii 167a, 232b ; extract is given in Ulwar 1086. This work is probably earlier than the 17th century but later than the 14th (see Bhandarkar Pref. to *Malatimadhava* pp. xviii-xxi). Jagaddhara's genealogy is given thus: Caṇḍeśvara->Vedeśvara (Vedadhara)->Rāmadhara (Rameśvara)—>Gadādhara—>-Vidyādhara—>>Ratnadhara-> Jagaddhara. He wrote several commentaries (Aufrecht i 195) on the *Meghaduta, Vasavadatta, Venisamhara, Matati-madhava* etc.

Comm. by Hankrsna Vyasa, *SCB* 34.

b. *Śrngara-prakasa*

The only MS known is in the Government Oriental MSS Library, Madras, mentioned in their *Report* quoted above. See above p, 147.

XV MAHIMABHATTA

(1)

Rajanaka Mahiman, Mahimaka or Mahimabhatta, who is cited generally as the Vyaktiviveka-kāra[1] from the name of his work, was, as indicated by his title, probably a Kashmirian writer, who describes himself as the son of Sri-dhairya and disciple of *mahākavi* dyāmala. He informs us at the outset of his work (i 3) that his principal object is to consider the views of the Dhvanikāra; and as in the course of his discourse he examines the text of the *Dhvanyaloka,* quoting from the *karika* and the *vrtti,* with a minuteness which cannot be mistaken, we may infer with certainty that he was later than Ānandavardhana[2]. It is also probable that Mahimabhatta was later than Ānanda's commentator, Abhinavagupta; for in some places he betrays an acquaintance with the latter's work. At p. 19, for instance, Mahimabhatta quotes directly a long passage from the *Locana* (p. 33), and shows himself alive to the point

1 Viśvanātha, ed. Durgāprasāda N. S. P., 1915, p. 18, 249; Mallinātha on *Kirāta* iii 21; Ruyyaka, ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 12 ; Kesava Misra p. 80-81; Jagannatha p. 13; etc. Kesava mentions his name as Mahiman.

2 Cf Jayarathap. 12; *dhvanikarantarabhavl vyaktivivekakāra iti,* the Dhvanikāra being, to Jayaratha, Anandavardhana himself,

involved in Abhinava's discussiou by criticising it. The passage refers to *Dhvanyaloka* i 13 where the Dhvanikara uses the verb *vyanktah* in the dual number with the express purpose, as Abhinava explains, of indicating a duality of sense. Bhatta Nāyaka appears to have taken exception to this use of the dual number, upon which Abhinava concludes by remarking *tena yad bhatta-nayakena dvi-vacanarri dusitam tad gaja-nimllikayaiva.* Mahimabhatta, referring to this discussion, quotes anonymously the remarks of Abhinava (not only the above line but the whole passage), with the statement *kecid vimā-ninah.....yad (thus tad bhrāntv-mūlam.* The terms of reference apparently indicate, as Narasiṃha Iyengar rightly points out[1], that Mahimabhatta is here referring clearrly to Abhinava as a theorist of a rival system who, if not contemporaneous, could not have flourished long before his own time. This gives us one terminus to Mahimabhatta's date. On the other hand, Ruyyaka who, as we shall see, flourished in the first half of the 12th century and probably also wrote the anonymous commentary on Mahimabhatta, printed in the Trivandrum edition of the text, is the earliest writer to quote and criticise Mahimabhatta[2]. We may, therefore, assign Mahimabhatta to the period between Abhinava and Ruyyaka, i.e. later than the first quarter of the 11th but earlier

1 *JRAS,* 1908, pp. 65f.

2 Iyengar *(op. cit.)* and Haricand *(op. cit.* p. 105) think that Mahimabhaṭṭa is " quoted or criticised " by Mammaṭa ; but, as *Kāv.prak.* v p. 252 (B. S, S. 1917) shows, Mammata does' not at all cite Mahimabhatta or his work, but only

than the first quarter of the 12th century, and approximately fix his date towards the last half or the end of the 11th century. This date will be in harmony with the probable date of Syāmala, who is mentioned by Mahimabhaṭṭa as his preceptor, if this Syamala is the same poet as is quoted by Kṣemendra[1].

(2)

It is difficult to determine what relation Mahimbhatta bore to Sankuka's who was also, like Mahima.

criticises an *anumāna-theory* which tries to explain the concept of *dhvani* by means of inference. No chronological conclusion can be based on this; for Anandavardhana also refers to a similar theory long before Mahimabhaṭṭa wrote.

I *Aucit.vic. ad sl.* 16 ; *Suvrtta. til ad ii* 31. Also *Subhas*[0] 2292 and Jalhaṇa 165b. Kṣemendra's Śyāmala appears to be identical with Śyamilaka, who wrote *the bhana* entitled *Padataditaka* (ed. Ramakysna Kavi and Ramanatba Sastri, Madras 1922); for the verses, attributed to Syāmala in the two works of Kṣemendra noted above, occur as *śi.* 33 and the 125 respectively in the printed text of the *bhāṇa.* The colophon describes the author as son of Viśveśvaradatta and an *udicya* (northerner), which makes it probable that he is the Kashmirian Syamala, Syamalaka or Syamilaka, also cited by Abhinavagupta. Both Abhinava and Kuntala quote anonymously verses from this *bhāṇa.* The verse ascribed to Śyamalaka in the *Subhas*° *(prayascittam mrgayate yah priya-pada-taditam ,' ksalaniyam siras tasya kanta-gandusa-sidhubhih)* refers unmistakably to this *bhana,* and the second line occurs in a slightly modified form in the *bhāṇa* itself *(ad il 132).* Rajasekhara cites a Syamadeva (pp. 11, 13, *if).*

bhatta, an *anumiti-vadin*[1] in his theory of *rasa,* for Sankuka's work has not yet been recovered. Our auth6r claims for himself originality of treatment and freedom, from, slavish imitation[2], and his omission of all references to his predecessor need not,, therefore, appear strange. The only testimony of Bāmacaraija, an 18th century Bengal commentator on Viśvanātha[3], need not be seriously considered; but it is probable that the theory developed by Mahima did not originate in himself. Anandavardhana refutes at some length some theory of *anumāna* (pp. 201f) .which attempted to explain that the suggested sense, posited by the *dhvani-theory,* can be arrived at by the "process of logical inference. Mahimabhatta pro bably worked out systematically some such thesis (anticipated, it may be, by Ānandavardhana), as a direct rejoinder to Ānanda'.s classical, exposition; but there, is no evidence to connect him with the theory accredited to Sankuka by Abhinavagupta and others.

(3)

From the *Vyaktiviveka* itself (p. 108) we learn that Mahimabhatta also wrote a work entitled

1 He is so called by Mallinatha *(Tarala* p. 85) and Kumārasvāmin (p. 219).

2 He says, for instance, that he has written his work without looking at *Candrika* and *Darpana,* which apparently had the same object in view as the demolition of the *dhvani-theory* (i 4, 5).

3 ed. Durgaprasada p. 248: ed. Roer p. 121 note, *sankuka-matanuyayinam vyaktviveka-karadinam matam dusayati.*

Tattvokti-kosa, where he is said to have discussed what he calls *pratibha-tattva*[1] ,in connexion with the poetic conception of an idea.

Mahimabhatta's work which recognised the new concept of *dhvani,* but tried to explain it by the established process of *anumana* (and not by the separate function of *vyañjanā* explained by Ānanda-vardhana), never found any recognition in the hands of later theorists, most of whom became partisans of the latter. Even his commentator does not appear to possess much sympathy for his somewhat extreme view, and Mahimabhaṭṭa is rather unique in having no followers in later literature.

The commentator referred to has been identified with some reason with Ruyyaka, who has another commentary on Mammaṭa to his credit, as well as several independent works on Alaṃkāra. We shall deal with him hereafter as an independent writer on Alaṃkāra.

I Cf Jacobi *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.* xxiv 225 fn.

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MSS. Aufrecht i 616a."

Commentary. As noted above.

XVI MAMMATA AND ALLATA

(1)

A great deal of uncertainty exists with regard to the exact date of Mammaṭa whose name[1], as well as the title *rajanaka,* indicates that he was probably a Kashmirian. The story relied upon by Hall[2] and Weber[3] that Mammaṭa was the maternal uncle of the author of *Naisadha* may be relegated to the region of fantastic fables which often gather round

1 Aufrecht (i 432) notes that Mammata's original name was Mahimabhaṭṭa on the mistaken authority of Keśava Misra's erroneous citation (p. 80-81). The passage in which Kesava cites Mahimabhatta clearly refers not to Mammata but to Mahiman, author of the *Vyaktiviveka,* mentioned in the same context. The verse *anaucityad ,' te,* however, which is thus quoted and attributed to Mahiman by Keśava, occurs originally in the *ṿrtti* of the *Dhvanyaloka* (p. 145) from which apparently it is also cited in the *Vyakti-viveka* (pp. 31, 114) with a *sa evaha,* along with many other verses similarly quoted from the same text. Keśava might have taken the verse directly from the *Vyaktiviveka's* citation, without knowing the original source, and wrongly attributed it to Mahiman himself. It does not occur at all in the *Kav.prak.* Aufrecht's suggestion, therefore, that Mammaṭa is a corruption of the name Mahimabhatta, like his other supposition that the name Rudrabhatta yields Rudrata, is unwarranted. Cf Peterson ii p. 19.

2 introd, to *Vasavadatta* p. 55.

3 *Hist of Sarisk. Lit* (Eng. trans. 2nd ed.), p. 232 fn.

celebrated names. The lower limit of Mammata's date, however, may be fixed with reference to two commentaries on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, of which the date can be ascertained. The commentary of Mānikyacandra is expressly dated in *samvat 1216=1160* A.D. The exact date of Ruyyaka's commentary is not known, but we know from other sources that Ruyyaka flourished in the second and third quarters of the 12th century[1]. Mammata, therefore, cannot be placed later the beginning of the 12th century.

1 Jhalakikara maintains, on the authority of Paramananda Cakravartin and Nāgoji on Mammaṭa, that Mammaṭa in several places criticises Ruyyaka, who therefore must be placed earlier than Mammaṭa. But the passages he citęs do not support his contention. Thus the verse *rājati tatty am (Kāv.prak.* p. 758) is supposed to be directed against Ruyyaka p. 199, where the same verse is quoted in the same context. It appears, however, that Mammaṭa gives this verse as an instance of sab*dalamkara-samkava* without any comment but with the simple statement that here we have a commixture of *yamaka* and *anuloma-pratiloma-citra* dependent on one another. Ruyyaka, on the other hand, citing the same verse and referring to the opinions of " other authors" comments on it at some length. He remarks that though the verse is given by some as an example of sa*bdalamkara-samkara*, such commixture of *sabdalamkaras*, in his opinion, is not possible, and the example is faulty. The verse itself occurs in Ratnākara's *Haravijaya* (v 137). Jayaratha and Samudrabandha also remark in this connexion that the anonymous authors, referred to by Ruyyaka in his criticism, allude to " Mammaṭa and others." Besides, Ruyyaka himself quotes (p. 102) Marnmata's *karika* iv 15-16. Jayaratha expressly says that Ruyyaka wrote a commentary on Mammata called *Kāvyaprakāśa-sainketa* (p. 102), In several other places, both Jayaratha and Samudra-

The other limit cannot be settled so satisfactorily. It has been maintained that Mammata in one verse (*bhoja-nrpates tat-tyaga-lilayitam* x *ad* 29b ; B. S. S. ed. 1917, p. 684) eulogises Bhoja with whom he should be presumed to have been contemporaneous. This is sought to be supported by the story, related by a very late commentator Bhīmasena[1], that Mammata was the son of Jayyata and had two brothers Kayyata and Uvvata, of whom Uvvaṭa is taken to be the well-known commentator on the Vedic works, some of which, as he himself tells us, were composed in AvantI while Bhoja was still reigning. It is suggested on this ground that Uvvata was probably the medium of the quotation referred to above relating to his royal patron ; or, assuming it to have been composed by Mammaṭa himself, it might have obtained for its author an introduction into the munificent court of Bhoja[2]. But this theory is untenable; for Uvvata tells us that his father's name was Vajrata and not Jayyata; and it is not clear that the stanza in question, given anonymously as an instance of the figure *udatta* (which consists in a description of the wealth and prosperity of an exalted personage) was composed by Mammata himself, who certainly borrows similar illustrative verses from

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bandha point out that Ruyyaka is criticising Mammaṭa (e.g. Jayaratha pp. *77*, 102, 107, 150, 163, 199, 204;Samudrabandha pp. 23, 25, 119, 156, 243, 249 etc.).

1 introd. to ed. *Kav-prak.* in B. S. S. (3rd. ed. 1917) pp. 6-7: also extract in Peterson i p. 94.

2 Gauganatha Jha in his introd. to his trans, of K*av. prak.* pp. vi-vii.

various sources. All that this anonymous verse may be taken to establish is that its allusion to king Bhoja indicates that Mammata was not probably earlier than Bhoja.

We may, therefore, place Mammata between Ruyyaka on the ore hand and Bhoja on the other, if we may assume, on the authority of the commentators, the identity of this Bhoja with the Paramāra Bhoja of Dhara, the reputed author of the *Sarasvati-k*^{0}. In other words, Mammata probably belongs to the period between the middle of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century. Allowing two generations to intervene between him and Ruyyaka, we may assign Mammata's literary activity roughly to the last quarter of the 11th century.

(2)

Although well-known for his *Kavya-prakasa,* which helped to establish finally and exclusively the doctrines of the Kashmirian school of Ānanda-vardhana, Mammata is also the author of a less known work entitled the *Sabdavyapara-parhcaya* which, as its name implies, is a short dissertation on the expressive functions *(vrtti)* of words. Mammata, like most writers on Poetics, was also well-versed in the allied science of grammar, proficiency in which he also displays in the larger work.

On a summary examination of the contents of the *Kavya-prakasa,* it will appear that the work is carefully planned and systematically worked out.

Petersen, however, on the indication given in Rajanaka Ananda's *[0]Nidarsana[1]* commentary, first called in question the unity of the work, although his first erroneous impression[2], corrected afterwards by himself,[3] was that the *karika-text* was composed by Mammata, while the running prose-*vrtti* was added by some other hand. There is enough evidence now to show that Mammata composed nearly the whole work *(karika* and *vrtti),* and only a small portion of the last chapter, left incomplete by him, was completed by another author, whose name is given by Ananda as Alata or Alaka. That the fact of joint-authorship is skilfully concealed is supposed to be alluded to in the last verse, given in most of the MSS[4], which apparently says that "this way of the learned, though different yet appearing identical, is not strange, for here the only cause is a properly constructed (plan of) combination." This may be explained, no doubt, as meaning that the author here claims the credit of having skilfully removed, in his systematic work, all conflict of opinions held by different authors on Poetics; but most commentators agree in finding here a hint implying that the work left incomplete by Mammata was completed by some other person, and the traces of joint-authorship are

1 The name of this comm. is *Sitikantha-vibodhana* as well as *Kavyaprakasa-nidarsana.*

2 ***Rep.*** **i p. 21 f.**

3 ***Rep.ii*** **p. 13 f. Cf Buhler in *IA* xiii 30.**

4 ***ityesa margo vidusam vibhinno'- / pyabhinna-rupah pratibhasate yat \ na tad vicitram yad amutra samyag / vinirmita samghatanaiva hetah.***

ingeniously obliterated. Manikyacandra Suri, one of the earliest commentators, does not comment on this verse[1], but Ruyyaka remarks in his °*Samketa* commentary: *em grantho granthakrtanena katham apya-samaptatvad aparena ca puritavasesatvad dvi-khando-pyakhandataya - yad avabhasate tatra samghatanaiva hetuh.* In this view Ruyyaka is followed by Jayanta Bhatta, Somesvara, Narahari Sarasvati-tirtha, Kamalakara, Ānanda, Jajnesvara and other early as well as late commentators. Rajanaka Ānanda, however, is more explicit and quotes a traditionary verse[2] to show that Mammata composed the work up to the treatment -of the figure *parikara* (x 32), while the rest, consisting of a small portion of the concluding chapter, was completed by Alaka, Alata or Allata[3].

This statement about the joint-authorship of the *Kavya-prakasa* receives confirmation from an indipendent source. Commenting on *Amant-sataka* (ed. Kāvyamālā 18, 1916, *si.* 30), Arjunavarman who, flourished in the first quarter of the 13th century, quotes from the *Kāvya-prakāśa* vii *ad* 14 (the verse *prasade vartasva*[4] cited therein) with the remark

1 Peterson iii p. 19.

2 *krtah srl-mammatacarya-varyaih parikaravadhih / prabandhah puritah seso vidhayalata (°laka* or °l*lata) surma.*

3 This is perhaps the reason why in some MSS of the work, the colophon puts down the names of Mammata and Allata (or Alaka) as the authors, e.g. Bodleian MS (Hultzsch collection 172), which is a Kashmirian MS in Sarada character, reads: *iti kavyaprakasabhidhanam kavya-laksanam samaptam, krtih sri-rajanaka-mammatakalakavoh.*

4 This verse is ascribed to Candraka in Sarngadhara 3565.—On this question see Kane in *IA,* 1911, p. 208,

yatkodahrtam dosa-nirnaye mammatalakabhyam. In the same chapter on *dosa* in the *Kavya-prakasa,* Amaru 72 is quoted as instancing the fault technically known as *jugupsaslila* (vulgarity causing disgust), because the word *vāyu* in the verse is supposed to connote vulgar associations. Arjunavarman defends Amaru from this fastidious criticism with the pointed remark : *kim tu hladaikamayi-vara-labda-prasadan kavyaprakasakaran.h.ā.n.ā.m prayena dosa-drsti, yenaivamvidhesvapi paramartha-sahvdayananda-padesu sarasa -kavisamdarbhesu dosam eva saksat akurutam.* Both these passages, which mention the dual authorship of the *Kavya-prakasa,* refer in particular to ch. vii where the *dosas* or faults of composition are discussed * Unless the remarks be taken to imply a general reference to the fact of joint-authorship without particularly meaning collaboration of any special chapter, one may be led to the conclusion that Allaṭa (here mentioned as Alaka) had a hand not only in the 10th, as the the tradition makes it out, but also in the 7th chapter.

(3)

Of the three forms of the name, Alaka, Alata and Allata, the last, which is given in Stein's Jammu MS, seems to be the most authentic. The *ṭa* is a well-known suffix to Kashmirian names, and Stein says that "this form of the name is the only one known to the tradition of Kashmirian Pandits, to whom the double authorship of the *Kavya-prakasa* is otherwise perfectly familiar."[1] This Allata or

I See *Jammu Cat,* pp. xxiii f.

Alaka is supposed to be the same as Rajanaka Alaka -who wrote a commentary on Ruyyaka, and is quoted by Ratnakantha as such[1]. If this identification, which was suggested by Peterson but disfavoured by Stein, is correct, then we must also ascribe to him the *Visamapadoddyata* commentary[2] on Ratnakara's *Haravijaya,* where Alaka is described as the son of Rajanaka Jayanaka. It appears strange, however, that Allata, the continuator of the *Kavya-prakasa,* should also be the commentator of Ruyyaka, who in his turn commented on the same work. This will make the two writers commentators on each other's text; and if this were so, we may naturally expect a reference to this fact by Ruyyaka, who otherwise alludes to the dual authorship of the *Kavya-prakasa,* but does not mention the name of Allata as the continuator[3].

(4)

A tradition, chiefly obtaining in Bengal, as we find it in Baladeva Vidyabhusana and Mahesvara

1 Peterson ii p. 17C

2 i pp. 13 17. Cf. Buhler, *Kashmir Rep.* p, 45. The work, extending over 50 cantos, has been printed in Kavyamaia 22.

3 It is clear, however, that the combination of names in the colophon to a MS of the *Kāv.prak.* (containing, in the same codex, the text and Ruyyaka's °*Saṃketa* commentary), viz., *iti srimadrajanakallata-mammata-rucaka-viracite nija-grantha-kavyaprakasa-samkets prathama ullasah,* should not lead, us to think, as Peterson and Stein do, that the *Kav. prak.* is a joint-compilation of Allata, Mammata and Rucaka

Nyayalamkara, two very late Bengal commentators on the *Kavya-prakasa*[1], imputes the authorship of the *karikas* (here called *sutras*[2]) to Bharata and the prose-vrtti to Mammata, while Bharata himself is said to have drawn upon the *Agni-purāṇa*. While the lost assertion about the *Agni-purāṇa* has no foundation in fact and is apparently prompted by the amiable but unhistorical imagination of late writers, which delights in exalting the antiquity of the *Purāṇas*, the suggestion of Bharata's authorship of the *kārikās* is too unauthentic and fanciful to be accepted. Mammata's authorship of the *karikas* has been declared by Hemacandra (Comm. p. 109 =*Kāv. prak.* v 1-2b) in the first quarter of the 12th century, as well as accepted by a succession of authors and

(or Ruyyaka), but it only indicates the names of the authors of the original work (viz, Mammaṭa and Allaṭa) as well as the name of the author of the °*Samketa* commentary comprised in the codex.

1 Vidyabhusana's *Sahitya-kaumudi* on Mammata, ed. Kavyamala 63, 1897, p. 2, and comm.; also comm. p. 1. and text p. 189, Cf, Peterson ii p. 10f, Mahesvara's comm. (ed. Jivananda, 1876) p. I. This view is also endorsed by Jayarāma Paiicānana, another Bengal commentator on Mammaṭa (see Peterson ii pp. 21-22, 107).

2 The term *sūtra* should not mislead us to think that the work might have been originally composed in that form, upon which the later karika-verses were based; for it is not unusual for the commentators to refer to Mammaṭa's *karikas* themselves as *sutras:* e.g. °*Pradipa*, ed. Kāvyamālā 1912, p. 378 *satre vibhaga upalaksana-parah*; p. 384 *sutram copalaksanataya yojyam*; °*Prabha* p. 381 *sutraskaranusaratah;* °*Uddyota* ed. Candorkar, x p. 123.

commentators like Jayaratha, Vidyadhara, Mallinatha, Kumarasvamin and Appayya. Vaidyanatha, commenting on °*Pradipa* (I 1), alludes to this tradition and rejects it expressly[1]; and in this view most of Mammata's other commentators agree. Apart from this, the evidence of the text itself goes directly against such a hypothesis. The *karikas* iv 4-5 are expressly supported in the vr*tti* by a dictum of Bharata (vi p. 87 ed. Grosset), and thus imply a distinction between the author of the *kārikā* and that of the *Natya-sastra.*[2]. The *karika* x 8b, again, says *mala tu purvavat,* implying from the context that the figure *mala-rupaka* follows the rule laid down for the figure *malopama,* which, however, is not taught in any of the previous *kārikās,* but explained in the *vrtti.* This apparently indicates that the *kārikā* and the *vrtti* form one block which should be attributed to one and the same author[8].

The source of this tradition is probably the unquestioned reverence paid to the sage Bharata, but it may also be due to the fact that Mammaṭa him-

1 °*Prabhā* ed. Kāvyamālā p. 2.

2 Cf Vaidyanatha on i i ; *granthakrd iti mammaṭabhaṭṭakhyasya kārikākartur nirdesāh. . . . . bharata-saṃhitāyām kasaincit karikanam darmnat sa eva granthakrd iti nayuktam ; caturthe—" karananvatha ,karyani sahakarini"* (iv 4) *ityadi karikarthe " tad uktam bharatena " iti bkarata-sammati-,pradarsanasyasamgatitvapatteh.*

3 To the same effect Vaidyanātha commenting on this passage, ed. Kavyamala 1912, p. 329: *etad eva sutram sutravrttikrtor ekatve jnapakam, malopamayah sutravanuktaya vrttaveva kathanat.* Also cf other agreeing opinions quoted in Jhalakikara's comm, ed. B. S. S. 1917, p, 599

self has made a considerable use of Bharata's *kārikās*. Thus Bharata vi 15, 17-21 = Mammata iv 6-11. Mammata, however has also made a similar use *of kārikās* and illustrative verses of many of his predecessors. Thus the *karika* in Mammata vii 10 *(karnavatamsadi-pade)* appears as a *saṃgraha-śloka* in Vāmana's *vrtti* on II. 2. 19; while the definition of the figure *aksepa* in Mammata x 20 is taken from Bhamaha ii 67a and 68a, or Udbhata ii 2a and 3a as found quoted in Abhinava's *Locana* p. 36. Again, Mammata iv 1 and 3 are clearly paraphrases from the *Dhvanyaloka* ii 1 and 3. Mammata also makes a large use of Rudrata's illustrations.

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MSS. Aufrecht i 101b, 778b; i i 19b, 193b; iii 22b. *SCC* vii 9, 10 12, 59; *WBod* 1158, 1159; *KBod* 500; *SCB* 1535, 1894, 2485, 2486; *Madras Cat.* 12816-18, 12819 (with Pradlpa and Prabha); W*RAS* 128 (l)

The commentaries are dicussed and enumerated in next chapter, below.

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MSS. See Buhler's *Kashmir Rep.* pp. xvii, cxxxiii; *Oudh Cat.* xi 10 (with comm.)

XVII THE COMMENTATORS ON MAMMATA

(1)

There is hardly any other techuical work in Sanskrit which has been so much commented upon as the *Kāvya-prakaśā,* and no less than fifty different glosses will be found noticed in the various reports, catalogues and journals relating to Sanskrit MSS. They count as their authors not only independent and noted writers on Poetics like Ruyyaka and Viśvanātha, but also men having other literary interests, like the Naiyāyika Jagadlśa and Narasiṃha Thakkura, the grammarian Nāgoji Bhatta, the Mimāṃsaka Kamalākara Bhatta, the Vaiṣiiava Baladeva Vidyabhusana, as well as the Tantrika Gokulanātha. Very few of these commentaries have yet been printed. We mention here the more important and better known of these writers, noting their dates when known and supplying whatever information we can gather about them.

1. RĀJĀNAKA RUYYAKA or RUCAKA. His commentary is called °*Saṃketa.* He is identical with Ruyyaka (q. v.), author of the *Alamkara-sarvaava.*

MSS: Aufrecht i 102b, ii 20b: extract in Peterson ii p. 106.

2. MANIKYACANDRA. His commentary is also called °*Samketa.* It is dated in *samvat* 1216=1160

A.D.[1] Manikyacandra was a Jaina author of Guzerat, who belonged to the Kotika-gana, Vajra-sakha, Raja-gaccha. The concluding verses of his commentary trace his spiritual genealogy to Silabhadra, after whom came in succession Bharatesvara, Vairasvamin (Vera[0]), Nemicandra and Sāgarendu. Our author states to have been a pupil of Nemicandra, as well as of his successor Sāgarendu, who is identified by Peterson[2] with the Sāgarendu who wrote out in *saṃoat* 1252(=1196 A.D.) at Pattan the first copy of the *Amamasvāmi-carita*.[3] Our Māṇikyacandra seems to be identical with Manikyacandra, author of *Pārśvatiātha-carita*, which is said to have been completed on the Dewali of *saṃvat* 1276(= 1220 A.D.) in Devakūpa (Divbandar) by the sea (v.36). In it the author gives a spiritual genealogy, traced up to Pradyumna Sūri and corresponding exactly to that given in the °*Samketa*[4]. Manikya also appears to have written a *Nalayana* or *Kubera-purana*.[5] Manikyacandra, mentioned in Merutunga's *Prabaudha-cintamāni* as having flourished under Jayasiṃha of Guzerat, seems to be a different person.

MSS : Aufrecht i 102a, ii 20a : extract in Peterson iii 320f.

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1 Peterson iii extr. p. 322, where the verse giving the date is incomplete, but it is given in full in Jhalaklkara's introd. to *Kav.prak.* p. 22.

2 iv p. cxxviii. 3 iii App. p. 98.

4 see extract in Peterson iii App. p. 157-63 ; also vi p, xci. The verse s*ad-tarki-lalam-vilasa*°, describing his preceptor Nemicandra, occurs in *Parsvanatha-carita* also, as in his °Sam*keta*. See extracts in Peterson iii pp. 160 and 321.

5 Peterson iii App. p. 357.

3. NARAHARI, called SARASVATĪTĪRTHA. His commentary is called *Bala-cittanuranjani*. He also refers to two works, *Smrti-darpaṇa* and *Tarka-ratna* (with its *Dipika* commentary), written by himself. Aufrecht notes that Narahari is also the author of a commentary on the *Meghadūta*, of which there is a copy in the Cambridge University Library, and Stein notes (p. 67) a *Kumarsambhava-tika* by Sarasvatitirtha. His commentary on Mammata states that he was born in *samvat* 1298= 1242 A.D., in Tribhuvanagiri in the Andhra country. He traces his own genealogy to Rameśvara of Vatsa-gotra, and describes himself as the son of Mallinatha and Nagramma and grandson of Narasimha, son of Rameśvara. He had a brother named Narayana. When he became an ascetic, he took the name of Sarasvatitirtha and composed his commentary at Benares[1].

MSS : Aufrecht i 101b, 102a (as Sarasvatitirtha), 779a, ii 19b, 20a ; extract in Peterson 1 74 and 10*C iii* pp. 325f.

4. JAYANTABHAṬṬA. His commentary is called *Dipika* or *Jayanti*. He gives its date as *samvat* 1350 = 1294 A.D. He calls himself son of Bharadvāja who was the family-priest *(purohita)* to the chief minister of Sāṁgadeva of Guzerat, the third Vāghelā sovereign who ruled at Pattana during 1277-1297[2]. Jayanta is apparently quoted by Paramānanda Cakravartin, and Ratnakantha (q.v.), and the latter states that his own commentary was based on the *Jayanti*. Our

1 Peterson i pp, 25f, 74.

2 Bhandarkar *Rep*. 1883-84 pp. 17-18 ; Peterson ii pp. 17,20.

Jayanta Bhaṭṭa must be distinguished from Bhatta Jayanta or Jayantaka, author of the *Kadambarikathasāra* (ed. Kāvyamālā 11, 1888), who is an earlier author quoted by Abhinavagupta (p. 142) and who lived probably ia the 9th century.

MSS: Aufrecht i 101a, ii 19b: extract in Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, A pp. 326.

5. SOMESVARA. His commentary is called *Kavyadarsa*[1]. He describes himself as the son of Bhatta Devaka of Bharadvāja-gotra. Jhalakīkara thinks that he was a native of Kanauj from his decided partiality to that country. Peterson[2] and, following him Aufrecht[3], identify him with Someśvara, author of *Kirti-kaumudi* and *Suratkotsava,* and place him in the first half of the 13th century. But this is doubtful, because this Somesvara is known as son of Kumāra. Our Somesvara cites Bhamaha, Rudrata, Mukula, Bhatta Nāyaka and Bhatta Tauta, and is cited in his turn by a very late commentator Kamalākara.

MSS : Aufrecht 102a, ii 20b, iii 22b ; extract in Peterson v. p. 52-3.

6. VACASPATI MlSRA. Nothing is known of him or his commentary, but he is cited by Candidasa (as *praclna* fol. 7a), by Visvanatha on Mammata, and by Bhīmasena. He is probably to be distinguished from Vacaspati Misra, author of the *Bhamati,* who is probably older than Mammata ; for in the list he

1 **The two entries *Kavyaprakasa-tika* and *Kavyadarsa* in Aufrecht i 737b should be one. and both refer to this comm,**

2 v pp. lxxxii

gives of his own works at the end of the *Bhamati*, he does not refer to any commentary on Mammata. Our Vācaspati is probably the Maithilī legist who wrote *Acāra-cintāmani* and other works (see Aufrecht i 559-60).

7. SRIDHARA, with the title Sandhi-vigrahika, cited by Candidasa, and by Visvanatha on Mammata. Sridhara's commentary, called °*Viveka*, is entered in Aufrecht i 102a.

8. CANDIDĀSA. His commentary, called °*Dipika*, was written at the instance of his friend Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa. The India Office MS of his work is written in Bengali character, and he is cited mostly by Oriya, Maithili and Benares writers (e.g. Govinda in his °*Pradipa* pp. 24, 36, 202, 274, Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Kamalākara, Vaidyanātha in his °*Udāharaṇa-candrika*, Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa in his °*Prabhā*, and Viśveśvara in his *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*. pp. 125, 166). He is probably identical with Caṇḍidāsa, the younger brother of the grandfather of Viśvanatha, author of the *Sahitya-darpana*. He is also cited by Visvanatha, son of Trimaladeva (q. v.), in a Kashmirian MS dated 1602 A.D. Candidasa mentions a *Dhvani'-siddhanta-grantha* by himself. He also quotes a work called *Sahitya-hrdaya-darpana*, which may be Bhatta Nayaka's lost *Hrdaya-darpana*.

MSS : Aufrecht i 101b ; extract in *IOC* 491 (p. 326).

9. VISVANĀTHA. Author of the commentary °*Darpana*. He is identical with Visvanatha (q.v.) author of the *Sahitya-darpana*, which is referred to,

in this commentary as his own. First half of the 14th century

MSS : *SCB* 299 ; extract in Jhalaklkara's introd.

10. BHĀSKARA. Wrote *Sahitya-dipika,* commentary. He is cited by Srīvatsalāñchana, Govinda (p. 21), Ravi (Peterson iii p. 20), Narasiṃha Thakkura Bhlmasena, and Ratnakantha (Peterson ii p. 17). Narasiṃha calls him Lata Bhaskara Misra. He is earlier than the end of the 15th century, being cited by Govinda.

MSS : Aufrecht i 101b,779a, ii 20a; extract in Mitra 168 L.

11 PARAMĀNANDA CAKRAVARTIN, His commentary is entitled *Vistarika.* He refers to Misra, Dipikakrt (Jayanta Bhatta ?) and Visvanatha and he must be later than Vidyanatha, whose *Pratapa-rudra* is cited by him. He is himself cited by Kamalakara, Narasimha Thakkura, Vaidyanatha (*Udaharana-can°),* Nagoji Bhatta, Ānanda and Ratna-kaṗtha. Probably a Naiyayika of Bengal. He mentions his guru Isāna, and appears to refer in a punning verse[1] to the *Tattva-cintamani* of Gangesopadhyaya. Jhalakikara thinks that the *cakravarti-laksana,* found in the fourteeen *gadadharl lakqanas,* was formulated by him. Paramananda, from his citations, cannot be earlier than the second half of the 14th century ; and he probably flourished before the 16th century, at the end of which Gadadhara

1 *andha dosandhakaresu ke vi na syur vipascitah naham tu drsti-vikalo dhrtas cintimanih sada.*

flourished. He must be distinguished from Sri-vidyā Cakravartin, apparently a South Indian writer, who commented on Ruyyaka (q.v.) as well as Mammata, and who is also cited under the common designation of Cakravartin, Paramānanda also wrote a commentary on the *Naisadha (**IOC** vii p.1438).

MSS : Aufrecht i 101b, ii 19b, iii 22b ; extract in Peterson ii pp, 108-9.

12. GOVINDA ṬHAKKURA. His well-known commentary is called °*Pradipa.*[1] Govinda also wrote an ° *Udaharana-dipika,* apparently the same as °*Sloka-dipika*[2] in Stein (pp. 60, 269), cited by Nagoji Bhatta. This is supplementary to the larger exegetical work, being a commentary on the illustrative verses of the text. The °*Pradipa* has been commented on by Vaidyanātha (°*Prabhā)* and Nāgoji Bhatta *(°Uddyota).* Govinda was a native of Mithilā, born in the family of Ravikara, eldest son of Keśava and Sonodevi, elder brother of the poet Sri-harsa who is not, however, as Peterson supposes, the author of the *Naisadha.*[3] In addition to this information about

1 The full name of the commentary is *Kavyaprakasa-pradipa,* simplified generally as *Kavya-pradlpa* : so Peterson's speculation on the name (i 27) is idle trifling.

2 The second verse of this work refers to his *Kavya-pradipa.*

3 His brother's verse is cited in ch. x (p. 355) as na*dbhratuh sri-hansasya,* but the *Naisadha* is cited by name n the same chapter (p.351) with *iti naisadha-darsanat.* He aments, in one of the concluding verses, the death of this

himself, Govinda tells us that he learnt *kavya* and *sāhitya* from his elder step-brother Rucikara. His exact date is not known, but Govinda refers to Viśvanātha as *arvācīna,* quoting the latter's criticism of Mammata's definition of poetry, as well as the latter's own definition of the same, without actually naming him or his *Sahitya-darpaṇa.* Govinda, therefore, is probably later, but not very much later, than the 14th century. On the other hand, he is earlier the last quarter of the 16th century, being quoted in Prabhakara's *Basa-pradipa* which was composed 1583 A.D. Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, who flourished later, but not much later, than 1612 A-D- (having himself quoted Kamalākara), is,supposed, on the authority of the family genealogy, to be fifth in descent from Govinda, This will roughly place Govinda towards the end of the 15th century[1].

Editions : (1) In *Pandit* vols, x-xiii by Ramasastri Bhagavatacarya (2) with comm. of Vaidyanatha, called, °*Prabha,* in Kavyamala 24,1891, 1912 (our references are to the ed. of 1912) (3) with °*Uddyota* in Ānandasrama Series 1911 (4) with °*Uddyota* (ch. i, ii vii, x) by Candorkar, Poona 1889.

MSS : (of °*Pradlpa)* Aufrecht i 102b, 779a ; ii 20a, 193b: iii 22b. *SCC* vii 14, 15, 18 ; *KBod* 502, 503 ; *SCB* 306.

13. JAYARAMA NYAYAPANCANANA. His commentary is called ° *Tilaka* or *Jayarami.* The commentary called R*ahasya-dipika* by Jayarama, entered in some catalogues, appears to be an alternative

brother Sri-harsa, in which however he does not mention him, as he could have done, as the poet of the *Naisadha.*

1 See introd. to N. S. P. ed of the *Pradipa;* also the *Pandit* xiii p. 74f.

name. He seems to be identical with the author of the *Nyaya-siddhanta-mala,* the *Padartha-manimala,* and of commentaries on the *Nyaya-kusumanjali* and on the *Tattvacintamani-didhiti* (Aufrecht i 20a), which works indicate that he was a Naiyāyika. He is described as the pupil of Rāmacandra (or Rāmbhadra) Bhattacarya and guru of Janardana Vyasa. He is cited by Srivatsalanchana and Bhimasena, but the only writer who appears to quote him extensively is Visvesvara (as Nyayapancanana) in the his *Alam.. kaus.* pp. 11, 23, 106, 127, 161, 162, 172, 263, 327. Jayarāma was certainly later than Raghunātha Siromani (beginning of the 16th century), on whose *Tattva-cintamani-didhiti* he commented, but earlier than the beginning of the 18th century, the date of Bhimasena.

MSS: Aufrecht i 101b, 779a, ii 19b, 193b ; *SCC* 305, 2154 (Jayarami). Extract in Peterson ii p. 107 and Mitra 1447.

14. SRIVATSALANCHANA[1] and SUBUDDHI MISRA. Srivatsa's commentary is called *Sarabodhini.* It is mentioned by Hall[2] and attributed to "Mahesvara, otherwise called Srivatsalanchana,' Maheśvara appears to be another name of Subuddhi Miśra who, Aufrecht notes, wrote a commentary on Vamana[3] called *Sahitya-sarvasva*; but Subuddhi also

1 Also called Śrivatsa-sarman, Śrivatsa-varman or simply Vatsavarman.

2 introd. *Vāsavadattā* p. 54.

3 Aufrecht's description *(ABod* 208a) of Subuddhimiśra as Subuddhimisra-mahesvara, as well as Hall's statement, makes one think that the term is not *mahesvara* but *mahesvara,* which is often, as in the cases of Abhinavagupta and Vidyādhara, applied as an appellation of a Śaiva writer. This is

appears to be cited as a commentator on mammata by Narasimha Thakkura, Vadiyanatha (Udaharaṇa-*candra*), Bhimasena and Ratnakantha. The two are probably different persons, as Bhimasena and Ratnakantha cite both Srivatsa and Subuddhi Misra. Srivatsa is also the author of an independent work called *Kavya-pariksa*[1], which deals with the general characteristics of poetry and follows in the main the teachings of Mammata. This work may not be identical with *Tattva-pariksa* by Subuddhi Misra (which may the name of his commentary on Mammata), cited by Ratnakantha and entered by Kielhorn in *Central Prov. pat.* p. 100. Two other works Kavya-*tnpta** and R*amodaya-nataka*, are also ascribed to Srivatsa. As Srivatsa cites Vidyanatha, he cannot be earlier than the 14th century; on the other hand, he is earlier than the 17th century, being quoted by Kamalakara (1612 A. D.) and Jagannatha. It appears also that the *Sarabobhini* in many places expands or condenses Paramananda's Vistarika.

MSS: Aufrecht i 102a (both under Vatsavarman and Śrivatsayatiman), 779a, ii 20a, 193b ; *Madras Catalogue* 13827 (extract).

15. PANPITARĀJA. This commentator, cited by Ratnakantha, is probably identical with Raghunandana Raya, disciple of the legist Mahesa Thakkura (See Jha's transl. of *Kav. prak.* introd. p. ix). He should not be confounded with Jagannatha Panditaraja.

thus a surname of both writers, which might have led to their doubtful identification.

1 Aufrecht i 778b, ii 19b.

2 Aufrecht i 103a, ii 20a.

MSS:- Stein pp. 60, 269, extract given 1164 (Aufrceht i 19a), Stein's MS of this work goes up to *Ullasa* ii only and quotes no authorities except the *Misras* and Pratyabhijna-karas, Jha's MS appears to have been copied in 1657 A.D.

16. RAVI and. RATNAPANI. Ravi is the author of the *Madhumati* commentary, the last verse of which tells us that the author had a beloved daughter named Madhumatl, after whom the commentary was baptised. He also informs us that he was the son of Gauri and Manodhara, *alias* Ratnapani, and grand-son of Acyuta, who was a minister of Sivasimha or Sivasiddha of Mithila (about the middle of the 15th century, *IOC iv* p. 875f). Ratnapani or Manodhasa also wrote a commentary on Mammata, called *Kanya-darpana*[1], which is cited by his son and an which the latter's commentary itself seems to have been based. The father and the son are cited by Bhimasena, while Kamalakara and Narasiṃha cite the Madhminata-kāra.

MSS: Aufrecht i 102a, ii 20a; *Madras Cat.* 12822-33 *Mādras Trm C* 1676 ; extract in Peterson iii p 332f.

17. MAHESVARA, with the title Nyayalam-kara. His commentary is called °*Ādarsa*, or °Bhavartha-Cintamani. He is a Bengal writer, who also composed a commentary on the *Dayabhaga.* As he is cited by Vaidyanātha he should be placed before the middle of the 17th century, and it is probable that he flourished about the commencement of that **century.**

1 See Peterson iii App. p. 332 where the extract is given (esp.- *sl:* 5). A MS of this work, called *Kavya-darpana or Kaeyaprakasa-darpurna is* noticed in Mitra 3169, and the author's name given as Manodhara,

MSS: Aufrecht i 102a, 779a, ii 20a, 193b, iii 22b; *SCC vii* 58.
Edition: ed. by Jivananda, Calcutta 1876.

18. KAMALĀKARA BHAṬṬA. He is better known as a legist, and wrote a large number of works on Smṛti and Mlmāṃsā. He was a Mahratta Brahmin of Benares, son of Ramakrsna Bhatta and Uma, younger brother of Dinakara Bhatta, and grandson of Narayana Bhatta and great-grandson of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa[1]. Ananta Bhatta, who wrote the *Ramia-kalpadruma* at the request of Garibadasa, minister of Rājā Rājasiṃha, was his son. Kamalākara's date is known from the fact that he dates his *Nirnaya-sindhu* in 1612 A.D. He also wrote a poem called *Rāma-kautuka* in 4 cantos.

Edition: ed. by Papa Sastri, Benares 1866.
MSS: Aufrecht i 101b, 778b; ii 19b, 193b.

19. RĀJĀNAKA ĀNANDA. His commentary is called °*Nidarsana* or *Sitikantha-vibodhana*[2]. Hall (*Vāsavadatta* p. 16) is mistaken in attributing this work to Sitikantha and taking it as dedicated to

1 For Kamalākara's place in the Bhaṭṭa family of Benares, see the pedigree given in V. N. Mandlik's ed. of *Vyavahara-rnayukha* p. lxxvi. See also Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 50-1. He is also the author of numerous works on Mimamsa and Smrti, some of which he mentions at the end of his comm. (see Aufrecht i 80). His descendants still live in Benares.

2 The colophon, as quoted by Buhler (*Kashmir Rep.* p. 69 fn), says: iti *srimad-rajanakanvaya-tilakena rajanakananda-ken viracitaṃ kavyaprakāha-nidarhanam.* But elsewhere in the Jammu MS of Stein, it says: *iti sri-kavya-darsane sitikantha-vibodhane kivyoddesa-darsanam prathamam,* col..to ch. i). It seems that the real name of the Comm. is °*Nidarsana, as*

Ananda. The colophon, as well as the first verse[1], of this commentary accounts probably for Hall's mistake; but the author himself explains that the commentary is so named from the fact that an attempt is made in it to interpret Mammata's text as having, besides its *ālaṇikārika* meaning, a mystical sense relating to Sitikantha or Siva. Mammata himself might have been a Kashmirian Saiva; but this leaves no doubt that Ānanda was one, although it is doubtful whether the text lends itself to such an interpretation. The date is given in the colophon as 1665 A.D., although Hall thinks that this is the date in which the MS of the work was copied. Stein remarks: "Ānanda, who composed his commentary in 1665 A.D. is still well remembered in the tradition of Kashmirian Pandits as the contemporary and friend of Rajanaka Ratnakantha[2]", one of whose known dates is 1648 A.P. Ānanda, therefore, may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the 17th century. Ānanda also appears to have written a commentary on the *Naiṣadha.*

MSS: Aufrecht i 102a, ii 20a. Extract in Peterson i 74, also in Stein p. xxvii.

20. RĀJĀNAKA RATNAKAṆTHA. His commentary is called *Sara-samuccaya* which, as its

Peterson thinks, *Śitikantha-vibodhana* being an alternative or descriptive name arising from the second meaning relating to Sitikantha which the commentary finds in the text.

1 *pranamya saradam kavya-prakaso bodha-siddhaye padartha-viv. ti-dvara sitikanthasya darsyate,* Jhalaklkara reads *sva-sisyebhyah pradarsyate,* but -remarks atra sit*ikanthasya darsyate iti patho vivarana-karair angikrtah.*

2 *Jammu Cat,* p, xxvii fn.

title indicates and the author confesses, was composed by a compilation from "the principal commentaries of Jayanta and others." He cites, therefore, some of the well-known commentaries[1] before his time, among which we find the *Sahitya-dlpika* (of Bhaskara), *Sarabodhinl* (of Srivatsa), the commentaries of Subuddhi Migra and Panditaraja, the *Vistarika* (of Paramananda)', the *Pradipa* (of Govinda?), and two other works *Tattva-pariksa* and *Rasa-ratna-dipika.* This is the same Ratnakuntha who copied the *codex archetypus of* the *Rajatarangini,* mentioned by Stein (introd; p. viif) and also transcribed MSS of the °*Samketa* of Ruyyaka in 1048, of Rayamukuta's commentary on Amara in 1655, and of Trilocanadasa's *Katantra-pancasika* in 1673 A.D. He is identical with Ratnakantha, who was the son of Sankarakantha and grandson of ,'Ananta-kavi of the Dhaumyayana race and who wrote a *Stuti-kusumanjali-tika* (called *Sisya-hita)* in 1681 A.D., and a *Yudhisthira-vijaya-kavya-tika in 1672* A.D: (Aufrecht i 489b; Stein, *loc. cit).* These dates range from 1648 to 168J A.D., during which apparently the literary activity of Ratnakantha falls.

MSS: Aufrecht i 102a, ii 193b ; extract in Peterson ii p. 129 (also ii i6f);

21. NARASIMMA ṬHAKKURA. His commentary is called *Narasimha-manisa.* He belonged to the same family as Govinda Thakkura and was fifth in descent from him. The latest writer he cites seems to be the Madhumati-kara and Kamalakara, and he is cited in his turn by Bhimasena

1 For a list of authors cited by him, see Peterson ii p. 17f.

with the title n*yayarvidya-pagisa*.

MSS: Aufrecht i 101b, ii 19b.

22. VAIDYANĀTHA TATSAT. Me wrote two commentaries (l) the °*Prabhā* on the °*Pradipa* of Govinda and the (2) ° *Udaharana-candrika* on the illustrative verses of the *Kavya-prakasa.* The date of the latter work is given in the concluding verse as *sarrivat* 1740 = 1684 A.D. He is probably different from Vaidyanātha, the Maithill grammarian, son of Mahadeva and Veni, and pupil of Nagoji Bhatta; for our Vaidyanatha is known as the son of Ramacandra (or Ramabuddha) Bhatta and grandson of Vitthala Bhatta of the Tatsat family, and is referred to by Nagoji himself. Our Vaidyanatha cites Candidasa, Subuddhi Misra, the Dipikakrt (Govinda's *Udaharana-dipika),* Cakravartin and Mahesa,, and is cited by Bhlmasena. He may not be the same as Vaidyaṇātha Pāyaguṇḍa who wrote commentaries ou the C*andraloka* (see under Jayadeva below).

Edition : °*Prabha,* ed. with *Pradipa* in Kavyamala 24, 1891, 1912 (our references are to the ed. of 1912).

MSS: *Prabhā.* Aufrecht i 102a and b, 779a ;ii 20a. *KBod* 504. *Udāharaṇa-candrika.* Aufrecht i 102a, ii 20a, 193b. extract in Peterson ii p. 108, in *SCC* vii 54, in *IOC* 1151.

23. BHlMASENA DlKSITA. His commentary is called *Sudha-mgara* or *Sudhodadhi*[1]. It is dated in *samvat* 1779 = 1723A.D.[2] He was a Kanauj Brahmin and describes himself as the son of Sivananda and grandson of Muralldhara; his genealogy being

1 The form *Sukhodadhi* given in Peterson's extract (i p. 94) should be *Sudhodadhi.*

2 Peterson i p. 94.

given thus: Gangadasa Viresvara Muralidhara Sivauanda Bhimasena. He is also the author of two independent works, called *Alamkara-saroddhara* and *Kuvalayananda-khandana*[1], the latter apparently directed against Appayya's work of the same name, and both refer rod to in his commentary on Mammata. The last work was composed at Jodhpur while Ajitasimha (1680-1725 A.D.) was still reigning. He also wrote a commentary on *Ratnavali*[2]. He cites a large number of commentators, such as Candidasa, Bhaskara, Acyuta, Ratnapani, Ravi, Jayarama Pancanana, Vacasapati Misra, Cakravartin, Ruci Misra, Murari Misra, Paksadhara Upadhyaya, Devanatha Tarkapancanana, Srivatsalanchana, Govinda and Narasimha Thakkura, Mahesa or Maheśvara, and Vaidyanatha.

MSS: Aufrecht i 102a; ii 20a; extract in Peterson i p. 94 and in Jhalakikara's ed. of *Kav.prak.*

24. BALADEVA VIDYÄBHUSANA, known simply as Vidyabhusana. His work, dignified with the name of " a *vrtti* on Bharata's *sutra* " (so he calls Maminata's k*arikas*[3]*)*, is called the *Sahitya-kaumudi*, on which he himself writes a *tippana*, called *Krsnanandini*. A work called *Kavyakustubha* in 9 *prabhas* is noticed and attributed to one Vidyabhusana in Stein pp. 59, 268, who appears to be a Vaisnava and probably the same as our author (see pref. to Kavyamala ed. of the *Sahitya-kaumudi* and Aufrecht i 101a,

1 The work is also called *Alamkara-sara-sthiti*, a MS of which is noticed in Mitra 4084 (Aufrecht ii 23a).

2 Aufrecht i 492.

3 See above pp. 164-65.

ii 19b, 193b, iii 22b). The work deals with (1) *kavya-phalddi* (2) *sabdartha-vrtti* (3) *rasa* (4) *riti* (5) *dosa* (6) *dhvani-bheda* (7) *madhyama-kavya* (8) *alamkaras.* He was a pupil of Damodara-dasa (concluding verse and its commentary) and Gopaladasa *(alias* Rasika-nananda, commentary on *sl.* 1), and the *guru* of Uddhav-dasa. He was a Vaisigtava and follower of Caitanya, and wrote various *vaiṃava* works. According to a tradition in Bengal, to which place he belonged, he was a contemporary of Jayasiṃha of Jayapur, who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. Aufrecht notes that his commentary on the *Utkalika-vallart* was written in 1765 A.D. A pun in the first verse of his *Sahitya-kaumudi* refers, as he himself explains in the *tippaṇa,* to Gajapati Prataparudra of Utkala or Orissa.

Edition : ed. with *Kṛṃiànandinh* in Kāvyamālā 63, 1897.

MSS : Aufrecht ii 19b, 193b. The *Sahitya-kaumudi* (in Oppert 1058), as well as *Bharata-sutra-vrtti* in Peterson ii 10, is the same work as ours.

25 NAGOJI or NAGESA BHAṬṬA. He wrote two commentaries called *Laghu-* and Br*hat-*[0] *Uddyota.* Also author of a ° *Udaharana-dipika* or °*pradipa* on the illustrations in the text (Stein pp. xxvii, 268). He belongs to the beginning of the 18th century. Also wrote commentary on Jagannatha (q. v.) and other works.

MSS: **Uddyota.* Aufrecht i 101a (anon.), 102b, ii 20a, 193b, iii 22b ; *SCC* vii 16, 17, 55 (extract). *Udakarana-dipika.* Aufrecht ii 19b (extract in Stein pp. 268-9).

Edition. °*Uddyota* ed. with °*Pradipa* in Anandasrama Series 1911: 0d. with text and °*Pradiya* (ch. i, ii, vii and x by Candorkar, Poona 1889, 1915.

(2)

We give below the names of the some of the less known commentators on Mammata (alphabetically):

(i) Kaladhara. Wrote °*Karikavali,* which appears to be a synopsis of the *karikas. KBod* 501.

(2) Kalyāṇa Upādhyāya. Name of comm. unknown, mentioned by Jhā in his introd. to his trans, of *Kāv. prak.* p. ix.

(3) Krsna Dvivedin. Comm. *Madhurarasa.* Aufrecht i 101b.

(4) Krsna Śarman. *Rasaprakasa.* HPS iii no. 58 (extract ; ends with the 5th chapter).

(5) Kṛṣṇamitràcārya, son of Rāmanātha and grandson of Devidatta : a Naiyayika, for whose works see Aufrecht i 121b. °*Tika.* Aufrecht i 101b.

(6) Gadadhara Cakravartin Bhattacarya. ° *Tika.* Mitra 1527 ; *SCC vii* 13.

(7) Guṇaratna Gaṇi. Name of comm. unknown. Aufrecht iii 22b.

(8) Gokulanatha Upadhyaya, the Maithilr Smarta. °*Tika,* mentioned in Jha *op. cit.* p. ix. (see chapter on Minor Writers below).

(9) Gopāla, known ;as Bhaṭṭa Gopāla or Lauhitya Bhatta Gopala Suri. Comm. *Sahitya-cudamani.* Aufrecht i 102a, ii 19b; *Madras Trm A* 1282; *Madras Cat.* 12828 (extract). Cited several times in *Kāmadhenu* on Vaīmana (ed. Benares, pp. 4, 8, 33 etc.). He is cited also by Kumārasvāmin (p. 93), hence earlier than the 15th century. K. P. Trivedi, however, thinks that this Bhaṭṭa Gopāla of Kumārasvamin is the same as wrote the *Rasika-ranjani* comm. on *Rasamanjari* (q. v.). See above p. 101.

(10) Gopinatha. Comm. *Sumano-manohara.* Aufrecht i 101b. He also wrote a comm on Visvanatha (q.v.). End of the 17th century.

(11) Jagadisa Tarkalamkara Bhattacarya, the Bengal 3Naiyayika. Comm. ° *Rahasya-prakasa.* Aufrecht i 101b (Mitra 1651). He was a pupil of Bhavanand and lived at Navadvipa at the beginning of the 17th century.

(it) Janardana Vyasa , pupil of Ananta. Comm. °*Śloka-dipika.* Aufrecht i 101b, ii 19b. He also wrote commentaries on the *Raghu* and *Vrtta-ratnakara.*

(13) Tiruveṅkaṭa, son of Cinnatimma and grandson of Tirumala-guru. *Madras Trm. A* 318. A South Indian writer who quotes Bhaṭṭa Gopāla's commentary.

14) Devanatha Tarkapancanana. Comm. *Kavya-kaumudi..* Aufrecht i 101b, -ii 19b. Cited by Kamalakara and Bhimasena. Bharata Mallika on Bhatti x 73 quotes one Devanātha. See Mitra 1447 where mention is made of an *Ekaqastyalamkara-prakasa* which quotes Devanātha as one of its sources.

(15) Narasiṃha Sūri, son of Timmaji and grandson of Raṅgaprabhu. Comm. *Rjn-vṛtti.* Aufrecht ii 19b *Madras Trm.* B 381.

(16) Nagaraja Kesava. Comm. *Padavattz.* Aufrecht i 101b.

(17) Narayana Diksita, son of Ranganatha Diksita and brother of Balakrsna. Ranganatha's commentary on the *Vikramorvasi* was finished in 1656 A.D. Hence the date of our author is the end of the 17th century. °*Tika.* Aufrecht i 101b (see also 292a; *A Fl p.* 155),

(18) Bhanucandra. °*Tika.* Aufrecht i 101b. Also wrote a commentary on the *Ḍasakumāra.*

(19) Bhavadeva, son of Kysṇadeva of Mithilā and pupil of Bhavadeva Thakkur. Comm. *Lila.* Aufrecht ii 20a; *Madras Cat* 12824-25 (extract). Also wrote a commentary on the *Vedanta-sutra (IOC* **1428).** According to the final verse in this commen-

tary the author lived in the reign of Shah Jahan and composed his Commentary at Patna in *śāka* 1571=1649 A.D.

(20) Madhumatiganesa. Comm. *Kavya-darpana.* Aufrecht i 102a.

(21) Yajnesvara. Comm. °*Vyakhya. Madras Cat* I2821 (extract).

(22) Raghudeva. Comm. °*Karikartha-prakasika.* Aufrecht ii 20a.

(23) Ratneśvara. Name of Comm. unknown, but referred to by himself in his comm. on Bhoja *(cf ABod* 209a).

(24) Raghava. Wrote an *Avacnri tippana,* mentioned in Jhalaklkara p. 36.

(25) Rājānanda. Comm. without a name. *Madras Cat.* 12820 (extract); cf Aufrecht ii 20a.

(26) Ramacandra. Wrote a *Kavyaprakaha-sara,* which is apparently a summary exposition of the substance of the text. Aufrecht i 102b.

(27) Ramanatha Vidyavacaspati, a Bengal commentator who wrote the comm. ° *Rahasya-prakasa.* Aufrecht i 102a. His commentary on Bhavadeva's *Samskāra-paddhati* was composed in 1623 A.D. (see Aufrecht i 516a).

(28) Ramakrsna. Comm. *Bhavartha* or *Kavi-nandini* (or °*nandika*). Aufrecht i 102a, ii 20a: also ii 16b.

(29) Vijayananda. Wrote a ° *Tlka. Deccan Coll. Cat.* p. 44. The age of the MS is given as 1683 A.D.

(30) Vidya Cakravartin. Comm. *Sampradaya-prakasini,* which refers to comm. by himself on Ruyyaka (q.v.) Aufrecht i 102a ; *Madras Cat.* 12826-28 (extract).

(31) Vidyasagara, apparently the title of some commentator, cited by Srivatsalanchana. One Vidyasagara wrote a *Kala-dipika-tika* on Bhatti, and Is cited by Bkarata-Mallika (on x 73), and by Ramanatha on *Amara-koṣa.*

(32) Venkatacala Suri. Comm, *Subodhini,* Aufrecht i 102a.

(33) Sivanarayana Dasa Sarasvatikanthabharana, son of Durgidisa. Conim. °Dipika. Weber 1 no. 819; Aufrecht i 102a. He wrote at the beginning of the 17th century. For his other works, see Aufrecht i 649b.

Besides these, there are numerous commentaries, either anonymous or without the name of the author, some which are entered in Aufrecht i 101b, 778b, ii 20a, 193k A work called *Kavyamrta-tarangini* or *Kavyparakasa-khandana,* apparently an adverse critique on Mammata, is entered in Mitra 2674.

XVIII RUYYAKA

(1)

Ruyyaka, who also bore the name of Rucaka[1] and had the Kashmirian title of Rajanaka prefixed to his name, was the son of Rajanaka Tilaka[2] who, Jayaratha informs us (pp. 115, 124, 205), wrote a commentary or critique on Udbhata called *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or *Udbhaṭa-vicara.*

The *Alamkara-sarvasva,* by which Ruyyaka is chiefly known, consists of two parts, viz., *sūtra* and *vrtti*; but the question has been raised whether

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1 *rajanaka-rucakaparanamno'lamkarasarvasva-krtah (krtih)* col. to Pischel's ed. of *Sahrdyalila* ; cf ed. of the same in Kavyamala pt v, reading of MS *kha.* This name is given in some of the MSS of his larger work (e. g. col. to the Kavyamala and Trivandrum eds. of the text; in Mitra ix. p. 117), as well as by Kumarasvamin (pp. 393, 396,425, 448), Appayya-Diksita *(Citr.mim.* p, 72.), Raghavabhatta on *Śakuntalā* (pp. 161, 179, 193), Vidyā Cakravartin, one of Ruyyaka's commetators *(Madras Cat.* p. 8609). Buhler *(Kashmir Rep.* no. 247, p. xvi) and Peterson (ii p. I3f) also found this name in connexion with Ruyyaka's *Samketa* comm. on Mammal That the form Ruyyaka is the more anthentic is testified to by his pupil Mankhaka *(Śrikantha-c.* xxv 30 : see below).

2 *rajanaka-tilakatmaja* col. to Pischel's ed. of the *Sahrdaya-lila.* Ruyyaka's father was thus, like himself, a writer on poetics, and a follower of Udbhata,

the authorship of the two parts should be attributed to the same writer. The Kavyamala edition of the text, published under the above title, admits Ruyyaka's authorship of both the *sūtra* and the *Vrtti,* a view which is accepted by his earliest commentator Jayaratha, who refers to the author as *granthakrt* with respect to both the *sutra* and *Vrtti* portions.[1] The invocatory verse to the *vrtti* in this edition reads in the second line

nijalamkara-sutranam, vrttya tatparyam ucycte,

so that the *sutra* is avowedly referred to as his own by the *vrttikara.*[2] Some doubt, however, has been thrown on this view by the discovery of a different reading of this line in some of the South Indian MSS, which introduce a grave variant in the phrase *nijalamkara-sutranam* by changing it into *gurvalamkara-sutranam.* There is also, at the end of the *vrtti* in these MSS, an additional verse*, which gives the name of the v*rtti* (and not of the text which is called *Alamkara-sutra)* as *Alarpkara-sarvasva,* and the name of the author of the v*rtti* as Mankhuka or Mankhaka, who is described as a *sandhi-vigrahika* to the king of Kashmir. This forms the reading of the text, (based on three MSS,) which is published in the Trivandrum Series, as well as of MSS

1 pp. 19, 20, 55, 57, *67,* 72, 83, 87 etc.

2 Same reading in *ABod* 210a, where Ruppaka is a mistake or a variant (Buhler *op. cit.* p. 68) for Ruyyaka Mitra ix p. 117.

3 iti *mankhuko vitene kasmira-ksitipa-sandhivigrahikah sukavi-mukhalamkaram, tad idam alamkarasarvasvam.*

noticed by Burnell[1] Winternitz[2] and in the *Madras Catalogue*[3]. This view is supported by Samudrabandha, a South Indian commentator, who flourished in the end of 13th century and whose text is printed in the Trivandrum edition; lor the *vrtti,* the subject of his commentary, is known to him by the name of *Alamkara-sarvasva* and its author as Mańkhaka, while the original work of Ruyyaka is called *Alamkara-sutra.*

We are thus confronted with two distinct traditions, embodied in these two different views and prevailing in the North and in the South of India respectively, with regard to the authorship of the vr*tti,* there being no dispute as to Ruyyaka's authorship of the *sūtra-text* itself. So far as we can judge, the North Indian tradition, obtaining in Kashmir, to which place both Ruyyaka and Matikhaka belonged, seems to be the authentic one; for the South Indian tradition is not uniform in this respect and does not always distinguish between the author of the *sutra* and the *vrtti* respectively. Thus Appayya Dikṣita, a noted South Indian writer, refers[4] to Ruyyaka or Rucaka as the author of the work as a whole, which is called the *Alamkarar-sarvasva,* attributing to him both the *sutra* and the

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1 Tan,'ore Cat. p. 54a.

2 *Cat. of South Ind. MSS in the RAS.* p. 208 ; cf Jacob in *JRAS,* 1897, p. 283f.

3 pp. 8606-7. The question is discussed at some length in Haricand Sastri *op. cit* p. 105f.

4 *Citr. mim.* p. 14, 15, 54, 72,84, 90,94,98 ; *Kuvalay.,* P-41, 89,92, 96,184.

vrtti; and Appayya is in agreement, ia this respect, with Mallinatha[1], Kumarasvamin[2], and Jagannatha[3]. ON the other hand, the testimony of Jayaratha, himself a Kashmirian, cannot be very well superseded by what the later commentator Samadrabandha says in conformity to a tradition which itself is not unanimous. It is also significant that while Ruyyaka (and even Jayaratha) is quoted and discussed extensively by later writers on Poetics, AIaṅkhaka is not cited as a writer on the subject except once by Appayya in his C*itra-mimamsa* (p. 10).

(2)

This tradition of Maṅkhaka's collaboration with Ruyyaka would not perhaps have arisen, had not Madkhaka, as the tradition says, been in fact a pupil of Ruyyaka. Rajanaka Mankha or Mankhaka, son of Viśvāvarta and grandson of Manmatha, is well known as the Kashmirian author of *Srikaṇtha-carita* (ed. Kāvyamālā 3) which was written, according to

1 *Tarala* pp. 21, 186, 187, 232, 237, 249, 261, 262, 266, 331, 332.

2 *Ratnapana* pp. 393(= *Alam, sar. vrtti* p. 58), 425 (=*ibid,* p. 133), 448 *(=ibid,* p. 144); p. *541 (=ibid, sutra* p. 20) p. *452=(ibid,* p. 156).

3 *Rasagangsdhara,* numerous references but see pp. 163 and 200, where both the *sutra* and *vrtti* are quoted under the citation *Alamkara-sarvasva.* See also Raghavabhatta on *Sakuntala* p. 161 *(=Alam,. sarv. vrtti* p. 64), p. 179 *(=ibid, p.*75), p. 193 (=ibid, p. 127).

Buhler[1], between 1135 and 1145 A.D. Mankhaka's brother Alamkara (or Lankaka, xxv 15, 37f) was a minister (v 62, xxv 43, 61) under Sussala and Jayasiṃha of Kashmir (1129-1150 A. D.), and another brother srngara held a high office *(brhat-tantra-pati)* under Sussak, whom he assisted in his war against Harṣadeva. Maṅkhaka tells us how after composing his poem he submitted it, at the house of his brother Alaṃkāra, to an assembly of learned scholars and officials, among whom he describes Ruyyaka as his own preceptor (xxv 30, 135). This also explains how Ruyyaka's own work contains five verses from Mankhaka's poem[2] cited as illustrations ; for it is not unlikely that the *guru* should in this way quote his worthy disciple. As the latest date of Maṅkhaka's poem is given as 1145 A. D., we may presume that Ruyyaka's *Alaṛṛikāra-saroasoa,* which quotes it, was composed a little later ; and it will not be wrong it we fix Ruyyaka's literary career in the second and third quarters of the 12th century[3].

(3)

The works of Ruyyaka are numerous, of which three only have been printed :

1 *op. cit.* p. s'of ; extract App. pp. cix f. See also *Raja-tayang°* viii.

2 See Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, p. 283 for these verses,

3 Jacob *(op. cit.* p. 283) points out that Ruyyaka (p. 93) quotes the *Raja-tarangini* iv 441, which work,was not completed till about 1150 A. D. in the reign of jaya-

(1) *Kavyaprakasa-samketa,* a commentary on Mammata's text, referred to as Ruyyaka's by Jayaratha p. 102, and by Ratnakantha (Peterson ii pp. 17, 19 as *Brhat-samketa).* For MSS, see above p. 169.

(2) *Alamkara-manjari,* referred to by himself at p. 15.

(3) *Sakitya-mimamsa,* referred to by himself at p 61, also by Jayaratha p. 126. It is cited without the author's name in Vidyānātha p. Il (of *ABod* 2I0a). Bunnell's anonymous metrical Sa*hitya-mimamsa* (p. 58a), with *vrtti* in eight *prakaranas,* is probably this work.

(4) *Alamkaranusarini,* cited by Jayaratha as Ruyyaka's (p.p. 36, 57, 58 and 60). This work is supposed by Peterson[1], and following him by Aufrecht[2] and Jacobi[3], to be a commentary on Jalhana's *Somapala-vilasa.* As Jayaratha's citations indicate, it discussed incidentally some of the poetic figures, but there is nothing in these citations to show that it was in fact a commentary on Jalhana's *Somapala-vilasa.* The poet Jalhana is described in Mankhaka's S*rikantha-carita* (xxv 75) ; and Samapala, king of Rajapurl (near Kashmir), whose life Jalhana appears to have recorded, is known

simha. This verse, however, occurs as an anonymous quotation in Abhinava's Comm, on Bharata (ch. vi).

1 *ii* p. 17 ; introd. to Subhas°. p. 106. *Actes du ome Congres p. 3*64. It is so described by Ratnakantha.

2 *Cat Cat.* i 32b.

3 Z*DMG* lxii 291 : cf Haricand Sastri *op, cit.* pp. **105-106.**

from the *Raja-tarangini* (viii 62If) to have made war against the Kashmirian Sussala. It is clear that this poet, who must have flourished in the first half of the 12th century, should be distinguished from Bhagadatta Jalhanadeva, the compiler of the *Sukti-muktavali,* who lived ia the second half of the 13th century, but to whom Aufrecht (i 203a) wrongly attributes the *Somapala-vilasa* itself.

(5) A commentary on Mahimabhatta's *Vyakti-viveka,* referred to by Jayaratha as *Vyaktiviveka-vicara* (p. 13). This has been identified with the anonymous commentary published with Mahimabhatta's work in the Trivandrum Series ; for, although the author's name does not appear in the published text of that commentary, which is called simply ° *Vyakhyana,* the anonymous commentator refers in it to his other works, the *Sahitya-mimamsa* (p. 8-2) and *Harsacarita-varttika* (p. 44, 50), which we know to be two works of Ruyyaka referred to by himself in his *Alairikara-sarvasva* and mentioned by Jayaratha. He refers in this work also to the *Candrika* (on the *Dhvanyaloka), Kavya-kautuka, Hrdaya-darpana* (pp. I, 13), and Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jivita* (pp. 16, 32, 36, 44).

(6) *Nataka-mimamsa* referred to as his own in the above commentary on Mahimabhatta. (p. 32).

(7) H*arsacarita-varttika* referred to as his own in *Alamkara-sarvasva* p. 61 and in *Vyaktiviveka-vyakhyana* p. 44.

(8) *Sahrdaya-lila,* edited in the Kavyamala, as well as by Pischel.

(9) *Alamkara-varttika,* cited as Ruyyaka's by Jayaratha p. 71.

(10) *Srikantha-stava* cited in *Alamkara-sarvasva* p. 19.

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON RUYYAKA

ALAKA (OR ALATA ?)

This commentator is referred to by Ratnakaijtha in his own commentary on Mammata[1], the name given being Rājānaka Alaka. We have Been that the identification of Mammata's continuator Alaka, Alata or Allata with this commentator is open to doubt[2], and nothing more can be said on the subject until his commentary is recovered.

JAYARATHA

His commentary is called *Alamkara-vimarsini.* He informs us that his father's name was Srngara and his parton was king Rājarāja. From his commentary °*Viveka* on the *Tantraloka,* we learn that the full name of his father was Srngararatha, who had two sons, named Jayaratha and Jayadratha[3].

1 Peterson ii p. 17 and f.

2 See above p. 164.

3 The Kashmirian MSS of the *Alamkara-vimarsini* examined by Buhler vacillate between these two names as the name of our author ; and Peterson's MS of Ratnakaṇṭha's *Sara-samuccaya* reads Jayadratha (ii p. 17), which is accepted by Aufrecht, although the published texts of the

He also tells us that he was a pupil of Sankhadhara and Siva. Jayaratha's pedigree is given at some length in his °*Viveka*, and we learn that his great-grandfather's brother was Sivaratha[1], who was a minister of king Ucchala of Kashmir (1101-1111 A.D.). As four generations intervene between the minister of Ucchala and Jayaratha, Bühler thinks that the latter lived in the beginning of the 13th century. Jacobi supports this conclusion and attempts to arrive at a greater precision by identifying Jayaratha's (and his father's) patron king Rājarāja with Rājadeva, who is mentioned by Jonaraja in *2 Raja-tarangini* v 79-91, and who lived in 1203-1226 A.D.[2]

The citations in Jayaratha are numerous, and include the names of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhata Vamana, Rudrata, the Dhvanikara (=Ānandavardhana), the Vakrokti-jivita-kara, Abhinavagupta, the Vyaktiviveka-kāra, Bhoja and Mammata. Besides citing his own author's other works and Rājānaka Tilaka's work on Udbhata, Jayaratha also

° *Vimarsini*, as well as the ° *Viveka*, have Jayaratha, which Bühler himself considers *(op. cit.* p. 68) to be the correct name of the author of the two commentaries, the other being that of his brother.

1 v. 22 ; see the extract given in Buhler *op. cit.* App. pp. cli f. This Śivaratha is mentioned in *Raja-tarang*° viii 111.

2 Jacob *(JRAS*, 1897, p. 283) came to the conclusion that Jayaratha must be placed later than the end of the 12th century, for he quotes from the *Prthviraja-vijaya*, a poem dealing with Prthviraja of Delhi who fell in 1193 A. D. (of Buhler, o*p. cit.* p. 62.)

mentions two other works on Alaṃkara unknown to us, viz. *Alamkara-bhasya* (pp. 35, 83, 173) and *Alamkara-sara* (pp. 171, 172, 184). The *Alamkara-bhāqya* is also cited by Jagannātha (pp. 239, 365); while a work bearing the name *Alaṛnkara-sara* is mentioned in Kielhorn's list[1], and in Peterson iii App. p. 393; but this is probably a later work attributed to Balakrsna Payagunda who also wrote a commentary on Appayya's *Citra-mimamsa* (q. v.) and was thus later than the end of the 16th century[9]. The ° *Vimarsini* is, in its turn, cited extensively by Jagannātha, chiefly because Appayya, against whom Jagannātha's attacks are primarily directed, follows Ruyyaka and Jayaratha pretty slavishly.

Jayaratha appears also to have written another work on Poetics called *Alaṃkaroddaharaṇa,* in the concluding verse of which he refers to his ° *Vimarśini.* It appears from the resum6 of the work given in Mitra 2442 that it was chiefly meant to adduce illustrations to Ruyyaka's text, which the limited scope of his ° *Vimarsini* did not allow him to do properly.

SAMUDRABANDHA

Samudrabandha flourished, as he himself tells us, in the time of Rayivarman, *alias* Samgramadhira, king of Kolamba in the Kerala country (Travancore),

1 Kielhorn's List 18; see also Aufrecht i 32b.

.2 But see Pischel in *GgA,* 1885, p. 765, *contra* Jacobi in *ZDMG* xlii 293.

and there are numerous illustrative verse; in the commentary itself, which sing the praisa of this king[1]. The editor of this commentary in the Triviudrum Series tells us that this king, who was probably an ancestor of the Maharaja of Travancore, was born in 1265 A.. D., so that Samudrabaudha may be taken to have flourished towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

The citations from earlier authors are not so numerous in Samudrabaudha, but he shows his fa niliarity with Bha naha, Udbhata, Vamana, Rudrata, the Dhvanikara and Anandavardhaua, Bhatta Nayaka, the Vakroktijivita-kara, Mahima-bhatta, Bhoja and Mammata. He also cites Udbhata's *vivsti,* presumably on Bhamaha's *Kavya-lamkara.*

VIDYA CAKRAVARTIN

A commautary, called °*Sumjivani,* on Ruyyaka (also variously style I *Alamkara-samjivani* or °*Sarva-sva-samjivani)* is cited by Mallinatha[2] and Kumara-svāmin[3]. Appayya[4] and Viśveśvara[5] apparently refer to the author of this commentary by citing Cakra-

1 e. g. pp. 48, 58, *76,* 133, 149 *(kolambadhipati)* etc.

2 pp. 31, 57, 221, 237, 324.

3 pp. 54 (Cakravartin, as commentator on *Alam. sarva-sva),* 319, *377,* 383 *(°Samjivani* as a comm. on *Alam. sarv.)* 387, 393, 398, 435, 449-50, 465.

4 *Citr. mim.* p. 7.

5 *Alam. kaust.* p. 11.

vartin; for the two verses[1], thus cited by them, are attributed to this commentator by Kumarasvamin, whose other references show that Cakravartin wrote a °*Samjivani* commentary on the *Alamkara-sarvasva.* This Cakravartin, who is to be distinguished from Paramānanda Cakravartin, appears to be identical with Sri-vidya Cakravartin (which was probably his full name), two MSS of whose commentary on Ruyyaka, called °*Samjivani,* are noticed in the *Madras Catalogue*[2]. This commentary refers to and is referred to by the same author's *Sarpradaya-prakasini Brhati Tika* on Mammata[3], and both the commentaries are men tioned together at the close of the former work thus

kavyaprakase'lamkarasarvasve ca vipaicitam
atyadaro jagatyasmin, vyakhyatam ubhayam tatah,

which indicates the popularity of the works of Mammata and Ruyyaka in later times. Vidya Cakravartin calls his author Rucaka and refers to him as *sandhivigrahika.* He appears to be a South Indian writer, belonging to the Sampradaya sect. The reference by Mallinatha should place him chronologically earlier than the end of the 14th century.

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1 as cited above = *Ratnapana* p. 378. See other references to this author by Kumāra-svāmin given in p. 200 above, fn 3.

2 no. 12799-12800, pp. 8609-10. Jacobi wrongly conjectured Alaka to be the author of this °*Samjivani (ZDMG* lxii p. 292).

3 *ibid, no.* 12826-28, p. 8627; Burnell 55a. See above p. 188.

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MSS. Aufrecht i 32b, ii 6b, iii 7b ; *WBod* 495, 496: *WRAS* 151 (1).

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XIX HEMAGANDRA AND THE VAGBHATAS

(1)

The versatile and volumious Jaina writer Hemacandra directed his many-sided activity to the field of Sanskrit Poetics as well, and wrote a *Kavyanusasana* (with *vrtti)* and its commentary, called *Alamkaracudamani,* basing it chiefly on Mammata's work, but appropriating his materials from various sources[1]. While as a textbook it hardly supersedes the *Kāvyaprakasa,* it is, like most of Hemacandra's other productions, more or less an industrious compilation, displaying its author's encyclopaedic erudition, but hardly constituting an original contribution to the subject.

1 He appropriates, for instance, long passages, without acknowledgment, from Rājaśekhara, Abhinavagupta, the Vakrôktijlvita-kara, Mammata and others. The passage in the commentary from p. 57 to p. 66 is copied almost *verbatim* from Abhinava on Bharata ch vi, with only a general acknowledgment at conclusion *iti sriman abhinavaguptacaryah, etan matam evasmabhir upajlvitam veditavyam* (p. 66). In the *vrtti,* again, at p. 83, the remarks on the *sthāyi-bhāva* (pp. 83-84) are copied from the same source. His extensive appropriation from Rājaśekhara has been already alluded to see p. I25f above. At p. 316 he calls himself a follower of Bharata's views *(bharata-matanusari).* His dependence on earlier works is so close as to amount at times to almost slavish imitation or plagiarism.

About Hemacandra and his time, we know perhaps more than we do with regard to other writers on Poetics, and the biographical and other details will be found collected together in Buhler's erudite little pamphlet on this author[1]. Hemacandra was born at Dhunduka (in Ahmedabad) on the full noon night of the month of Kārttika in the *saṃvat* year 1145 = 1088-89 A.D., of humble parents, named Caciga and Pahini. He was originally named Cāṅgadeva. He was consecrated as a Jaina monk in *saṃvat* 1154 = 1098 A.D., taking the name of Somānanda. He was a pupil of Devacandra of Vajra-śākhā, author of the *Sthanakarvrtti* and the *Santinatha-carita.* He became a *sūri ovācārya* in *saṃvat* 1166 = 1110 A.D., changing his name, again, into Hemacandra. He spent the greater part of his life, as the acknowledged head of the Jaina community at Aṇahilla-pattana, under the patronage of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.D.) and his successor Kumarapala of Guzerat, dying shortly before the latter in *saṃvat* 1229 = 1173 A.D. He wrote most of his works at the request of his patrons, of whom he converted Kumarapala into Jainism in *saṃvat* 1216 = 1160 A.D.

(2)

There are two Vāgbhatas in Sanskrit Poetics who must be distinguished from each other, viz. Vagbhata, author of the *Vagbhatalamkara* (here

1 *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Monches Hemacandra,* Wien, 1889 ; Jacobi in *Engr, of Religion and Ethics,* vi 591.

cited as Vagbhata I) and Vagbhata, author of the *Kavyanusasana* and its *vrtti, Alamkara-tilaka* (here cited as Vāgbhata II). Eggeling[1] falls into the error of confounding the two and assigning both the works to the same author. From the *Vagbhatalamkara* iv 148, we learn that the Jaina name in the Prakrit form of the author is Bāhaḍa and that ho was the son of Soma[2]. From the *Kavyanusasana* and its commentary[3], on the other hand, we learn that its author was the son of Nemikumara and Maha-(mahi?-) devl or Vasundharā; while his native town, called Rahadapura from the shrine of a deity of that name, is mentioned[4], as well as described, in a verse by the author himself[5], Vāgbhata II also appears to cite Vagbhata I as one of his authorities[6]. Both the Vagbhatas, however, quote from the poet Vagbhata, author of the *Nemi-nirvāṃ,* Vāgbhaṭa II citing the poem by name frequently for the purpose of illustrating the characteristics of a good poem (e.g. p. 16)[7]. It appears that Vagbhata I may or may not be identical with the poet of the *Nemi nirvāṇa;* but

1 *IOC* iii pp. 330-1.

2 So also in Jinavardhana, Siṃhadeva and Kṣemahaṃsagani's comms. on this verse.

3 p. I *vṛtti,* and the concluding verse.

4 p. 1 *vṛtti.*

5 *IOC* iii p. 332. In the Kāvyamālā edition of the work, this verse is also given at p. 10, but the words *asmābhir uktam,* preceding it in the India Office MS, are wanting,

6 ii p. 31: *iti dandi-vamana-vagbhatadi-pranita dasa kavya-gunah.*

7 The verses quoted in *Vagbhatalamkara* from the *Nemi-nirvana* are given by Jacob, *op. cit,* p. 309.

Vagbhata II should be distinguised from both[1]. We must also distinguish the medical writer Vagbhata, non of Siṃhagupta.

Vāgbhaṭa I seems to have been çontemporaneous with Hemacandra, and lived under the Cālukya Jayasimha Siddharaja of Aiiahilla-pattana[2], who flourished from 1094 to 1143 A.D. We have references to this king and his capital in iv 45, 70, 81, 85 and 132, and he is described as the son of king Karṇadeva. Both Jinavardhana Sūri and Siṃhadeva Gṛaṇi in their commentaries explain that the prince referred to is Jayasiṃha, son of Kanjadeva, oi Anahilla-pataka. It also appears from what Simhadeva Gaṇi on iv 148 says that Vāgbhata was probably a *mahamatya* of the said prince, a statement which is supported by the description given of our author in Prabhacandra Suri's *Prabhavaka-canta*[3], from which we also learn that Vāgbhata lived in 1123 A.D. and also in 1157 A.D. Vāgbhata's literary activity, therefore, may be assigned roughly to the first half of the 12th century.

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1 Winternitz thinks *(Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* ii p. 338 fn 1, iii p. 22 fn 1, also iii p. 642) that Vāgbhaṭa I is the same as the poet of the *Nemi-nirvṭaṇa.*—Jalhaṇa ascribes the verse *anālocya pretnnaḥ* to one Vāgbhaṭa, but it does not occur in any of these Vāgbhaṭas. It occurs, however, in Amaru 80. It is cited anonymously by Vallabhadeva 1170; while in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* it is attributed to Rajaśekhara, and in *Kavindra-vacana* 372 to the poetess Vikata-nitamba.

2 and not Jayasiṃha of Kashmir, as Haricand (p. 49) erroneously gives it.

3 Second half of the 13th century, see Buhler's *Hemacandra* note 1; also *Vagbhatalam*[0] (ed. Kavyamala, 1916)p.I-2fn.

Vagbhata II appears to be a later writer. His reference to Vagbhata I and considerable borrowing from Hemacandra give us one limit to his date. The other terminus[1] is unknown; for the Jaina authors (excepting Hemacandra) are rarely quoted by later writers on the subject. He may have been earlier than Devesvara, whose borrowings, however, are not conclusive enough for any chronological inference. Vāgbhata II himself cites two of his own works, viz. *Ṛsabhadeva-carita* (p. 15, called a *mahā-havya)* and *Chandonusasana* (p. 20); but of these nothing is known. In two illustrative verses there are references to two princes called Mūlarāja (p. 45) and Vibhākara (p. 44). This Vibhākara is unknown, but Mūlarāja appears to be the same as the founder oi the Calukya dynasty at Anahilla-pattana(= Anhilvad) in Guzerat[2].

(3)

No commentaries on Hemacandra and Vāgbhata II is known, but the *Vagbhatalamkara*[3] appears

1 Haricand Sastri *(op. cit.* p. 49) places him in the 13th century, but he does not state the grounds of his opinion.

2 Peterson notes (iii App. p. 124) a reference in the *puspika* of a MS of Hemcandra's *Trisasti-salaka-purusa* to one Nemikumāra, who flourished in *saṃvat* 1295, and he queries whether this Nemikumāra was our Vāgbhaṭa's father (iv p. Ixxi).

3 The published text of this work contains five chapters, which is also the number in the Bodleian, Stein, Madras and India Office MSS; but Weber's MS (1718) adds a sixth chapter, which appears to deal with the figure *yamaka.*

to have been fortunate in this respect. Of the commentators on this work, whose names are noted below, Jinavardhana Suri and Simhadeva Gani are better known, and their commentaries have been published. Jinavardhana was pupil of Jinarāja Sūri and was a priest of Kharatara-gaccha from about 1405 or 1419 A.D.[1]. In some catalogues (e.g. Mitra 2814), his name is given as Ādinātha.

1 Klatt in *IA* xi p. 249; Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-3, p. 25 ; *IOC* iii no 1156 and 2656a.

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MSS. Aufrecht i 559a, ii 132a, iii 118b. *SCC* vii 44; *SCB* 687; *KBod* 509 ; *Madras Cat.* 12954.

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(2) by Shṳhadeva Ganį. Ed. with text in Kāvyamāiā 48 and by Śrlveṅkaṭêśvara Press, Bombay. MSS: Aufrecht i 559a, ii 132a, iii 118b.

(3) *Samasanvaya tippana* by Ksemahamsa Gaṇi. Aufrecht ii 132a ; extr. in Stein p. 274.

(4) *Vivarana* of Ganesa, son of Anantabhatta and disciple of Bhāskara. Aufrecht i 559a, 794a.

(5) by Rājahauįsa Upaᵕdhyaᵕya, pupil of Jinatilaka Sūri who was a pupil of Jinaprabha Sưri of Kharatara-gaccha. Aufrecht i 559a. The MS noticed by Bhandarkar *(Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 156, 279) was copied in *saṃvat* 1486= 1430 A.D.

(6) by Samayasundara, pupil of Sakalacandra, who was a pupil of Jinacandra. His commentary was composed in Ahmedabad for Harirāma in 1636 A.D. See Peterson iv p. cxxvi. MSS in Aufrecht ii 132a. Also wrote a comm. on *Raghu.*

(7) *Avacuri* Author's name unknown. Aufrecht ii 132a, iii 118b.

(8) anonymous commentary in *SCC* vii 45.

Vāgbhaṭa II

Ėdition. Kāvyamāiā 43, 1894, 1915.

MSS. Aufrecht i 32a (under *Alaṃkāra-tilaka,* for Aufrechi takes this to be another name of the *Kavyanusasanc* of Vāgbhaṭa II).

XX ARISIMHA, AMAKACANDRA AND DEVESVARA

(1)

The Svetambara Jainas, Arisimha and Amaracandra, are notable in Sanskrit Poetics for a work on the composition of verses called the *Kavita-rahasya* or *Kavya-kalpalata,* and its commentary entitled *Kavya-kalpalata Kavisiksa-vrtti.* This work was composed in part by Arisiṃha and completed by Amaracandra[1], who also wrote the commentary[2]. Arisiṃha, described as the son of Lavanyasimha or Lavanasimha wrote also a poem (called *Sukrta-samkirtana)* in honour of his patron Vastu¯pala (d. 1242 A.D.), the Jaina minister of the Dholka Rāṇā Viradhabala; and he also lived in the time of Viradhabala's son Visaladeva[3]. Amaracandra appears to be a more prolific writer, being also the author of the *Jinendra-carita* (otherwise

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1 *kimcic ca tad-racitam atmakrtam ca kimcit / vyakhyasyate tvarita-kavya-krte'tra sutram,* says the *vrtti.*

2 The colophon calls the *vrtti kavi-siksa-vrtti.* Buhler thinks, from i 1 and 2, that the original karika-verses of Arisimha were called *Kavita-rahasya,* while Amaracandra's *vṛtti* was entitled *Kavya-kalpalatā.*

3 See the question discussed in detail in Buhler, *Das Sukrtasamkirtana des Arisimha,* Wien 1889, pp. 5f, 38; also *IA* vi 210-12.

called *Padmananda-kavya)*[1], the *Bala-bharata*[2] and a grammar (?) called *Syadisabda-samuccaya* (Aufrecht i 180). Rajasekhara, the Jaina author of the *Prabandha-kosa,* also attributes a *Suktavali* and a *Kalakalapa.* In the *vrtti* to the *Kavya-kalapalata* itself, three other works by Amaracandra are cited, viz. the *Chando-ratnavali,* a work on Prosody (p. 7), the *Kāvya-kalpalata-parimala*[3], (pp. 22, 31, 80), probably an epitome or continuation of the same work, and an independent work on Poetics called *Alaṃhara-prabodha* (p. 147).

Amaracandra was a pupil of Jinadatta Sūri[4] of the Vayada-gaccha, who is identified with the author of the *Viveka-vilāsa* and who lived about the middle of the 13th century[5]. Amaracandra appears to have been a pupil or a fellow-student of Arisiṃha[6] and lived, according to the account given in Jaina Rāja-śekhara's work[7], in time of Vlradhabala and his

1 Peterson i p. 126 no. 285, also pp. 58-59 and App. I p. 2; Buhler, *op. cit.* pp. 5, 38.

2 ed. in Kāvyamālā 45.

3 cf *IOC* 848, which has a reference to *Kavya-kalpalatā-manjari.*

4 See the concluding verse of *Bāla-bhārata* and the colophon to the *Kivya-kalpalatā.*

5 See Peterson i p 58-59, but Peterson's conjecture about Jinadatta is not right; see also Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi,* p. 258; Peterson iv pp. viii, xxxvi and App. 1 f 5 ; Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 6, 156 ; Buhler a*p. cit* pp. 25,48.

6 Rājaśekhara says that Amara was a pupil of Arisiṃha. Cf Sridhara Bhandarkar's *Rep.* 1904-6, pp. 23-24: Buhler *op. cit.* pp. 5-6: *contra* Bhandarkar.

7 His work is dated in 1348 A.D, See introd, to

minister Vastupala, as well as in that of Vlsaladeva, before the latter's accession to the throne of Anhilvad i.e. about the second quarter or the middle of the 13th century.

(2)

The date of Devesvara, author of the *Kavi-kalpalata*, can be approximately settled from the internal evidence supplied by the work itself; for it closely follows, in its treatment of the subject and general arrangement, Arisiṃha and Amaracandra's work; and it is not difficult to show that he also slavishly copies wholesale from the text of his predecessors. He borrows literally most of the rules and definitions, and even repeats the illustrative stanzas. Thus Devesvara pp. 157-60 *(venyah sarpasi[0])* and pp. 36-7 *(ratnadi yatra)* = Arisimha pp. 135-37 and pp. 30-1; the definition of *adbhuta-vidhi* in Arisiṃha p. 93 = Deveśvara p. 130. This copying is not sporadic but systematic, and is found practically throughout the work, so that it is highly probable that Deveśvara had had the text of the *Kavya-kalpalata* before him, when he composed his own work on the same subject. This gives us one terminus to his date at the middle of the 13th century.

The other terminus is given by the fact that a verse of Devesvara's *(naga-visese sese* p. 155) is quoted under his name in the *Paddhati* of Sarṅga-

Amara's *Bala-bharata* ed. Kavyamala. Rajasekhaja was a pupil of Tilaka Suri of Kotika Gana (Peterson iv p. cv).

dhara (545, *devesvarasya).* As this anthology was compiled about 1363 A.D., we get the middle of the 14th century as the other terminus. Allowing half a century to elapse between Devesvara and Arisiṃha, on the one hand, and a similar period of time between Devesvara and the compiler of the *Paddhati,* on the other, we may roughly fix the beginning of the 14th century as his approximate date.

Devesvara describes himself as the son of Vāgbhaṭa, who was a *mahamatya* to the king of Malava ; and in one of the *samasyā-slokas,* there is a panegyric of Hammīra-mahīmahendra, who is apparently the Cauhan prince of that name who reigned about 1283 A.D.[1].

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1 See a note by the present writer *in JRAS* 1922 p. 578f on the date of Devesvara. In the footnote there, omit the words "from the author's own comment on the word." Devesvara also refers to another work of his, called *Candra-kalapa (matkrta-candrakalape'malamatibhis tad budhair jneyam, SgS* ii p. 225, also in Bibl. Ind. ed.). The variant in the Calcutta edition (1900) reads (p. 42) instead *matkra-kavikalpalata-parimalatas°,* while an alternative reading noticed in the Bibl. Indica ed. (p. 52) is *matkrta-kavi-kalpalatayam amalamatibhis°*

KBod 497. The author lived in the reign of Salem or Jahangir *(srimat-salem-sahi-rajye)* and wrote the commentary in *saṃvat* 1665=51609 A.D., at the request of Vijayadeva Suri (Peterson vi p. 25f).

Kavi-kalpalata "

Editions. (1) with comm, by Vecārāma Sārvabhauma, Calcutta 1870 (2) with comm. by Rāmagopāla Kaviratna 1900 (our references are to this edition) (3) Bibl. Indica by Saraccandra Sastrl with comm., Calcutta 1913 (4) in *Pratnakrama-nandini)* Benares nos. 1-31.

MSS. Aufrecht i 87a, 777b, ii 16b, 192a, iii 19a; *Madras Cat.* 12804-07; *SCC vii* 7.

Commentary. (1) *Balabodhika* by Surya Kavi, also known as Sūryadāsa or Sūrya Sūri. His genealogy is given thus: Rāma of Pārthapura (under Rāma, king of Devagiri)->Visnu~>Nilkantha->Naganatha ->Nrsimha->Naganatha-*Jnanaraja (author of *Siddanta-sundaray) Surya* (Weber i p. 231). He was a versatile author (for his works see Aufrecht i 731b, ii 175b), and his *Lilavati-tika* was composed in 1542, while *Sūrya-prakāba* on Bhāskara's *Bijaganita* is dated in 1539 A.D. He also wrote an artificial poem called *Ramakrsna-viloma-kavya* (ed. in Haeberlin's Kāvya-saiṇgraha, and Kāvya-mālā pt xi p. 147O which praises in alternate verses Rama and Krsna, and gives the same text whether read forward or backward. He also wrote a *Nṛsirṛihacampū* in 5 ucchvāsas *(IOC* vii p. 1548; see also *ibid* p. 1478). He belonged to the Bharadvāja-gotra and lived in Pārtha-pura near the confluence of the Godavari and Vidarbha. Aufrecht i 87a, Hi 19a.

(2) Comm. by Vecārāma. Aufrecht if 16b. See under Minor Writers.

(3) anonymous tika in S*CC* vii 8.

XXI JAYADEVA

(1)

Jayadeva, author of the popular text-book *Candra-loka*, is otherwise known as Piyusavarsa (i 2)[1], and himself gives us the names of his parents as Mahādeva and Sumitrā (i 16). The name Jayadeva, however, is borne by our author in common with many other Sanskrit writers. Of the fifteen different persons, mentioned by Aufrecht, as bearing the same name, it seems likely that our author is identical with the poet who wrote the well-known drama called the *Prasanna-rāghava* ; for in the prologue to that drama there are two verses (i 14-15) which inform us that the dramatist was also the son of Mahadeva of the Kaundinya-gotra and Sumitra, a coincidence of names which does not seem to be accidental Aufrecht, however, identifies[2] our author with Jayadeva who composed the well known lyric named G*ita-govinda;* but apart from all arguments

1 Also in a verse given at the end in some MSS, e. g. Peterson ii p. 109, *Madras Cat.* p. 8656: *piyusavarsa-prabhavam candralokam manoharam* etc. Also the verse *jayanti jajnika-sriman-mahadevanga-janmanah / sukti-piyusa-varsasya jayadeva-kaver girah,* commented on in the *Sarada-gama* and the *Rakagama* comms. These verses are wanting in the Calcutta ed.

2 *ZDMG* xxvii 30.

derived from the style and poetic genius of the two writers, which possess few kindred excellences, the fact that the author of the lyric, in one of his concluding verses[1], tells us that he was the son of Bhojadeva and Rāmādevī (or Vāmādevī or Rādhādevī, according to other readings) stands seriously against the proposed identification. The identity of Jayadeva with the logician Pakṣadhara, also called Jayadeva, is equally doubtful, and Aufrecht mentions the two names separately. The name Pakṣadhara, no doubt, was a mere title given to the logician from the circumstance of his having been able to maintain by subtle reasoning whatever side of a question he undertook to defend ; but the argument for his identity with our Jayadeva, relied on by Hall[2], that Jayadeva in his drama refers (i 18) to his knowledge *oi pramana*, befitting a logician, is hardly convincing and sufficient[3].

(2)

The date of Jayadeva yet remains unsettled. There is hardly any doubt, however, that he should

1 xii p. 171, ed. N.S. P., 1917. It is not commented upon by Kumbha in his *Rasika-priya* comm., but Sankara, in his *Rasa-manjari* comm. says : *adhuna pitr-matr-nama-nibadhnan prathayate sajjanan* (ed. N. S. P. *loc. cit).* The same in the colophon in Buhler's MSS *(Kashmir Rep.* p. 64), where read Rāmādevī for Rāmadeva.

2 Introd. to *Sāṃkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya* pp. 62-63 • Keith *(Indian Logic* p. 33f) appears to accept the identification.

3 Jayadeva, author of a manual on Erotics, called *Rati-manjari* in 60 verses (ed. in Haeberlin and by Pavolini in

be placed earlier than Kesava Misra, who cites (p. 47) the verse *kadali kadali* from the *Prasanna-raghava* (i 37). AS Kesava flourished in the middle of the 16th century, we may safely assign Jayadeva to a period earlier than that. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the *Saradagama* commentary on the *Candrdaoka,* was composed by Pradyotana Bhatta in 1583 A.D.[1], under the patronage of a Bundella prince, named Virabhadra, of the the Vaghela dynasty, who himself wrote a commentary on Vatsyayana (called *Kaudarpa cudamani)* in *samvat* 1633=1577 A.D[2]. We may push this limit to the date of Jayadeva's work back to the beginning of the 14th century, because two verses from the *Prasanna-raghava* (i 19 and 33) are quoted in S*arangadhara-paddhati* (164 and 3520), compiled in 1363 A.D.; while Singabhupala, whose date has been fixed at 1330 A.D., cites the drama itself in his *Rasarnava-sudhakara* (pp. 258, 277). This gives us one terminus to the date of Jayadevain the first quarter of the 14th century[3],

Giornale delta Soc. Asiat Italiana, 1904, pp. 317O is probably a different and later writer.

1 *AFl* no. 467 (51), p. 158 ; *ALeip* no. 820, p. 268.

2 Peterson ii pp. 66, 132 ; iv p. cxvi.

3 Paranjpe and Panse in their edition (Poona, 1894) of toe drama (p. xiii f) identify Jayadeva with the logician Paksadhara Jayadeva and assign him to a period between 1500 and 1577 A.D. So also Peterson in introd. to *Subhas°* p. 37f. Cf also Eggeling *IOC* iii pp. 332! Winternitz *(Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* iii p. 26, fn 3) thinks that Jayadeva could not have written long before Appayya. But

The Other terminus is given by the inference that Jayadeva is later than Kuyyaka; for in his *Oandrdloha* he directly adopts some of the original definitions of poetic figures given for the first time by Ruyyaka. The figure *vikalpa,* for instance, which (as both Ruyyaka himself and Jayaratha inform us)[1] was invented and defined for the first time by Ruyyaka, is literally copied by Jayadeva (v 112). We cannot, therefore, place Jayadeva, who upholds the views peculiar to Ruyyaka as well as Mammaṭa, earlier than the second half of the 12th centurv.

Jayadeva, therefore, should be assigned to the period between the last quarter of the 12th century and the first quarter of the 14th, a closer approximation

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all these scholars appear to have overlooked this quotation in Śaraṅgadhara. No chronological conclusion is inferable from Jayadeva's mention of the poet Cora; for Buhler's identification of this poet with Bilhaṇa is not free from doubt (see Solf, *Die Kashmir Recension der Pancasika,* Kiel 1886, p. xxif). Nor should stress be laid on the fact that verses from the *Prasannaraghava* occur in the *Mahanataka* ; for the date of the latter, as well as its proper text, cannot be taken to have been satisfactorily settled (see Levi ii p. 48 ; Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* pp. 88-9). Jayadeva himself, as a rhetorician, is quoted by very late writers like Appayya, Keśava and Bhlmasena.

I Cf Jacobi in *ZDMG* Ixii p. 60c, note 1. Ruyyaka says expressly with regard to this figure : *purvair akrtaviveko'tra darsita ityavagantavyam,* upon which Jayaratha remarks ; *ancnsya granthakrd-upajuatvam cva darsitam* (p. 159).

than which is not possible at present ; and perhaps we may tentatively place him in the 13th century.

(3)

The *Gandraloka* is a general treatise on Poetics in ten chapters (called *mayakhas).* The Calcutta edition of the text, published in 1874[1], enumerates the following divisions : (1) Vag-vicara *(sl,* 16) (2) Dosa-nirupana *(sl.* 44½) (3) Laksana-nirupana *(sl.* I l) (4) Guna-nirupana *(sl* 12) (5) Alamkara-nirupana, consisting of Sabdalamkaras *(il.* 10), Alamkara-nukramaiiika *(sl.* 16), and Arthalamkaras *(sl.* 174) (6) Rasadi-nirupana *(sl.* 24) *(7)* Dhvani-nirupana *Al* 18) (8) Guṇībhūta-vyartgya *(il.* 10) (9) Lakṣaṇā-niruparta *(sl.* 15) (10) Abhidha-nirupana *(sl.* 4). This arrangement is substantially followed in the Leipzig MS 819 (which contains only 5 *mayukhas)* and correspond closely with the arrangement mentioned by Gangadhara in his commentary (p.9) on Appayya's *Kuvalayananda,* where the chapters are given thus: 1.Sabda-mayukha 2. Dosa-mayukha 3. Laksana-mayukha 4. Guna-mayukha 5. Alamkara-mayukha 6. Rasa-mayukha 7. Dhvani-mayukha 8. Gunibhutavyangya-mayukha 9. Laksana-mayukha and 10 Tatsakti (= Abhidha)-mayukha[3].

1 The Calcutta edition (by Jlvananda) of 1906 substantially keeps to this arrangement and numbering of verses in the different chapters.

2 The text as commented upon by Pradyotana Bhatta, Gagabhatta and Vaidyanatha *(Madras Cat.* 12876-78)

It will seen from this that the section on Artha-lamkara in chapter v is the most considerable part of the work, which appears to have become, to the exclusion of the rest of the work, a favourite manual of poetic figures It was specially adapted for this purpose by Appayya Dikṣita's *Kuvalaynanda,* which bodily incorporates the *harikas* of this section (with only slight modifications), himself only writing the running prose commentary and adding a few supplementary figures. This work of Appayya's, therefore, may be regarded, in a sense, as a commentary on this chapter of the *Candraloka.* Appayya himself indicates his indebtedness in one 'of the prefatory verses[1] by saying that the definition-stanzas of the *Candraloka* are borrowed in his own work, but there are a few modifications and additions[2] of his own. He also explains in the concluding verse how his work came to be called *Kuvalayananda* (lit. "delight of lotuses") from the *Candraloka* (lit. "the sight or light of the moon"):

candraloko vijayatam, saradagama-sambhavah
hrdyak kvalayanando yat-prasadat abhud ayam,

which, apart from the obvious pun involved, praises the *Candraloka,* the cause of its commentary called

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contains these ten *mayūkhas.* MSS **of the complete text** noticed also in **Mitra** ii p. **177,** v **p. 103, ix p 184** : **Peterson iit 109.**

1 *yesam candraloke dysyante laksya-laksana-slokah priyas ta eva, tesam itaresam tvabhinava* ***viracyante.***

2 The differences of reading **in the *kārikās* are noted in Halasynatha Sastri's ed. of *Kuvalayanan Ia* (with the *Rasikaranjani* of Gangadhara), Kumbhakonum 1892.**

Śaradagama, from the contact of both of which the charming *Kuvalayananda* originated. This *Saradagama* commentary apparently refers to the commentary of the same name on the *Candraloka,* composed by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa in 1583 A. D[1].

But on account of the wholesale appreciation of this chapter of Jayadeva's work, the title *Candraloka* appears to have been frequently applied to the *artha-l*aṃkara-section of the work[2] alone, as well as to Appayya's *Kuvalayananda*[3] itself. Thus the India

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1 Vaidyanatha, apparently ignorant of the existence of the *Śaradagama* commentary, interprets (ed. N. S. P. 1917 p. 188) the phrase s*aradagama sambhavah* as referring to some previous original of the *Candraloka* itself. An instance of similar ignorance on the part of the commentator is given by the story of Āśādhara in his comm. on the *Kuvalay*[0] (p. 86) that Appayya composed the *Candraloka* itself at the request of the king of Venkaṭagiri, and later on wrote his *Kuvalay*[0] on its basis. Gaṅgādhara, a more reliable commentator on Appayya's work (who tells us that Appayya was *the guru* of a brother of his grandfather) interprets the phrase correctly as : *atra candraloka-nama grantiah saradagama-namna tika-granthena sambhava utpattiḥ* (p. 283). The supposition (*ŚgS* ii pp. 68-9) that Appayya's utilisation of Jayadeva's work was resented by the latter, who is said to have made a veiled reference to this fact in the prologue to the *Prasanna-raghava* (where the stage-manager alludes to the stealing of his name) is disproved by the fact that Appayya lived long after Jayadeva.

2 Cf Gangadhara on *Kuvalay*° p. 9 : *candraloko'rthalamkaratmaka eva, na tvanya iti kesimcid bhramaḥ.*

3 Thus Regnaud *(Rhetorique Sanskrite* p. 375) speaks of the *Candraloka* as being composed of 151 *slokas,* dealing

Office MS 2656, Weber 1721 and Madras MSS 12871-74 constitute in reality the *arthalamkara*-section of the *Candraloka,* embodied in the *Kuvalayananda,* and not the whole text, but they are entitled *Candraloka.* Appayya's work does not end with the hundred poetic figures dealt with by Jayadeva, but it adds a supplementary chapter on a few additional figures. In some texts of the *Candraloka* this appears to have been erroneously included. A considerable confusion is also noticeable in the different MSS of Jayadeva's and Appayya's works as to the arrangement of the three opening verses, as well as with regard to the total number of *Slokas* contained in the *arthdlamkara*-section. The verse *parasjiara-tapah'saṃpat*[0] occurs in most accepted texts of this section of the *Candraloka,* but it is not intelligible why Jayadeva should add this benedictory verse in a chapter, which occurs in the middle of the book. Gangadhara pointedly remarks that this verse is not Jayadeva's, but was composed by Appayya himself as prefatory to his own work[1].

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with the definition and illustration of poetic figures, which description applies to the *Kuvalay*[0].

1 Gangadhara *op. cit.* p. *g* : *"tatha paraspara-tapah-sanipat" iti candraloka-nani-sloka ityapi bhrama eva ; pancama-mayukhe sadhalamkaran nirupya "upama yatra sad - sya" ityadina arthalamkara-prastave nandya evabhavat.* The same remark applies apparently to the second verse *alamkaresu balanam* and to v 174 which alludes to Venkata-prabhu"; for they are probably Appayya's additions. Cf *IOC* iii pp,'333-34 for a discussion of this point.

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON *JAYADEVA*

Of the commentators ou the *Candraloka,* mention has already been made of Pradyotana Bhatta and his commentary, called *Candraloka-prakasa Saradagama.* He is described as the son of Misra Balabhadra, and his patron's name is given as Vlrabhadra (or °rudra)-deva, son of Rāmcandra and grandson of Virabhanu, king of Ayodhya, of the Vandella family. His commentary is dated in 1583 A. D.; while his patron lived in the second half of the 16th century, as we find Vlrabhadra's commentary (called *Kandarpa-cudamani)* on Vatsyayana is dated in 1577 A. D.

There is another commentary called *Ramā*[2] written by Vaidyanatha Payagunda, who may not be identical with Vaidyanatha Tatsat, the commentator on Govinda's *Kavya-pradlpa* and Appayya's *Kuvalayananda,* although the two writers are taken as identical in most catalogues. The colophon to their commentaries distinctly make out their respect-

1 The Madras MS reads *vandella,* but the Florentine MS *(AFl* p. 158) has *vāghela.*

2 The name of his commentary is often given, through a confusion, as *Harilocana-candrikā* (Aufrecht i 182a), which itself appears to be a mistaken name for the *Alamkara-candrikā* comm. of Vaidyanatha Tatsat on *Kuvalay*[0], the mistake arising from the word *harilocana-candrikā* occuring in the benedictory verse to the latter commentary, as well as from this confusion between the commentators on Jayadeva and Appayya respectively.

ive family-names as Payagunda and Tatsat ; while in one of the introductory verses of the *Maniā* our Vaidyanatha calls himself distinctly Payagunda but does not give his own genealogy[1].

There is another less known commentary, called *Rakagania* or °*Sudha*, composed by Gagabhatta, *alias* Visvesvara, son of Dinakara Bhatta who was a Mīmukṇsaka. Viśvośvara, who also wrote a number of Mimamsa and Smrti works (Aufrecht i 587b), was a great-groat-grandson of Raīnes vara, nephew of the well-known Mimamsaka Kamalakara Bhatta, whose date, as we have seen, is the first quarter of the 17th century[2]. Viśveśvara, therefore, is a comparatively modern writer who probably flourished in the beginning of the 18th century, and should not be confused with Viśveśvara, author of the *Alamkara-kaustubha.*

Two other little known commentaries are mentioned below.

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1 This commentary has not yet been published, and the description of it given in the catalogues is unsatisfactory on this point. This conjecture, therefore, is put forward with reserve, as I have no means to verify it except the short extract given from it in the *Madras Catalogue* pp. 8653-53, and in *SCC* vii 30.

2 see above p. 180. The genealogy is given thus : Rameśvara Narayana Ramakrsna Dinakara Visvesvara.

With Commentary. By Surya-balirama Caube, Benares 1895 (with Candraloka-nigudhartha-dipika). The ed. with Budharanjani comm. published from Madras is really a commentary on the Arthalamkara-section incorporated in the *Kuvalay*^{0} and not upon the whole text. Our references are to the Calcutta ed. 1917, which contains the whole text.

MSS. Aufrecht i 182a, 784b ; ii 37a, 199b ; iii 39a. *SCC* vii 31, 144, 444 ; *Madras Cat.* 12860 (which contains the verses of the *Candrdloka* with *Kuvalay*^{0}), 12871-73. Most of these MS, however, contain the *arthalaṃkara-section* and not the whole text see above p. 221-2. The *Alamkara-sataka* of Jayadeva in Oppert ii 2763 is a descriptive name perhaps of this section of the *Candraloka.* The *Alaṃkara-samgraha* in Mitra 1612 is in reality this *artha-laṃkara-section.*

Commentaries, (1) *Candraloka-prakasa Saradagama* by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa. Aufrecht i 182a, ii 37a, 199b, iii 39a; *Madras Cat.* 12878 (extract).

(2) *Rakagama* or *Sudha* by Visvesvara *alias* Gagabhatta. Aufrecht i 182a, 784b *(Sudha),* ii 37a ; *SCB* 139, 144 *(Sudhā)* ; *Madras Cat.* 12877 (extract).

(3) *Rama* by Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa. Aufrecht i 182a, ii 37a : *Madras Cat* 12876 ; *SCC* vii 30 *(tika).*

(4) Comm. by Vajacandra. ,Auirecnt 1 I82a.

(5) °*Dipika.* Name of author unknown. Aufrecht i 182a.

(6) *Sarada-sarvari* by Virupaksa, Hultzsch 1617

XXII VIDYADHARA AND MALLINATHA

(1)

The date of Vidyadhara, author of the *Ekavali*[1] has been fixed with sufficient approximation by Trivedl and R. G. Rhaudarkar[2]. The latest writer quoted and mentioned by Vidyādhara is Ruyyaka (p. 150) ; and this gives us one terminus to his date at the middle of the 12th century. This conclusion is apparently supported by Vidyādhara's mention (p. 19) of Sriharsa, author of the *Naisadha,*

1 Aufrecht (i 75) mentions three different works called E*kavali,* which appear to be the same work. The first and the third are undoubtedly identical and refer to our E*kavali* : but the second is described by Burnell 54a (cf Oppert ii 3605) as composed by Mahāmāhesvara Kavi. This, however, appears to be a title of Vidyādhara himself, and is apparently the source of the confusion of our Vidyādhara with Abhinavagupta who also bore the same title (see Weber ii no. 1723I The colophon in the Madras MS (*Madras Cat.* p. 8611*)* reads : *iti srimato mahamahesvarasya kaver vidyadharasya krtavekavali-namnyalamkara-sastre* etc. The first verse quoted in Burnell is the same as found in all the texts of our E*kavali*. The commentary *Tarala* noticed by Weber (*loc. cit.)* is apparently the same as *Tarala* of Mallinātha. The *Keli-rahasya* on Erotics is ascribed to Vidyādhara by Aufrecht, but the colophon gives the author's name as Vaidya-vidyādhara.

2 Introd. to the text in B. S. S. and Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1887-91, p. lxvif.

who lived very probably in the 12th century[1]; but Vidyadhara's allusion in the same context to the poet Harihara[2], who is said by him to have obtained amazing wealth from a prince Arjuna (presumably the ruler of Mālava of that name), puts this terminus a little lower at the first quarter of the 18th century. The *Ekavali*, in its turn, is quoted by Śingabhupala[3], whose date is fixed at 1330 A. D. while Mallinātha, at the end of the 14th century, commented upon it. The internal evidence of the text, therefore, assigns it to a period between the first quarter of the 13th and the first quarter of the 14th century.

This approximation has been considerably narrowed down to the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century by the identification of king Narasiṁha of Kaliṅga, panegyrised in the illustrative verses of the work, with Narasiṁha II of Kaliṅga, whose dates fall between 1280 and 1314.' The patron of our author is described as one who crushed the pride of Hammlra (pp. 176, 177, 257, 2G0), who is probably the famous Cauhan prince, the hero of Nayacandra Sūri's poem[4], who began his

1 See Buhler in *JRASBom.* x. p. 31f, xi. p. *279f*; K. T. Telang in *IA* ii p. *71 iii* 81f; Buhler, *Rep.* 1874-75, p. 8.

2 See Trivedi's note at p. 348.

3 *Rasarnava-sudhakara* p. 107 = *Ekav.* i 2. Cf *ŚgŚ i* p. 7f This verse occurs however as the third *prasasti-sloka* in the printed text of Bilhana's *Karna-sundari* (ed. Kavyamala 7, 1895, p. 56).

4 See ed. Kirtane v 56, also p. 27 ; Bhandarkar *op, cit,* p. lxvii f.

reign about 1283 A. D., and attempted a conquest of Southern countries. All this makes it probable that the *Ekavali* was composed towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

(2)

The date of Mallinatha, author of the *Tarala* commentary on the *Ekāvali*, has also been fixed at the end of the I4th century by Bhandarkar and Trivedl[1]. He must have written his commentary after a certain time had elapsed from the composition of the original text; for from *sl.* 6 it appears that the E*kavali* was not studied for some time because it had no commentaries. He is identical with Kolacala Mallinatha Sari (Pedda Bhatta) who is the well-known scholiast and commentator on the five standard *mahakavyas* of Kalidasa, Bharavi, Bhatti and Māgha, in some of which he quotes from the *Ekavali* itself.

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1 Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1887-91 p. lxix ; Trivedl, introd, to Bhatti pp. xxiv-xxviii, introd. to E*kavali* p. xxviif ; Pathak, introd. to *Meghaduta* pp. 11-12; Nandargikar, introd. to *Raghu* pp. 1-6, esp. pp. 5-6. Aufrecht in *Bod Cat.* 113a states that Mallinātha flourished after the 18th century, on which see Bhandarkar, pref. to *Malati-madhava* p. xx.

XXIII VIDYANATHA AND KUMAIUSVAMIN

(1)

The latest writer that Vidyānātlm cites is Kuyyaka (pp. 291, 334), whose lost work *Sahitya-mimamsa* is also apparently referred to at p. 11. Vidyānātha, in his turn, is quoted extensively but anonymously for definitions of poetic figures by Mallinātha in the latter's many commentaries on the different *kavyas*[1].

This gives us the same broad limits to his date as to that of Vidyādhara ; and other considerations make it probable that he was contemporaneous with the latter. The *Prataparudra-yaso-bhusana* of Vidyānātha was , written, like the *Ekāvali,* with the obvious object of panegyrising the king whose name it bears on its title. All the illustrative verses in the work eulogise the same king (also called Vlrarudra or Rudra), who is described as the son of Mahadeva and Munmudi or Mummadamba (pp. 12, 13, 16, 17, 133) and a short drama, named *Pratapa-kalyana*[2] after him, is introduced in the third chapter to illustrate the characteristics of a drama, discussed in the work itself. He is described

1 For the quotations, see Trivedl's introd. to the text p. ix.

2 separately entered by Aufrecht i 349a and published in the Granthamāla vol. i.

as a *kakatiya* king[1] whose capital was Ekasila-nagara in the Trilinga or Andhra country, and who is said to have vanquished, among other kings, the princes of the Yādava family. All these and other details have led Trivedi to identify Vidyanatha's patron with Prataparudra, the seventh *kakatiya* king of Ekasila or Orangal, whose inscriptions date between 1298 and 1317 A.D.[9], and who is placed by Sewell between 1295 and 1323 A.D., and by Sesagiri Sastri between 1268 and 1319 A.D.[3] The Yadava king referred to, therefore, seems to be Rāmacandra, sixth ruler of the Yādavas of Devagiri, whose dates are 1271 to 1309 A.D.[4] We may, therefore, assign Vidyanatha approximately towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

(2)

Vidyānātha's commentator Kumārasvāmin describes himself as the son of Kolācala Mallinātha, the well-known commentator and author of *Taralā* on the *Ekāvall.* He may, therefore, be placed in the beginning of the 15th century. The title of his commentary *Ratndpana,* (wrongly called R*atnarpana* by Eggeling, *op. cit.* p. 338b, following Burnell

1 so called, as the *Ratnapana* explains (p. 10, also *Ratnahāṇa* p. 485) from the goddess Kākati he worshipped.

2 Eggeling (*IOC* iii p. 338) gives the dates 1298 and 1317.

3 See Trivedl, introd. pp. xvi-xxii, The correct dates appear to be 1298 and 1323 A. D.

4 Bhandarkar, *Early Hist,* p. 92,

56b) signifies, as he himself explains, a market-place where are sold jewels of poetic sentiments, collected together by Vidyanatha after they have been fashioned *on* the grindstone furnished by the merits of the hero.

The quotations in the R*atndpana* are numerous and include, besides other well-known names, the Srn*gara-prakasa* of Bhoja, the *Ekacali,* the *Sahitya-darpana* (p. 245), Cakravartin and his °*Saṃjivani* commentary on Ruyyaka, Singabhupala and his *Rasarnava-sudhakara,* the author's own father Mallinatha and brother Peddayārya, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla and Narahari Sūri. There are numerous references to a work on *rasa,* called B*hava-prakasa,* a MS of which, recently acquired by the Madras Oriental Library, makes it out to be an epitome of Bhoja's larger *Srngara-prakārá* and gives the name of the author as Śaradatanaya (q.v). Mention is also made of Vasanta-rajiya Nstya-sastra, its author Vasantaraja (q.v.) being apparently the king of Kumāragiri of the same name, who was a patron of Kātayavema. A Kavikalpa-druina-kftra is also cited at p. 170, but this is a work on grammar *(dhatupatha)* by Vopadeva. We know nothing of the *Nāṭaka-prahasa* cited at p. 113. The Ras*a-nirupana* may be by Narahari Suri, and the *Sahitya-cintamani* is probably the work of the same name composed by Viranārāyaiaa (q.v,)[1],

There is another commentary, called *Ratna-sana,* included in the Bombay edition of the text.

1 For these authors, see the chapter on Minor Writers bdow,

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XXIV VISVANATHA

(1)

Visvanatha never cites Ruyyaka (as well Mammata) by name; but, like Vidyadhara and Vidyanatha, he draws very considerably upon the works of both. He adopts, for instance, the definitions of the figures *upameydpania* and *bhranti-mān* directly from Ruyyaka, and admits the two figures *vikalpa* and *vicitra* which, both Ruyyaka and Jayaratha inform us, were' inventions of Ruyyakas[1]. It is quite possible, as Kane holds[2], that the censorious glancing on Mammaṭa's text, reproved by Visvanatha *(ad* ii 14, p. 57), refers in particular to Ruyyaka's °*Samketa* commentary where the latter criticises Mammaṭa on the particular point under discussion. But a surer indication of Visvanatha's acquaintance with Ruyyaka's works is given by his quotation of the verse *bhujanga-kundali-vyakta*[0] at p. 445 *(ad* x 2), which Ruyyaka himself cites (p. 19) oq his own from the *Srikatha-stava.* Visvanatha quotes two other writers who, in all probability, belong to this century, viz., Jayadeva, author of

1 For other instances, where Visvanltha is following or criticising Ruyyaka, see Kane's ed. of the text, the introd. and notes.

2 Kane, *cp. cit* p. 24 Addenda.

the *Gita-govinda*[1] and Sriharsa, author of the *Naisadha*[2]. Again, the *Raja-tarangim* iv 441 is quoted in our text at p. 529, *ad* x 57a (possibly indirectly through Ruyyaka p. 93); but this work of Kalhaṇa's was not completed till the middle of the 12th century. All this will roughly fix one terminus to the date of Viśvanātha, who cannot thus be placed earlier than the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century.

The other more or loss terminal date is given by the date of a MS of the *Sahitya-darpana,* discovered by Stein at Jammu, which was written in *samvat* 1440 = 1384 A.D.[3] This certainly negatives the date (viz. the middle of the 15th century) assigned by Weber[4], Eggeling[5] and Haricand Sastri[6], the last

1 The verse *hydi visalata* quoted by Visvanatha at p. 506 *(ad x* 39) occurs in the *Gita-govinda,* ed. N. S. P. iii 11, p. 58. It is also ascribed to Jayadeva by Śārṅgadhara (110. 3460) and Vallabhadeva (no 1314). Buhler and Peterson assign *(Kashmir Rep.* p. 64 and S*ubhas** p 38) 1116 A. D. as the date of Jayadeva, while Haraprasada Śastri gives the date 1175 A. D. *(Notices,* 2nd. Ser., p. xxxviii). Jayadeva, however, is said to have been cited by Candkavi, who wrote his epic on Prthviraja of Delhi towards the end of the 12th ceatury (but see *WZKM vii* 189; *JRASBom* xi 283). Viśvanatha also refers to *Laḷaka-melaka* (p. 176, *ad* iii 219) of Sankhadhara, which also belongs to this century.

2 p. 526, *ad* x;54 *(hanumadadyai°) = Naisadha* ix 122b ; p, 520, *ad x* 50 *(dhanyasi vaidarbhi)=ibid* iii 116. For the date of Sriharsa see above p. 277, fn. 1

3 *Jammu Cat* p. 64, no. 349.

4 *Hist, of Sansk. Lit.* p. 231, n 244. (Eng. trans. 1904).

5 10C iii p. 337. 6 *op. cit.* p. *115.*

of whom makes the unfortunate mistake of identifying Candidasa, referred to as a relative by Visvanatha, with Candidasa, the Bengali poet of the 15th century. It may be noted that Kumārasvāmin, at the beginning of the 15th century, names and quotes (pp. 245, 248) the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (iii 146a, 147 and 150).

All this raises the most likely presumption that Visvanatha should be assigned to a period ranging roughly from 1200 to 1350 A. D. This approximation can be considerably narrowed down if we can draw any chronological inference from a verse in the *Sahity-darpana (ad* iv 14, p. 232) which refers to a Muhammadan king named Allāvadîna[1]. This Allavadina or Alavadina[2] may probably be Sultan[3] 'Alau-d-din khalji, whose army invaded the Deccan and seized Orangal. Even if we suppose that the verse in question was composed in the life-time of that Sultān, who died in 1315 A. D., the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* may be presumed to have been composed at a date not earlier than 1300 A. D. At any rate, if this historical deduction is permissible, we may assign Visvanatha to a period between

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1. *sandhau sarvasva-haranam vigrahe prana-nigrahah al(l)avadina-nrpatau na sandhir na ca vigrahah.*

2 We find both these forms of the name in two inscriptions, *see JASB* xliii p. 108 and Bhavanagar inscription 114=*Pracina-lekha-maIa* ii 28. In Harsakirti's *Datupatha* this king is referred to as Allavadi (Bhandarkar Rep. 1882-83, p. 43).

3 The sanskritised form of this word *Surafrana* occurs at p. 509 (ad x 42).

1300 and 1350 A. D., or roughly in the first half of the 14th century[1].

(2)

Visvanatha describes himself as the son of *maha-kavi* Candrasekhara (p. 583, concluding verses), who appears, like his son, to have been a poet and a scholar[2], as well as a high official[3] in the court of some king, probably king of Kalinga. Narayaiia, who appears to have written also on some topics of Poetics, is either his grandfather or great-great-grandfather; for in his commentary on the *Kavya-prakasa,* Visvanatha speaks of Narayana as *asmat-pitamaha,* while in his *Sahitya-darpana* (p. 73, *ad* iii 4a), the same person is called *asmat-vrddhapita-maha.* Candidasa, apparently the author of the °*Dipika*- commentary on Mammata, is also quoted and described as a relative, having been the younger brother of Visvanatha's grandfather (p. 420, *ad* vii 31a)[4].

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1 Cf Kane *op. cit.* introd. p. vi ; M. Cakravarti in *JASB* lxxii (1903), p. 146, N.S. ii, 1906, p. *167n* ; Keith *in,'RAS,* 1911, pp. 848f ; Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* p. 3.

2 His verses cited at pp. 58, 116, 170, 174, while his works, called *Puspamala* and Bhasa*rnava,* referred to at pp. 263 and 316 respectively.

3 Both are described as *sandhivigrahika-mahapatra.*

4 Visvanatha cites one Purusottama (p. 44b, *adix* 4a). A work called *Kavitdvatara* is attributed to one Purusottama in Burnell 54a.

Visvanatha appears to have written a number of works, besides his well-known *Sahitya-darpana* ; for in it he himself refers to his own productions, viz.,

(1) R*aghava-vilasa-kavya (ad* vi 325a, p. 355).

(2) *Kuvalaydsvâ-carita* in Prakrit *(ad* vi 320, p. 856).

(3) *Prabhavati-parinaya (ad* vi 182b, p. 320), also referred to in his commentary on Mammata ch. vii.

(4) *Prasasti-ratnavali* in 16 languages, a *karamhhaka (ad* vi 337b, p. 358).

(5) *Candrakala (ad* vi 183a and 184, p. 320-1), a *nâtika.*

He also wrote a commentary called *Kavyaprakasa-darpana* on Mammata's work ; but this was probably composed after he had written his larger independent work on Poetics ; for in it he himself refers, while commenting on *laksana* (ch. ii), to the latter work[1]. In the *Sahitya-darpana* itself he draws very considerably upon Mammata ; and although at the beginning of this work, he quotes and criticises at some length Mammata's definition of poetry, he distinctly reproves all irreverent criticism of this venerable writer, who is declared to be his own u*pajivya (ad* ii 14 p. 57). In this commentary Viśvanātha refers to a *Narasimha-vijaya-kavya* by himself.

I *esam ca sodasanam laksana-bhedanam iha darsitanyudahararbani mama sahitya-darpan'vagantavyani.* Also on figure *anumana* (ch. x) : *tad uktam matkre sahitya-darfiane.*

It is not clear on what grounds Weber and Eggeling[1] state that the *Sahitya-darpana* was composed "on the banks of the Brahmaputra", i. e. in Eastern Bengal. It appears on the contrary that Viśvanātha was probably a native of KaliAga, which we may take at this date to have been co-extensive roughly with Orissa and Ganjam. Iu his commentary on Mammaṭa, he explains certain expression with Oriya equivalents[2]; and speaking of his ancestor Nārāyaiia, he refers to king Nam-siṃha-deva of Kaliṅga (presumably Narasiṃha II, about 1279~1306), at whose court Narayana van-quished one Dharmadatta[3], who is also referred to in the *Sahitya-darpana* at pp. 73, 79[4]. It is probably in praise of one ot the Narasimhas of Kalinga that Visvauatha's lost poem *Narasimha-vijaya* was written.

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1 Cf also Macdonell, *Sansk. Lit.* .p. 434 ; *SCC* vii no. 53, p. 33.

2 *'vaiparityam rucim kuru" iti pathah, atra cinku-padam kasmiradi-bhasayam astilartha~bodhakam, utkaladi-bhasayam dhrta-vandaka-drava iti,* on Mammata v p. *238* (ed. Jhalaklkara 1917).

3 cited also in the *Rasa-pradipa* of Prabhakara, son of Bhatta Madhava (Weber i 823), in which the *Sahitya-darpana* is also quoted. Prabhakara's work was composed in 1583 A.D.

4 *yad ahuh sri-kalinga-bhumandalakhandala-maharaja-dhiraja-srinarasimha-sabhayam dhavmadattam sthagayantah. sakala-sahrdaya-gosthi-garistha-kavi-panditasmat-pitamaha-sri-man--narayanadasa-padah,* etc.

(3)

The commentaries un Viśvanātha arc not so numerous or important as to deserve any special enumeration. Of the four commentaries mentioned below, that of Ramacarana Tarkavagisa, dated in sak*a* 1623 = 1701 A.D., has been frequently printed with the text.

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Editions. Published frequently in Calcutta, of which ed. (1) by Nāthurāma, 1828, and (2) by Röer in Bibl. Indica 1851, are notable. The latter does not contain the comm. of Rāmacaraiia. Also eds. (1) with Rāmacaraṇa's comm. by Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛti-bhūṣaṇa, Calcutta B. S. 1318 (2) Benares 1882 (3) Calicut 1886 (4) N. S. P. 1902, 1915 (s) by Kane (ch. i, ii, x) with introd. and notes, Bombay 1910 (the commentary is not given). Translated into English by Ballantyne and P. D. Mitra 1875, Bibl. Indica. Our references are to the N. S. P. ed. of 1915 by Durgāprasäda Dviveda, unless otherwise specified.

MSS. Aufrecht i 715b, ii 171a, 233b, iii 148a; *SCC* vii 53) 56, 57; *Madras Trm B* 443; *KBod* 510; *SCB* 2235.

Commentaries. (1) °*Locana* by Anantadasa, son of Visvanātha, a MS of which is dated 1636 A. 1). Aufrecht ii 171a.

(2) °*tippana* by Mathuranatha Śukla, a voluminous writer, under whose name Aufrecht makes more than 64 entries. Apparently the same person as Mathurarfatha Sukla, a native of Pataliputra in Malava, who wrote at Benares

in 1783 A.D. the *Jyotiḥ-siddhānta-sāra* by order of prince Dalacandra (but see Aufrecht i 422-23). One Mathurānātha was also author of a comm. on *Kuvalayānanddt* and may have been the same person. Aufrecht i 715b.

(3) °*Vivrti* by Ramacarana Tarkavagisa, a native of Western Bengal, who dates his commentary in 1701 A. D. Aufrecht i 716a, ii 171a, iii 148a ; *Madras Cat.* 12969 ; *SCC* vii 50-52. Frequently printed with the text in Bengal editions. Also in N. S. P. ed. 1915.

(4) **Prabka* by Gopinatha. *Madras Trm C 712.* Gopinatha is also the author of the *Sumanomanohara,* comm. on Mammaṭa. See above p. 186. He is probably identical with Gopinātha Kavirāja who composed, among other works, a commentary on the *Raghuvamsa* in 1677 A.D. (see Aufrecht i 163b).

XXV LATER WRITERS ON RASA

(1)

SĀRADĀTANAYA

Saradatanaya, author of the *Bhava-prakasa* or *Bhava-prakasika,* appears to have been a popular writer on the *rasas* and *bhāvas,* who is quoted extensively by Kumarasvamin[1], and in the *Kamadheinu* on Vāmana[2], as well as by commentators like Kaiiganātha[3] and Vāsudeva[4]. He is described as the son of Bhaṭṭi Gropāla and grandson of Kṛṣṇa, and great-grandson of Laksmana of the Kasyapa-gotra who is said to have been a resident of Māṭarapūjya village in the Merūttara country of the Āryāvarta, and to have written a commentaay on the Veclas, called the *Vedabhūṃṇa.* The author was se named, because he was considered to have been born by the grace of Sāradā, worshipped in Benares. The author learnt *nāṭyaṁstra* from Divaākara, and says that he is following Abhinavaguptâcārya; but his work in some parts is in reality a condensed epitome chiefly of Bhoja's *Śṙhgāra-prakasā;* which it cites and practically summarises. This fact will place Sāradātanaya chronologically later than Bhoja ; and the citation of the

1 pp. 12, 15, 44, 68, 102, 106, 118, 121, 127, 129, 139, 143, 145, 219, 223 etc.

2 e.g. on I 3. 30.

3 on *Vikramo*^{0}, ed. N. S. P. 1885, p. 10.

4 on *Karpura-manj*^{0}, ed. N. S. P. 1900, pp. 5, 7, etc.

Bhava-prakasa by Singabhupala (pp. 20, 139, 169, 202 etc) will fix its other terminusat 1330 A.D. We may, therefore, assign our author roughly to the period between 1100 and 1300 A.D.

Saradatanaya cites Kohala, Matrgupta and Subandhu as writers on the dramatic art. The work consists of ten *adhikaras* as follows: 1 and 2 Bhava 13 Avantara-bhavabheda-svarupa 4 Srngaralambana-nayakadi-svarupa 5 Nayaka-bhedavastha-rasa-bhava-vikara 6 Sabdartha-sambandha-bheda-prakara 7 Natyetivrttadi-laksana 8 Dasarupaka-laksana 9 Nrtya-bheda-svarupa-laksana 10 Naty a-prayoga-bheda-prakara.

MSS. *Madras Cat.* 13010 (extract). Also noticed in the *Rept. of the Peripatetic Party of the Madras Oriental Library* 1916-19. A *Bhavaprakasika-vyakhya* is entered in Peterson iv App. p. 18, no. 514 (incomplete). Also see Aufrecht i 407b, ii 93a and 93b.

(2)

SINGABHUPALA

Singabhupala, whose name is also given as Singadharanisa, Singaraja or Singamahipati (as well as in the Sanskrit forms of these name) has been identified by Sesagiri Sastri with Singama Nayadu, raja of Venkatagiri, who ruled, on the authority of a biographical sketch of the Rajas of Venkatagiri, at about 1,330 A.D[1]. This date is probable, as Mallinatha (on *Kumara i* 25, *iti bhupalah=Rascirna*^{0} i 181),

1 For details see *SgS* i pp. 7-11, also introd. to Trivandrum ed. of the *Rasarnava*^{0}.

as well as Kumārasvāmin, quotes our author. The introductory verses of the *Rasarnava-sudhakara,* attributed to this South Indian prince, show that he belonged to the Recarla dynasty, who ruled over the country lying between the Vindhyas and Śrīśaila, of which Rajacalam (Racakon,'la) was the hereditary capital. He was the son of Ananta (or Anapota) and Annamāmbā, while his grandfather and great-grandfather were respectively named Siṅgaprabhu (or Singama Nayaka) and Yacama Nayaka. Our author was, like Hernacandra, called *sarvajña* on account of his great knowledge, and was a patron of letters[1].

The *Rasdrṇava*[0] appears to be mainly based on previous works like Bhoja's *Śrngara-pi'akasa* and Śaradatanaya's B*hava-prakasa,* although it draws directly on Bharata, Rudrabhatta, the *Dasarupaka* and other authors and works on *rasa* and dramaturgy. The author Siṅgabhiīpāla is in the third person throughout the work. We have a large number of dramas actually quoted or cited for illustration, among which may be noted *Anargha-rāghava* (pp. 72, 83, 261, 266, 274), *Prasanna-rāghava* (pp. 258, 277), *Dhananjaya-vijaya-vyayoga*[2] (p. 287) *Abhirama-raghava*[3] *(anapota-nayakiya* pp. 119, 243, 265, 273,

1 *SgS loc. cit.* p. 9. A poem in 8 cantos called *Camatkara-candrika* or *Simhabhupala-kirti-sudha-sara-sitala* was written, with a view to illustrate the principles of rhetoric, by Viśveśvara Kavicandra, panegyrising our prince who is called here *sarvajfia. (IOC* vii p. 1507).

2 By Kancana, son of Narayana, in Aufrecht i 266b (ed, Kāvyamālā 54, 1895).

3 A drama of this name was written by Maṇika in Nepal in 1390 A,D. (Lévi 268).

275), *Madhavl-vithika* (p. 290), *Mayakurangika-ihāmrga* (p. 298), *Padmāvati* (pp. 263, 266), *Kāmadatta*[1] (p. 285), *Bāmdnanda* (pp. 248, 255, 269), *Karunakandala-anka* (pp. 163, 197, 198, 286), *Virabhadra-vijrmbhana-dima* (pp. 272, 274, 276, 278, 298), *Mahéśvardnanda* (p. 275), *Anandakośa-prahasana* (pp. 40, 41, 278, 291, 297), *Srhgara-manjaribhana*[2] (p. 288), *Payodhimathana-samavakara* (p. 290), *Kandarpa-sarvasva* by himself (p. 151), *Vtrdnanda* (pp. 159, 160) and *Prabodha-candrődaya* (pp. 265, 291).

Śhigabhūpāla also appears to have written a *Nāṭaka-paribliaṁ*, which topic is also treated briefly at the end of his *Rasaruava*[0]. The works of Shigabhupala and Saradatanaya deal incidentally with Dramaturgy.

Editions. *Rasarnava*[0]. (i) by Sarasvatlscsa Śastri, Venkatagiri 1895 (2) by T. Ganapati Śastri in the Trivandrum Sansk. Series, 1916.

MSS. *Rasurnava*[0]. Aufrecht i 497a, ii 116b, iii 106a; *Madras Trm B* 369, p. 507 (c), 402 (b), *C* 667 ; *Madras Cat.* 12945-49; *ŚgŚ* i 56, p. 91. The *Śiṅfrabhūpūfiya Alaṃkāra* in Rice 288 and Oppert i 2462, ii 2104 probably means this work. *Naṭaka-paribkāĦa* in Aufrecht i 284b, 791a.

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1 This little known work is also alluded to in the *Padtnaprabhrtaka-bhana* (ed. Madras 1922), ascribed to Sudraka. According to the editors of this bhāṇa (Pref. p. iv), the *Kātnadatta* was ^*prakarna* composed by Sudraka himself. This *bhāṇa* is quoted anonymously by Hemacandra (p. 198, 1. 12).'

2 A *Srngam-manjari-bhana* by Gopalaraya, son "of Jakkula Veṅkṭendra and Vlranāmbā, is mentioned in Hultzsch i extract p. *77* (no. 385), also p. x.

(3)

BHĀNUDATTA

Bhānudatta[1] is notable for his two popular works on the subject of *nāy aha-ndy ileā* and the *rasas,* called the *Rasa-maiijarl* and the *Rasa-tar ȧngiṇi.* In the latter work, the author excuses himself[2] from giving further details about a certain point, because, he says, they are already given in his *Rasa-manjari,* which was, therefore, the earlier composition. Besides some verses from Bharata and Rudra's Śr*igara-tilaka* and a.verse from the *Dhvatiyaloka*[3], Bhanudatta cites a work called the *Rasa-ratna-dīpika*[4], which is apparently the same work as quoted by Ratnakantha in his commentary on Mainmaṭa[5]. Those citations, however, give us no clue to his exact date.

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1 The form Bhānukara of this name is given by Śeṣ? Cintamani's °*Parimala,* Gopala's °*Vikasa* and Rangasayin': °*Amoda* commentaries. The title *misra* is also appendec sometimes to the name.

2 *bahavo bhedab ca rasamanjaryam visesato dartitah, iha pimar yistara-bhiya ¯napradarsyânta iti,* ed. Granthamaṭa, p. 35 ; ed. Regnaud, p. 57, 1. 32.

3 The verse *anaucityād ṛte* in *Dhva*[0] p. 145 is cited with the remark *tatra prāćina'granthakrṭah,* implying that Bhānu was much younger than^nandavardhana, in whose *v tti* the verse occurs.

4 in *Rasartarahg** ed. Granthamala *ad i* 31, ed. Regnaud, p. 44, 1. 32.

5 Peterson ii 17. An incomplete MS of a work called by this name is entered in Bhaṇdarkar, *Rep.* 1884-87, no. 533,

A lyrical poem, called the *Gita-gaurisa* or *Gita-gauripati* in ten cantos, published in the Granthamala 1887-88, also professes to have been composed by Bhānudatta, who is probably identical with our author[1]. As indicated by their respective writings, both the authors are *śaivas,* and both possess poetical pretensions. Our Bhānudatta gives the name of his father as Ganesvara[2], Gaijapatinatha[3] or Gananatha[4], while the author of the lyric describes himself as the son of Ganapati or Gananatha[5]. There are also a few verses in the two works of our Bhanudatta which also occur in tho lyric. Thus the *mangala-vevse* of the *Masamahjarl (atmiyam caranam) = Gita-gaurisa* ii p. 90; *akaroh kimu netra*^{0} *in Rasa-manjari 51= Gita-gaurisa* ii p. 14; *pranesasyaprabhavati* in *Maśa-taraṅgim* iv p. 40 ed. Granthamālā = *Gītā-gaurisa* ii p. *77.* As the *Glta-gaurUa* is not a mere compilation in which we may expect verses from other writers, the presence of verses in it from the two

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where the name of the author is given as Aliarāja, which occurs as Mallaraja in Buhler *Rep.* 1874-75, no 19, P. 16.

1 . Aufrecht apparently distinguished the two authors at first by separate entries under their name (i 405), but later on (i 793) he states that the author of the lyric " is most likely identical with the writer of the *Rasa-tarangini."* (MS described in 10*C* vii pp. 1443-45).

2 *Rasa-mahf*^{0}. 168.

3 *Rasa-taraṅg*^{0} ed Regnaud p. 66, col.; also Weber 824.

4 in MSS *of Rasa-taraṅg*^{0} noticed in *ALeip* 835, Weber 1726.

5 *kavi-gaṇanātha-sutasya kaver iti vacanaṃ tri-jagati dAaṇyam,* ii p. 50; *kṛta-haru-vinayo gaṇapati-tanayo nigadati hita-kāraṇam* ii p. 58.

works of Bhānudatta can be reasonably explained by a presumption of common authorship of the three works.

The *Glta-gaurUa* appears to have been modelled on Jayadeva's *Gita-govinda* which, like Kalidasa's *Meffhadutdy* gave birth to numerous imitations in later times[1]. Even a cursory examination of these two works will show the close connexion between them ; and it is remarkable that not only the general scheme, but even the verses in some chapters of Bhanudatta's poem correspond in metre with those of Jayadeva's. Thus

Jayadeva

pralaya-payodhi-jale dhrtavau ash vedam
vihita-vahitra-caritram, akhedam
kesava dhrta-minaiarira, jay a jagadisa hare

and Bhanudatta

bhramsi jagati sakale pratilavam avisesam
samayitum iva jana-khedam asesam
purahara krta-mārutа-vem, jaya bhuvanddhipate.

Again, Jayadeva

nibhrta-nikunja-grhawi, gataya nisi rahasi niliya vasantam

I e.g. the *Gita-gangadhara* by Kalyana, the *Gita-girisa* by Rāma, the *Gita-digambara* by Vainsamani *(HPS* i 18) the *Gita-raghava* by Prabhakara, son of Bhudhara, dated *samwat* 1674 (Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-83 P. 9). A *Gita-raghava* by Harisaṃkara is mentioned in *HPS* ii no. 53. See also *Rama-gita-govinda (10C* vii p. 1480) characterised by Eggeling as " a weak imitation of Jayadeva's *Glta-govinda* " but attributed to Jayadeva, Eggeling quotes from Garcin de Tassy about such passing off of imitatioris of *Glta-govinda* for that of Jayadeva. Cf Pischel, Die *Hofdichter des Lakpnanasena* p. 23.

cakita-vilokita-sakala-dtia - rati-rabhasā-rasena hasautaṃ
sakhi he kēsi-mathanam uḋaraṃ
ramaya maẏa saha madatia-matioratha-bhavitayā savikārām

and Bhānudatta

abhinava-yaiwana-bhusitaya - dara-taralitarlocana-tāram
kiñcid-tidanōita-vihasitaya - ċalal-avirala'ptdaka-vikāsam
sakhi he sankaram udita-vilasam
saha sangamaya maẏa nataẏa rati-kautuka-darśita-hāsam.

These two extracts, taken at random, will show how close the imitation is. We may presume reasonably from this that Bhānudatta's work was written some time after Jayadeva's lyric had achieved sufficient literary reputation to be thus imitated. Whethet We place Jayadeva in the first or second half of the 12th century, Bhānudatta cannot be put earlier than that century, and this conclusion gives us one terminus to his date.

The other terminus is furnished by the date of one the commentaries on the *Rasa-mañjarl,* called the *Rasamarijari-vikasā* (or *vilasa)* by Gopāla *(alias* Vopadeva), son of Nṛsiṃha, which is expressly dated in 1 428 A.D.[1] In the S*arngadhara-paddhati,*

i Stein, Jammu *Cat.* p. 63, corrected at p. 421, also p. 273. As to the date of this commentary and the era used, see below Bibliography.—Kumārasvāmin, at the beginning of the 15th century, Quotes (p, 280) the authority of a work called *Rasa-maftjarl* to show that *viraha vipralambha* is also termed

which was compiled about 1363 A.D., several verses are cited under the name of one Bhanu-pandita (790, 973, 1032, 1271, 3328, 3685), none of which; however, can be traced in the known works of our author, Jalhaijta whoso anthology was compiled about the middle of the 13th century, also quotes and ascribes to a Vaidya-bhauu-pandita as many as 18 verses, which are similarly untraceable, but two of which are also to be found under the same citation in the Paddhati (973 = 48a and 3328=95a). It may, however, be presumed that the author of the Rasa-manjara was not unknown at this period, and that in the anthologies the epithets vaidya and pandita were annexed to an earlier or later Bhanu in order to distinguish him from our author, whose namesake ho was[1]. If this inferenee is permissible, then we may place Bhanudatta earlier than the middle of the 14th century, but later than the 12th, a closer approximation than which cannot at. present be made.

In the last verse of the *Rasa manjari,* Bhanudatta's native country is given as Videha *(videbhuh)*[2] or

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pranaya-mana. It is not clear whether the reference is to Bhānudatta, for the dictum cannot be traced in his *Rasa-manjari.*

1 In the *Sabhyalamkarana* of Govindaji (Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1887-91 p. Ixiii) we have selections from the poems of Bhānukara and Bhānu-pandita, by which obviously a distinction, such as that apparently made by the compiler of the *Paddhati,* is meant between the two poets,

2 In Madras ed. of 1872, as well as in the MS noticed by Aufrecht *(Bod. tat.* 213b) and Bhandarkar *(Rep.* 1883-84 p, 12), the reading is *vidarbhabhuk,* which is a mislecticni;

Mithilā, which agrees with Bunnell's description of Bhanudatta as a native of Mithilā. As a Maithilī writer, it is not surpising that he was acquainted with the Gauḍlya Jayadeva's well-known lyric, and tried to emulate it with a similar work on Siva and GaurL In another work called *Kumāra-bhārgavlya*[1] attributed to Bhānudatta, the author is called the son of Ganapati or Gananatha (apparently the same as our author), and his pedigree is given thus: Ratneśvara-v Suresvara (author of S*ariraka-bhasya-vrattika)*-Viśvanātha-vRavinātha—>Bhavan5tha—>-Mahādeva-> Gauapati->Bhānudatta. Gaiapati appears to have been a poet whose verses are quoted by Bhānudatta himself in his *Rasa-tarangini.* One poet Ganapati is praised, in a verse ascribed to one Rajasekhara in Jalhana's anthology, as the author of the *Mahamoda.* An *Alamkara-tilaka* in five chapters and a *Sfhgara-dlpikā* are also attributed appparently to our Bhānudatta. '

The commentaries on the two works of Bhānudatta, as detailed below, are numerous. Of these, the *Nauka* on *Rasa-tar angini* by -Gangarama Jadi, and the *Vyahgydrtha-kaumudl* and °*Prakasa* on *Basa-manjari* by Ananta Pandita and Nagoji Bhatta respectively have been published.

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for the author represents the river Ganges as flowing through his country, which is true of Videha and not of Vidarbha. Cf Weber ii no. 1726. The title *tniśra,* often appended to Bhānudatta's name, may indicate that he was a Maithili Brahmana, and that he was probably *not* a *vaidya.*

1 Aufrecht i 405, iii 88. See 10*C* vii p. 1540.

Rasa-manjari

Editions, (i) Madras 1872, 1881 (2) with vyangyartha-kaumudl of Ananta Pandita and °Prkasa of Nagoji Bhatta, Benares Sansk. Series 83, 1904 (3) by Veṅkaṭācārya Śāstrl Madras 1909. Our references are to the Benares ed.

MSS. Aufrecht i 495a, ii 116a, 220a, iii 106a ; *K Bod* 507; *SCB* 684, 990, 1985 ; *Madras Trm. C* 680; *Madras Cat* 12933-40: SCC 280.

Commentaries. (1) *Vyangyartha-kaumudl* by Ananta Paṇḍita, son of Tryaṃbaka Paṇḍita (Timaji) and grandson of Bālo Paṇḍita, and great-grandson of Nllakaṇṭha-pandita. His native place is Punyastambha (Puntambem in Ahmednagar) on the Godavari. The comm. was written at Benares in *saṃvat* 1692 = 1636 A.D., at the request of Candrabhanu, son of Vlra-senadeva and grandson of Madhukara. The date of composition is specified in the concluding verse which is given in the India Office MS (Eggeling 10*C* ill p. 365), but omitted in the printed text. Ananta also wrote a *Mudraraksasa-pūrvaplthika* (Mitra 1654), and a commentary on *Govardhana-saptasati* in 1645 A.D. (ed. Kavyamala 1). MSS: Aufrecht i 495a, ii 116a, 220a, iii 106a; *SCB* 2238; *Madras Trm A* 1132: *Madras Cat* 12943-44.

(2) °*Prakasa* by Nagoji or Nagesa Bhatta, for whom see under Jagannātha. MSS: Aufrecht i 495b, ii 116a, 220a iii 106a.

(3) °*Parimala* by Sesa Cintamani, son of Sesa Nṛsiṃha who wrote before 1675 A.D. Cintāmaṇi also wrote several other works including one on Prosody (Aufrecht 189a). MSS: Aufrecht i **495b,** ii **11**6a, 220a, iii 106a.

(4) °*Vikasa* (or °*Vilasa)* by Gopala Acarya, *alias* Vopadeva of the Kaundinyá-gotra. son of

Nrsimha and grandson of Gopala of Jabala-grama in the Maharastra country, and pupil of Metiganātha. The comm. is dated in *saṃvat* **1484**= 1428 A.D. MSS Aufrecht ii 116a: *SCB* 1986. Sridhara Bhandarkar points out *(Rep. of Second Tour* 1904-06, p. 36) that the date is 1494 and not 1484 as given by Stein (extr. p. 273), but he thinks that it is *śaka* era, in which case the date of the commentary will be 1572 A.D.

(5) *Rasika-ranjani* by Gopala Bhatta, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa Drāviḍa. He also wrote a comm. on Rudra's *Śrng. til.* There is also a commentator of the same name on Mammaṭa. They may be all be identical. See above pp. 101, 186. MSS: Aufrecht i 495b, ii 116a, iii 106a. The commentary by Harivamsa Bhafeta in *Oudh Cat.* xi 10 is probably a mistake for this comm. of his son. For Gopāla's other works see Aufrecht i 161.

(6) *SamaTifasl* or *Vyangyartha-kaumudi* by Visvesvara, son of Laksmidhara, for the whom see the chapter on Minor Writers below. MSS: Aufrecht i 495b, ii 116a, iii 106a.

(7) °*Amoda* by Raṅgaśāyin *alias* Gurijālaśāyin, who is said to have studied under Mahādeśika of Bādhūla-gotra and under his own paternal uncle Anant,'icārya, and who is described as the son of Dharmftcārya of Cilukamari family. MSS: Oppert 3758; *Madras Cat.* 12941-42 (extract) ; *Madras Trm A* 802.

(8) *Vyangytirtha-dipilka* by Ānanda Śarman, son of Tryaṭnbaka. Aufrecht i 495a, ii 116a.

(9) *Bhanu-bhava-prakasini,* by Mahadeva, *Madras Trm* C680.

(10) *Rasika-ranjana* **by** Vrajaraja **Diksita,** son of Kamaraja and father of Jivaraja. *North Western Pov. Cat.* 1877-86, ii 120. **See** below

under Jivaraja's comm. on *Rasa-tarangini* Burnell wrongly enters *Rasikaranjana* as a commentary by " the author of the text,"

(il) *Rasamanjari-sthula-tatparyartha. 10* 543-

Rasa-tarangini

Editions. (1) with Nauka of Gangarama Jadi, Benares 1885 (2) Granthamalii ii 1887-88 (3) by Regnaud in his *Rhetorique Sanskrite,* Paris 1884,

MSS. Aufrecht i 494b, ii 115b, 220a, iii 106a; *SCC* vii 39, 40, 41; *KBod* 506; *WBod* 1160; *SCB* 431, 991 ; *Madras Cat* 12928-29. The *Nava-rasa-tarangini* in Oppert ii 3176 is apparently this work.

Commentaries. (1) °*Nauka* by Gangarama Jadi or Jadin. *Madras Cat.* 12930 (extract)-31. This commentary is dated in 1732 A.D. Gangarama is also the author of an independent work called *Rasa-Mimamsa (ed.* with Chaya, Benares 1885), in which he refers to his *Aauka.* He was the son of Narayana, and pupil of Nilakantha, and also wrote two works on logic (see Aufrecht i 140). See on Minor Writers below.

(2) *Rasika-ranajari.* by Venidatta Tarka-viigisa Bhattacarya, son of Viresvara and grandson of Laksmana. His commentary is dated in 1553 A.D. Venldatta also wrote an independent work on Poetics called *Alamkara-candrbdaya.* See under Minor Writers. MSS: Aufrecht i 494b, ii 115b **220a, iii 106a.**

(3) °*Setu* or **Setubandka* by Jlvaraja, son of Vrajaraja Diksita (see above under *Rasa-manjari).* MSS: Aufrecht i 494b, ii 220a, iii 106a. The *Rasa-setu* in Aufrecfit i 494b is probably the same commentary. He was the great-grandson of Samaraja Dlk§ita (q. v. under Minor Writers), who lived in the latter part of the 17th century.

(4) *Rasbdadhi* by Ganeśa, Aufrecht i 494b,

(5) *Rasbdadhi* by Mahadeva. Aufrecht i 494b.

(6) *Sahitya-sudha* or *Kavya-sudka* by Nemisaha, son of Bhimasaha, described as *maharaja-dhiraja.* Aufrecht i 494b, iii 106a.

(7) *Nutana-tari* by Bhagavadbhatta. Aufrecht i 494b.

(8) Comm. by Ayodhyāprasāda. Aufrecht i 494b. The author also commented on the *Vrtta-ratn&kara.*

(9) Comm.[1] by Dinakara or Dinākara. Aufrecht ii I 18b.

A commentary by Bhānudatta in Aufrecht i 494b is probably a mistake.

Alaṃkāra-tilaka

Aufrecht i 32a, ii 6b, iii 7*b*, The name of the author is given as Bhānukara in Burnell 54a and Bhau Daji Catalogue. The work is in five paricchedas (Peterson vi App. p. 29).

Śungara-dipika.

*u*frecht i 661a. (= *Oudh Cat.* iii 12).

(4)

Following upon these, we have innumerable works of a similar nature, which take *rasa,* especially *Srṅgara,* as its principal theme, and which were composed apparently with the purpose of guiding the poet with rules and illustrations in the composition of erotic pieces so popular and profuse in Sanskrit literature. The most important of these works and their authors will be mentioned in the chapter

on Minor Writers. Some Vaisnava authors, like Rupa-gosvamin, however, attempt to bring *vaisnava* ideas to .bear upon the general theme of poetic or dramatic *rasa,* and we shall, for convenience of treatment, take them in a group here.

RtJPA AND JlVA GOSVĀṂIN

Rūpa Gosvāmin, son of Kumāra and grandson of Mukunda, is the author of numerous *vaiṣṇava* works," including the *Ujjvala-mlāmani.* He is well known as a contemporary of Caitanya, the Vaisnava reformer of Bengal, and must have, therefore, flourished towards the end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. This date is confirmed by the dates which some of his works bear. His *Vidagdha-mādhava* was composed in 1533 A.D.[1]; while his *Ulkalika-vallari* is dated in 1550 A.D.[3].

The commentary *Locanarocam* was composed by his nephew Jiva Gosvamin, son of his brother Vallabha[8]. A tradition in Bengal gives *Saka* 1445

1 incorrectly given by Aufrecht as 1549 at i 572 *(Cat. Bod.* 145a), but corrected by himself at ii 126, 135.

2 Mitra 3278.

3 Eggeling *(10C* ii 358) and Haraprasada Śastrl *(Notices* i 33) ascribe it erroneously to Rūpa's brother Sanātana Gosvimin and Vallabha respectively, a mistake which is prepetuated by Aufrecht i 62a, iii 14b. A similar confusion is made in Mitra ii p. 36, where the *Ujjvala-nilamani* itself is ascribed to Jlva Gosvamin (H, P. Sastri i no, 32). In the same way, the authorship of the *Stava-mala* has been variously attributed to Rupa, Jiva *(Proc. ASB* 1865 *P. 138*) and Sanatana (Kasinatha Kunte, *Rep.* p, 32).

(= 1523 A.D.), and saka 1540 (=1618 A.D.) as the dates of his birth and death respectively.

Rūpa Gosvāmin also appears to have written a treatise on Dramaturgy called *Nataka-candrika*, which is quoted in the commentary on the *Vidagdha-mādhaoa* and in the *Vaiṣṇava-toshṃ*. At the commencement of this work, Rūpa Gosvamin states that in composing it he consulted the Bharata-śāstra and *Rasa-sudhdkara* ~ (the R*asarnava-sudhdkara* of Singabhupala?), and rejected generally (i 2) the treatment of the *Sahitya-darpana* as being opposed to Bharata's views. The topics dealt with are (I) general characteristics of a drama (2) the hero (nayaka) (3) the divisions of a rupaka (nandi etc) (4) elements in the action (sandhi, patākā etc) and their classification (5) arthôpakṣcpaka and its divisions (viṣkambhaka etc) (6) division of acts and scenes (7) distribution of .dialects (bhāṣavidhāna) (8) styles of dramatic composition (vṛtti) and their employment according to the *rasa* intended. The work is not a small one, and the illustrations, taken mostly from Vaisnava works, arc fairly minute and numerous. In his U*jjvala-Kilamani* he gives illustrative verses from most of his own poetical and dramatic productions, such as *Uddhava-duta, Vidagdha-madhaoa, Danakeli-kaumudi* and other works[1]. A *llasdinrki-iesa* is also attributed to Rūpa.

VIŚVANĀTHA CAKRAVARTIN

Visvauatha Cakravartiu, who wrote the commentary, called *Ānanda-candrika* or *Ujjvala-nilamani-kiratia*, lived at end of the 17th and the beginning

x For a list of his works see Aufrecht i 533.

of the 18th century; for he composed a commentary called *Sarartha-darsini* on the *Bhagavata* in *saka* 1626= 1704 A.D., while his *Ananda-candrika* is also dated in *saka* 1618=1696 A.D. He also wrote, besides several *vaisnava* works, a commentary on the *Alamkara-kaustubha* of Kavikanjapura, mentioned below.

KAVIKARṆAPURA

Kavikarnapura, *alias* Paramauauda-dasa Sena, described as the son of Sivananda Sena and pupil of Srinatha, wrote a work called *Alamkara,-kaustubha.* The author was a well-known Vaisnava of Bengal belonging to the Vaidya family, and wrote several *vaisnava* works. His drama *Caitanya-candrodaya* was composed in *saka* 1494= 1572 A.D.[1], and his father Śivānanda was a disciple of Caitanya-deva. Mitra in his introduction to his edition of the drama (p. vi) says that Kavikarnapura was born in 1524 A.D. at Kancauapalli (Kanedapatla) in Nadiya. His *Gaavaiiga-ganoddesa-dipika* was composed in 1576 A.D[2]. The *Alamkara-kaustubha* is composed

1 The date is given in the verse: *śake caturdaśa-śate ravi-vaji-yukte ,' gauro harir dharani-mamlala avirdsit,'tasmin catur-navati-bhaji tadlya-plla-j grantho' yam avirabhavat katamasya vaktrāt,* which tells us that Gaura-hari or Caitanya was born in *saka* 1407, and that the drama, which deals with him, was written in *saka* 1494. Aufrecht is incorrect in stating that it was composed in 1543 A.D. (But see Sten Konow *Ind. Drama* p. 93, section 104).

2 *HPS* it p. 50, as well as *ALeip* 721, reads *śake vastt-graha-mite* which gives 1576 or 1577 A.D: but 10*C no.* 2510 reads *sake rasarasfi-mite* which would give 1540 A.D.

in ten *kiranas,* as follows: I Kavya-laksana 2 Sabdartha 3 Dhvani 4 Gunibhuta-vyangya 5 Rasabhava-tadbheda 6 Guṇa 7 Sabdalaṃkara. 8 Arthalaṭnkara 9 Riti 10 Doṣa[1]. It is thus a more comprehensive work than Rūpa Gosvāmin's and the vaiṣ^avite proclivities are not so prominent; but most of the illustrative verses are in praise of Kṛṣṇa and the subject-matter follows the *Kavya-prakasa* in treatment. The commentaries on this work are noticed below.

KAVICANDRA

Kavicaudra, described as the son of Kavikarṇapūra and Kausalya, and father of Kavibhusana and Kavivallabha, is perhaps the same as the poet quoted in the anthology called the *Padyavali.* He wrote, among other works, a "*Kavya-candrikttˇ* in 16 *prakāśas* dealing with (l) kāvyalakṣaṇa (2) śabda-śakti (3) rasa (4) bhāva *(5)* rasabheda (6) rasabhasa (7) kavya-bheda (8) pramaḷianirūpaiia (9) rlti (10) guiia (11) śabdȧlaṃkāra (12)

i For a detailed résumé of its contents see Mitra 1662.

2 10C vii p. 1534, at p. 1535. The verse quoted from Kavicandra's work in *ABod* 212a says that the author was a *bhi*ak* son of Kavikarṇapiira and KauAalÿa, and grandson of Vidyā-viśārada. The colophon says that he belonged to the Datia family, and lived in the Dlrghāïika village *iti dirgharnka-grama-nivasi-dattakulodbhava-vaidya-Sri-kavicandra-viracitaf̈aïn* etc. It is not clear whether Kavikarṇapiira, author of the *Caitanya-candrodaya,* is identical with Kavikarṇapiira, father of Kavicandra. If it is so, then this colophon is not intelligible. The *Padyavali,* which is said to have been compiled by Rūpa Gosvāmin, certainly belongs to a date earlier than 1541 A.D., when it is quoted in Rupa's *Bhakti-rasamrta- sindhu.*

arthalamkara (13) dosa (14) kavitdpaya (15) natya[1] He quotes, besides older authors, the *Kaoikalpalatā*, the *Sahitya-darpana*, the *Ramacatidracampti*, the Sant*i-candrika*, the *Stavavali*, and an author called Puruaottama, as well as two of his own work *Sara-laharl* and *Dhatu-candrika*. He flourished probably at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century[2].

Ujjvala-nilamani

Editions, (j) with Locana-rocam of Jiva Gosvamin. Murshidabad, 1889 (2) with the same and with the comm. of Visvanatha Cakravartin. Kavyamala 95, 1913 (our references are to this edition).

MSS, Aufrecht i 62, ii 12a, 190b, iii 14b; *SCC* vii 6.

Commentaries. (1) *Locana-rocarih* by Jiva Gosvāmin, often confused with Sanātana Gosvāmin. Aufrecht i 62a, iii 14b; *UPS* i 33; *SCC vii 6*. Published with the text.

(2) *Ananda-candrikō*, or *Kiraḷia* by Viśvanātha Cakravartin. Aufrecht i 62a. Published in Kāvya-mala ed. of the text. The comm. [0]*Kiraṇa-lesa* in

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If the Kavicandra cited in the anthology is the same as our author, there will be chronological difficulties in making him son of Paramānanda Kavikarṇapūra, who was a probable contemporary of Rūpa's and is himself quoted in the same anthology.

i Aufrecht's Bodleian MS contains *eightprakāms* named after the first eight topics given here: but our enumeration follows the India Office MS. Cf Regnaud p. 377.

2 Aufrecht mentions (i 16b) a *Cikitsā-ratnāwati (IOC* **704)** by Kavicandra composed in 1661 A.D. with a query as to the date. For his other works see Aufrecht i 87a,

Mitra 580 (also in *SCC* vii 5, Kathvate *Rep.* 1891-95, 318) is probably this commentary.

(3) *Agatnarcandrikā* and *Attnaprabodhikā*. Aufrecht i 62a.

(4) An anonymous °*tika* in *SCC* vii 3.

Nāṭakarcandrikā

Edition. Rāsavihāri Saṇikhya-tlrtha, with a Bengali trans. (in Bengali character), Kashimbazar 1907. MSS: Aufrecht i 284b, ii 61b, 207b. Extract in *Ulwar Cat.* 1061 and Mitra 3160; *Madras Cat,* 12900.

Rasaimrtasesa

Aufrecht ii 220b.

Alaṃkāra-kanstubha

Edition, with the commentary of Viśvan;ltha Cakravar Murshidabad 1899,

MSS. Aufrecht i 31b, ii 188a, iii 7b; *KBod* 492-94; SCC vii 60.

Commentaries, (1) *Sarabodhinl* by Visvanatha Cakravartin, Anfrecht iii 7b. Published with the text.

(2) °*Kiraṇa* by himself (?). *ABod* 209b, Ulwar 1034.

(3) °*Didhiti-prakahika* by Vrndabana-candra Tarkalamkara Cakravartin, son of Radhacaraṇa Kavîndra Cakravartin. Aufrecht i 31b.

(4) °*tika* by Lokanatha Cakravartin. Aufrecht i 31b.

Kāvya-candrikā

MSS: Aufrecht i 101a; *KBod* 499.

XXVI KESAVA MISRA AND SAUDDHOBANI

(1)

Kesava himself tells us that he composed his *Alamkara-sekhara* at the request of a ruling chief named Manikyacandra, son of Dharmacandra and grandson of Ramacandra. who is said to have ruled near Dilhi (Dhilli) and defeated the king of Kabila (Kabul?). Eggeling[1] is obviouly wrong in identifying him with Mānikyacandra of Tirabhukti or Tirhut; while Bilhler[2] did not go further than suggesting that this prince was not a Kashmirian but ruled or lived in Delhi just before the Muhammadan conquest. The patron of our author, however, appears to be Manikyacandra of Kot-kangra, whose genealogy corresponds to that given by Keśava and whose date of accession, according to Cunningham[3], is 1563 A.D. The literary activity of Keśava may, therefore, be **fixed in the third quarter of the 16th century.**

(2)

The ^rite-portion of the *Alamikara-sekhara,* called here *sūtra,* is declared to have been based on,

1 10C no. 1197.

2 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 69.

3 *Arch. Sunny* v. 152f, at p. 160. (cf *JASB,* 1907, p. 212).

if not actually taken from, some lost work of an authority who is cited as b*hagavan* (or *maharsi* p. 50) Sauddhodani, Kesava himself apparently assuming the modest role of a commentator or interpeter in the running prose-vrtti. The name Śauddhodani, apparently Buddhistic, is otherwise unknown in Alaṃkāra-literature[1]. Whatever may be the original source of his work, Keśava shows himself conversant with the works of most of his predecessors, and quotes, among more recent writers, Rājaśekhara (pp. 32, fi7), Bhoja, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Mammata, the *Vāgbhaṭdlaṃkaṙa* and Deveśvara. He also quotes one $rlpada (pp. 4, 5, 6, 23, 27, 32, 81,), who may be his master Sauddhodani himself designated by this honorific term, as well as the author of a *Kaṁkalpalata-* who is described as a follower of this Sripada[2]. This Kavi-kalpalata-kara, however, is neither Deveśvara nor Arisiṃha and Amaracandra, whose works also bear a similar title. The passage cited by Kes'ava in this connexion (pp. 48-9, *veṇyaḥ sarpasi-bhrngalyo* etc.) gives a list of more or less conventional words useful for the purpose of conveying a simile or metaphor. A comparison of an almost similar passage in Deveśvara (p. 157f), who copies it directly from Arisiṃha and Amaracandra (pp. 135f), will show enough verbal discrepancy to

1 This Sauddhodani should not be identified with the Sauddhodani mentioned in the m*angala-verse* (where it apparently stands for the name of Buddha) of the *Vidagdhawukha-mandana* of Dharmadasa Suri.

2 sripada-*matanusari-kavikalpalata-karah* p. 48 ed. Kavyamala.

indicate that neither of these sources • constitutes the original from which Kesava quotes. A similar discrepancy is also noticeable in another passage of Kesava's *(ratnani yatra tatrdrau* etc. pp. 55-6), which at first sight will seem to have been borrowed from Devesvara (p. 36f) who, however, copies ,it almost literally from Arisimha and Amaracandra (p. 30f). At the same time, Kesava betrays otherwise an acquaintance with Devesvara's :text, from which he reproduces at least one long passage anonymously *(nfpe klrti-pratapajña"* etc. p. 57f= Devesvara p. 26f), which Devesvara himself probably adapted from Arisimha and Amaracandra (p. 27f); but it is curious that Kesava copies here the text of Devesvara with its variations, rather than the original text of Arisimha and Amara on this point.

The opinions of a writer called G-ovardhaua is frequently cited by Kesava (pp. 17, 29, 37, 43, 49). There is also a reference to Jayadeva, *pandita-kavi* (p. 17) in the court of an Utkala king. If this person is identical with the poet Jayadeva, who is said to have lived under Laksmaija Sena of Bengal and who also calls himself Javadeva *pandita-kavh* in his *Gita-govinda* (xii p. 171)[1], then it is likely that Govardhana, who is quoted immediately before this reference to Jayadeva, may be the poet of that name, who was Jayadeva' s contemporary referred to in the beginning of the *Gita-govinda.*

Kesava tells us that he had already composed

I The verse *unimilan-madhu-gandha* of the *Gita-govinda* (ed. N. S. P. p. 29) is quoted anonymously by Kesava at p. 6, as an instance of the *gautfa riti.*

seveu abstruse treatises ou the subject before he undertook the composition of his *Alamkara-tekhara.* Two of these are apparently those which are mentioned in the text as his own under the citations *Alarjikāra-sarvcisva* (p. 9) and *Vākyaratna* (p. 12) or *Kāeyarattia* (p. 72). A. *Kavyaratna* is mentioned in Oppert ii 6237.

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Editions, (i) Kavyamala 50, 1895 (2) Ganesa Śarman, Benares 1866. Our references are to the Kāvyamāla ed.

MSS. Aufrecht i 32b, ii 6b, 188a, iii 7b ; *SCC* vii 4.

XXVII APPAYYA DIKSITA

(1)

Appayya Diksita himself furnishes us with a clue to his date He tells us at the end of his *Kuva'ayananda* that it was composed at the instance of a South Indian prince named Vertkata[1]. Aufrecht[2], and following him Eggeling[3], identify this patron of Appayya with Veṅkata of Vijayanagara (about 1535 A.D.), while Hultzsch[4] shows that he was Veiikata I of Peunakoijḍa, whose incriptions range from *saka* 1508 to 1535 (=1586 to 1613 A.D.).[5] On the other hand, in the colphon to his *Sivadityamani-dipika* (Hultzsch 1056), Appayya mentions as his patron a prince Cinnabomma, the son of Cinavīra and father of Liiagamanayaka. The inscriptions of this chief of Velur (Vellore in the North Arcot District) are dated

1 Cf also sl 168 (ed. N. S. P. 1913) which, though occurring -also in the text of Jayadeva's *Candraloka,* is probably one of Appayya's additions.

2 *Cat. Bod.* 213a. But in his *Cat. Cat.* i 22a and ii 5a, he assigns the dates, viz. end of the 15th and end of the 16th century respectively. Regnaud's conjecture *(Rhctorique Sansk.* p. 375) that Appayya flourished in reign of Kṛṣṇanlja of Vijayanagara in 1520 A.D. is not correct.

3 10*C* Hi p. 335.

4 *Rep. of South Ind. Sansk. MSS* ii p. xiii and *EI* iv 271 *(ct,'ASB* 1907, p. 211).

5 *South Ind. Inscrip.* p. *69f* and p. 84.

in *saka* 1471 and 1488 (=1549 and 1566 A.D.)[1]. The extreme limits, therefore, of Appayya's literary activity are 1549 and 1613 A. D. We may thus assign him to the third and fourth quarters of the 16th century, and as he was alive in the time of Veṅkata I he may have lived into the beginning of the 17th century[2]. This date is confirmed by the fact that we find Appayya cited by Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa in the first quarter of the 17th century and attacked by Jagannātha about the same time; while Nilakantha Diksita (a grandson of Appayya's brother), whose *Nilakaṭha-campū* is dated in 1637 A.D., wrote a *Citramimāṃsā-dosa-dhikkara*[3] apparently in vindication of Appayya's work of that name against Jagannātha's attack.

(*2*)

The correct form of the name is probably Appa or Apya Diksita, which we find him himself using

i *IA* xiii p. 155 and *EI* III p. 238 Table.

2 Me is said to have lived to the ripe old age of 73 (see introd. to Hālasyanātha's ed. of *Kuvalaydnanda* p. 15), and according to Kṛṣnamacarya *(Hist, of Classical Sansk. Lit.* Madras 1906, p. 104) Appayya Jived from 1554 to 1626 A.D. Veṅkata, author of the *Visvaguṇādar'm* and a grandson of Appayya, tells us that he hailed from Kāfici (or Conjeveram).

3 The *Doṣajitkaṛa* (?) by Cinna Appayya Dikṣita in Oppert 4802 is probably a" mistake for this work. Nilakaṇṭha, pupil of Kṛṣnānanda Yogîndra and Veṅkaṭeśvara, was the son of Narayana, and grandson of Apya (or Accha) who Was Appayya's brother. For this work of his, see Hultzsch, *Rep.* ii p. 126, no. 1281 (up to *apaknuti-prakaraya).*

in his Kuvalayananda, but it is variously spelt as Appaya and Appayya. A champion of Southern Saivism he was a versatile and prolific writer, and tradition ascribes to him more than one hundered works, of which Aufrecht mentions nearly seventy. He was the son of Rangaraja (or Rangarajadhvarin) and had a brother called Apya or Accha.

Appayya is notable in Sanskrit Poetics for his three works, viz. the *Kuvalayananda,* the *Citra-mimamsa* and the *Vrtti-varttika.* Of these, the last seems to have been his earliest work, after which comes the *Citra-mimamsa* which is referred to in his *Kuvalaya-nanda.* None of these works displays much originality ; and we have seen that his *Kuvalaydnanda* was directly based on Jayacleva's *Candraloka,* up to the section on the figure *hetu*[1]. To the "one hundred" *alamkaras* of Jayadeva, Appayya, however, adds twenty-four[2], and this perhaps constitutes the largest number of such figures mentioned in any Alamkara work, and forms the climax in the process of multiplying the poetic fignres with endless minute differenti ation. The C*itra-mimamsa* is a more independent work; but it was probably left incomplete. In most

1 See above pp. 220-21

2 In the text of the *Kuvalayananda-karika* with Asadhara's commentary, which is translated by Schmidt and published in the N. S. P. 1909, the fourth chapter dealing with sab*dalamkaras* is an interpolation, or rather mistaken incorporation into the text of Appayya of a chapter from Ciranjiva Bhattacarya's *Kavya-vilasa (IOC* iii pp. 343"44), as the colophon at the end of that chapter itself shows. It well known that the *Kuvalaydnanda* deals only with *arthalamkaras.*

of the MSS[1], as well as in the printed texts[2], it goes up to the *attiaydkti-prakarana*, and breaks off with the curious verse

apyardha-citramtmāmsā, na mude kasya māqisalā
auūrur iva gharmdṃśor ardhSndur iva dJmrjateḥ,

which, if authentic, implies that the work was designedly left incomplete. But in some MSS there is un additional verse, which gives a list of the figures to be dealt with *(pratipadydlaṃkāra-sūci)*[3], which ends with the mention of *utprekṣā*, and omits *aiśmyokti* which ought to come after it. The *Candrilcā* commentary supports this tradition with the remark ut*preksa-granthanantaram citramimamsa na kvapi drsyate;* but the commentary of Dharananda, son of Rāmabala, includes and comments on the section on a*tisayokti* coming thereafter. Appayya's own references to the *Citra mimarnsa* in *Kuvalayananda* (pp. 78, 86, 133) relate to the treatment of the figures of *slesa, prastutankura* and *arthantara-nyasa,* which are wanting in the present-day text. Appayya's third work, the *Vrtti-varttika,* which is a short dissertation, after a work called *Kavyarsaraṇi,* on the

1 e.g. *IOC* iii p. 336, ends with *atisaybkti* at fol. 72a *Madras Trm A* 1104 ; *Sg S* ii p. 82.

2 ed. Kāvyamālā 38, 1907. In the text published in the *Pandit* xiii, the work ends with *utpreksa,* and the *atibayokti* is wanting.

3 *upatra saṅopameybpamayathafianvayaḥ smaraṇaṃ •upaka-parinati-Samsaya-bhrantimad-ullkhasamāhitotprekṣāḥ.* This verse occurs at the end of the text printed in the *Pandit* and in the India Office MS referred to. The MS *kha* used in the Kāvyamālā ed. (see p. 101 fn.) ends with *utprekṣā.*

three functions of word and its sense, is also incomplete as it stands ; for it consists only of two chapters on the two functions *abhidhā* and *lakqaṇā,* and the third chapter which should deal with the third function *vyañjauā* is wanting[1].

(3)

Appayya's works appear to have started some controversies in his time. Thus Jagannatha, who flourished immediately after him, not only attacked Appayya in his R*asa-gangadhara* and stigmatised him as a slavish imitator of Ruyyaka and Jayaratha, but also wrote his *Citramimamsa-khadana* to demolish Appayya's work of that name. Bhlmasena, in his commentary on Mammaṭa, also refers to a *Kuvalaydnanda-hharicḷana* written by himself as an attack on Appayya's other work ; and we find Nllakaṇtha, a descendant of Appayya's, apparently taking up the cudgel to defend the fair fame of his ancestor in his *Citramiṃamsa-ḍosa-dhikkara.*

Among more recent writers and works cited by Appayya, we find the names of the Sahityacintamanikara, Ratnakara, the *Alaqikara-sudhanidhi* and the *Kavyasarani,* the last work (of which nothing is known) being avowedly the model or source of his *Vrtti-varttika.* The *Sahitya-cintamani,* also cited

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I Appayya was a very prolific writer who is reputed to have composed 104 works. For his works on Saiva philosophy and other subjects, see Aufrecht; also *IA* xxvii (1898) p. 326f: Krsnamacarya *op. cit* p. 168.

by Kumārasvāmin, is probably the work of the same name by Viranārāyaṇa (q. v., about 1400 A.D.). The *Alaṃkārasudhanidhi* is apparently the same work as cited by Kumārasvāmin at p. 44, but of this nothing is known. If the Ratnākara quoted in the *Vrtti-varttika* p. 20 be the same as Ratnakara cited extensively by Jagannātha in his two works, then it refers to the *Alamkara-ratndkara* of Śobhakaramitra, and should be distinguished from *Rasaratnākara* cited by Mallinatha on *Meghadūta.*

(4)

THE C0MMENTATORS ON APPAYYA

The popularity of the *Kuvalaydnanda* as a convenient manual is indicated by the many commentaries on it, the more important ones of which have been published. The Di*pika* of the poet Āsadhara, son of Ramaji and disciple of Dharaṇi'dhara has been edited as well as translated. The *Alaṃkara-siidhā* and *Satpadananda* of Nagesa or Nagoji Bhatta have not yet found an editor, but the *Alaṃkara-candrikā* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat, son of Rāmacandra (or Rāmabuddha) and grandson of Viṭṭhala Bhatta, has been printed several times in Madras and elsevvere. The more reliable commentary of Grangadharadhvarin or Gaṅgādhara Vājapeyin, son of Devasiṃha-sumati of Bādhūla-femily and pupil of Viśvarūpa Yati of Benares, probably preserves the text and the Appayya-traditions better, inasmuch as the commentator tells us that Appayya was the teacher of a

brother of his grandfather, and he himself takes great pains to settle the readings of his text. Other less known commentaries are mentioned below.

The *Citramtmārṛisa* has been commented upon by Dharānanda, son of Rāmabala of Vaśiṣṭa-gotra and grandson of Ṭhākura, who had, besides the author's father, two other sons, named Puraiḷadāsa and Devadāsa. The commentator was the disciple of Paramānanda and was born in Bharatapura. He wrote also a commentary on *Mrcchakcilika (Madras Cat.* 12625).

No commentary on the *Vrtti-vārttika* is known.

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Editions. *Text only* (i) Poona 1842 (2) Bombay 1895 (}) by Subrahmaṇya barman with Eng. trans, and notes, Calcutta 1903. *Text with commentaries.* (1) with Candrika of Vaidyanātha, Poona 1846, 1849, Madras 1869, 1870, 1872, 1881, 1895, Cálcutta, (Jlvṇanda) 1870, 1874 etc., Benares 1878, 1910, Bombay (Vāsudeva) 1877, 1885, 1912, 1913 etc. (2) with the Rasikaranjanl of Gaugadhara, by Halasyanatha Śāstrl, Kumbhakonum 1892 (3) with Alaṃkāra-dlpikā of Āśādhara, by Vāsudeva, Bombay N. S. P., 1909; the same translated into German by R. Schmidt, Berlin 1907. This enumeration is not exhaustive, as the work has been printed very often in India as a text-book Our references are to the N. S. P. ed. of 1913 by Vāsudeva, which contains also Vaidyanatha's Alaṃkāra-candrika.

MSS. Aufrecht i 113a, 780a ii 22b, 194b; iii 25a. The entry *Kuvalayananda-karika* refers to our text (the *karika* portion only) which is the subject of Āśādhara's commentary.

SCC vii 25-7 ; *WBod* 1161; *KBod* 505 ; *Madras Trm A* 192, 5510; *WRAS* 109, 127; *Madras Cat.* 12846-12860.

Commentaries. (1) *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat (see above). Published many times with the text MSS: Aufrecht i 113a, 780a; ii 23a, 194b; Hi 25a-*SCC* vii 1, 29; *Madras Cat.* 12862-67. Mitra *(in Bik. Cat.* p. 213, no. 607) gives an entirely wrong impression of this work as well as of its original.

(2) *Alaṃkara-dlpika* by Aśādhara. Printed by N. S. P. as above. MSS: Aufrecht i 113a, 780a ; ii 23a. Aśadhara only comments on the *Karikās,* but he is not aware of Jayadeva's *Candraloka.* Aśādhara also wrote *Kovidānanda* and its commentary (Aufrecht ii 25b). He should not be confused with Aśādhara who wrote a commentary on Rudraṭa (cf Aufrecht i 54b and ii 10b).

(3) *Rasikaraftjaril* by Gangadharadhvarin or Gaïigādhara Vājapeyin. Printed from Kumbhakonum as above. MSS: Aufrecht i 113a (the attribution to Appayya himself is wrong, as corrected later), ii 22b: *Madras Trm A* 73, *B* 388, *C* 703 ; *Madras Cat.* 12868-70. This commentator describes Appayya as *asmat-pitamaha-sahodara-dešikendra*; but according to tradition the commentator lived under the Tanjore prince Śhāhajl (1684-1711 A.D.). Also wrote some comms. on philosophical works.

(4) *Alaṃkāra-sudha* by Nagoji Bhaṭṭa. Aufrecht i 113a (i.e. citing Kielhorn *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 98 and not p. 104), ii 23a. Nāgoji is also said to have written another commentary on *Kuvalay"* called *Salpadananda,* or in full *Visama-pada-vyakhyana satpadananda,* Aufrecht i 113a, ii 23a, *SCC* viii 28, As its name indicates, the latter commentary probably deals only with difficult words and passages. The two commentaries are

often confused. In this last commentary, Nāgoji refers to his °*Marnia-prakasa* on Jagannatha's work. Extracts of both in Stein pp. 270-271.

(5) *Kavya-manjari* by Nyayavagisa Bhattacārya (?). Aufrecht i 113a. Is he identical with Rāmacandra Nyāyavāgisa, son of Vidyānidhi (q.v.) and author of the *Kāvya-candrikā*?

(6) Comm. by Mathurānātha. Aufrecht i 113a. See pp. 239-40.

(7) °*ṭippaṇa* by Kuravirāma referred to in lhe introductory verse of his comm. on the *Vihvaguṇḍarifa,* Hultzsch i extr. p. *57,* no. 21. For the author see above p. 135. As Venktadhvarin, author of the *Visvagunadarsa,* is known to be a grandson of Appayya's, Kuravirāma, who commented on this poem, could not have been earlier than the middle of the 17th century.

(8) *Laghvalamkara-candrika* by Devidatta. *SCB* 830.

(9) *Budharahjanl* by Veṅgala Suri. *Madras Trm. A* 1215 : *Madras Cat.* 12874-75. This is really a comm. on the arthālaṃkāra-section of *Candraloka,* coextensive with the text of Appayya's *Kuvalayananda.*

Citra- mimaṃsa

Edition. (1) in the *Pandit* xiii, 1891 (2) Kāvyamālā 38, 1893, 1907 (our references are to the ed. of 1907).

MSS. Aufrecht i 187b; ii 38b, 200a ; iii 40b. *Madras Cat.* 12879-83.

Commentaries. (1) *Sudhā* by Dharānanda, son of Rāmabala. Aufrecht ii 38b ; *Madras Cat.* 12884-86. (extract).

(2) *Gudhartha-prakasika* by Balakrsna Payagunda. Aufrecht ii 38b. He is also the author of an *Alaṃkarā-sarā.* See chapter on Minor Writers,

(3) *Citraloka. SCB* 106.

Vrtti-varttika

Edition. (1) in the *Pandit* xii, 1890 (2) Kavyamala 36, 1893. Our references are to the Kāvyamālā ed. of 1910.

MSS. Aufrecht i 598a, ii 142b (first two chapters), 226b iiT 125'(two chapters).

XXVIII JAGAMATHA

In his *Bhāmini-vilāsa,* Jagannaṫha tells us[1] that, he passed his youth under the patronage of the emperor of Delhi, from whom, we are told elsewhere, he received the title of Panditaraja[2]. This emperor seems to have been Shāh Jahān, whose son Dara is eulogised in Jagannatha's *Jagadabharana.* He also seems to have lived under the protection of Nawab Asaf *Khan* (d. 1641), a nobleman in the Court of Shih Jahān, in whose praise he wrote his *Āsapha-vilasa* and who is also referred to in a verse quoted in his *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* (p. 166). In the latter work, there is also a reference in a verse (p. 521) to Nuradlna which is apparently the Sanskritised form of one of the names of Jahanglr, Shah Jahan's

1 *dilhvallabha-panipallava-tale mtam navim vayah,* ed. Granthamālā vol. iv *hi* 32. This verse is wanting in the N.S.P, ed. 1894. The Granthamala text is published with the comm. of Mahādeva Dikṣita who claims to be a grandson of Jagannātha himself.

2 See citation from *Āsapha-vilāsa* given in introd. to Kāvyamālā ed, of *Rasa-gahgādhara* p.2 fn. ; also Nāgeśa on *Rasa-gaṙig** p.3. The poet Paṇdita-ṙaja, cited in the anthology *Padyamrta-tarangini* of Hari-bhaskara, whose commentary on the *Vrtta-ratnakara* was composed in 1676 A.D. (Bhandarkar; *Rep.* 1877-91, p. lxii and *Rep,* 1883-84. p. 60) is probably our author. There is also a commentator on Mammata named Panditaraja (q.v.) who is different author. Aufrecht (ii 40a), making a confusion between the two, attributes the K*avya-prakasa-tika* our Jagannatha.

father. Shah Jahāṅ came to the throne in 1628 A.D., and was thrown into prison in 1658 A.D. It appears that while Jagannātha's younger days were passed under this emperor, Dārā-shikoh (d. 1659 A.D.) who came into power during the latter days of his father's reign, was his real patron. It is not unlikely, therefore, that Jagannātha's literary activity lay in the second and third quarters of the 17th century. Nages'a Bhatta commented upon his *Masa-gaṅgādhara* in the beginning of 18th century, while Jagannātha himself attacks Appayya Dikṣita who lived in the third quarter of the 16th century.

(2)

Jagannātha describes himself as the son of Peru Bhaṭṭa[1] (or Perama Bhatta[2]) and LakṣmL He was, like Appayya, a South Indian writer, being a native of Tailaṅga[3] (Telegu country), and belonged to the Vegināḍa family [4]. His father was reputed for his learning, having been, as Jagannātha himself tells us[5], taught the Vedanta by Jnanendra-viksu, the Nyaya-vaisesika by Mahendra Pajjxlita, the Purva-mimamsa. by Khandadeva and the *Mahabhasya* by Sesa Vlreśvara. Our author learnt these subject from his father, and also from one his father's teachers, Viresvara. Very little is known of his personal

1 *Rasa-gang*[0] i 3
2 concluding verse to his *Pranabharana.*
3 *Pranabharana sl.* 52.
4 colophon to *Bhaminl-vilasa.* 5 *Rasa-gang*° i 2.

history, although curious tales about his fondness for a Muhammadan woman, and his death by plunging into the sacred river Ganges have gathered round his name[1]. Jagannātha was also the author of several poetical works[2], besides writipgthe *Rasa-gangadhara,* the latest yet not the least important work on Poetics, and the *Citramamaṃisa-khaṇdana.* He also wrote a grammatical work, directed against Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita's famous commentary *Manorama;* called *Manorama-ḳuca-mardana.*

Both the rhetorical works of Jagannātha have been obtained incomplete. The printed editions of the texts of the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* go up to the treatment of *uttaralaṃkara* and break off with an incomplete verse ; and so do most MSS noticed in the various reports and catalogues. Nāgeśa or

1 Acyuta Raya, whose *Sahitya-sara* is dated in 1831 A.D., discusses in his commentary on the *Bhāminl-vilāsa,* the autobiographical significance of the lyrics in that work and of verses like *yavanl navariita-komalangi* often attributed to Jagannātha. See also L.R. Vaidya in the introd. to his ed. of the *Bhamini-vilasa.*

2 Some of these have been published by the N.S.P. For a list, see introd. to Jagannātha's *Rasa-gaṅg*[0] (Kāvyamāla ed.) and Aufrecht i 196b, and Kāvyamāla pt. i. p. 79. These are (1) Amṛta-laharl (Km pt. ii) (2) Asapha-vilāsa, praise of Asaph Khān (3) Karuṇālaharl (Km pt. ii) (4) Gaṅga-lahart or Plyusalaharl (5) JagadAbharana, praise of Dara shah (6) Prana-bharaṇa, praise of Prāṇanārāyaṇa of Kāmarupa (Km pt. ii) (7) Bhaminl-vilasa (8) Manorama-kuca-mardana, against Bhattoji Diksita's *Manorama* (9) Yamuna-varnana-campu (10) Laksml-laharl (Km pt ii) (11) Sudha-laharl (Km pt. i). Of these nos. 3, 6 and 11 are quoted in the *Rasa-ganga°* e.g. sl 6o=p. 36 ; sl 4=p. 56 ; sl. i=p. 20.

Nagoji Bhattas commentary also ends with the same section.. In conformity to a pun in the word *gahgādhara* in the title, the work was apparently planned to consist of five heads *(ānana)* or chapters, of which we have got only one complete and another incomplete chapter[1]. The *Citramimamsa-khandana,* directed against Appayya's work of the same name, also goes as far as the opahnuti-section and does not deal with *utpreksa* and *atisaya* which are found in some MSS of the *Citramīmāṃsā.*

(3)

Of comparatively recent writers, Jagannātha, besides citing Mammata, Ruyyaka and Jayaratha extensively, refers to and quotes Vidyādhara (p. 254), Vidyanatha (p. 162) Visvanatha (and the *Sahitya-darpana,* p. 7) and Appayya, and refers very often to the *navyāḥ.* The scathing criticism which he levels aginst Appayya as a slavish imitator of Ruyyaka and Jayaratha was no doubt prompted by the zeal of eclipsing the fame of another South Indian writer in the same field. Jagannātha also cites Srivatsa-lanchana (p. 39), apparently the commentator on Mammata, an unknown Alamkarabhasya-kāra (pp- 239, 365, also referred to by Jayaratha), and Ratnakara (pp. 202, 207, 211, 221, 225,281, 313, 480, 492 etc) which last name is also cited by

1 It cannot be be determined whether the work was completed : but it was certainly composed before Jagannatha wrote his *Citramimamsa-khaṇdana,* the second verse of which refers to the *Rasa-gangadhara.*

Appayya. Jagannatha also refers to a work called *Alamkara-ratnakara* (pp. 163, 165). An anonymous *Alamkara-ratnakara* is mentioned in Burnell 54a ; but Buhler[1] describes a work of that name by Sobhakaramitra, son of Trayisvaramitra. Peterson informs us [2] that the Kashmirian poet Yasaskara extracts some *sutras* on Alaṃkara[3] from a work called *Alamkara-ratnakara* by Sobhakaramitra, and illustrates them in his *Devi-stotra* by compos ing verses in praise of Devī, as the opening words of the latter work themselves show[4]. The work of Yasakara in Stein is for this reason called *Alaṃkarodaharana-sannibaddha Devi-stotra*[5]. The Ratnakara of Jagannātha undoubtedly refers to this *Alamkara-ratnakara* of Sobhakaramitra; for the citation from Ratnakara at p. 202 =*sutra* 11 (as given in Peterson i p. 78).

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1 *Kashmir Rep.* App. ii no. 228, p. cxxviii.

2 *Rep.* i p. 12.

3 These are given in Peterson, *op. cit.* App. pp. 77-81.

4 *ratnakarabhyantarato grhitvalamkara-sutrani yatha-kramena / bandiva devya giriraja-putryah karomi bamsarn, śruti-gocarāṇi* The commentary on this verse explains sri-*trayisvara-mitratmaja-sri-sobhakaramitra-viracite'lamkara-ratndkare'lamkara-sutrani.* The colophon to Buhler's MS of the *Alamkara-ratnakara* reads *trayisvara-mantra-putrasya* as* a description of Sobhākaramitra, in which the word *mantra* is obviously a mistake for *mitra.* Stein's Jammu MS 58 reads Śobhākaramitra as the name of the author (cf also *WBod 11 62).*

5 The original is also called *Alamkara-ratnodaharana* and the author Sobhakaresvara. See also Mitra 1822 ; Hultzsch's *Eine Sammlung ind. Handschriften* 170.

(4)

The commentator on the *Uasa-gahgādhara* is Nagesa or Nagoji Bhatta, whose name we have already mentioned as a commentator on Mammata, Govinda, Bhānudatta and Appayya. He was a Mahratta Brahmin (with the surname Kala), son of Siva Bhatta and Sati. He lived in Benares and was patronised by Rāmasiṃha of Śṛngavera-pura (near Allahabad). He is one of the latter-day grammarians, who composed a number of works and commentaries on grammar, poetics and philosophy. He was the pupil of Hari Dikṣita, who was the son of Vlreśvara Dīkṣita and great-grandson of Bhattoji Dikṣita, the well-known author of the *Siddhanta-kaumudi.* Bhattoji is known as a pupil of Sesa Krsna[1], whose son Sesa Viresvara was, as we have noted, a teacher of Jagannātha himself. Nāgoji was thus separated from Jagannātha roughly by two generations, and flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. The India office MS of his commentary on

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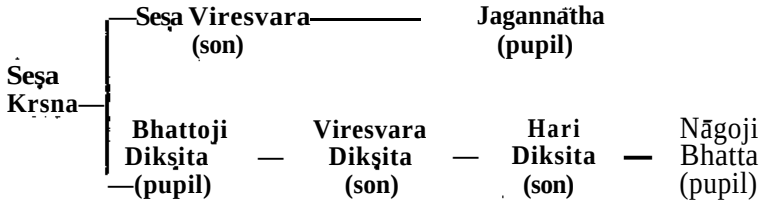
1 author of the *Pada-candrika* and the *Prakriya-prakasa,* and son and pupil of Śesa Narasimha or Nrsimha. See Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84,p.59. Nagoji's relation to Jagannātha is illustrated thus :



Bhanudatta's *Rasa-manjarl* is dated in 171.2 A.D[1] Nāgoji was also the teacher of Vaidyanātha, the Maithili grammarian, and of Gaṅgarāma, the great-grandfather of Maṇirāma (1802 A.D).[2]

Nāgoji wrote the following commentaries in poetics, as already noticed : (1) *Guru-marma-prakasika* on Jagannatha's *Rasa-gangadhara* (2) *Brhat* and *Laghu Uddyota* on Govinda's °*Pradipa* on Mammata (3) *Udāharaṇa-diphka*¯ or °*pradlpa* on Mammata (4) *Alaṃkaŕa-sudha*¯ and *Ỵisamapada-vyāhhyāna ṣaṭ paḍa nanda* on Appayya's *Kuvalaydnanda* (5) °*Prakaśā* on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-manjart*¯ (6) a commentary on Bhanudatta's *Rasa-taraṅgiṃ*.

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Commentaries. (1) *Guru-marma-prakasika* by Nagesa Bhatta. Aufrecht i 494b, ii 115b. Printed in Kāvya-mālā with the text.

(2) *Viṣama-padl.* Anonymous. Aufrecht i 494b.

Citramimamṣa-khanḍaṇa

Edition. Kāvyamālā 38, 1893, 1907.

MSS. Aufrecht i 187b.

1 *IOC* iii p. 355. Cf Belvalkar *Systems of Sansk. Gram.* p. 49.

2 Maṇirāma wrote a commentary on Jagannatha's *Bhamini-vilasa* in 1802 A.D. See *IOC* vii p. 1526.

XXIX MINOR WRITERS ON ALAMKARA

(1)

We propose in this chapter to deal with the minor writers on Alaṃkāra, other than the commentators as well as less known authors already mentioned in the preceding chapters, arranging them alphabetically, and giving the names of their works and such details as can be collected about them[1].

1. ACYUTA SARMAN or ACYUTARĀYA MOPAKA

Sāhitya-sarṛa and its commentary *Sarani moda*

(Ed. Bombay I860; N. S.P. Bombay 1906. Aufrecht i 716a, iii 17 Ia).

The work is dated in sa*ka* 1753 = 1831 A.D. The author describes himself as the pupil of Narayana Sastri. He appears to be identical with Acyutarāya who wrote the *Prṇaya-prakāśa* commentary on Jagannātha's *Bhāmini-vilasā;* for in it he refers to the *Sāhitya-sarṛa* as his own (ed. N. S. P. 1894 p. l), citing the verses i 14-15 from the latter. In

1 Doubtful names to be found in some catalogues, as well as those about which there is no reliable information, have been omitted in this list ; and care has been taken to avoid useless or trifling entries.

his *Sāhitya-sāra,* again, he refers to the *Bhāmini-vilāsa* at p. 7.

The work consists of 12 chapters called *ratnas,* the metaphor being that these precious doctrines are churned by the author from the ocean of *Alaṃkāra-śāstra.* The chapters are accordingly named 1 Dhanvantari-ratna (the general characteristics of *kāvya)* 2 Airāvata-ratna (function of *śabda* and *artha)* 3 Indirā-ratna (the *vyaṅgya* and its occasions) 4 Daksinavartakambu-ratna (divisions of *dhvani,* including *rasa-dhvani)* 5 Aśvavara-ratna (other inferior divisions of *dhvani)* 6 Viṣa-ratna *(doṣa)* 7 Guṇa-ratna *(guna)* 8 Kaustubha-ratna *(arthalamkaras)* 9 Kamadhenu-ratna *(Sabdalamkaras)* 10 Rambha-ratna *(nāyikā)* 11 Candra-ratna *(nāyaka)* and 12 Amṛta-ratna (conclusion). Our author is possibly identical with Acyuta, author of the *Bhagirathl-champu* (written in the 1815 A.D.), who is described by Aufrecht (i 770b) as the son (?) of Nārāyaṇa. This work is divided into 7 chapters called *manorathas.*

2. AJITASBNĀCĀRYA or AJITASENA-DEVA YATĪSVARA

a. *Alamkara-cintamaṇi*

(Ed. by Padmaraja Pandita in the *Kavya-mbudhi* 1893-94. MS in Rice 304: cf Aufrecht i 6a, iii 2a).

b. *Srngara-manjari*

(Aufrecht i 661; S*gS* ii pp. 83, 231 extract; *Madras Cat* 12956-57).

The author was the Jaina priest of Camundaraya,

minister of the Ganga king Raeamalla, and flourished in the latter part of the 10th century. He was the teacher of Nāgavarman, a Kanarese poet, who lived under the protection of Rakkasa Gaṅga, younger brother of Rāeamalla. Ajita also wrote *Cintāmaṁ-prakaśika* on Yakṣavarman's *Cintāmani,* which is itself a commentary on Sakatayana's *Sabdanusasana.* See Rice p. 308.

The S*rngara-manjarl* was written at the instance of a Jaina prince of the lunar race, named Rāya or Kāmirāya, for his instruction. It consists of three chapters and 128 stanzas, dealing with (1) *pada-doṣa* (viz., *alaksana, srutikatu, vyaghatartha, anarthaka, aprasiddha, neydrtha, grāmya* and *asammata)* which ends with a discussion of the *vrttis,* (2) the ten *gunas* of Vamana and (3) *arthalamkaras* (viz. *upama, rupaka, jati, bhrantiman, hetu, samsaya, prativasta-pamā, ākṣepa, dṛṣtdnta* and *tulyayogitā).*

3. AṆURATNAMAṆḌANA or RATNA-MAṆḌANA GAṆI

a. *Jalpa-kalpalatā,*

(Weber 1722, long extract given ii pp. 278-80).

This Jaina author was a pupil of Ratnaśekhara Sūri ot Tapāgaccha, who died in *saṃvat* 1517= 1461 A.D., and therefore belonged roughly to the middle of the 15th century. The work, in three *stavakas,* gives practical instruction on composition *(kāṁ-sikṁ)*[1].

I For Ratnaśekhara, see Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 156-7: Peterson iv p. ciif: *IA* xi p. 256,

b. *Mugdha-medhākara*

(Peterson vi p. xv, extract given ab p. 31).

A manual on poetic figures and kindred topics.

4. ANANTĀRYA

Kavh-samaya-kallola (Madras Oat. 12808, extract).

This South Indian writer was the sou of Śiṅgarācarya. The work cites from Dharmasūri, Narasiṃha's *Naujuraja-yaso-bhusaua,* and P*rataparudriya* ; and therefore could not be earlier than the 14th century. He refers to another work by himself, called *Krsnarāja-yasò-dịṇḍịma.*

5. ANANTA

Sahitya-kalpavalli (Aufrecht i 13a).

G. AMḶKTĀNANUA YOGIN

Alamkara-samgraha

(ed. Calcutta 1887 with Engl, trans. Aulrecht i 29a ; *Madras Cat.* 12794, extract).

The work consists of 5 chapters dealing with (1) *varua-gaua* (2) *sabdartha* (3) *rasa* (4) *nayaka-bheda* (5) *alaṛịkāra.* The author says that he wrote this work at the request of Manvasamudra, son of Bhaktibhtumịpati, who was a devotee of Śiva. It appears from the introductory verse that the author also intended to deal with *guna, dosa* and *dasarupaka.* He is probably identical with the Tantrika Amṛtananda who corrected (Weber p. 361) the *Tantra-sara* of Krsnananda.

7. ALLARĀJA or MALLARĀJA

Rasa-ratna-dlpika (Aufrecht i 495b, ii 116a).

A work of this name is cited by Bhānudatta in his *Rasa-taraṅgim*, and by Ratnakaṇṭha on Mammata (Peterson ii p. 17). See above p. 245, fn 5. The work is called *Rasa-ratna-pradipa* by Allaraja in Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1884-87, no. 533.

8. INDRAJIT

Rasika-priya (Peterson vi no. 379).

The author also wrote a *Bala-bodha* commentary on the *Vairāgya-śataka* (Aufrecht hi 13b).

9. KACCHAPESVARA DĪKSITA

Ramacandra-yaso-bhusaya . *(Madras Cat* 12950, extract).

The author was the son of Vāsudeva and grandson of Kālahastīśvara who was a native of Brahmadeśa, a village in the North Arcot District, and the writer of a commentary on the *Bhāgavata.* His grandfather had two other sons, named Narayana and Krsna, his father being the second son. The work consists of three chapters dealing with the *rasas,* viz. (1) srngara (2) the other 8 *rasas* (3) *bhava-nirupana.* The illustrations are in praise of the valour of Bommarāja (probably of the Karvetnagar zamindary in North Arcot).

10. KANDĀLAYĀRYA

Alaṃkara-sirobhusaṇa .

(Rice 283 anon.; Hultzsch i no. 371, extract at p. 75 ; *Madras Trm A* 168).

The author was the son of Rāmānujārya and

grandson of Kesavārya of the Ayaturi family. He probably lived at the court of either Veiikata I -or II of the third Vijayanagar dynasty[1], and was thus a contemporary of Appayya Diksita.

11. KALYAṆA-SUBR AMMAṆYA SŪRI

Alaṃkaṙa-kaustubha with commentary (*SgS* ii pp. 80, 221 ; *Madras Oat.* 12790).

The author was son of Subrahmaṇya and grandson of Gopāla of the Pruṟu family. The work invokes and sings the praise throughout of Padmanābha, the god of the temple of Anantaśayana (Travancore), and of the Vaṉjipāla Balarāma Varman Kulaśekhara. It was probably composed about 1798 A.D., as the king of Travancore of that name ruled about 1798-1800 A.D. It gives the characteristics of the different poetic figures dealt with in the *Candraloka* and illustrates them with examples by the author himself in praise of his patron and his deity.

12. KĀNTICANDRA MUKHOPĀDHYĀYA

Kāvya-dlpika ¯

(ed. Calcutta 1870, 1886 ; Aufrecht i 92a. *Madras Oat.* 12815 may be this work, but is given without the name of the author).

The work appears to be a compilation for beginners from Mammata and other well-known writers by a modern author belonging to the 19th century.

13. KĀSILAKSMAṆA KAVI

Alawkara-grantha (Burnell 54a).

The work was probably written at the end of the

1 Hultzsch *ibid,* p. viii.

17th or the beginning of the 18th century, as the examples are all in praise of the Tanjore prince Sāhaji (1684-1711 A.D.).

14. KṚṢṆA

Sahitya-tarangini (Aufreoht ii 171a).

15. KUMBHA or KUMBHAKARṆA, Sriṟāja-dhirāja

Rasa-rabna-kosạ (Aufrecht i 495b).

A MS of this work in Devanāgarl character in the Paris Biblioth. Nationale (no. 243) is described by Regnaud p. 379. It is a treatise on *rasa* and kindred topics in 11 chapters, dealing with (1) 1-4 the *rasas (2)* 5-6 *nay oka* and *nayika* (3) 7 *abhinaya* (4) 8-9 *anubhāva* and *vyabhlcāri bhavas* (5) **10-11** *rasa* and *bhāva.* The treatment corresponds to the 3rd chapter of the *Sāhitya-darpai,'a* and matters dealt with in Bhānudatta's two works on *rasa.* The author is probably king Kumbha of Mevaṭcḷ (1428-1459 A.D.) who wrote, besides some treatises on *saṃglta,* a commentary entitled *Rasika-priyā* (ed. N. S. P. 1917) on Jayadeva's *Glta-govinda,* and flourished in the first half of the 15th century. It is interesting to note that in the present work, Kumbha cites (besides Abhinavagupta) Kīrtidhara (see above p. 37), of whose date we thus get a limit at the 15th century A.D.

16. KṚṢṆA BHAṬṬA or JAYAKṚṢṆA MAUNIN

Vrtti-dipika (Aufrecht i 598a).

The author was a grammarian, and the **work**

probably deals with the gramrnatico-rhetorical question of the vr*ttis* of words. For his other works, see Aufrecht i 198a. He is described as the son of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Govardhana Bhatta.

17. KṚSṆA DlKSITA or KṚSṆA YAJVAN

Raghunatha-bhupalIya

(Aufrecht i 486a; *Madras Trm C* 659d).

A commentary called *Sahitya-sāmrājya* by Sumatlndra Yati, pupil of Surlndra-pūjyapāda, is mentioned in Rice 288.

is. KṚSṆA BARMAN

a. *Mandara-maraiida-caṃpū*

(ed. Kāvyamālā 52 with *Madhurya-ránjanl* commentary, 1895).

b. *Rasa-prakaṁ* (Aufrecht i 495a).

The first-named work is a so-called *chaṃpū,* dealing in reality with Prosody, Dramaturgy, Poetics as well as practical Kavi-siksa. The work consists of 11 chapters called *bindus,,* dealing with (l) chandas (2) nāyaka-vanjLana (3) śleṣa (4) yamaka and citra (5) the different bandhas (6) enigmatology (7) dramaturgy (8) nāyaka-laksaija (9) bhāva and rasa (10) alamkara, with dhvani-nirupana etc. (11) dosa, which however includes sections on sabdartha, the three vṛttis etc., pāka, kāvya-bheda, and a section of practical hints for descriptive poetry. The work appears to be very ill-arranged and ill-digested, having no fixed theory but forming an encyclopaedic compila-

tion from various sources, meant to serve as a complete hand-book for the poet. The author, who is described as an inhabitant of Guhapura and a pupil of Vāsudeva Yogīśvara, gives us no clue to his date : but his work is certainly very late. He copies, for instance, many definitions and illustrations from Appayya's *Kuvalaydnanda*, and even appropriates the whole section on *pāka* from Vidyānātha. Some of the new poetic figures, which appear to be first adduced and illustrated by Appayya, find a place in this comprehensive compilation. One should conjecture from this that the work belongs to quite recent times. The *Rasaprakaśa* is a commentary on Mammaṭa (see p. 186).

19. KESAVA BHAṬṬA

Rasika-samjīvani

(Aufrecht i 127b, 497b ; *Br. Mus.* no. 424, extract).

The work, dealing with *rasa*, is in *3 vilasas*. The author was the son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa and a vaiṣṇava disciple of Vitthaleśvara, who is apparently the son of the reformer Vallabhācārya. Hence our author probably belongs to the second half of the I6th century. The first *vilasa* (11 *si* only) is mainly introductory; the second deals with *nāyikās*, and the third with *mana, pranaya, raga, srngara* etc.

20. GAṄGĀNANDA MAITHILA

Karna-bhusana (ed. Kavyamala 79, 1902).

This is a work on the *rasas* in five chapters, dealing with (1) vibhavas (2) anubhavas (3) vyabhicaribhāvas (4) sthāyi-bhāvas (5) rasa. It was written,

as the author himself says, at the command of king Srikania of Bikaner *(bikaneri-puri),* who appears to be the same as Lūṇakarṇaji who ruled at Bikaner from 1505 to 1526 A.D.

21. GANGĀRĀMA JAḌI or JAḌIN

Rasa-mimaṁsa –

(ed. with *Chāyā,* Benares 1885 ; Mss in Aufrecht i 495a, ii 116a, iii 106a).

For details about the author and his commentary on Bhānudatta's work, see above p. 253. He belongs to the second quarter of the 18th century.

22. GADĀDHARA BHAṬṬA

Rasika-jivana (Aufrecht i 497b, ii 116b).

This work on *rasa,* which also bears the character of an anthology, is in ten *prabandhas.* The author is the son of Gaurīpati and grandson of Dāinodara. Regnaud (p. 379) gives an account of the Paris Biblioth. Nationale MS of this work.

23. GOKULANĀTHA MAITHILA

Rasa-mahdrnaya

The author is the celebrated Maithili Smārta and Naiyāyika Gokulanātha, son of Pltāmbara and UmadevI of Phanadaha family in Mangrauni, who lived and wrote in Benares at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. The work is referred to by himself in his *Pada-vakya-ratnakara*[1], He is probably the same as wrote a commentary

1 *ABod* 246a.

on Mammata, see above p. 186. His drama *Arnftd-daya* (written about 1693 A.D.) has been published in Kavyamala 59, 1897[1].

24. GAURANĀRYA

Laksana-dipika
(also called *Prabandha-dipika* or *Padartha-dipika. Madras Oat.* 12951, extract).

This work, which breaks off with the sixth *prakasa,* deals with (1) *kavya-svarupa* (2) *paribhasa* (3) *kavya-laks ana-bheda* (4) *kalikotkalikadi* (5) *udaharna-bheda* and (6) *nāyikā.* The author is described as the son of Āyamaprabhu and brother of Mitarāja, who was the minister of Singaya Madhava of Recarla family. The work cites *Sahitya-cudamani* (of Bhatta Gopala?). Another work, apparently in 4 *paricchedas,* also called *Lakfana-dipika* (consisting of *karika* and *vrtti)* is attributed in the same Catalogue (no. 12952, extract) to Gauranārya, but the author is here described as the son of Ayyalu-mantrin, brother of *amātya* Potama. They may be identical. The latter work cites the *Alamkara-samgraha, Kavi-kantha-paia, Camatkara-candrika* (see above p. 243fn.), *Sahitya-candrodaya* and *Sahitya-ratnakara* (of Dharma Suri ?). The *Kavi-kantha-pam,* of which two MSS (without the name of the author) are noticed in *Madras Cat.* 12802-03, appears to be a treatise (said to be based on Pingala's work) on the characteristics of a poet's personal appearance and qualities, on the effect of the initial words of a poem, on the auspicious day for beginning a composition and so forth.

1 See *HPS i* p. 17*f*

25. GHĀSI or GHĀSi RĀMA PALITA

a. *Rasa-candra (IOC* 295).

b. Ras*a- kaumudl (Madras Cat.* 12921, extract).

The first work was composed in 1696 A.D. The latter work describes the nine *rasas.* Ramapandita's R*asa-kaumudi* in Peterson v 414 refers apparently to this work. The *Rasa-candra* is in 4 chapters, dealing with 1. *nāyikā-gaṇa-bheda* (198 *it) 2. nāyaka-sarrigha* (85 *si)* 3. *anubhavadi-gana* (150 *il)* 4. *rasa* (162 *sl).* Is this Ghaslrama identical with Ghaslrama Bhatta, father Srlnatha who wrote the medical work *Jagat-prahaśā* (Stein pp. 193, 348)? He, however, appears to be the same as wrote the *Padya-muhtavali* (erotic verses).

26. CAṆḌIDĀSA

Dhvani-siddhdntagrantha

The work is referred to by himself in his commentary on Mammata. See above p. 173.

27. CANDRACUPA

Prastava-cintamani (Ulwar 1064, extract 223; Weber 826).

The author is described as the son of Puruṣottama Bhatta. For citations in this work, see Weber *loc. cit.* It cites Candrasekara-campū-prabandha which, Regnaud thinks, is a *campu* by Candrasekhara, father of Visvanatha (q. v.) It is a work on the art of writing poetic descriptions.

28. CIRANJIVA or RAMADEVA CIRAN JIVA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA

a. *Kavya-vilāsa*

(Aufrecht i 102b, ii 20a, 193b, iii 22b).

b. *Srngarn-tatini* (Aufrecht i 660b).

The author was the son of Raghavendra (described as *acarya-satavadhana)* and grandson of Kaslnatha. He is the author of the *Vidvanmoda-tarangini* (a champu)[1] and also of a work on prosody. The Indin Office MS (see *IOC* iii pp. 343-44, for a detailed summary of its contents) of the *Kavya-vilasa* consists of two chapters, dealing with *rasa* and *alamkara* respectively, the illustrative stanzas being the author's own. The section on sa*bdalamkara* from this work has been printed and inadvertantly included in the text of Appayya's *Kuvalayananda,* published by N. S. P. (ed. Vasudeva, 1909) with Asadhara's commentary[2]. See above p. 267 fn 2. Ciraiijiva wrote his *Vrtta ratnavali*[3] as a panegyric on Yasovanta Simha, Nayeb-dewan of Dacca under Suja'u-d-daulah of Bengal, about *6aka* 1653 = 1731 A.D. He belongs therefore to the first half of the 18th century.

29. JAYAMANGALA

Kavi-Hksa (Aufrecht i 88a; Peterson i no. 120, extract).

This work is apparently cited by Ratnakantha on *Stuti-kusumanjali* i 1. The author was a Jain a

1 See *ABod* 260-61.

2 See pp. 97-100 of this edition.

3 *HPS* iii no. 280.

who wrote at the time of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.D.) and was thus a contemporary of Hemacandra[1].

30. JINAVALLABHA SŪRI

Praiuottara (Br. Mm. no. 426, extract).

This is a collection of riddles and verbal puzzles. On the author (about 1110 A.D.), see Klatt p. 36, and Bhandarkar *Hep.* 1882-83, p. 48, where other works of his are mentioned. It is accompanied by an *avacūrl* by Kamala-mandira.

31. JĪVANĀTHA

Alaṃkāra-sekhara (Aufrecht i 32b).

32. TIRUMALA or TRIMALLA BHAṬṬA

Alarṛhkāra-mahjari (Aufrecht i 32a, ii 6b, iii 7b ; extract in *ALeip* 851).

This South Indian author was the son of Vallabha-bhatta, and his name is also given as Trimmala of Tirmala, and sometimes incorrectly as Nirmala. The work was written in Benares in 43 verses and deals only with *arthalamkaras.* The *Arthalamkara-manjarl* entered under this author's name in Buhler's *Catalogue* (1871-73) is probably this work. There is a commentary on this, called M*adhu-dhara* (Burnell **57a)** by Sudhiudra-yati, pupil of Vijayendra (q.v.). Our author appears to be identical with **Trimalla** Kavi, son of Vallabha and grandson of **Shighana** Bhatta, who wrote some works on medicine (see ***ALeip*** 1182-85).

1 Peterson i D. 68.

33. TRILOCANĀDITYA

Nāṭya-locana (Aufrecht i 284b, iii 61a).

This work (without the author's name) is extensively cited, e.g. by Raghavabhatta on *Sakuntala* ed. N. S. P. 1886, p. 7, by Vasudeva on *Karpuramanjari,* by Ranganatha on *Vikramorvasi* i 1; by Dinakara and Cāritravardhana on *Raghu.* As Dinakara's date is 1385 A.D.[1], this work cannot be placed later than the middle or third quarter of the 14th century. A commentary, called °*Locana-vyākhyd-ṅjana,* by the author himself is mentioned in Oppert 2695.

34. TRYAMBAKA

Nāṭaka-dlpa (Aufrecht i 284b).

Three commentaries, one of them being by Rāmakrsna Pandita, are entered by Aufrecht *loc. cit.* One of the Deccan College MSS contains a Prakrit commentary[3].

35. DĀMODARA BHAṬṬA HARSE

Alaṃkaṙa-kramormalā (Aufrecht i 32a)

36. DEVANĀTHA

Rasika-prakasa (Aufrecht i 497b).

The author is probably the same as Devanātha Tarkapañcānana who wrote a commentary on Maṁmata (see above p. 187). A Devanatha is cited by Bharatamallika (18th century) on Bhatti x 73.

1 Nandargikar's ed. of *Raghu,* 1897, Pref. p. 17.

2 *Deccan Coll. Catalogue* p. 417 no. 38.

37. DEVASAṄKARA, surnamed Purohita

Alamkara-manjusa,

(Aufrecht ii 6b; Bhandarkar, *Hep.* 1887-91 p. lxiiif, extract).

The author, a Guzerat Brahmin, was the soil of Nahanabhai and a native of Raner, (Rander near Surat) and lived at Uraḥpattana (probably 01pā4 in the same district). The work deals with poetic figures alone, and the illustrations sing the glory of the Peswas Mādhava Rāo I and his uncle Raghunātha Rāo (1791-1708 A.D.). The author, therefore, belongs to the third and fourth quarters of the 18th century.

38. DHARMADĀSA SŪRI

Vidagdha-mukha-maudana, with *vrtti*

(Ed. Haeberlin in Kāvyasaṃgraha, Calcutta 1847, p. 269f. Printed many times in India: but ed. N". S. P. 1914 is useful. MSS: Aufrecht i 572b, ii 135b, 225a, iii 121a).

Commentaries on this work are numerous :

(1) By Jinaprabha Sūri, pupil of Jinasiṃha Sūri, (Weber 1728). For this Jaina writer, whose known dates are 1293 and 1309 A.D., see Peterson iv p. xxxvii and Klatt's Onomasticon. His *guru* Jinasiṃha founded the Laghu-kharatara-gaecha in 1275 A.D. The date of our commentator, therefore, will be the last quarter of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

(2) Commentary by Ātmārāma. Auftreeht i 573a. **The. full** name-of this writer appears to be Svatmarama Yoglndra.

(3) *Vidvan-manorama* by Taracandra Kayastha. Aufrecht i 573a, ii 135b, iii 121a. For his other works, see *ibid* i 229a.

(4) *Sravana-bhusana* by Narahari Bhatta. Aufrecht i 573a.

(5) *Subodhini* by Triioeana. Aufrecht ii 135b (extract in Stein p. 274).

(6) Commentary by Śivacandra. Aufrecht iii 121a.

(7) °*tika* by Durgadasa, son of Vasudeva and pupil of Bhatta Devacandra. Aufrecht ii 135b, iii 121a. Extract in Peterson iv p. 36.

The work of Dharmadasa is in 4 *paricchedas*, dealiug with onigmatology and *citra-kavya*. The concluding verse in the Bombay edition of the text (wanting in Br. Mus. MS, Bendall no. 427), as well as the first verse (which invokes Sauddhodani) and the colophon to Jinaprabhaś commentary, makes the author a Buddhist ascetic. The known dates of Jinaprabha put the limits of Dharmadāsa's date earlier than the last quarter of the 13th century. This work is also cited by name by Kumarasvamin (p. 122=iv 1), by Rāya-mukuṭa on Amara[1], and quoted in the *Paddhati* of Śārṅgadhara. These citations themselves would put the date of our author earlier than the 14th century.

39. DHARMASUDHI or DHARMA SURI
Sahitya-ratnakara
(ed. by Tiruvenkatacarya with commentary, Madras 1871; ed. Nellore 1885. Aufrecht i

1 Composed 1431 A.D. . see Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, p. 63.

716a, 795b, ii 17 Ia, iii 148a : *Madras Trm A* 306, extract; *Madras Cat.* 12970-75: H*PS* ii no. 246, extract).

The author's name is given variously as Dharma. simha or Dharma-pandita. He belonged to a Benares family distinguished for the high proficiency of its members in philosophical studies, and his genealogy is thus given (Hultzsch i p. 70): Tripurari->Dharma-> Parvatesa->Dharma Suri. He was also the author of a drama, called *Naraka-dhvaṇisa* (a *vyāyoga)* or *Narakasnror Vijaya*[1]. The author is cited by Anantarya (q. v.) in his *Kavi-savnaya-kallola.* A commentary on this *Sahitya-ratnakara,* called °*Nauka,* by Venkata Suri is mentioned in *Madras Trm B* 444 and *Madras Cat.* 12974-75. Venkata Suri was the son of Lakgmaga Surri and Suramamba, and grandson of Brahmantara-vani and disciple of Venktacarya. The *Sahitya-ratnakara* is in 10 *tarangas,* dealing with the conventional topics of the science. Dharma Suri must have been later than Vidyanatha; for in one of his verses he anonymously ridicules Vidyanatha'a method of praising his patron *(alamkriyah purva-taraib pranitab I prayogitab kascana nayakena / kaiscit tu kuksimbharibhir nibadhak / ksodiyasa kascana nayakena)*

40. NARASIMHA or NṚSIMHA KAVI

Nanjaraja-yaso -bhusana

(Aufrecht i 274b, ii 59b, iii 591); *Madras Trm 4* 19; *Madras Cat,* 12896-99).

The author, son of Sivarama-sudhl-mani, was

1 Ed. Madras 1884; Hultzch 323, Aufrecht i 2778.

patronised by Nañjarāja, whose name is borne by the title of his work and whose glory it sings in the illustrative verses. This prince flourished in the beginning of the 17th century. Narasiṃha also wrote a drama called *Candrakala-paṛinaya*[1].

41. NARASIMHĀCĀRYA or VEṄKAṬA NIṆSIMHA KAVI

Alaṃkarendu-sekhara

(Madras Cat, 12978, extract, contains the first *prakaraṇa* only).

This South Indian author was the son of Dasamā-eārya of Srlsaila family, and wrote a commentary on a work on music, called *Śanta-vilasa,* composed by Sub-rahmanya Sudhl *(alias* Harisaba Kavindra) son of Hariraya and grandson of Krsnaraya ot Carisnusala village. He refers to a *Gita-manjari* by this Harisaba Kavindra and to a *campu* of his own called, *Janaki-pariuaya.* The work on Alaṃkāra mentioned above deals with (1) *nayaka-laksana* (2) *kavya-svarupa* (3) *rasa-laksana,* especially *srngara* (4) *dosa* and *guna* and (5) *alarpkāra.* Our author also wrote a commentary, called also *Alaṃkarendu-sekhara,* on some *karikas* on Poetics, entitled *Laksaua-malika*[2].

42. NARAHAEI SURI

Rasa-nirapana

This work and the author are mentioned by Kumārasvāmin at p. 224.

1 *SgS* i no. 45 (called *Candrakala-kalyana)* p. 5, 82.

2 See *Madras Cat.* 12955 extract; *SgS i* 98-99 extract, also p. 11.

43. NĀRĀYAṆA DEVA

Alaṃkaŕa- candrikā

This work is referred to by the author himself in his *Samgita-narayana*[1]. The author, also called Gajapati-vlra-nārāyaiiadeva, was the son of Padmanābha and disciple of Puruṣottama Miśra.

44. NlLAKAṆṬHA DĪKSITA

Citramimamsa-dosa-dhikkara (Aufrecht iii 40b).

For the work and the author, see above pp. 26G, 269 and fn.

45. PUNJARĀJA

a. *Dhvani-pradlpa* (Aufrecht i 273b). .

b. *Kavyalamkara-sisu-prabodha* or Sisu*-prabodhdlaṃkaŕa.* (Aufrecht i 103a).

The author was the son of Jlvana and Maku, of the Śrlmāla family of Malabar *(mālabhāra),* and his genealogy is given thus : Sadhu-sadepala Kora (a?) Pama (a?)—>Gova Yampaca Jivana. Jlvana's brother Megha and himself were ministers of Khalaci Sahi Gayāsa; and Jlvana had two sons Puñja and Muñja. Puñja became king, but abondoning his kingdom to his younger brother, devoted himself to study, and wrote some works[9]. The colophon[8] to Punjaraja's *Sarsvata-tlka* says *srimalakula-srimalabharasri-punjaraja°* on which Bhandarkar remarks that Puñjarāja was the ornament of the Mālava

1 *ABod* 201.

2 Peterson v pp. xliii, 166-69.

3 Peterson v p. 169 ; *AFl* 181.

circle[1]. Aufrecht thinks that the patron of Puñjab father and uncle was Ghiyas Shah *Khaljl* of Malava (about 1475 A.D.) and that Puñjarōja must have lived at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century.

46. PUṆPARĪKA

Nataka-laksana (Aufrecht i 284b; *SCB* 308).

47. PUṆPARĪKA RĀMESVARA

Rasa-sindhu (Aufrecht iii 106a).

48. PURUSOTTAMA SUDHĪNDRA

Kavitavatara (Aufrecht i 87a).

The work is dedicated to one Nagabhupala. A Purusottama is cited by Visvanatha in his *Sahitya-darpana,* see above p. 2 36, fn 4.

49. PRABHĀKARA BHATTA

a. *Rasa-pradipa*

(Aufrecht ii 113b, 220a. Weber 823 ; *SCC* vii 42, extract in both).

b. *Alamkara-rahasya,* cited in his Rasa-*pradipa.*

The author was the son of Madhava Bhatta and grandson of Ramesvara Bhatta, and younger brother of Ragunatha and Visvanatha, the last of whom he calls his ' vidya-guru'. The R*asa-pradipa* was composed in *samvat* 1640 = 1583 A.D. (Weber l*oc. cit.)*[2],

1 *Rep,* 1889-83, p. 12 ; cf also the colophon to his Sâbu-*prabodha* quoted in *op. cit.* p. 199.

2 The date given in *SCC* vii no. 42 is *saṃvat 1*170 = 1114 A.D: but this must be a mistake.

According to Hall (p. 181) Prabhākara was born in 1564 A.D. His *Laghu-sapta-satika-stotra,* an epitome of the D*evimahatmya* was written in 1629 A.D. He belongs therefore to the last quarter of the 16th and the first quarter of the 17th century. The *Rasa-pradipa* consists of three *alokas* dealing with (t) kavya-laksana, (2) *rasa-viveka* (3) *vyanjana-nirupana*. He cites Sriharsa Misra, Misra, Rucinatha, Dharmadatta, Locanakara (Abhinavagupta), Pradlpakrt, Sahityadarpana-kara. The Dharmadatta may be the same as quoted by Visvanatha in his *Sahitya-darpana.* Ananta in his commentary on *Aryasaptasati* quotes a Rucinatha Misra as a writer on Poetics. For Prabhākara's other works, see Aufrecht i 353b.

50. **BALADEVA**

Srngara-hara (Kielhom, *Rep.* 1880-81, p. 71).

The author is described as sou of Keśava. MS dated in *samvat* 1845.

51. BALADEVA VIDYĀBHDSAṆA

Kāvya-kaustubha

(Aufrecht i 101a, ii 19b, 193b, iii 22b).

Thiṣ work, in 9 *prabhās** having the same arrangement and subject-matter as in the *Kavya-prakasa,* is by Baladeva who was a commentator on Mammata, (see above **pp. 184-5).**

52. **BALAKBSNA (PAYAGUNDA)**

Alamkara-sara (Aufrecht i 32b).

A work of this name is cited by Jayaratha; also

in Buhler's *Catalogue* 1871-73. Our author should be distinguished from the unknown writer of this work and is probably identical with Balakrsiia Payagunda (Balambhatta) who wrote a commentary on Appayya's *Citra-mimamsa.* See above pp. 199,273. This Balakrsna may also be the same as the teacher of Mahādeva (who wrote the drama *Adbhuta-darpaṇa),* and as such a contemporary of Nllakaṭtha whose known date is 1637 A.D.

53. BHĀSKAKĀCĀRYA

Sahitya-kallolini (Madras Cat. J 2964, extract).

The author is described as a descendant of Varadaguru of Śrivatsa-gotra, and a resident of Bhutapurl or Sriperumbudur. The verses are taken copiously from several well-known rhetorical works, e.g. Mammata, the *Ehāva-prakaśâ* etc. The author states his indebtedness to the *Rasaṛnava-sudhakara* of Singabhupala; hence he should be placed later than the middle of the 14th century. The topics dealt with are *prabandha-bheda, natya, nrtya, vastu, sandhi nāyakarlaksaṇa, rūpaka* and *kavya-lakṣaṇa.*

54. BHAVA MISRA or MISRA BHAVA

Śrngara-sarasi

(Aufrecht i 661a, ii 158a, 230b ; *SCC* vii 43, extract).

The author of this, treatise on amorous sentiments is described as the son of Miśra Bhataka.

55. BHIMASENA DlKSlTA

a. *Aḷamkara-saroddhara*

b. *Alamkara-sara-sthiti* or *Kuvalayanandar khaṇḍana.*

He refers to both these works in his *Sudhā-sāgara* commentary oy Mammata (see p. 183-4). For the latter work see Aufrecht ii 23a.

56. BHlMESVARA BHA.T.TA, son of Raṅga-bhatta

Rasa-sarvasva (Burnell 57a).

57. BHUDEVA SUKLA

Rasa-vilasā (Aufrecht i 496b, ii 116b, iii 106a).

The author, son of Sukhadeva, belongs to the 16th century. For his other works, see Aufrecht i 414b. The India Office MS of the present work contains only 3 *stavakas* and the beginning of a 4th. Our author is the same as Bhūdeva Sukla who wrote the drama *Dharma-vijaya,* see Mitra i p. 37; Weber 1561: *IOC vii* p. 1596 (ed. Granthamala iii 1889).

58. MĀNASIMHA

Sāhitya-sarā (Aufrecht i 716a).

59. MOHANADĀSA

Rasoḍadhi

The work is cited by himself in his commentary on the *Mahānāṭaka (ABod* 143a). The author was the son of Kamalapati.

60. YAJNESVARA DlKSITA

a. *Alamkara-raghava* (Aufrecht i 32a)
b. *Alaṃkara-suryodaya* (Aufrecht i 32b)
c. *Sahitya-ratnakara* (Aufrecht ii 171a).

The author was the son of Carakāri (Cerukūri) Kondu Bhatta, and probably a nephew of Laksmidhara (q. v.)[1]. He may be identical with Yajñeśvara already mentioned as a commentator on Mammata. (see p. 188) The first-named work is so called from the circumstance that the examples all refer to Rāma.

61. YASASVIN KAVI

Sāhitya-kautuhāla and its commentary *Ujjvala-pada* (Aufrecht i 715b, ii 171a).

The author is described as the son of Gopāla and KāśL The India Office MS *(Cat.* iii p. 337) was copied in 1730 A.D., and contains only the first chapter which deals with enigmatology and *citra-kavya.*

62. RATNABHŪSAṆA

Kavya-kaumudi *(UPS* ii no. 35, extract).

This work in 10 *pariccdedas* is apparently a very modern composition by a Vaidya Pandit of East Bengal. It deals with (1) nama (2) lingadi (3) dhatu-pratyaya (4) kavya-laksana (5) dhvani (6) gunlbhuta-vyangya (7) guṇa (8) and (9) alaṃkara (10) dosa, the first three chapters being devoted to grammar. The date *saka* 1781 (=1859 A.D.) may be the date of its composition *(HPS ibid* preface p. viii).

I See *SgS* ii p. 65.

63. RAVIGUPTA ĀCĀRYA

Loha-samyyavahara (Aufrecht i 546a).

A poet of this name, with the title *bhadanta,* wrote a *Candraprabha-vijaya*[1]. He is cited in the *Paddhati* of Sarngadhara (237, 351, 384) and the *Subhmitavall* of Vallabha[2], as well as by Yasodhara on Vatsyayana (I. 3. 16).

64. RĀGHAVA CAITANYA

Kavi-kalpalata (Aufrecht i 87a).

Possibly the poet of the same name cited in the *Paddhati* as Raghavacaitanya Sricarana (71, 168, 877, 1557-8), which title apparently indicates that he was a well-known Vaisnava. Is this the Kavikalpa-latā-kāra quoted by Kesava Misra (see above p. 262f) ? In the colophon to the codex containing Devesvara's *Kavh-kalpalata* in *SCC* vii no. 7 (cf. *ABod* 21 lb), the reading is *magha-caitanya-viracita-kavi-halpalatayah*, etc. This may be a corruption of or mistake for the name Rāghavacaitanya, whose work may have got mixed up with that of Deveśvara himself.

65. RAJACUDAMANI DlKSITA

a. *Kāvya-darpana* (Aufrecht i 101a, ii 19b, 193b, iii 22b; *Madras Trm A* 191; *Madras Cat.* 12809-814, with the commentary of Ravi-pandita).

b. *Alamkara-cudāmāni* cited in his *Kavya-darpana (Madras Gat.* 12809), or *Alam-*

1 See Peterson i App. p. 68; iv p. civ.

2 See introd. pp. 99-100.

kara-siromani (Hultzsch i extract p. 86). MS in Rice 280 (anonymous).

The author, who is a well-known South Indian poet, was the son of Satyamafigala Ratnakheta Srinivasa Diksita and KamaksI, and step-brother of Kesava Diksita and Sesadrisekhara Diksita. He was the grandson of Bhavasvamin and LaksrnI, and great-grandson of Krsnabhatta Diksita, and pupil of Ardhanarlsvara Diksita who was his brother (Hultzsch ii p. x). His genealogy and a long list of his other works are given in the concluding verses of his *Kavya-darpana*[1] and in his *Ananda-raghava*[2]. The *Kavya-darpcwia in* ten *ullasas,* as well as his other work on Poetics, deals with the poetic figures. The family to which he belonged was known as *atiratra yajin.* Srlnivasa Atiratrayajin in Aufrecht i 672a is identical with Rajacutjamani's father. He lived in Surasamudra in Tondira (between Tanjore and Madura). Cf Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* p. 94. For his other works see Aufrecht ii 117b, Hultzsch i pp. ix-x. His *Kamalin-kalahamsa* and *Sankarabhyudaya* have been published by Srivanivilasa Press.

66. RĀMA BARMAN or RĀMA KAVI

Nayikarvarnana in 49 stanzas *(Madras Cat.* 12901).

67. RAMACANDRA

Nāṭaka-darpaqa (Peterson v p. 188).

This work is apparently cited by Raiiganātha

1 extract in *Madras Cat.* 12809 and Hultzsch 1 pp. 85-6.

2 *Madras Cat* no. 12495.

on *Vikramorvasi* and Bharatamallika on Bhatti. It is in four *vivekas,* dealing with Dramaturgy. The author is conjectured to be the one-eyed pupil of Jaina Hemacandra[1]. He also wrote a drama called *Raghu-vilāsa** or *Raghu-vilāpa*[3] where he mentions four other works by himself.

68. RĀMACANDRA NYĀYAVĀGISA

Kāvya-candrika (Aufrecht i 101a, 778b), with commentary called *Alamkara-manjusa* (ed. Comilla 1885; Dacca 1886 with commentary of Jagabandhu Tarkavāglśa; Bombay 1912, with commentary *Alamkara-manjusa).*

A Bengal writer described as the son of Vidyānidhi (?). Is he identical with Nyayavagtsa Bhattacarya, author of the *Kavya-manjarl* commentary on the *Knvalaydnanda* (see p. 273) ?

69. RĀMA SUBRAHMAṆYA

Alamkara-sastra-samgraha (Hultzsch 1562).

70. LAKSMlDHARA DlKSITA

a. *Alamkara-muktavali* (Aufrecht i 32a)

b. *Rasa-mañjari,* cited by himself in his commentary on the *Gita-govinda.*

The author was the son of Yajñeśvara and Sarvāmbikā (or Arnbikāmbā), grandson of Timmaya Somayājin, and brother and pupil of Koqiḍubhatta. He bore the surname of Daksinamurti-kinkara. His

1 Peterson iv pp. 16-7, Buhler's *Hemacandra* p. 44.

2 Peterson v 145.

3 Buhler *Kashmir Rep.* p. xlix.

family came from Cerukuru on the Krsna river, which Hultzsch thinks to be identical with modern Peddacerukūru near Bāpatla. He is identical with Lakṣmldhara, author of the Prakrit grammar *Ṣaḍbhāṃścandrika*, and also wrote commentaries on the *Anargharaghava*, *Prasanna-raghava* and *Gita-govinda*. In the first of these commentaries it is said that after having led the life of a householder for a long time, he travelled to different countries and conquered all literary opponents, and then having renounced the cares of the world he became a *sannyāsin* or *yati* with the name Rāmānanda or Rāmānandāśrama, under a *guru* called Kṛṣṇāśrama. Lakṣmīdhara (who is also sometimes called Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa or Lakṣmaṇa Sūri) was patronised by Tirumalarāja, probably Tirumala I of the Vijayanagar dynasty[1], to whom his *Sruti-ranjāni* commentary on Jayadeva's *Glta-govinda* is sometimes attributed[2].

71. VALLABHA BHATTA

Alaṃkārorkaumudl (ed. Grantharaalāiī, 1 889). A short treatise of very recent times, dealing with poetic figures, the illustrations being in praise of Rāma.

72. VASANTARĀJA

Nāṭya-iaśtra

The author is known as the king of Kumāragiri

1 *EI* iii p. 238 Table.

2 See Hultzsch 2112, *SgS* ii pp. 203-5. See also *SgS* ii pp. 63-5, 67; Hultzsch iii pp. viii-ix.

and quoted by Katayavema as his patron[1]. The work is cited by Kumarasvamin as *vasanta-rajiya* p. 178, by Mallinatha *on Sisu* ii 8 and by Sarvananda on *Amarakosa*[2]. These citations make it clear that this metrical work on dramaturgy can not be later than the 14th century. This *Nāṭya-śāstra* is also mentioned in a commentary on the-Southern recension of the *Śakuntala* by Katayavema who] is ,discribed as a minister of king Vasantarāja of Kumāragiri. This commentary proposes to follow the exposition of Vasantaraja's *Nāṭya-sāstra (IOC* vii p. 1575-76).

73. VITTHALESVARA or VITTHALA DIKSITA

a. *Riti-vrtti- laksana* (Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 104)

b. *Śrngara-rasa-mandana* (Aufrecht i 661a, ii 158a, 230b, iii 137b).

The author, also called Agnikumāra, was the son of Vallabhācārya the famous religious reformer, and brother of Gopīnātha, and father of seven sons, Giridhara, Raghunātha and others. He was born in 1515 A.D. For his other works, see Aufrecht i 572a, and b, 135a, 225a, iii 121a.

74. VIDYĀRĀMA

Rasa-dhrghika (Peterson iii no. 336).

75. ViSVANĀTHA

Sāhitya-sudhdrsindhu (Aufrecht ii 171a, 234a).

This South Indian author, who wrote in Benares,

1 Burnell 173a. 2 *SgS* ii p. 3a

was the son of Trimaḷa or Trimalla Deva and grandson of Ananta of Dhārāsura city on the GodāvarL Stein's Kashmirian MS[1] is dated in 1602 A-D.[2] He quotes at the beginning of his work from Mammata and Bhoja, and elsewhere cites Candidasa (probably the same as the commentator on Mammata) and Mahimabhatta. The work is in eight *tarahgas.* Visvanatha also wrote a drama called *Mrgankalekha.*

76. VlSVESVARA BHAṬṬA

a. *Alaṛtīkara-kaustubha*

(ed, Kāvyamālā 66, 1898 ; Aufrecht i 31b, 772b, ii 6a, 188a; *Madras Cat.* 12792-93)

b. *Alamkara-muktavali* (Aufrecht i 32a, ii 6b, 188a iii 7b ; *Madras Cat.* 12792-3, extract)

c. *Alarṇkaīra-kula-pradipa* (Aufrecht i 31b, ii 187b)

d. *Kavindra-karnabharoana* (ed. Kavyamala pt. 8, 1891)

e. *Basarcandrikd (Madras Cat.* 12927 ; Stein 63).

The author was the son of Lakşmīdhara and was born in Ālmoḍa, where his descendants still live. He flourished in the beginning of the 18th century and

i *Jammu Cat.* p. xxix.

2 Stein speaks of a MS "transcribed from an autograph copy of the author. In the colophon referring to this original copy, which is added by another hand at the end of the Jammu MS, the date *samvat* 1659 (= A.D. 1602) can be made out with difficulty,"[1]

died about its middle at the age of 34 [1]. In the first work, the author refers to two dramas called *Śrngara-manjari (sattaka)* and R*ukmini-parinaya* by himself; and the latest writers that he quotes appears to be Appayya Dikṣita and Jagannātha. He cites also Mallinātha (p. 69) as a commentator on Dandin (see above p. 73), Candidasa (pp, 125, 166), Maheśvara (p. 49, 111) who is probably the commentator on Mam mata, cited as Nyāyālaṃkāra (p. 82), as well as a work called *Kavya-dākini*. The Nyāyapañcānana, so extensively quoted, is probably Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana, another commentator on Mammata. He gives the name of his elder brother as Umāpati (p. 387). The second work of our author, as he himself says, was written as an easier and briefer manual for beginners, after his first more extensive work. The fourth work deals in four chapters with enigmatology and *citrakāvya* (58 varieties). The fifth work deals with the different classes of heroes and heroines, and their characteristics. Viśveśvara was a scholiast of considerable activity and also wrote a commentary, called *Vyangyartha-kaumudi* or *Samanjasartha* on Bhanudatta's *Rasa-mañjarl* (see above p. 252). For his other works, see Aufrecht ii 139b. The Kāvyamālā editors (viii 52) mention two other works *Kavya-tilaha* and *Kavya-ratna* by Visvegvara.

77. VISVESVARA KAVICANDRA

This author and his work are mentioned above p. 243 fn.

I See Kāvyamālā pt. viii pp. 51-52 fn.

78. VISṆUDĀSA

a. *Sisu-prabodha Alarnkara (AFl* 469)

b. *Kavirkautuka* cited by himself in chapter vii of the above work.

The author was the son of Mādhava. The Florentine MS, referred to above, contains only chapters 6 and 7, which deal with *artha-guṇa* and *sabdalamkara* respectively.

79. VlRA NĀRĀYAṆA

Sāhitya-cintamāni . with a commentary (Aufrecht i 715b, also called °*cudamani Madras Cat* 12965-68, extract).

According to the colophon, Vīra Nārāyaṇa is the author; but in the work itself he is in the vocative case and praised, as in the *Pratapa-rudra.* The alleged author seems to-be the same as the Recjḍi-prince Vema of Kondavidu (end of the 14th and and beginning of the 15th century), the hero of the *Vemabhupala-carita* or *Vlranarayana-carita*[1] of Abhinava Bhatta Bana (ed. Srivaru-vilasa Press).' There is also a reference to Pedakomati Vemabhupala who is the same person. A commentary called Śrngara-dipika on the *Amaru-sataka* is attributed to Viranarayana (Aufrecht ii 141b) or Vemabhupala *(ibid* i 609b). The *Sahitya-cintāmaṇi* consists of seven chapters which deal with (1) *dhvani* (2) *mbddrtha* (3) *dhvani-bheda* (4) *gunibhuta-vyangya* (5) *dosa* (6) *guna* (7) *alamkara.* Possibly this is the work cited under the name *Sahitya-cintāmaṇi* by Kumārasvamin (p. 97) and in the *Vrtti-varttika* (p. 4).

I Burnell 162a; also see 58a.

80. VlRESVARA PAṆḌITA (BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA), surnamed Srlvara

Rasa-ratnavall *(IOC* 1257).

This Vlresvara is the son of Laksmaij.a and father of Veiildatta, the last of whom, besides being the author of the *Alamkara-candrodaya,* wrote a commentary on Bhanu's *Rasa-taraṅginị* (see above p. 253). The present work quotes Rudrabhatta's *Srngara-tilaka,* and is limited chiefly to *Sengara-rasa* and treatment of the *nayikās.*

81. VECĀRĀMA NYĀYĀLAṄKĀRĀ

Kavya-ratnakar a

The author was a Bengal writer, son of Rājārāma. He mentions this work in his *Ananda-taraṅginl,* which is an itinerary from Candannagar to Benares (Mitra 305). He also wrote a work on *jyotisa,* and is probably identical with Vecārāma, who wrote a commentary on Devesvara's *Kavi-kalpalata* (see above p. 214).

82. VEṄKAṬA NĀRĀYAṆA DlKSITA

Srngara-sara *(Madras Cat.* 12958-9, extract).

The author, son of Kāmesvara Vaidika of the Godavarti family and Laksmi, refers in this work to his larger *Srngara-sardvali* for fuller treatment. The present work consists of six *ullāsas* dealing with (1) k*avya-svarupa* (2) *nayaka-nayika-laksana-vibhaga* (3) *nayakadi-sahaya-nirupana* (4) *rasa-bhava-svarupa* (5) *caturvidha-srngara* (6) *dasarupaka-svarupa.* The author is said to have composed works in eight languages.

83. VEṄKAṬĀCĀRYA, surnamed Tark&laṃkāra Vāgiśvara

*Ala7)ikaṙa*kamtuhha* (Aufrecht i 31b, iii 7b; *Madras Trm B* 319a; *Madras Cat.* 12785-89).

This writer, son of Aṇṇayācārya Dikṣita of Tirumala Bukkapatṇam, should be distinguished from the poet Veiiḳṭaćarya (author of the *ʿVisvaguṇddaria)* who was the son of Raghunātha and grandson of Appayya. For his other works, see Aufrecht i 600a.

84. VEṄKAPAYYA PRADHĀNA

Alamkara-mani-darpana (Rice 280).

86. VEṆlDATTA SARM AN, TARKA-VĀGlŚA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA, surnamed Srlvara

Alaṃkaṙa-catidrddaya ***(IOC*** 235).

This author, son of Vīreśvara (q.v.) also wrote a commentary on Bhanudatta's R*asa-tarangini* (q.v.). His genealogy is given thus : Mahldhara (a mantrika of KasIpati)->Kalyana->Laksmana->Vlresvara. He had the surname Srivara and belonged to *nagacchatra-dhara-dvijottama-kula.* The *Alamkara-candrodaya* is in 6 *ullāsas* dealing with (1) kāvya-svarūpa (2) kāvya-vibhāga (3) doṣa (4) guṇa (5) alaṃkāra and and (6) upamā.

86. SANKHA, **SANKHADHARA or** SANKHACUDA (sometimes called **SANKARA**

Kavi-karpatl

(Aufrecht i 86b, 777b, ii 6b, iii 18b. Ed. Durbhanga 1892)

The word *kavi-karpatl.* means " the ragged cloth of a poet," and the work is a strange effort at supplying a profuse stock of expressions which may be of use in poetic compositions for ideas of frequent occurrence. Various ways of expressing one and the same thought are indicated to suit various metres. The author, who also wrote the *.Latakamelaka-prahasana* (ed. Kavyamala 20, 1889), was the court-poet of *mahamandalikadhiraja* Govinda-nrpati, king of Kanyakubja, and wrote in the first half of the 12th century (about 1113-1143 A.D.). His verses are quoted in the anthologies of Sarngadhara (nos. 155, 3632) and Jalhana, and in the *-Sahitya-darpana (ad* iii 219 p. 176, *guror girah pancca,* anonymously). The verse cited under Karpatika in Ksemendra's *Aucitya-vicara* (under *si* 15) is attributed to Matrgupta by Kalhana (iii 181) and in the *Subhasitavall*[1] (3181).

87. SATAKARNI

cited as a writer on Dramaturgy (on sutra-dhara) by Sankara in his commentary on *Sakuntala*[2].

88. SAMBHUNATHA

Alamkara-laksana . (Aufrecht iii 7b).

89. SANTARAJA

Alamkara-cintamani . *(Madras Trm Al).*

The author, who probably belonged to the 18th century, was the son of Padmapandita.

1 See Peterson's paper on *Auatya-vicara,* 1885, p. 21.

2 *ABod* 135a. Mention is also made of an anonymous work *Kavi-kantha-hara.*

90. SIVARĀMA TRIPĀṬHIN

a. *Rasa-ratna-harā* and its commentary *Zakymt-vihara* (ed. Kavyamala pt. 6, 1890 pp. 118-140; Aufrecht i 496, ii 116a and b, iii 106a)

b. *Alaṃkāra-samudgaka,* cited at the end of his *Ravanapuravadha,* where he gives a list of his own 34 works.

For the author, son of Krsnrama and grandson of Trilokacandra, and brother of Govindarāma, Mukundarāma and Késavarāma, see *JAOS* xxiv 57-63. He appears to be a comparatively recent writer, quoting *Paribhasendu-sekhara,* which alone will suffice to place him in the beginning of the 18th century. He is identical with the commentator on the *Vāsavadatta* (see ed. Bibl. Ind.); for in this commentary he refers to his *Rasa-ratna-hāra* pp. 4, 9, 193, 206, 207. This work, in 100 stanzas, deals with the characteristics of *rasa* and *nayaka-nayika,* and quotes extensively Bhanudatta and *Dasarupaha.* For his other works, see Aufrecht i 652b, ii 155b; also Stein *Jammu Oat.* p. 292, He also appears to have written a commentary *(Visama-padi)* on Mammata (see Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 104) and a work on metrics called *Kavya-laksmi-prakasa.*

91. SOBHĀKARAMITRA

Alamkebra-ratnakara

(Buhler *Kasmir Rep.* App, p. cxxviii: Peterson i p. 12, extract 77-81)

The author was the son of Trayisvaramitra. The, poet Yaśaskara of Kashmir extracted the *sūtras* from

this work and wrote his D*evi-stotra* for the purpose of illustrating them. These *sutras* will be found given in Peterson, *loc. cit.* See above p. 279. Aufrecht i 32a, ii 6b. The date of Sobhākara is not known, but from the definitions of *alamkaras* given, he appears to be a comparatively recent writer, considerably later than Ruyyaka. But as he is quoted by Jagannātha (p. 202 = *sutra* 11) and presumably by Appayya, he is earlier than the end of the 16th century.

92. ŚRlKAṆṬHA

Rasa-kaumudi (Aufrecht i 494a; the MS was copied in *samvat* 1652)

93. SRIKARA MlSRA

Alamkara-tilaka (Aufrecht i 32a).

94. SRINIVASA DlKSITA

a. *Alamkara-kaustubha* (Aufrecht i 31b)

b. *Kavya-darpana* (Rice 282)

c. *Kavya-sara-samgraha* (Aufrecht i 102b; *SCC vii* 19)

d. *Sahitya-suksma-sarani* (Rice 244).

This author may be identical with Ratnakheta Srinivasa, father of Rajacudamani Diksita (q.v.). If this were so, then the *Kavya-darpaṇa* above is the work of his son bearing the same title (see above p. 321), mistakenly entered here in most catalogues. He is cited by Venkatacarya (q.v.)- As the first verse of **the**

third work shows, it is in three parts (1) kavya-laksana-samgraha (2) varna-samgraha and (2) subhasita-samgraha. It quotes the *Kavya-prakasa.*

95. SĀMARĀJA DĪKSITA

Śrngaramrta-lahari

(ed. Kāvyamālā pt. 14; Aufrecht i 661b, ii 158a, 230b, Hi 137b; *Madras Cat.* 12961).

The author, also called Syāmarāja, was the son of Narahari Bindupurandara, and wrote also *Tripura-sundari-manasa-pujana-stotra* (ed. Kavyamala pt. 9) and other poems. He lived in Mathurā, where his descendants still flourish, at the latter part of the 17th century. His son Kamaraja, whose *Srngara-kolika-kavya* is published in Kavyamala pt. 14, was also a poet; while his grandson Vrajarāja and his great-grandson Jīvarāja wrote commentaries on the *Rasarmanjari* and *Rasa-tarahginl* of Bhānudatta respectively (q.v.). The present work deals with *rasa,* especially *srngara,* after Bhanudatta Our author wrote his drama *Srldama carita* in 1681 A.D. for the Bundela-prince Ānandarāya. Kāmarāja also appears to have written a *Kavyendu-prakasa,* which is apparently the same work as entered anonymously in Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1887-91, no. 601.

96. SUKHADEVA MISRA

Srngara-lata (Aufrecht i 661a).

A *bhasa-work,* called *Rasarnava,* by Sukhadeva, is mentioned in Peterson iv no. 770 (App. p. 29).

97. SUKHALĀLA

Alamkara-mahjarl *(AFl* 218).

The author, pupil of Gangesa Misra and his son Hariprasada (q.v.), professes to follow the *karikas* of Jayadeva. Aufrecht thinks he must have flourished about 1740 A.D. The work begins with *upamā* and takes up *rupaka, parinama, smrtiman, bhrantiman, sandeha, utpreksa;* where the MS breaks off. A *kavya* called Srn*gara-mala,* composed in 1745, by. Sukhalala, son of Baburaya Misra, is entered in Stein 75.

98. SUDHĀKARA PUṆPARIKA YĀJIN

Srngara-sarodadhi (Aufrecht iii 137b).

99. SUDHINDRA YOGIN

Alamkara-nikasa *(Madras Oat.* 12676, extract).

It is a short work on arthalaṃkara. The colophon gives the author's name as above; but in the work it is said that the author, following the views of ancient and modern authorities on the subject, deals with and illustrates the *arthalarmkaras* by means of examples eulogising the virtues of Sudhlndra Yogin who is made out to be a follower of the Mādhava sect. He is probably the same as Sudhlndra Yati, pupil of Vijayendra Yati, who wrote the *Madhu-dhara* commentary on Trimalla Bhatta's (q.v.) *Alamkara-manjari* (Burnell 57a). The *Alamikara-nikarsa* by Sudhendra in Oppert 4797 is probably this work. A drama called *Subhadra-parinaya is* attributed to

Sudhlndra Yati in *Madras Cat.* xxi DO. 12729 and a drama called *Subhadra-dhananjaya* to Vijayendra Yati in *ibid* no. 12728.

100. SUNDARA MlSRA

Nṛtya-pradlpa (Aufrecht i 284b, 791a).

The work is dated in 1613 A.D. It cited by Raghavabhatta on *Sakuntala* (ed. N. S. P. 1886, p. 6). This work repeats *verbatim* a large portion of the *Dasṛupaka* (see pref. to Hall's ed.). Tu the work itself the *Sahitya-darpana* is referred to. The author is probably the same as Sundara Misrn who wrote the *Abhiramamani-natāka* in 7 acts in 1599 A. D. *(ABod* 137b- 138a; Kielhorn *Central Prov.* p. 68 : Wilson ii p. 395).

101. SOMAṆĀRYA

Natya-cudamani (Madras Cat. 12998, with Telegu commentary).

This is a work on mimic, dancing and music. The author is described as one famous for *astavadhana* attention to eight things at a time).

102. HARIDĀSA

Prastava-ratnakara (Weber 827 ; Aufrecht i 360a, ii 212a iii 77a).

The author was the son of Purusottama of the Karana family, and the work is a metrical compilation dealing with *kūta, samasyā* and enigmatic -composition in general, as well as miscellaneous subjects including *riti, jyotisa etc.* It was compiled in 1657 A.D

103. HARIPRASĀDA

a. *Kavyartha-gumpha* (Aufrecht ii 20b)

b. *Kavyaloka* (Aufrecht i 103a, extract in Peterson iii p. 856-7).

The second work in seven *prakasas* is dated in *sanivat* 1734= 1728 A.D. A MS of the first work bears the date 1775 which is possibly the date also of its composition. He is also the author of a work on *acara (masadi-nirupana),* see Peterson iv p. cxxxvii. One *Kavyaloka* is cited by Appayya in his *Citra-mimamsa;* but thin must have been an earlier work, The *Kavyaloka* cited by Kumarasvamin p. 73 refers the *Dhvanyaloka* (p. 221), and is not, as supposed by Haricand Sastri (p. 27, no. 234) a reference to the present work. The author was the son of Mathura Misra Gangesa.

104. HARIHARA

a. *Srngara-bheda-pradipa* (Burnell 59a)

b. *Bindvalamkarā,* cited in the *Ekavall* p. 242.

One Harihara is referred to in the *Ekāvall* p. 19 as having received amazing wealth from king Arjuna, who is suppesed by Bhandarkar and Trivedl (see above p. 227) to be identical with Arjunavarman of Mslava, whose earliest and latest known dates are 1211 and 1216 A.D. If this Harihara be our author, then his date will be the first quarter of the 13th century.

105. HALADHARA RATHA

Kavya-tattva-vicara

(H, P. Sastrl's *Report,* 1895-1900, p, 16*)*.

(2)

ANONYMOUS WORKS

We give below some notable minor works on Alaṃkāra, of which the names of the authors are unknown:—

i. *Alaṃkāra-kārzka.* Aufrecht i 31b,

2. Alaṃkāra-kautnudl-vyakkya Madras Cat. 12784. Neither the name of the author of the original treatise nor that of the commentary is given. It treats of the poetic figures.

3. *Alaṃkāra-candrikd.* Rice 284 (Aufrecht i 32).

4. *Alaṃkāra-darpaṇa* in Prakrit, consisting of 134 *ślokas* devoted to* the treatment of poetic figures. *Monatsber. Beri. Akad.* 1874, 282.

5. *Alamkara-prakarana. SgS* i no. 52.

6. *Alaṃkāra-prakaḃika. Madras Cat.* 12791. It deals with the poetic figures and quotes from the *Kāvya-prakaʻsa.*

7. *Alaṃkāra-mayukka.* Oppert 1754 (Aufrecht i 32).

8. *Alaṃkāra-vaddrtka* on the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa. HPS* i 12.

9. *Alamkara-samgraha. Madras Cat.* 12795. It enumerates and classifies the various poetic figures.

lb. *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva. Madras Cat.* 12798. The author says that his teacher composed a work on Alamkara in praise of king Gopāladeva. It is a treatise on the general topics of Alaṃkāra, but the MS is incomplete, breaking off with the *guna-prakarana.*

11. Alaṃkāraṅukramaniḳa. Oppert 5489 (Aufrecht i 32b).

12. *Alamkaresvara,* cited by Sivarama on *Vasavadatta* p. 4.

13. *Kavi-bantha-paba.* See above p. 292. *Madras* 12802.

14. *Kavi-kapatatika.* Burnell 54a.

15. *Kāvya-kalāpa.* Aufrecht i 100b.

16. *Kavya-kaustubha.* Oppert ii 3616 (Aufrecht i 101a)..

17. *Kavya-kaumudl.* Mitra 2044 (Aufrecht i 101a). Is it the same as *Kāvya-kaumudl* by Ratnabhūṣaṇa.

18. *Kāvya-dipika.* Oppert 541,636; *Madras Cat.* 12815. A compilation for beginners. Probably the same as Kāntichandra\s *Kāvya-dipika* (see p. 287).

19. *Kāvya-pariccheda.* Oppert ii 8727.

20. *Kāvya-ratna.* Oppert ii 6237. See above p. 264.

21. *Kivya-laksaṇa. Madras Cat.* 12829. It is based on the *kārikās* of *Kāvya-prakāśa,* but adds a section on dramaturgy (cf. Oppert 1793 and ii 6238).

22. *Kavya-laksana-vuara. Madras Cat.* 12979. A comparatively modern work on the general topics of Alamkara, citing the *Citra-mimamsa* and the *Rasa-gangadhara.*

23. *Kavyamrta-taraiigiqsi* or *Kavyaprakaha-khandana.* Mitra 2674 (Aufrecht i 103a). The MS goes up to the 7th *ullāsa.*

24. *Kavyopadesa,* cited by Hemadri on *Raghu* (Aufrecht i 103a).

25. *Dasarupaka-vivarana. Madras Cat.* 12892. This work is not a commentary on the *Dasarupaka,* but a short treatise, mostly in the nature of a compilation, explaining the characteristics of dramatic composition. It may have formed the n*ataka-section* of some comprehensive work on Poetics.

26. *Nataka-ratna-kosa,* cited by Rayamukuta and Bhanuji. *A Bod* 182b.

27. *Natakavatara,* mentioned by Mohanadasa. *ABod* 142a.

28. *Natya-darpana,* cited by Ranganatha on *Vikramorvasi* (ed. N. S. P. 1914, p. 7) and Bharata-mallika on Bhatti xiv 3. See p. 308, na *67* above.

29. *Rasa-kalika,* cited by Vasudeva on ***Karpura-manj*** (Aufrecht i **494a).**

30. *Rasa-kaumudi.* Peterson v no. 414.

31. *Rasa-gandha.* Rice 286 (Aufrecht i 494b).

32. *Rasa-gāndhāra.* Aufrecht i 494b (may be a mistake for *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* of Jagannātha).

33. *Rasa-ratnakara,* cited by Mallinatha on *Kirata* ix 71 and on *Meghaduta* (ed. Nandargikar, 1894, pp. 64, *67.* 85,91). Aufrecht i 496a (commentary by -Hṛdayarāma Miśra). An anonymous *Rasa-ratna-kosa* is mentioned in Aufrecht i 495b but it may be Kumbha's work of the same name (see p. 288).

34. *Rasa-bindn* and *Rasamrta-sindhu.* Kathvate no. 703 and 707.

35. *Rasa-viveka* Madras Trm C* 589. \Cf Oppert 5144).

36. *Rasa-samuccaya.* Aufrecht i 496b.

37. *Rasa-sagara,* cited by Mallinatha on *Śisu* xv 89.

38. *Rasa-sudhakara,* cited *by* Mallinatha on *Raghu* vi 12. Is it *Rasarnava-sudhakara* of Singabhupala which Mallinatha cites in his com. on *Kumāra* ?

39. *Rasakara,* cited by Mallinatha on *Meghaduta* (ed. *ibid,* p. 87, 97).

40. *Rasika-sarvasva,* cited by Narayana on *Gita-govinda* v 2.

41. *Rakasya,* probably an abbreviation of some more definite title, cited by Mallinātha on *Kirāta* iii 6o, xiv 40, on *Śisu* xiii 10.

42. *Śrngara-kaustubha.* Rice 288 (Aufrecht i 660b).

43. *Śrngara-candrodaya,* cited in *Prastava-cintamani.* Weber i p. 229.

44. *Śrngara-taranginl.* Oppert 2465: Rice 288 (= Aufrecht i 660b).

45- *Śrngara-pavana.* Oppert 5766 (Aufrecht 661a).

46. *Srngara-manjarl.* Aufrecht i 661a.

47. *Srngara-vidhi.* Oppert 5680 (Aufrecht 1 661a).

48, *Srngaradi-rasa.* Mitra 606.

It is not always clear, from the citations or descriptions in the catalogues, whether some of the

works on *rasa* and *srngara* noted here are really works on Poetics or partake of the nature of an erotic *kavya.* But care has been taken to exclude the latter wherever possible.

Among very recent publications (in Sanskrit) on Poetics, produced late in the 19th century, may be mentioned ;

(1) *Alaṃkaŕa-muktavâli* by Raṁasudhlsvâra, son of Nrsimha. (ed. with comni. *Ratnasobhakara* by Krnna suri. Vizagapatam 1897, 1898).

(2) *Alaṃkaŕa-sutŕa* by Candrakaṅta Tarkalauiḳaŕa, a Bengal Pandit who lived within living memory. (Publ. Calcutta 1899).

(3) *Yabovanta-yabo-bhūsaṇa* by Pandit Raṁakarṇa in praise of the native prince of Rajaputana of that name. (Publ. Godhapur 1897).

(4) *Alarmkara-mani-hara* by Śrlkrna Brahmacarin.

XXX CONCLUSION

(1)

An attempt has been made in the foregoing pages not only to indicate the diversity as well as immensity of Sanskrit Alaṃkāra literature, but also to settle its relative chronology as a workable basis for an historical treatment. If we leave aside its unknown beginnings and Bharata, the historic period of its growth covers broadly a thousand years from 800 to 1800 A.D., and is marked a speculative activity, surprising alike for its magnitude and its minuteness. This activity in its early stage centres round Kashmir, to which place belong most of the famous and original writers on Poetics. We do not indeed know the place of origin of the two earliest writers, Bharata and Bhāmaha, but immediately after them we find Vāmana, Udbhata, Rudrata, Mukula, Ānandavardhana, Lollata, Bhatta Nāyaka, Abhinavagupta, Ksemendra, Kuntala, Mammata and Ruyyaka flourishing in Kashmir. The only important exception is found in Dandin who was probably a South Indian writer. Coming to later times we find the study extending itself to Central India, Guzerat, the Dekkan and even Bengal In South India, no doubt, this study was kept alive by a succession of brilliant, if not very original, writers: but these contributions of later times,

though greater in bulk and sometimes superior in a certain acuteness, never supersede the volume of original work done in Kashmir, which may be fittingly regarded as the home-land, if not the birthplace, of the Alaṃkāra-śāstra, The writers of Central India, Guzerat, the Dekkan and Bengal only carry on the tradition, as well as acknowledge the authority, of the Kashmirian originators of the science.

(2)

Although our history covers a period of more than a thousand years, it is yet marked by several well-defined stages. With the date of Ānanda-vardhana, we arrive for the first time at a distinct landmark in its chronology as well as its history ; and we may take it as the central point from which we may proceed backwards and forwards, although the system of Ānandavardhana itself was raised Co almost exclusive recognition by the classical work of Mammata. The mutual relation of this system to the other systems flourishing before and after Ānandavardhana furnishes the best and safest criterion for the orientation of the divergent streams of thoughts and tendencies, which gather together in one clear, dominant and finally authoritative doctrine in Mammata. Indeed, one of the obvious objects of Ānandavardhana's work was not only to fix the new principle of *dhvani* in poetry, but also to work up and rationalise into a synthetic and comprehensive system the already accumulated

ideas, elaborated by previous thinkers but flowing through different channels in the respective systems of Bhāmaha, Vāmana and the post-Bharata dramaturgic rasa-writers ; while Mam mata gathered the results up and uttered them in the convenient and concise form of a systematic text-book.

(3)

Although in Bhamaha's *Kavyalayikara,* the earliest known work on Poetics, we meet for the first time with a more or less systematic scheme of Poetics, there is enough evidence to show that it must have been preceded by a period, covering perhaps several centuries, of unknown beginnings. All that we know of this period consists of glimpses of rhetorical speculations, such as we may find in Bharata, in the recorded opinions of (or stray references to) pre-Bhāmaha writers like Medhāvin, or in such treatises on Alaṃkāra as was presumably utilised by the toyya-poets in general and by Bhaṭṭi in particular. This period begins with the enumeration and definition of only four poetic figures, ten *gunas* and ten *dosas,* but ends with the elaborate characterisation of thirty-eight independent figures in Bhatti. But what is important to note in this period is Bharata's more or less elaborate exposition of Dramaturgy, and incidentally of *rasa,* which element however, is considered, not in relation to Poetry and Poetics, but in connexion with Drama and Dramaturgy.

This is followed by a comparatively brief but important period of extraordinary fertility and creative genius, beginning with Bhāmaha and ending with Ānandavardhana, in which we find most of the fundamental problems of Sanskrit Poetics discussed and settled in their general outlines. We Have, on the one hand, Bhāmaha, Udbhata and Rudrata, devoting themselves to the consideration of those decorative devices of poetic expression known as *alaṃkāras* (poetic figures), and confining themselves chiefly to an external art or theory of adornment, from which the science itself takes its name and its original tradition. Daṇḍin and Vamana, on the other hand, emphasise in poetry the objective beauty of representation realised by means of what they call m*arga* or *riti* (roughly 'diction') and its constituent excellences, the ten *guṃs.* Both these systems, which emphasise respectively the elements of *alamkara* and ri*ti* in poetry, content themselves with the working out of the outward forms of expression, the advantages of which were considered sufficient for poetry. They point out the faults to be avoided and the excellences to be attained, and describe the poetical embellishments which should enhance its beauty, insomuch so that the whole discipline came to receive the significant designation of Alaṃkāra-śāstra or the Science of Poetical Embellishment.

Side by side with these early writers, however, we have the commentators on Bharata (like Lollata, SaAkuka and others) who were bringing into

prominence the aesthetic importance of *rasa,* the consideration of the moods, sentiments and feelings, which we find reacting upon and influencing even the theorists of rival persuasion (e.g. Dandin, Udbhata, Vāmana and Rudrata) who betray themselves more and more alive to the significance of this element in poetry. But the discussion of *rasa* appears to have been, so far, confined chiefly to the sphere of the dramatic art, and its bearings on poetry were not fully realised until the Dhvanikāra and Ānanda-vardhana had come into the field.

These new theorists, headed by Ānandavardhana, maintain that no system of Poetics, like no systein of Dramaturgy, can entirely ignore the moods, feelings and sentiments, as essential factors in poetry, and must therefore find an important place for *rasa* in its scheme. What was thus already established

Mammata was taken up in settling precisely the the details of the new system, which was raised to almost exclusive recognition by the final text-book of Mammata. Its success was so complete that the new concept of *dhvani* was unquestionably accepted by most later writers, and the systems which emerged after Mammaṭa could no longer be strictly regarded as entirely independent systems.

(4)

But a new theory, however systematic or comprehensive, is never accepted without some opposition. Ānanda's system, no doubt, absorbed and overshadowed in course of time all the earlier systems; but in the interval between Ānandavardhana and Mammata, while it was still striving for supremacy, we find a few vigorous but short-lived reactionary movements which refused to accept Ānandavardhana's new interpretation. Thus we have Kuntala who strove to make Bhāmaha's concept of *vakrôkti* elaborate and comprehensive enough to include the new ideas, Bhatta Nāyaka who raised his voice on behalf of the rasa-systems against their acceptance, and Mahimabhatta who attempted to settle the new concept of *dhoani* with the technical process of logical inference. All these writers, however, do not deny the newly established doctrine of *dhvaui*, but they try to explain it in terms of already recognised ideas. In spite of these non-conformist schools, however, whose feeble opposition languished for want of support even in the time of Mammata, the system

of Poetics, as finally outlined by Anandavardhana and worked out in detail by Mammata and his followers, was established without question in almost all writings from the 12th century downwards. Here and there we have some surviving exponents of some old tradition, like the Vagbhatas or the followers of Bhoja, as well as specialised departments which stood apart like the school of k*avisiksa-writers* or the erotic rasa-writers; but in the main, the creative days of the science were over, and no new theory forthcoming, the system of Ānandavardhana, as represented by Mammata, reigned supreme, even influencing, to an obvious extent, the writers who would pretend to stand apart.

(5)

These considerations, which will become clearer as we proceed in our study of details in the next volume, will enable us to fix the rough outlines of the history of Sanskrit Poetics and divide it, for convenience of treatment, into several periods in conformity to chronology and the stages of development through which its doctrines passed. The dim beginnings of the science, like the beginnings of most other departments of Indian speculation, are hidden from us, until it issues forth in the works of Bharata and Bhāmaha in a more or less self-conscious form. Then starts a period, ending with Ānandavardhana, which may be characterised as the most creative stage **in** its history, a stage in which the dogmas **and doctrines** of the **different** systems **were formulated**

and settled in their general outlines, giving us at least four different systems which emphasise respectively the theories of *rasa,* of *alamkara,* of *riti* and of *dhvani* in poetry. To this period belong Bhāmaha, Udbhata and Rudrata, Dandin and Vamana, the commentators on Bharata (Lollata, Sankuka and others), the *Agni-purana,* and lastly, the Dhvanikara and Anandavardhana. Between Ānandavardhana and Mammata, we have a third definitive period which ends with the ultimate standardisation of a complete scheme of Poetics, with the *dhvani-theory* in its centre, in which the divergent gleams of earlier speculations are harmonised into a focus, and which finds itself finally set forth in a well-defined and precise form in the text-book of Mammata. To this period also belong the reactionary theorists, like Kuntala and Mahimabhatta, as well as Bhoja who carries on the tradition of the *Agnirpurana,* and Dhananjaya who writes on Dramaturgy. The period which follows this is necessarily a scholastic period of critical elaboration, the chief work of which consists in summarising and setting forth in a systematic form (generally after Mammata) the results of these final speculations, and also in indulging in fine distinctions and hair-splitting refinements on minute questions. This stage, therefore, is marked by great scholastic acumen, if not by remarkable originality or creative genius; but at the same time it denotes a progressive deterioration of the study itself. The branching-off of some specialised and practical groups of writers from the main stem is to be explained as due rather to this degenerate spirit of the times

than to any real split in the domain of poetic theory or to any desire for independent thinking. It is also the age of numberless commentators, and commentators on commentators, who busied themselves with the hardly inspiring task of explanation, of expansion or restriction of the already established rules. We have also now a number of popular writers who wanted to simplify the science for general enlightenment, the lowest stage being reached when we come to the manuals and school-books of quite recent times.

(6)

We may, therefore, conclude here by broadly indicating the bearings of the chronological results of this volume on our study-in general, in the light of which (as well as in the light of what follows in the next volume) we may tentatively put forward a rough division of the different periods of our history noting the different groups of writers comprised in them, with a view to facilitate the study of the problems which will confront us in the next volume:

I. From the unknown Beginnings to Bhāmaha. (Formative Stage).

IL From Bhamaha to Ānaṇdavardhana. *Circa* middle of the 7th to the middle of the 9th century. (Creative Stage).

(1) Bhāmaha,, Udbhata and Rudrata (alamkara-theory)

(2) Dandin and Vamana *(riti-theory)*

(3) Lollata, Sankuka, Bhatta Nayaka and others (rasa-theory)
(4) The *Agnipurāṇa*
(5) The Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana (dhvani-theory).

III. From Ānandavardhana to Mammata. *Circa* middle of the 9th to the middle of the 11th century. (Definitive Stage).

(1) Abhinavagupta
(2) Kuntala
(3) Mahimabhatta
(4) Rudrabhaṭṭa and Dhanañjaya
(5) Bhoja.

IV. From Mammata to Jagannātha. *Circa* middle of the 11th to the 18th century. (Scholastic Stage).

(1) Mammata, Ruyyaka and Viśvanatha (including Hemacandra, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha, Jayadeva, Appayya and others)
(2) The Vagbhatas
(3) The writers on *rasa,* especially *srngara:* Saradatanaya, Singabhūpāla, Bhānudatta, Rūpa Gosvāmin and others.
(4) The writers on *kavi-siksa*: Rajaśekhara, Kṣemendra, Arisiṃha and Amaracandra; Deveśvara and others.
(5) JagannStha.

(7)

Looking at the question from another point of view, we may classify the systems of Poetics broadly into (1) Pre-dhvani (2) Dhvani and (3) Post-dhvani systems, taking the *dhvani-theory* as the central landmark. In the Pre-dhvani group, we include all writers (flourishing before Ānandavardhana), mentioned in groups I and II above, with the exception of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, with whose names the Dhvani-system is associated. In the Post-dhvani systems may be comprised the followers of the Dhvani-system from Mammata to Jagannātha, together with reactionary or unorthodox authors like Kuntala or Mahimabhatta, as well as the writers on srn*gara* and on *kavi-siksa.* On the other hand, the systems of Poetics have been grouped, on the basis of the particular theory emphasised by a particular group of writers, into (1) the Rasa School (2) the Alamkara School (3) the Rīti School and (4) the Dhvani School[1]. The convenience of this classified-

1 Sovani in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* pp. 387f. Reliance has been placed on Ruyyaka's review of previous opinions and Samudrabandha's classification. But Ruyyaka only takes the concept of *dhvani* or *pratiyamana artha* as the starting point and considers how far it was accepted, explicitly or implicitly, by his predecessors. Samudrabandha, commenting on this passage, speaks of five *paksas* or theses, including the *dhvani*-theory (which he calls the *last paksa)* with which his author identifies himself. His classification is based upon the conventional theory that poetry consists of a * special" disposition of word and its sense *(visista sabda* and *artha)** This speciality, in his opinion,

tion ia obvious, but it is doubtful whether we may safely apply the term " School" to indicate affiliation to a particular system of opinion, when we consider that one has to admit a great deal of mutual and (to a certain extent) inevitable contamination of the different "schools", which makes the existence of any particular school *by itself* almost impossible. Thus the " Dhvani School" admits *rasa* and *alaṃkara* as important factors of poetry, which are thus not exclusively monopolised by the so-called Alaṃkāra and Rasa Schools. It is doubtful, again, if a Rasa School, properly so-called was at all founded by Bharata, who is taken as its original exponent, or a similar A-laṃkāra School by Bhāmaha. All that we can

may be realised by putting emphasis on their (1) *dharma* (inherent characteristic) *(2) vyapara* (operation) and *(5) vyangya* (suggestiveness). In the first case, the *dharma* may proceed from *alaṃkara* and *guna* (i.e. *riti).* In the second case, the *vyapara* may consist of *bhaniti-prakara* or *bhogikarana.* Thus we get five standpoints associated respectively with the names of Udbhata, Vamana, Kuntala, Bhatta Nayaka and Anandavardhana. This classification, though very significant, is obviously overlapping and historically incorrect The *vyanjana,* it may be objected, which is taken as one of the bases of differentiation, is admittedly as much a *vyāpāra* as *bhaṇiti* postulated by Kuntala. Besides, Kuntala, as a matter of fact, developes Bhamaha's idea of *vakrokti* as *bhaniti-vaicitrya,* and therefore may be properly included among those who put emphasis on *alaṃkāra.* Similarly Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka describes *bhoga* as a peculiar function *(dharma)* or process by which *rasa* is said to be realised ; and therefore he is in reality an exponent of the raw-theory as an interpreter of Bharata's dictum.

say is that Bharata and Bhāmaha laid stress on the elements of *rasa* and *alaṃkara* which became in course of time established ideas in the realm of Poetics. As a rule, each great writer who puts forward, consciously or unconsciously, a new theory, takes over from his predecessors those ideas which have stood the test of criticism and which he can combine in a self-consistent system of his own. In this way, really valuable ideas have been generally adopted, although sometimes other ideas, perhaps of the same author, have by common consent been rejected. This is illustrated by the case of the Varkokti-jivitakāra, whose theory of *vakrokti* was universally rejected, although the main principle for which he was contending is accepted by Ruyyaka and others. It is not maintained here that the history of Sanskrit Poetics consists of only *one* stream of development, and that within it we have mere currents and counter-currents. The latter were indeed very important, but they never succeeded in forming into separate rivers; and the different channels originating independently or breaking away from the main course ultimately unite into one dominant and clear stream."

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. *2, fn 2 at p. 3.*—The *Abhinaya-darpafia* has been translated into English by A. Coomarsvamy and G. K. Duggirala (Cambridge, Mss. 1917).

P. *4, I. 13.*—Undue emphasis appears to have been laid on the use of poetic figures in Vedio literature by Kane in *IA* xli, 1912, pp. 120f., and following him, by B. K. Bhattacarya in the *Journal of the Dept, of Letters* Calcutta University, vol ix, 1923, pp. lOOf.

P. *11, fn. 1.*—The passage occurs in the *Makā-bhāṣya,* ed. Kielhorn p. 19, 1. 20.

P. 22.—Add Bibliography to Ch. I: Kane in *IA* xli, 1912, pp. 120f; Sovani in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute,* January 1920 ; Winternitz in *Oeschichte der Ind. Lit.* iii p. 4f; Jacobi in *ZDMG* lvi p. 392f, in *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.* xxii, 1922, p. 22Of. For general remarks on the subject, see Oldenberg in *Die Lit. des Alten Indien,* Berlin 1903, pp. 203f, Jacobi in *Internat. Wochenschrift,* October 29, 1910.

P. *23, fn L*—Add H. P. Sāstrl *in JASB* vi, 1910, 307; Kane in *IA* xlvi, 1917, p. 177f; Jacobi in *Bhavisatta kaha* p. 54, fn; Winternitz, *op.* cit. iii p, 8, fn 3.

P. *26, fn 1, at p. 21 (also p.* 37).—A poet Rāhulaka is quoted in Sāṇigadhara 3875. Hemacandra (p. 316) quotes Rahula, along with Sakyacarya, as an authority presumably on the draŕaific *rata* with

the pointed remark that as a follower of Bharata he himself has ignored their views. Kahula is also cited by Sarvānanda on Amara *(SgS* ii p. 30).

P. *28.*—Bharata mentions Sandilya and Dhurtila as two of his predecessors in the treatment of the subject of dramaturgy. Of these, Sandilya is mentioned as a *natyasastra-kara* by Singabhupala i 51.

P. 32, l. 5.—Winternitz *(op. cit.* p. 5, fn 2, at p. 6) notes that in the *Visnupurana* iii 6, the muni Bharata is called an early teacher of the Gāudharva-veda (i.e. music). Winternitz also appears to accept the view *(op. cit.* p. 9) that Mātṛgupta wrote a commentary on Bharata.

P. 36.—B. N. Bhattacarya *(op. cit.* p. 113) argues from a reference to Vatsyayana's *Kama-sutra* and the portions of the *Nāṭya-sāstra* which deal with erotics, the more elementary character of the former work, inasmuch as certain minute details of classification indulged in by the latter are not to be met with in the former work. But the illustration he adduces (viz. the classification of heroes and heroines) does not appear to be very much to the point; for the two writers approach the topic from entirely different standpoints and adopt different principles of classification. The same writer also argues (p. 116) with reference to Bharata and the so-called works of Bhāsa, that the dramaturgic treatise, if any, which existed in the latter's time, was not Bharata's *Natya-śāstra,* but one of its forerunners. We have avoided a discussion of this point, in view of the doubts which have **been raised as** to **authorship** of these dramas, and the **correctness** of **the attribution to Bhasa.**

P. 38.—The only direct quotation from Lollata (and not a mere consideration of his views) is to be found in Hemacandra p. 215 (two verses).

P. *42.*—Sovani in *JRAS,* 1909, pp. 450f substantially agrees with our conclusion as to the nature of the *Hrdaya-darpoma* which he considers to be an an independent metrical treatise with prose-vrtti.

P. *44.*—Add in the Bibliography: Max Lindenau in *Beitraege zur altindischen Rasa-lehre, mit hesonderer Bentecksichtigung des Ṇatyaīastra* (Diss.) Leipzig 1913. An article by the present writer of the outlines of the rasa-theory from Bharata to Jagannāīha (with the text of Abhinava's commentary on Bharata's *sūtra* on *rasa)* is being published in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Commemoration Volume,* Calcutta University, vol. iii (orientalia).

P. *48, fn L*—Add Nobel in *ZDMG* lxxiii p. 192 and Winternitz *op. cit.* iii p. 11, fn 1. T. Ganapati Śāstrl (introd. to ed. Bhāsa), referring to this passage in Bhāmaha, contends that "Bhāmaha lived much prior to Kālidāsa" who, in his opinion, defends in his *Meghadūīa* i 5 the poetic propriety of employing the clouds as messengers. This theory, as well as the conclusion that Bhāmaha's date is much earlier than Gunadhya's, advanced by that scholar, appears to be very doubtful.

P. *48, fn 3.*—On Bhaīmaha's date, see also Sovani in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* p. 392f, Trivedl in *ibid* p. 40If. Also see *IA* xli, 90f, and Jacobi in *Bhavisatta kaha* p. 54, fh 1.

P. 50,l 18.—Read "500 and 650 A.D."

P. *50fn 2.*—Add "p. 130f" in the reference.

The date assigned by Jacobi to Bhāmaha in this article is now abondoned by him.

P. *57 fn I.*—Winternitz *(op. cit.* iii 405) thinks that the two Bhāmahas are probably identical. But it may be submitted that there is no material either to prove or disprove the identity.

P. *55-6.*—Winternitz *(pp. cit.* iii p. 71, In 2) does not appear to have come to any conclusion as to the question regarding the source which Bhaṭṭi utilised for his illustration of poetic figures.

P. 62, fn 1.—A resume of the Tibetan version of Daṇḍin's text is given by Thomas in *JRAS* 1903. An edition of this text is undertaken by the Calcutta University.

P. *63, fn 3.*—Add "pp. 143-146 " after the reference to Kielhorn. See also *JRAS,* 1908, p. 497f. But D. R. Bhandarkar *(EI ix* p. 187f) and Klatt (*WZKM* iv, 1890, p. 6lf; also Jacobi in *ibid* p. 236f) place Magha in the beginning of the 8th and beginning of the 10th century respectively. There are several other verses in Māgha which betray an acquaintance with Poetics and Dramaturgy, e.g. ii 8, 86, 87; xiv 50; xix 41; xx 44 (where he refers to Bharata).

P. *64, fn 1,1.* I.—Add (after *IA)* "xli"; *I. 2,* add (after *ibid)* "1908". The question has also been briefly discussed by Nobel (in *ZDMG* lxxiii, 1919, pp. 19Of) who maintains the priority of Bhāmaha to Dandin. See also his *Beitraege zur aelteren Oeschichte des Alaṃkāra-sāstra* (Berlin 1911) p. 78.

P. *66, I 30.*— Read " i s*l 7 ".*

P. 73, I. I9—Stein gives the form Vadighanghala.

P. *81.*—Vamana quotes also *(dordandancita*^{0}*,*

f. 2, 12 vrtti*)* from Bhavabhuti's *Mahavira-carita* i 54 (ed. N. S. P. 1910). He also quotes (IV. 3. 10 *vrtti, ubhau yadi vyomni)* from Magha iii 8, and also from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. On Vāmana's date, see also *JRASBom* xxiii p. 92f.

P. *86, l. 3.*—Add the reference "on II. 2. 21" after *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana.*

P. 86.—Abhinavagupta (p. 45) also quotes anonymously a *karika-verse* of Rudrata's (vii 38)—a fact which confirms the lower limit given by us for Rudrata's date.

P. *88, fn l.*—Add the reference " p. 130f".

P. 89, fn 3.—Add (after *ZDMG)* the reference xxxix p. 314.

P. *95, fn 1, at p. 96.*—The verse *amba sete'tra* is quoted by Ānandavardhana p. 105; so the attribution to Rudrata is doubtful. Singabhupala quotes from and refers to the *Srngara-tilaka* under the name Rudraṭa. Sukthankar in *ZDMG* lxvi (1912) maintains the identity of Rudra and Rudrata.

P. *97\ fu 3.*—Peterson *(Subha?* p. 114) thinks that the authology-compiler Vallabhadeva could not have flourished before Jaindllabhadlna whose date is given by Cunningham as 1417-1467 A.D.

P. *99.*—Winternitz *(pp. cit.* ii p. 354, fn 5) assigns 1236-1244 A.D. as the date of Āśādhara's literary activity. See also Kielhorn in EI ix p. 107f.

P. *117.*—Both the *Arjuna-carita* and the *Visama-bana-lila* are mentioned and quoted by Hemacaudra (pp. 213 and 15) and by Abhinavagupta pp. 176, and 152, 222.

P. *120,l. 12.*—Add the reference " vol. ix

P. *123, fn 2.*—The editors of Rajasekhara's *Kav. mim* report an opinion that the apperciatory verses attributed to Rajasekhara by Jalhana are to be found in another work of our poet, named *Kavi-vimarsa.* But this so-called *Kavi-vimarsa* might have been another name for his *Kavya-mimanisa kavi-rahasya,* in the published text of which, however, the verses do not occur. The date of Rājašekhara given by the editors is 880-920 A.D.

P. *126.*—One Aparajita-raksita is also quoted in the *Kavi. vacana. samuc;* but the name implies that he was probably a Buddhist, and is possibly not identical with Rājašekhara's contemporary Aparājita (see Thomas, introd. to *ibid* p. 20).

P. *15O, para 4, I. 3.*—Add " and Stein p. 275 ".

P. 162— Sukthankar in *ZDMG* lxvi, 1912, p. 477f has considered the question of the dual authorship of the *Kavya-prakasa* in detail. He attempts to demonstrate by a comparison of the "two parts" of the work that while Allaṭa (author of the latter end) depends for his whole material upon Rudrata, Mammaṭa, although borrowing a great deal from the same source, follows older authors like Udbhata. The point, however, appears to have been a little over-worked. Sukthankar's contention loses much of its force when we consider that *both* Mammata and Allata have made use of Rudrata's definitions and illustrations, and that a distinction in their respective trtatment caunot, therefore, be very pointedly based on this consideration alone. The same scholar also argues (p. 533f) that a portion of the vr*tti* to the definition of the poetic figure sa*muccaya* ia the

Kavyo-prakasa does not originate either from Mammata or Allata but must be regarded as an interpolation.

P. *216.*—A Paksadhara Upadhyaya is cited, apparently as a commentator on Mammata, by Bhlmasena (see above p. 184); it is not known if this Paksadhara has anything to do with the logician Paksadhara.

P. 217 footnote 3 at p. 218.— The attribution of the *Pancasika* to Bilhana is generally accepted (Winternitz *op. cit.* iii p. 117), and the poet Cora or Caura may not have anything to do with the *Pancasika;* but it is curious to note that a verse from the *Pancasika* (ed. Solf. no. 86) is quoted anonymously by Dhanika (ed. N. S.P. 1917, p. 85, on iv 23). The same verse is also quoted by Kuntala (i 49 vr*tti)* who, like Bhoja (who quotes the *Pancasika,* see above p. 144), may have been one of Bilhana's contemporaries: but Dhanika certainly lived in the reign of Bhoja's predecessor Munja and thus flourished presumably before the date generally assigned to Bilhana. The same verse is attributed to one Kalasa in *Subhas*^{0} 1280 and in Jalhana 74a. These facts may raise the doubt that the text as well as the authorship of the *Pancasika* is by no means an absolutely settled fact.

PP. 217\ 223. —On *Kandarpa-cudamani* see Schmidt *Ind. Erotik,* 1911, pp. 33f. It is nothing more than a treatment of Vatsyayana's teachings in aryo-verses.

P. 234, fn 1— M. Chakravarti in *JASB,* 1906, p. 167 points out that Jayadeva is quoted in the *Saduktikarnamrta* of Srldhara and therefore must be placed before 1206 A.D.

P. 249-50.—B. N. Bhattacarya *(pp. cit* p. 163) refers to a tradition among Bihar Pandits that Bhanudatta's father wrote the *Rasa-ratna-dipika,* and that his grandfather Sankara Misra, who wrote a commentary on Sriharsa's *Khandana-khanda-khadya,* flourished about 1405 A.D. But this tradition is unreliable in view of Bhānu's genealogy given by himself in his *Kumāra-bhārgavlya,* which tells us that the name of Bhānu's grandfather was Mahādeva and not Śaṅkara (see above p. 250), although the name of the fathers of both Saṅkara and Mahādeva appears to be Bhavanātha.

P. 251.—On °*Parimala* by Seśa Cintaīnaṇi, add at the end of the paragraph " Extract in Mitra 3115, Bhandarkar *Bep.* 1883-84, p. 365."

P. *296, no. 34.*—Although the commentary by Rāmakṛṣṇa Paṇḍita on the *Nāṭaha-dīpa* is placed by Rice under Alaṃkāra as a commentary presumably on Tryambaka's work, Aufrecht (i 791a) points out that it is undoubtedly a commentary on the Nataka-dipa in the P*ancadasi.* So delete the entry here, and correct this error copied in Schuyler's *Bibliography* p. 18 and in Haricānd Śāstrl p. 35, no. 369.

P. 325, no. 30.—Add "See above p. 293."

ABBREVIATIONS

Aufrecht = Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum. i-iii. Leipzig 1891-1903.

. ,' *Bod*— Aufrecht's Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae. Oxonii 1864.

.1,'7= Aufrecht's = Florentine Sanskrit MSS. Leipzig 1892.

ALeip=Aufrecht's Katalog der Sanskrit-Handschriften der Uriversitaets-Bibliothek zu Leipzig. Leipzig 1901.

Bendall = Bendall's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the British Museum. London 1902.

lîhandarkar. R. G. Bhandarkar*s Reports on the search of Sanskrit MSS are quoted with reference to the particular years of the operations, as indicated on the respective title-page of the Reports. Other lists by him are as in Aufrecht. Sridhar Bhandarkar's Reports and Catalogues are separately referred to.

Bibl. Ind. = Bibliotheca Indica Series of Sanskrit publications.

Bik. = Rajendralala Mitra's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner. Calcutta 1880.

Br. Mus. = British Museum.

B. S. S.= Bombay Sanskrit Series. Ben. S. S.= Benares Sanskrit Series.

Burnell = Burnell's Classified Index to Sanskrit MSS in the Palace at Tanjore. London 1880.

Comm.= Commentary.

Deccan Coll Cat. = Sridhar Bhandarkar's Catalogue of MSS deposited in the Daccan College. Bombay 1888.

Ed. = edition or edited.

EI = Epigraphia Indica.

F=following. Fn = Footnote.

GgA—Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

GN —Nachrichten der Göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

Hall ,Index= Hall's Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical systems. Calcutta 1859.

HPS = Haraprasad Sastrl's Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Second Series, i-iv(continued). Alsohis *Report* 1895-1900.

Haricānd Śāstrl = Haricānd Śāstrl's Kālidāsa et L'Art Poétique de l'Inde. Paris 1917.

Hultzsch —Hultzsch's Reports on Sanskrit MSS in Southern India, i 1895 ; ii 1896 ; Hi 1905. Madras 1895-1905.

IA = Indian Antiquary.

10C=Eggeling's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the India Office Library. Vol. iii deals with works on Alaṃkāra. London 1891.

JA—Journal Asiatique.

JRAS=* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JRA8Bom = *journal* of the Bombay Branch of the RoyaJ Asiatic Society.

JAOS—Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JASB —Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Kashmir Rep. = Buhler's Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS in Kashmir, Rajputana and and Central India (Extra no. *JRASBom* 1877). Bombay 1877. As regards Buhler's other Reports and Lists, the references are as in Aufrecht.

Kathvate — Kathvate's Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during **1891-95.** Bombay **1901.**

***Kavi.vacana.samuc. — Kavindra-vacana-samuccaya ed.* F. W. Thomas, Bibl. Ind. 1912.**

Kavyamāla = Kāvyamāla Series published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press. Bombay.

KBod=A. B. Keith's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Bodleian Library, Appendix to vol. i. Oxford 1909.

Kielhorn, *Rep.* 1880-81 ssKielhorn's Report on the search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81. Bombay 1881.

Kielhorn, *Central Prov.* Ca,'. = Kielhorn's Classified Alphabetical Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Central Provinces. Nagpur 1874. Kielhorn's other reports and lists are given as in Aufrecht.

KM = Kāvyamālā publications in 14 gucchakas, also referred to as Kāvyamālā in parts.

Levi = Levi's *Theatre indien,* Paris 1890 (unless otherwise indicated).

Madras Cat, = A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras, by S. KuppusvamI Sastrl. Vol. xxii (dealing with works on Alaiṇkāra). Madras 1918.

Madras Trm A, B and C= A Triennial Catalogue of MSS, collected during the Triennium 1910-11 and 1912-13 for the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras, by M. Raiigācārya and S. KuppusvāmI Śāstrl. Vol i (A, B, C). Madras 1913.

Mitra = Rajendrālala Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS. i-x. Calcutta 1871-9a

N, S. P.= Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, and its edition of Sanskrit works.

Oppert^Oppert's Lists of Sanskrit MSS in the Private Libraries in Southern India, i Madras 1880: ii Madras 1885.

Peterson = Peterson's Reports on the search of Sanskrit MSS, as follows i 1882-83; ii 1883-84; iii 1884-86; iv 188692; v 1892-95; vi 1895-97. Bombay 1883-99.

Rep.= Report.

Rice =Rice's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in Mysore and Coorg. Bangalore 1884,

Regnaud=Regnaud's *Rhetorique Sanskrite.* Paris 1884.

Sarngadhara=*Sarngadhara-paddhati,* ed. Peterson in B, S.S.

Sb. der Preuss. Akad. = Sitzungsberichte der Koniglich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Sb. der Wiener Akad. = Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SCB= Lists of Sanskrit, Jaina and Hindi MSS deposited in the Benares Sanskrit College, comprising collections 1897-1901, 1904-05, 1909-10, 1911-12, 1912-13, 1914-15. Allahabad. Separately published 1902-15.

SCC= Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Calcutta Sanskrit College by Hrslkesa Sastrl and Sivacandra Guin. Vol vii (dealing with Alaṃkāra works). Calcutta 1904.

SgS— Sesagiri Sastrl's Reports on the search of Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. i 1898 ; ii 1899. Madras.

Sl'=Sloka.

Sten Konow = Sten Konow's Indische Drama (in the Grundriss Series), Berlin and Leipzig 1920.

Stein or *Jammu Cat.* = Stein's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Ragunāth Temple Library of the Mahārājā of Jammu and Kashmir. Bombay 1894.

Subhas^{0} = Vallabhadeva's *Subhaṣitavali ed.* Peterson in B. S. S.

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WBod= Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Bodleian Library vol. ii, begun by M. Winternitz and completed by Keith. Oxford 1905.

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Wilson or *Select Specimens*= Wilson's *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus,* 3rd ed. London 1871,

WRAS=Winternitz's Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit MSS in the Royal Asiatic Society. London 1902.

WZKM= Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZDMG—Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft

References to Jalhana's anthology are as in the Index of verses given in Bhandarkar's *Rep,* 1887-91, pp. 115f; to *Saduktikarnamrta* as in Thomas's pref. to *Kavindra-vacana.* Obvious abbreviations of texts referred to (e.g. *Kav. prak.* = *Kāvya-prakāśa)* are not given in this list; but the texts are often quoted only with the author's name, e.g. Dandin= Dandin's *Kavyadarsa.* Other Reports and Catalogues are cited as in Aufrecht.

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N. B.—There are numerous passing references to some of these works and authors : but the figures in the index indicate the places where they are dealt with or cited independently.

ERRATA

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8	2(fn)	*npamānam*	*upamtnam*
14	19	*upanāya*	*upanaya*
15	23	Āpastambha	Apastamba
16	9	*Aṇguttara*	*Anguttara*
18	12	some what	somewhat
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19.	I5 (fn)	pp.	p.
19	21 (fn)	Levi	Levi
20	9	(5)	(6)
2o	2 (fn)	*eole, extreme*	*ecole extreme*
22	10	respoctivly	respectively
36	13	prevelant	prevalent
38	12	Ajitaplḍa	Ajitapida
44	22	per	par
44	18	Text	Texte
44	26	Fruhgeschichte	Fruhgedchichte
44	32	numberles	numberless

47	17	are	ĩs
48	*17*	repitition	repetition
52	8	prevelant	prevalent
59	21	Nṛptuṅga	Nṛpatutiga
70	15	acknowledge-ment	acknowledg-ment
7'	2(fn)	p. 44	P-447
72	38	Hastimall	Hastimalla
76	7	commetatur	commentator
77	4	213	223
90	5 (fn)	in	is
90	10 (fn)	thes	the
93	25	fespectively	respectively
94	1 (fn)	stpnzas	stanzas
94	13 (fa)	on ground	on the ground
95	11 (fn)	Ruyyka	Ruyyaka
95	14 (fn) ,	*Sṛṅgra¯*	*Śṛngara*
96	15	*Rudratlaṃkara*	*Rudraṭalaṇi-kāra*
112	22	in middle	in the middle
137	28	Hala	Bāla
144	*16*	in	is
144	*6* (fn)	Bilhaṇu's an-thor-	Bilhaṇa's auth-or-
148	17	encyclopeadic	encyclopaedic
153	16	clearrly	clearly
154	10	Śaṅkuka's	Śaṅkuka
154	21	the	
155	30	*vyaktviveka-*	*vyaktiviveka-*
158	10	later the	later than the
162	17	indipendent	independent
168	8	*kārkiaś*	*kārikaś*
176	IO	,the last	than the last
180	10 (fn)	*-ken*	*-kena*
182	10	who	as
189	12	*Kāvyparakam¯'*	*Kāvya-prakaiśā*

190	2(fn)	*Sahrdyalila*	*Sahṛdaya4lla*
190	9 (fn)	commetators	commentators
208	24 & 29	Granthamālā viii	Granthamālā iii
213	7 (fn)	*matkya-*	*matkṛta-*
213	8 (fn)	-parimalatäs	-parimalatas
248	24	one the	one of the
252	20	for the whom	for whom
263	17	opinions	opinion
268	5	*auurur*	*anurur*
272	32	*vyākhyana*	*vyākhyaña*
27s	1 (fn)	*navlm*	*navlnam*
27s	13 (fn)	is different	is a different
27s	15 (fn)	our	to our

N. B:—A few more misprints, especially regarding diacritical marks have unfortunately crept in; but as they are obvious they have not been indicated here. The letter ṛ throughout has not been distinct and sometimes have entirely broken down in printing. The letters ṣ and ṃ in the proper **names** in ch. xxix have been wrongly printed as s and m. **The** name Haricand has been printed inadvertantly as Haricañd throughout