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AN INTRODUCTION TO  
CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

AN INTRODUCTORY TREATISE OF THE HISTORY OF  
CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE

BY

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MODERN BOOK AGENCY

10, College Square, Calcutta.

1943

Published by  
U. C. Bhattacharyya,  
10, College Square, Calcutta.

**Printed by A. N. Mukh  
M. I. PRESS,  
BO, Grey Street, Calcu**

To the sacred memory of  
my parents.



## PREFACE

The impetus to the writing of the present work came from my students at the Presidency College, Calcutta. The paucity of suitable text-books on the subject intended for Degree and Post-Graduate students of Indian Universities was felt by myself in my college life, and in writing this book I have always borne in mind the difficulties which, our students feel in tackling the subject. The work, therefore, does not pretend to be very ambitious.

In the preparation of the book I have freely consulted the two monumental works of M. Winternitz and A. B. Keith. To them, therefore, I am under a deep debt of gratitude. I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to all those authorities whose works have been mentioned in the "References".

In preparing the press copy, my pupil, Professor Sarojendranath Bhanja, Sahityasastrī, Kavya-Puranatīrtha, M.A., has rendered invaluable service. Another pupil of mine, Mr. Taraknath Ghosal, M.A., has prepared the major part of the Index. My ex-colleagues, Professor Upendranath Ghosal, M.A., Ph.D., and Professor Subodhchandra Sengupta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., had the kindness, the former, to find out for me a few references, and the latter, to read a considerable portion of the work while in the press. My teachers, Manamahopadhyaya Haranchandra Shastri, Professor Sadananda Bhaduri, M.A., Ph.D., and Professor Somnath Maitra, M.A., have helped me much by offering valuable suggestions from time to time. I must also acknowledge the advice given so freely by my friend and colleague, Professor Taraknath Sen, M.A. Lastly, I must mention the deep interest which was taken by my cousin, Pandit Ashokanath Shastri, Vedantatīrtha, M.A., P.R.S., in seeing the work through.

The occasion makes me remember, with deep and reverent

gratitude, those of my teachers at whose feet I had the privilege of studying the subject—the late Professor Rakhaldas Banerjee, M.A., of the Benares Hindu University, and Professor Nilmony Chakravarty, M.A., late Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Calcutta.

I am thankful to my publishers, the Modern Book Agency, Calcutta, and to the authorities of the M. I. Press, Calcutta, for the kind interest they have taken in the printing and publication of my book.

Calcutta,

January, 1943.

**Author**

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.	KL	<i>Kavyalankara.</i>
Ast	<i>Astadhyayi.</i>	KS	<i>Kamasutra.</i>
Har	<i>Harsacarita.</i>	MB	<i>Mahabhasya.</i>
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series	Mbh	<i>Mahabharata.</i>
IA	Indian Antiquary	Nir	<i>Nirukta.</i>
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.	Rag	<i>Raghuvamsa.</i>
Kad	<i>Kadambari</i> (M.R. Kale, 2nd edition).	Ram	<i>Ramayana.</i>
		RV	<i>Rgveda.</i>
		SBE	Sacred Books of the East, Oxford.
		SD	<i>Suhityadarpana.</i>
		SV	<i>Sisupalavadha.</i>
		Vas	<i>Vasavadattu.</i>

## ERRATA

Pp. 119 &c.	Line 1	For 'Chapter Six' read 'Chapter Eight' and emend all subsequent chapter numberings accordingly.
P. 193	Line 13	For ' <i>Sanmukhakalpa</i> ' read ' <i>Sanmukhakalpa</i> '.

# AN INTRODUCTION TO CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

## INTRODUCTORY

### A

#### ORIGIN OF INDIAN WRITING

The immemorial practice with students of Sanskrit literature has been to commit to memory the various subjects of their study, and this practice of oral tradition has preserved the ancient Vedic texts. This fact has led scholars to surmise that writing was perchance unknown in the earliest period of Indian civilization and that the later forms of the alphabet were not of pure Indian growth.

The earliest references to writing in Sanskrit literature are to be found in the *Dharmasutra* of Vasistha, which, as Dr. Biihler thinks, was composed about the eighth century B.C. There are, however, some scholars who would like to assign a much later date to the work, viz., the fourth century B.C. There we obtain clear evidence of the widely spread use of writing during the Vedic

**Introduc-  
tion**

**Evidence of  
Vedic and  
Sutra  
works**

period, and in Ch. XVI. 10,14-15, mention is made of written documents as legal evidence. Further, the *Adadhyayi* of Panini contains such compounds as '*lipikara*' and '*libikara*' which evidently mean 'writer' [III. ii. 21], The date of Panini, however, is not fixed. Professor Goldstucker wants to place him in the; eighth century B.C., while the general body of scholars holds that his age is the fourth century B.C. In addition to the few references set forth above, it may be said that the later Vedic works contain some technical terms such as aksara,' Kanda '*patala*,' '*grantha*' and the like, which some scholars quote as evidence of the use of writing. But there are others who like to differ in their interpretations of these terms.

Evidence of  
Brahma-  
nical works

The aforesaid references do not help us much in determining the genuine Indian growth of writing, inasmuch as none of the works in which they are found can be safely dated earlier than the period of inscriptions. In the same way, evidences in the Brahmanical works such as the Epics, the Puranas, the Kavyas and the like, are of little or no help. Among them, the Epics are by far the oldest, but it is difficult to prove that every word of their text goes back to a high anti-

quity. One fact is, however, undeniable, viz, that the Epics contain some archaic expressions, such as, 'likh,' 'lekha,' 'lekhaka,' 'lekhana,' but not 'lipi," which, as many scholars think, is after all a foreign word. This may suggest that writing was known in India in the Epic age.

There are two other facts which also suggest the same thing. It is believed that the Aryans were in an advanced state of civilization—there was a high development of trade and monetary transactions, and that they carried on minute researches in grammar, phonetics and lexicography. Do not the above facts presuppose the knowledge of the art of writing among the ancient Indians? Nevertheless, one will have to adduce positive evidence, without which nothing can be taken for granted. So we turn to the Buddhist works.

**Evidence of  
Indian civi-  
lization**

There are quite a large number of passages in the Ceylonese *Tipitaka*, which bear witness to an acquaintance with writing and to its extensive use at the time when the Buddhist canon was composed. 'Lekha' and 'lekhaka' are mentioned in the *Bhikkhu Pacittiya* 2, ii and in the *Bhikkhuni Pacittiya* 49, ii. In the former, writing has been highly

**Evidence of  
Buddhist  
writings**

praised. In the Jatakas, constant mention is made of letters. The Jatakas know of proclamations. We are also told of a game named aksarika in which the Buddhist monk is forbidden to participate. This game was in all probability one of guessing at letters. In the rules of Vinaya, it has been laid down that a criminal, whose name has been written up in the King's porch, must not be received into the monastic order. In the same work, writing has been mentioned as a lucrative profession. Jataka No. 125 and the *Mahavagga*, 1. 49 bear witness to the existence of elementary schools where the manner of teaching was the same as in the indigenous schools of modern India. All these references prove the existence of the art of writing in pre-Buddhistic days.

The earliest written record is the Piprawa vase inscription which was discovered some-time ago by Colonel Claxton Peppe. This inscription is written in Brahmi character and is in a language which does not conform to any of the standard Prakrits. Some of the case-endings tend towards Magadhi. No compound consonant has been written. They have been either simplified or divided

Piprawa  
vase  
inscription

by epenthesis. No long vowel, excepting two 'e' s, have been used. The inscription has been differently interpreted. According to some scholars the relics that were enshrined were the relics of Buddha, while others maintain that the relics were those of the Sakyas, who were massacred by Virulaka, son of Prasenajit, King of Kosala. In any case the inscription belongs to the early part of the fifth century B.C.

Next in order of antiquity comes the Sohgaure copper-plate which, as Dr. Smith thinks, may be dated about half a century prior to Asoka.<sup>1</sup> The characters of the document according to Dr. Smith are those of the Brahmi of the Maurya period and his statements, according to Dr. Buhler, are incontestable as everyone of them is traceable in the Edicts. About the proper import

Sohgaure  
Copper  
plate  
plate

<sup>1</sup>The English translation of Dr. Buhler's version is given below :

'The order of the great officials of Pravastl (issued from (their camp at) Manavasitikata—"These two store-houses with three partitions (which are situated) even in famous Vaihsagrama require the storage of loads (bharaka) of Black Panicum, parched grain, cummin-seed and Amba for (times of) urgent (need). One should not take (anything from the grain stored)."

—IA. Vol. XXV, pp. 261—66.

of the inscription none is sure. Dr. Smith says that he cannot find out any meaning from it. The value of the inscription rests on the fact that it is an evidence for the assumption that in the third century B.C., the use of writing was common in royal offices and that the knowledge of written characters was widely spread among the people.

**Inscriptions  
of Asoka,  
Nahapana  
and Rudra-  
daman**

The inscriptions of Asoka, are found almost all over India and are written in two different scripts, viz., Brahmi and Kharosthi. Two of these inscriptions—that of Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra, are written in the latter. The rest are written in Brahmi. The language of early Indian inscriptions is not Sanskrit, but vernacular, which is known as Prakrit. In the inscriptions of Asoka, local varieties are to be found. Those in the north-western part of India incline more towards Paisaci, than those found in the eastern part. It is interesting to note that all the Indian inscriptions from the earliest times down to the second century A.D., are in Prakrit. The earliest inscription in Sanskrit is the Nasik Cave No. X inscription of Nahapana, which was written, in all probability, in the year 41 of the Saka era, corresponding to 119 A.D. But there

are scholars who do not like to call this inscription the earliest in Sanskrit, and in their opinion the well-known Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman, dated 150 A.p., heads the list of Sanskrit inscriptions. Sanskrit gradually encroached upon Prakrit in the field of epigraphy and it was from the fifth century A.D., that Prakrit disappeared from the field of inscription.

As for the history of the two scripts, Brahmi and Kharosthi, mentioned above, Dr. Buhler thinks that the latter was derived from the Aramaic or Phoenician character used by the clerks of the Persian Empire. The north-western parts of India came under the Achaemenian or Persian rule about the sixth century B.C. And it is in those parts of India that inscriptions and coins in Kharosthi character have been discovered. Dr. Buhler has taken sufficient pains to show how from some borrowed letters the full alphabet of the Sanskrit language came into being. There are some scholars who have gone so far as to suggest a meaning of the word Kharosthi. Thus it is held that the name Kharosthi has been derived from the shape of letters which generally resemble the lip of an ass. Professor Levi

**Kharosthi**

thinks that the word is derived from the name of the inventor, Kharostha, an inhabitant of Central Asia.

There are several theories regarding the origin of the Brahm character. According to Dr. Taylor and others, the Brahm character was borrowed from a Southern Arab tribe. This theory has not gained any popularity. The theory started by Dr. Weber and illustrated by Dr. Buhler is generally accepted. Dr. Weber was the first man to discover that some of the old Indian letters are practically identical with certain Assyrian letters and several letters in some inscriptions of the ninth and the seventh centuries B.c, found in Assyria. About one-third of the *twenty-three* letters of the North Semitic alphabet of that period is identical with the oldest forms of the corresponding Indian letters. Another one-third is somewhat similar, while the rest can with great difficulty be said to correspond to letters of the Indian alphabet. Dr. Buhler took advantage of this theory of Dr. Weber, and he next proceeded to show that as a result of the prolonged contact between Indian merchants, mostly, Dravidans, and Babylonians in the eighth and the seventh centuries B.C.,

**Brahmi :  
South and  
North  
Semitic  
origin**

the former availed themselves of the opportunity to bring the Assyrian art of writing-over to India, which later on was enlarged to suit the requirements of the Indian people. Nearly a thousand years later, this form of writing came to be styled as Brahmi. It has been said that originally the letters were written from right to left, as a single coin has been discovered in a place named Iran, on which the legend runs from right to left. But as the Brahmanas believed the right-hand direction to be sacred, they changed the direction and began to write from left to right.

According to Professor Rhys Davids, the Indian letters were developed neither from the Northern nor from the Southern Semitic alphabet, but from the pre-Semitic form current in the Euphrates valley. But this theory is not accepted on the ground that this supposed pre-Semitic form of writing has yet to be explored.

Pre-Semitic  
origin

Sir Alexander Cunningham had wanted to derive each letter from the indigenous hieroglyphic, but his theory was discarded on the ground that no such hieroglyphic could be found in India. But the recent excavations at Mahen-jo-daro and Harappa

Hierogly-  
phic origin

have brought to light, an original Indian hieroglyphic, and a further examination of the theory once started by Sir A. Cunningham may be undertaken.

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### B

## V VEDIC AND CLASSICAL INDIAN LANGUAGES-THEIR RELATIONSHIP

**introduction**

Indian tradition knows Sanskrit as the language of the gods, which has been the

dominant language of India for a period covering over four thousand years. Viewed from its rich heritage of literature, its fascinating charm of words, its flexibility of expression in relation to thought, Sanskrit occupies a singular place in the literature of the world.

The Sanskrit language is generally divided into Vedic and Classical. In the Vedic language was written the entire sacred literature of the Aryan Indians. Within this Vedic language several stages may be carefully distinguished, and in course of its transition from the one to the other it gradually grew modern till it ultimately merged in Classical Sanskrit. But when we pass on from the Vedic lyrics to the lyrics of Classical Sanskrit, we seem to enter a 'new world'. Not only are the grammar, vocabulary, metre and style different, but there is also a marked distinction in respect of matter and spirit. Thus the Classical Sanskrit period is marked by a change of religious outlook and social conditions. Vedic literature is almost entirely religious ; but Classical Sanskrit has a 'profane' aspect as well which is not in any way inferior to the religious aspect. The religion in the Epic period has become different from

**Vedic and  
Classical .  
difference  
in matter  
and spirit**

what it was in the Vedic age. The Vedic Nature-worship has been superseded by the cult of Brahma, Visnu and Siva, and it is in the Epic period that we find for the first time the incarnations of Visnu who has come to be looked upon as the Supreme Deity. New gods and goddesses unknown to the Vedas have arisen, and Vedic gods have either been forgotten or reduced to a subordinate position. Indra is, indeed, the only god who still maintains high status as the lord of heaven. Vedic literature in its earlier phase was marked by a spirit of robust optimism ; but Classical Sanskrit literature has a note of pessimism owing probably to the influence of the doctrine of *karman* and transmigration of soul. The naive simplicity of Vedic literature is strikingly absent in Classical Sanskrit where the introduction of the supernatural and the wonderful is full of exaggeration. So kings are described as visiting Indra in heaven and a sage creating a new world by means of his great spiritual powers. The tribal organization of the state has lessened much in importance in the Epic period where we find the rise of many territorial kingdoms.

In respect of form also Classical Sanskrit

differs considerably from Vedic. Thus the four Vedas and the Brahmanas are marked with accents (*udatta, anudatta and svarita*) which only can help us in finding out the meaning of different words. Thus, for instance, the word '*Indrasatru*' with one kind of accent will mean 'Indra as enemy', and the same word with a different kind of accent will imply 'enemy of Indra.' But in Classical Sanskrit literature, accent has no part to play.

**Difference  
in form :  
(1) accent**

Phonetically Vedic and Classical languages are identical, but grammatically they differ. The change in grammar is not generally due to the introduction of new formations or inflections, but to the loss of forms.<sup>1</sup> In respect of mood, the difference between Classical and Vedic Sanskrit is specially very great. In the Vedas the present tense has besides its indicative inflection,

**(ii) grammar**

<sup>1</sup> Certain grammatical forms which occur in Vedic language disappear in Classical. Thus in declension a number of forms has been dropped :—(i) the nominative and accusative dual forms of '—a' stems ending in—*a*, e.g., *nara*, (ii) the nominative plural form of '—a' stems ending in—*usah*, e.g., *devasah*, (iii) the instrumental plural form of '—*a* stems ending in—*ebhili* e.g., *devebhih*, etc.

a subjunctive (requisition), optative (wish) and an imperative (command). The same three moods are found, though with much less frequency, as belonging to the perfect and they are also made from the aorists (*lun*) and the future has no moods. In Classical Sanskrit, the present tense adds to its indicative an optative and an imperative. But the subjunctive (*let*) is lost in Classical Sanskrit.<sup>1</sup> In the Vedic period no less than *fifteen* forms of infinitive were used<sup>2</sup> of which only *one* (*turn*) survives in the Classical period. Vedic Sanskrit differs from Classical Sanskrit in respect of the use of prefixes (*upasargas*). Thus in Classical Sanskrit the *upasarga* must invariably precede the root and should form a part of it.. But the use of *upasargan* was unrestricted in Vedic Sanskrit. It was used before the root and after it and was also sometimes separated from the root itself.<sup>3</sup> Compounds of more than two words, which are rare in the Vedas and the Brahmanas, are frequent in Classical Sanskrit.

<sup>1</sup> *adya jivana, satain jivati saradah*, etc., as found in the Veda.

<sup>2</sup> *Ast* III. iv. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *a krsena rajasa vartamano*, etc.

The aforesaid changes in respect of forms were mainly due to the efforts of grammarians who exercised considerable influence on the development of the language. The vocabulary also underwent many changes. It was largely extended by derivation, composition and compilation. Many old words that could not be found in Vedic literature came to be added in Classical Sanskrit and many new words were borrowed.

(iii) Vocabulary

Vedic language again differs from Classical with regard to the use of metres. Beside the principal seven metres of the Vedas (*gayatri*, *usnih*, *anustubh*, *brhati*, *pankti*, *tristubh* and *jagati*), Classical Sanskrit presents a limitless variety of metres.

(iv) Metre

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**C****PRAKRIT**

Antiquity

The beginnings of the Prakrits go back to a period of great antiquity. Even at the time when Vedic hymns were composed, there existed a popular language which differed from the literary dialect. In the Vedic hymns, there are several words which cannot be phonetically other than Prakrit. Buddha and Mahavira preached their doctrines in the sixth century B.C., in the language of the people in order that all might understand them. The language of the Buddhist texts which were collected during the period between 500 n.c. and 400 n.c., was Magadhi. The extant Buddhist texts of Ceylon, Burma and Siam are in a form of popular language to which the name Pali has been given. There is difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the place and origin of Pali. The only inscription, the language of which is akin to Pali, is the Hati-Gumpha inscription of Kharavela, dated the 160th year of the Maurya era.

Relation of  
Sanskrit  
to Prakrit

Patanjali says that Sanskrit was a spoken language, but it was confined to the cultured section of the people. The popular dialect

of India was known by the general name of Prakrit. From the distribution of languages in Sanskrit dramas it appears that the masses while speaking Prakrit, could understand Sanskrit. It has been said in Bharata's *Natyasastra* that Prakrit and Sanskrit are different branches of one and the same language. In the earliest known forms of Prakrit, there are passages which can be easily translated into Sanskrit by the application of simple phonetic rules.

According to European scholars, Prakrit, which represents the Middle Indian period of the Indo-Aryan languages, may again be sub-divided into three stages : (1) Old Prakrit or Pali, (2) Middle Prakrit, and (3) late Prakrit or Apabhramsa. They would like to say that if Prakrit had been a language derived from Sanskrit, Prakrit would have taken the name Samskrta. Moreover, there are many words and forms in Prakrit which cannot be traced in Classical Sanskrit. If, however, by the word Sanskrit is included the language of the Vedas and all dialects of the old Indian period, it will be correct to assume that Prakrit is derived from Sanskrit. But the word Sanskrit is generally used to refer to the Panini-Patanjali language.

**European  
view**

Orthodox  
view

Indian grammarians, however, would say that the name Prakrit is derived from the word *prakṛti*, which means 'the basic form', viz., Sanskrit. Further, in Prakrit there are *three* classes of words, e.g., (i) '*tatsama*'—words which are identical in form and meaning in both Sanskrit and Prakrit, e.g., *dava*, *kamala*, (ii) '*tadbhava*'—words that are derived from Sanskrit by the application of phonetic rules, e.g., *ajjautta* < *aryaputra*, *paricumbia* < *paricumbya*, and (iii) "*desin*"—words that are of indigenous origin and the history of which cannot be accurately traced, e.g., *chollanti*, *canga*. A careful examination of Prakrit vocabulary reveals the fact that the majority of Prakrit words belong to the second class ; words belonging to the other classes are comparatively small in number. The derivatives are in most cases the result of phonetic decay.

The following are the more important literary Prakrits :—Maharastri, Sauraseni, Magadhi are the dramatic Prakrits, while Ardha-Magadhi, Jaina-Maharastri, Jaina-Sauraseni are the Prakrits of the Jaina canon. The last is the Apabhramsa.

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## D

## WAS SANSKRIT A SPOKEN LANGUAGE ?

A section of European scholars would believe that in spite of the vast extent of Sanskrit literature, Sanskrit was never used in actual speech. It was a purely literary and artificial language and the language that was spoken even in ancient times was Prakrit.

European  
view

But there are evidences to show that to all intents and purposes, Sanskrit was a living language and that it was spoken by at least a large section of the people. Etymologists and grammarians like Yaska and Panini describe Classical Sanskrit as *Bhasa*—the speech, as distinguished from Vedic Sanskrit,<sup>1</sup> and it will not probably be incorrect to suggest that this description serves to draw out the

Orthodox  
view

<sup>1</sup> Nir. I. iv. 5 & 7, II. ii. 6 & 7, Ast. III. ii. 108, etc.

special character of Classical Sanskrit as a living speech. Moreover, there are many sutras in the *Astadhyayi* of Panini which are meaningless unless they have any reference to a living speech.<sup>1</sup> Yaska, Panini and even Katyayana have discussed the peculiarities in the usages of Easterners and Northerners.<sup>2</sup> Local variations are also noticed by Katyayana, while Patanjali has collected words occurring in particular districts.<sup>3</sup> Patanjali again tells us that the words of Sanskrit are of ordinary life and describes an anecdote in which a grammarian converses with a charioteer and the discussion is carried on in Sanskrit.<sup>4</sup>

**Extent of  
Sanskrit as  
a spoken  
language**

From all that has been said above, it is clear that Sanskrit was a living speech in ancient India. But the question which still remains to be discussed is whether Sanskrit was the vernacular of all classes of people in the society or of any particular section or sections. Patanjali says that the

<sup>1</sup> *Ast.* VIII. iv. 48, etc. Also *Gauasutras*, Nos. 18, 20, 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Nir.* II. ii. 8. *Ast* IV. i. 157 & 160.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Varttika*, "*sarve desantare*" referred to in the *Paspasahnika*, *MB.*

<sup>4</sup> *MB.* under *Ast* II. iv. 56.

the language spoken in the days of Panini could be mastered if it was heard from the learned Brahmanas of the day (*sista*) who could speak correct Sanskrit without any special tuition.<sup>1</sup> It is gathered from the *Sundarakanda* of the *Ramayana* that the language spoken by the twice-born castes was Sanskrit.<sup>2</sup> It is stated in the *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana that men of taste should speak both in Sanskrit and the vernacular of the province, and this means that Sanskrit was not the spoken language of each and every section of the people in the society.<sup>3</sup> Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller (seventh century A.D.), tells us that the language in which official debates were arranged, was Sanskrit and not any provincial dialect. The *Pancatantra* informs us that the medium of instruction for the young boys of the ruling class was Sanskrit and not any vernacular.

We may draw from this the conclusion that Sanskrit was the vernacular of the educated people but it was understood in still wider sections. Our conclusions may find support from the evidence of the dramatic literature where we observe

**Conclu-  
sions**

<sup>1</sup> *MB.* under *Ast VI. iii. 109.* <sup>2</sup> *Ram. V. xxx. 18.*

<sup>3</sup> *KS. iv. 20.*

that Brahmanas, kings and ministers speak Sanskrit while women and all the common people use Prakrit, except that nuns and courtesans occasionally converse in Sanskrit. Uneducated Brahmanas are introduced speaking popular dialects. But it is highly significant that the dialogues between Sanskrit-Speaking and Prakrit-speaking persons are very frequent and this suggests that in real life Sanskrit was understood by those who would not speak it themselves. This statement may be further corroborated by the fact that common people would gather to hear the recital of the popular Epics in the palaces of kings and in temples ; they would not attend such functions unless they could understand the content of the recital.

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CHAPTER ONE  
THE GREAT EPICS  
A  
RAMAYANA

The Indian tradition makes Valmiki, the author of the *Ramayana*, the first poet (*adikavi*) who is reported to have been deeply moved by the piteous waitings of the female curlew when her husband was killed by the dart of a forester. Valmiki's feelings found an expression through the medium of metre,<sup>1</sup> and at the bidding of the divine sage Narada who brought messages from Brahma he composed the immortal Rama-Epic which tells the story of Prince Rama, the dutiful and devoted son of King Dasaratha of Ayodhya, who was banished from his kingdom for fourteen years through the jealousy of his step-mother Kaikeyi who secured possession of the throne for her son Bharata. So Rama and Sita, his beloved wife, accompanied by the third prince Laksmana went to the forest. There the adventures of the banished prince, Sita's abduction by Ravana, King of Lanka, the help given to Rama

Origin  
and story

<sup>1</sup> *Ram.* I. ii. 15. Also, cf. *Rag.* XIV. 70.

by Hanumat, a chief of the monkeys, the destruction of Ravana and his party, the fire-ordeal of Sita to prove her chastity—these and many other incidents have been described in all the glowing colours of poetry.

### Character

The *Ramayana* which is essentially a poetic creation has influenced the thought and poetry of later centuries in course of which new matters were added to the original composition. The work, in its present form and extent, comprises *seven* books and contains 24000 verses approximately. But it must be remembered that the text of the Epic has been preserved in *three* recensions, the West Indian, the Bengal and the Bombay, and curiously enough each recension has almost one third of the verses occurring in neither of the other two. Of the *three*, the Bombay recension is believed to have preserved the oldest form of the Epic, for here we find a large number of archaic expressions which are rare in the Bengal and the West Indian recensions. According to Professor Jacobi, the Kama-Epic was first composed in the Kosala country on the basis of the ballad poetry recited by the rhapsodists. In course of time there naturally arose differ-

ence in the tradition of the recitations made by professional story-tellers, and this difference adequately explains the variations in the *three* recensions when they had been assuming their definite forms in the different parts of the laud.

Internal evidence proves almost conclusively that the whole of the *Ramayana* as it is found to-day was not written at one time. It is said that of the *seven* books in the *Ramayana*, the last one and portions of the first are interpolations. In the first place, there are numerous passages in the genuine books which either make no reference to the incidents in the first book or contain statements which contradict those to be found in the first book. Secondly, in the first and third cantos of the first book we find two tables of contents, the first of which does not mention the first and the seventh books. Thirdly, the style and language of the first book do not bear comparison with that of the five genuine books (II — VI). Fourthly, the frequent interruption of the narrative in the first and the seventh books and the complete absence of any such interruption in the other five books cannot but suggest that the two books were

**Spurious  
element**

composed by subsequent poets of less eminence and talent than the author of the genuine books. Lastly, the character of the hero as drawn in the first and the seventh books differs from what we find in the remaining books. Thus in those two books Rama is not a mortal hero which he is in the other five books, but a divine being worthy of reverence to the nation.

#### Antiquity

It has been already observed that the original work of Valmiki assumed different forms as with years rhapsodists introduced into it newer elements. It is, therefore, very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to fix any specified age for the whole poem. Dr. Winternitz says that the transformation of Rama from a man to the Universal God through a semi-divine national hero, cannot but take a sufficient length of time. It should be noted, however, that not only the Rama-legend but the *Ramayana* of Valmiki also was known to the *Mahabharata* which contains the *Ramopakhyana* in the *Vanaparvan*, of course, in a condensed form. On the other hand, the poet or the poets of the *Ramayana* nowhere refer to the Bharatan story. These facts have led scholars like Professor Jacobi to presume a very early

existence of the Kama-Epic<sup>1</sup> though it still remains a disputed point whether it was earlier than the original story of the *Mahabharata*, the passage in the *Vanaparvan* containing the reference to the *Ramayana*, being absent in that very early form of the Bharatan Epic. Dr. Winternitz believes that "if the *Mahabharata* had on the whole its present form in the 4th Century A. D., the *Ramayana* must have received its final form at least a century or two earlier."

From a study of Jataka literature it would appear that the stories of some of the Jatakas naturally remind us of the story of the *Ramayana* though it must be admitted that we seldom observe any 'literal agreement' between the two. To cite an instance, the *Dataratha-jataka* relates the story of the *Ramayana* in a different way, where Rama and Sita are described as brother and sister. But it is highly significant that while the Jatakas give us innumerable stories of the demon-world and the animals,

**Relation to-  
Buddhism**

<sup>1</sup> Scholars like Jacobi, Schlegel, M. Williams, Jolly and others point out that the *Ramayana* is earlier than the *Mahubharata*, because the burning of widows does not occur in it, but it is mentioned in the *Mahabharata*.

they never mention the names of Havana and Hanumat and the monkeys. It is not, therefore, improbable that prior to the fourth or the third centuries B.C., when the Buddhist *Tipitaka* is believed to have come into existence, the *Ramayana* in its Epic form was not available though ballads dealing with Rama were known to exist. Traces of Buddhism cannot be found in the *Ramayana* and the solitary instance where the Buddha is mentioned is believed to be an interpolation.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Weber, however, suggests that the *Ramayana* is based on an ancient Buddhist legend of Prince Rama. He thinks that the hero of the *Ramayana*, is essentially a sage in spirit and not merely a hero of war and that in Rama we observe the glorification of the ideal of Buddhist equanimity. Dr. Winternitz also approves of the idea of explaining the extreme mildness and gentleness of Rama by 'Buddhistic undercurrents.' But we must say that by thinking in this way Dr. Weber has ignored the fact that a poet like Valmiki could easily draw his inspiration from his own heritage. Our con-

<sup>1</sup> Lassen on Weber's *Ramayana* (IA. Vol. III).

clusion, therefore, is that there was no direct influence of Buddhism on the *Ramayana*.

It is certain that there is no Greek influence on the *Ramayana* as the genuine betrays no acquaintance with the Greeks. Dr. Weber, however, thinks that the *Ramayana* is based on the Greek legend of Helen and the Trojan war. But an examination of the contents of the *Ramayana* shows that the expression *yavana* occurs twice in the passages of the *Ramayana* which are evidently interpolations.

**Greek  
influence**

Professor Lassen was the first scholar to give an allegorical interpretation of the *Ramayana*. In his opinion the Epic represented the first attempt of the Aryans to conquer Southern India. According to Dr. Weber it was meant to account for the spread of Aryan civilisation to South India and Ceylon.

**Allegorical  
interpretation of the  
Epic**

Professor Jacobi gives us a mythological interpretation and says that there is no allegory in the Epic. Thus he points out that in the *Rgveda*, Sita appears as the field-furrow and invoked as the goddess of agriculture. In some of the *Grhyasutras* Sita is the genuine daughter of the plough-field and is a wife of Parjanya or Indra. In

**Mythological  
interpretation**

the *Ramayana* also Sita is represented as emerging from the plough-field of Janaka. Rama can be identified with Indra and Hanumat with the Maruts, the associates of Indra in his battle with demons. But we would only add that to read allegory or mythology in a first rate work of art is without any justification.

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## B

### MAHABHARATA

Dr. Winternitz describes the *Mahabharata* as a whole literature and does not look upon it as one poetic production which the *Ramayana* essentially is. The nucleus of the *Mahabharata* is the great war of eighteen days fought between the Kauravas, the hundred sons of Dhrtarastra and the Pandavas, the five sons of Pandu. The poet narrates all the circumstances leading up to the war. In this great Kuruksetra battle were involved almost all the kings of India joining either of the two parties. The result of this war was the total annihilation of the Kauravas and their party, and Yudhisthira, the head of the Pandavas, became the sovereign monarch of Hastinapura. But with the progress of years new matters and episodes, relating to the various aspects of human life, social, economic, political, moral and religious as also fragments of other heroic legends and legends containing reference to famous kings, came to be added to the aforesaid nucleus and this phenomenon probably continued for centuries till in the early part of the Christian era the Epic gathered its present shape which is said

General  
character  
and story

to contain a hundred thousand verses. It is, therefore, that the *Mahabharata* has been described not only as a heroic poem, but also as a 'repertory of the whole of the bard poetry'. The Epic in its present form is divided into *eighteen* books with a supplement called the *Harivamsa*.<sup>1</sup>

Gita

The famous *Srimad-Bhagavadgita* is a chapter of the *Bhismaparvan* and contains *eighteen* sections. The *Gita* is a simplification in verse of the crude doctrines in Hindu philosophy and is a book specially meant for the dwellers of the society rather than for one who has renounced it. The book is no doubt One of the finest fruits of Indian philosophy and has gained world-wide recognition in the hands of philosophers. The theme of this book is the advice, given by Sri-Krsna for consoling depressed Arjuna, mainly dwelling on the doctrines of *karman*, *jnana* and *bhakti*.

Three  
stages of  
the Epic

It is extremely difficult for us to separate at this distant date the chaff from the real. However, in the first book of the *Mahabharata* there is a statement that at one time

<sup>1</sup> It is not definitely known whether this division into eighteen books is purely traditional, there being a somewhat different form of division as surmised from the writings of Alberunl.

the Epic contained 24000 verses while in another context we find that it consisted of 8800 verses. These statements may definitely lead one to conclude that the Epic had undergone *three* principal stages of development before it assumed its present form.

It is impossible to give in one line the exact date of the *Mahabharata*. To determine the date of the *Mahabharata* we should determine the date of every part of this Epic. In the Vedas there is no mention of the incident of the great Kuruksetra battle. In the Brahmanas, however, the holy Kuru-field is described as a place of pilgrimage where gods and mortals celebrated big sacrificial feasts. We also find the names of Janamejaya and Bharata in the Brahmanas. So also the name of Pariksit as a ruler of Kuru-land is found in the *Atharvaveda*. We find frequent mention of the Kurus and the Pancalas in the *Yajuroeda*. The *Kathahsamhita* mentions the name of Dhrtarastra, son of Vieitravirya. In the *Sankhyayana-Srautasutra* we find the mention of a war in Kuru-land which was fatal for the Kauravas. But the names of the Pandavas do not occur therein. The *Grhyasutra* of Asvalayana gives the names of *Bharata* and

Age of the  
Epic

*Mahabharata* in a list of teachers and books. Panini gives us the derivation of the words Yudhisthira, Bhima and Vidura and the accent of the compound *Mahabharata*. Patanjali is the first to make definite allusions to the story of the battle between the Kauravas and the Pandavas. Although the Buddhist *Tipilaka* does not mention the name of the *Mahabharata*, the Jatakas betray a slight acquaintance with it.

Literary  
and inscrip-  
tional  
evidence

Moreover, it is proved by literary and inscriptional evidence that already about 500 A.D., the *Mahabharata* was no longer an actual Epic but a sacred book and a religious discourse. It was on the whole essentially different from the Epic as it is found to-day. Kumarilabhata quotes passages from the *Mahabharata* and regards it as a Smrti work. Both Subandhu and Bana knew it as a great work of art<sup>1</sup> and Bana alludes to a recital of the *Mahabharata*? It must be admitted on all hands that though an Epic *Mahabharata* did not exist in the time of the Vedas, single myths, legends and poems included in the *Mahabharata* reach back to the Vedic period. The *Mahabharata* has also

<sup>1</sup> *Vas.* p. 37 & *Har.* p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Kad.* p. 104.

drawn many moral narratives and stories of saints from its contemporary 'ascetic-poetry'. An Epic *Mahabharata*, however, did not exist in the fourth century B.C., and the transformation of the Epic *Mahabharata* into our present compilation probably took place between the fourth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D. In the fourth century A.D., the work was available in its present extent, contents and character, though small alterations and additions might have continued even in later centuries.

To the strictly orthodox Indian mind, the *Ramayana* appears to have been composed earlier than the *Mahabharata*. Indians believe that of the two incarnations of the Lord, Rama and Krsna, the former was born earlier. Western critics do not attach any importance to this belief, for it is argued by them that the hero of the genuine portion of the *Ramayana* which is older, does not appear as an incarnation but as an ordinary mortal hero.<sup>1</sup> Professor Jacobi

Two Epics  
which is  
earlier ?

<sup>1</sup> There are a few passages in the genuine books, e.g., the one in Bk. VI. where Sita enters into the pyre, wherein Kama is described as a divine being. Critics feel no hesitation in calling such passages interpolations.

also thinks that of the two poems, the *Ramayana* is the earlier production, and he bases his theory on the supposition that it is the influence of the *Ramayana* which has moulded the *Mahabharata* into a poetic form.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Winternitz does not attach any real importance to this theory and criticizes it by saying that the *Mahabharata*, even in its present form, retains several characteristics of older poetry while the poem of Valmiki reveals such peculiarities as would place him nearer to the age of Court-epics. Thus it has been pointed out that such expressions like "Bhisma spake" "Sanjaya spake" which the poet of the *Mahabharata*, uses to introduce a character, are reminiscent of ancient ballad poetry.<sup>2</sup> But in the *Ramayana* the speeches are introduced in verses and therefore in a more polished form. The theory of Professor Jacobi may be further contested on the ground that

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Hopkins, the *Ramayana* as an art-product is later than the *Mahabharata*. (Of. Cambridge History, I. p. 251.)

<sup>2</sup> The mixture of prose with poetry which we notice in the *Mahabharata* is a fact that proves its antiquity. This view of Professor Oldenberg is not accepted by Dr Winternitz.

from a perusal of the two Epics, the reader will unmistakably carry the impression that while the *Mahabharata* describes a more war-like age, the *Ramayana* depicts a comparatively refined civilization.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### THE PURANAS

Introduc-  
tion

The origin of the Puranas must be traced to that time of religious revolution when Buddhism was gaining ground as a formidable foe of Brahmanic culture. Great devotees of Brahmanic religion were anxious for the preservation of the old relics of Hindu culture, and Vyasa, the great compiler, the greatest man of his time, was born to meet the demand of the age. The most important point to be remembered in this connection, is that the entire Vedic culture lies at the back-ground of the age of Buddhism and the Puranas.

Age

It was at one time believed by European scholars that not one of the *eighteen* Puranas is earlier than the eleventh century A.D. But this belief has been discarded on the discovery of a manuscript of the *Skandapura-va* in Nepal written in the sixth century A.D. Further, Banabhatta in his *Harsacarita* mentions that he once attended a recitation of the *Vayupurana*. Kumarila (750 A.D.) regards the Puranas as the sources of law. Sankara (ninth century A.D.) and Ramanuja (eleventh century A.D.) refer to the Puranas

as sacred texts for their dependence on the Vedas. The famous traveller Alberuni (3030 A.D.) also gives us a list of the *eighteen* Puranas.

The word Purana means 'old narrative.' In the Brahmanas, the Upanisads and the Buddhist texts, the word is found to be used in connection with Itihasa. Some scholars hold that the Puranas mentioned in these places do not refer to the works we have before us. But the references found in the *Dharmasutras* of Gautama and Apastamba (works belonging in all probability to the fifth or the fourth century B.C.) suggest that there were at that early period works resembling our Puranas. The close relationship between the *Mahabharata* and the Puranas is another point in support of the antiquity of the latter. The *Mahabharata* which calls itself a Purana, has the general character of the latter, and it is not highly improbable that some integral parts of the Puranas are older than the present redaction of the *Mahabharata*. The *Lalitavistara* not only calls itself a Purana but has also much in common with the Puranas. (The *Vayupurana* is quoted literally by the *Harivamsa*. The genealogical survey of all the Puranas reveals

Antiquity

the fact that they generally stop with the accounts of the Andhra Bhrtya and Gupta kings and that later kings like Harsa are not mentioned. So it may be suggested that the Puranas were written during the rule of the Gupta kings. On other hand, the striking resemblance between the Buddhist Mahayana texts of the first century A.D., and the Puranas, suggests the fact that the latter were written early in the beginnings of the Christian era. The characteristics of the Puranas are also found in books like the *Saddharmapundarika* and the *Mahavastu*. Dr. Winternitz has, however, concluded that the earlier Puranas must have come into being before the seventh century A.D.

**Character**

According to Indian tradition every Purana should discuss *five* topics ; (i) *sarga*—creation, (ii) *pratisarga*—the periodical annihilation and renewal of the world, (iii) *vainsa*—genealogy of gods and sages, (iv) *manvantara*—the Manu-periods of time i.e., the great periods each of which has a Manu (primal ancestor of the human race) as its ruler, and (v) *varmanucarita*—the history of the dynasties the origin of which is traced to the Sun and the Moon. But all these *five* characteristics are not present in

every Purana, and though in some they are partially present, we notice a wide diversity of topics in them. Thus we find many chapters dealing with the duties of the four castes and of the four asramas, sections on Brahmanical rites, on particular ceremonies and feasts and frequently also chapters on Sankhya and Yoga philosophy. But the most striking peculiarity of all the Puranas is their sectarian character as they are dedicated to the cult of some deity who is treated as the principal God in the book. So we come across a Purana dedicated to Visnu, another to Siva and so on.

Unique is the importance of the Puranas from the standpoint of history and religion. The genealogical survey of the Puranas is immensely helpful for the study of political history in ancient India and yet it is a task for the scholar to glean germs of Indian history, hidden in the Puranas. Dr. Smith says that the *Visnupurana* gives us invaluable informations about the Maurya dynasty. The *Matsyapurana* is most dependable in so far as the Andhra dynasty is concerned, while the *Vayupurana* gives us detailed descriptions about the reign of Candragupta I. As the object of the Puranas was to popularize

Value

the more difficult and highly philosophical preaching of the Vedas through the medium of historical facts and tales, we naturally find in them Hinduism in a fully developed form. So the student of religion cannot pass it by. The Puranas are not also wanting in literary merit, and they abound in numerous passages which speak of the highly artistic talent of their makers.

Name and  
number

(The Puranas or the Maha-puranas, as we have them to-day, are *eighteen* in number, and there are also minor Puranas (Upa-puranas) which all again number *eighteen*. The *eighteen* Maha-puranas are :—

- (1) *Brahma*, (2) *Padma*, (3) *Visnu*,
- (4) *Siva*, (5) *Bhagavata*, (6) *Narada*,
- (7) *Markandeya*, (8) *Agni*, (9) *Bhavisya* or  
*Bhavisyat*, (10) *Brahmavaivaria*, (11) *Linga*,
- (12) *Varaha*, (13) *Skanda*, (14) *Vamana*,
- (15) *Kurma*, (16) *Matsya*, (17) *Garuda* and  
(18) *Brahmanda*.

Devimahat-  
mya

The *Devimahatmya* which is popularly known as the '*Candi* or the '*Saptasati*, is a section of the *Markandeyapurana*. According to Dr. Winternitz, its date is not later than the sixth century A.D. The book which contains *thirteen* chapters and *seven hundred* mantras, is a glorification of the Primal

Energy (*Adya Sakti*) who descends amongst all created beings from time to time to rid the worlds of their pestilence and killed in the past the demons Madhu-Kaitabha, Mahisasura, Sumbha and Nisumbha among others. The book is recited in many religious functions of the Hindus.

The *eighteen* Upa-puranas which have been told by different sages are :—

(1) *Sanatkumara*, (2) *Narasimha*, (3) *Vayu*, (4) *Sivadharmā*, (5) *Ascarya*, (6) *Narada*, (7) the two *Nandikesvaras*, (8) *Usanas*, (9) *Kapila*, (10) *Varuna*, (11) *Samba*, (12) *Kalika*, (13) *Mahesvara*, (14) *Kalki*, (15) *Devi*, (16) *Parasara*, (17) *Marici* and (18) *Bhaskara* or *Surya*.<sup>1</sup>

**Name &  
number of  
Upa-  
puranas**

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<sup>1</sup> The above list of Upa-puranas given by Raghunandana is taken from the *Sabdakalpadruma*. Hemadri gives a different list.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE TANTRAS

Meaning,  
contents  
and classi-  
fication

The expression Tantra which is a generic name for works belonging to 'Agama', 'Tantra' and 'Samhita', refers to theological treatises discussing the codes of discipline and worship among different sects of religion along with their metaphysical and mystical points of view. A complete Tantra generally consists of four parts, the themes treated of being (i) knowledge (*jnana*), (ii) meditation (*yoga*), (iii) action (*kriya*) and (iv) conduct (*carya*). Though it is not possible to draw any special line of demarcation among Agama, Tantra and Sanhita, still it is usual to refer to the sacred books of the Saivas by the expression Agama, while Tantra stands for the sacred literature of the Saktas and Samhita for that of the Vaisnavas. The Sakta-Tantras are mainly monistic in character, while the Vaisnava-Tantras generally advocate dualism, or qualified monism. The Saiva-Tantras are divided into three schools of monism, qualified monism and dualism.

The Tantras came to replace the Vedas

when in later times it was found that performance of a sacrifice according to Vedic rites was practically impossible owing to their rigid orthodoxy. Thus the Tantras prescribe easier and less complicated methods which would suit not only the higher classes but also the Sudras and the feminine folk of the society who had no access to Vedic ceremonies. It would, therefore, not be wise to think that Tantric literature is opposed to Vedic literature, and this point would be made abundantly clear when it is found that the rigidly orthodox Vedic scholars write original works and commentaries on Tantras.

**Relation to  
Vedic  
literature**

The earliest manuscripts of Tantras date from the seventh to the ninth century A.D., and it is probable that the literature dates back to the fifth or the sixth century A.D., if not earlier. We do not find any reference to a Tantra in the *Mahabharata*. The Chinese pilgrims also do not mention it. It is, indeed, certain that Tantric doctrine penetrated into Buddhism in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. The worship of Durga may be traced back even to the Vedic period.

**Antiquity**

The home of Agamic literature seems to be Kashmir, while that of Tantric literature is Bengal. Samhita literature,

**Home**

as it is known, originated in different parts of India, in Bengal, South India and the Siamese country.

**Works on  
Agama**

Among works belonging to Agamic literature of Kashmir the most important are the following :—

*Malinijaya, Svachanda, Vijhanabhairava, Ucchusmabhairava, Anandabhairava, Mrgendra, Matanga, Netra, Naisvasa, Svayambhuva and Rudrayamala.*

**Works on  
Pratyabhijna**

Closely associated with Agamic literature is Pratyabhijna literature. Some of the most important works of this literature are :

*Sivadrsti* of Somananda (850-900 A.D.) *Pratyabhijnakarikas* of Utpala (900-950 A.D.) *Maliriivijayottaraoarttika, Pratyabhijnavimarsini, Tantraloka, Tantrasara* and *Paramarthasara* of Abhinavagupta (993-1015 A.D.) and *Pratyabhijnahrdaya* of Ksemaraja (pupil of Abhinavagupta).

**Works on  
Samhita**

Among works belonging to Samhita literature the most important is the *Ahribudhnyasamhita* which was composed in Kashmir in the fifth century A.D. *Isvara-samhita, Pauskarasamhita, Paramasamhita, Sattvatasamhita, Brhadbrahmasamhita* and *Jnanamrtasarasamhita* are other well-known works of this branch of Sanskrit literature.

Among works belonging to Tantra literature, mention may be made of the following :—

**Works on  
Tantra**

*Mahanirvana*, *Kularnava*, *Kulacudamayi*, *Prapahcasdra* (of Sankara), *Tantraraja*, *Kalivilasa*, *Jnanarnava*, *Saradatilaka*, *Varivasyarahasya* (of Bhaskara), *Tantrasara* (of Krsnananda) and *Pranatosini*.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### KAVYA IN INSCRIPTIONS

**Renaissance  
theory**

Early in the beginnings of Sanskritic studies in Europe, Professor Max Muller propounded the theory of the 'Renaissance of Sanskrit literature', which remained highly popular for a considerable length of time. This theory, set forth with much profundity, sought to establish that Brabmanic culture passed through its dark age at the time when India was continuously facing foreign invasions. The earliest revival of this culture is to be found in the reign of the Guptas which is a golden page in the annals of Indian culture. In spite of all its ingenuity the theory has been generally discarded by recent researches and discovery. Evidences are now at our disposal to prove the falsity of the assumption and the inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era unmistakably show that the study and development of Sanskrit Kavya was never impeded.

**Girnar  
inscription**

Thus the inscription of Rudradaman at Girnar dated 150 A.D., is written in prose in the full-fledged Kavya style with conformity to the rules of grammar.

Though traces of epic licence can be found in the inscription, still the writer is a gifted master in the use of figures of speech. As an example of alliteration may be cited the phrase '*abhyastanamno Rudradamno*'. Though there are long compounds still the clearness and the lucidity of the style is nowhere forsaken. What is more significant is that the author is conversant with the science of poetics and discusses the merits attributed by Dandm to the Vaidarbha style.

Still another inscription which is derivable from a record of Siri Pulumayi at Nasik is written in Prakrit prose. The date of this inscription is not far removed from the former. The author who is undoubtedly familiar with Sanskrit, uses enormous sentences with long compounds. Alliterations and even mannerisms of later Kavyas are found in this inscription.

**Nasik  
inscription**

It may be, therefore, concluded that the works of Asvaghosa, the great Buddhist poet, are not the earliest specimens of Sanskrit Kavya. Either these earlier Kavyas are now lost to us unfortunately, or authors like Kalidasa have completely eclipsed the glory of their predecessors. Thus of the three

**Conclu-  
sions**

dramatists referred to by Kalidasa, the dramas of only one are now known to us.

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### EARLY BUDDHIST WORKS IN SANSKRIT

The paucity of authentic landmarks in the domain of early Indian history is a stupendous stumbling block to the gateway to the study of the history, of Sanskrit literature. A colossal darkness that envelops the period of Sanskrit literature in the beginnings of the Christian era, makes it extremely difficult, if not hopelessly impossible, to ascertain the age in which a particular writer lived and wrote his work. The chronology of Indian literature is shrouded in such painful obscurity that oriental scholars were long ignorant of the vast literature produced in Sanskrit, by Buddhist writers.

The thought of the Mahayana school of Buddhism was expressed in a language which was not Pali, the extraordinarily rich and extensive religious literature of Ceylon and Burma, but which was partly Sanskrit and partly a dialect to which Professor Senart has given the designation Mid-Sanskrit, or which Professor Pischel likes to call the Gatha

**Introduc-  
tion**

**Buddhist  
Sanskrit  
literature  
includes  
Mahayana  
and Hina-  
yana works**

dialect.<sup>1</sup> This literature of the Mahayana school is called Buddhist Sanskrit literature. But it should be mentioned in this connection that Buddhist Sanskrit literature is not synonymous with the rich literature of the Mahayana school alone, but it has a still wider scope including as it does the literature of the Hinayana school as well, inasmuch as the Sarvastivadins, a sect of the Hinayana school, possess a canon and a fairly vast literature in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit canon, however, is not available in its entirety, but its existence is proved on the evidence of the several quotations from it in such works as the *Mahavastu*, the *Divyavadana* and the *Lalitavistara*. This Sanskrit canon shows close affinity to the Pali canon, and it is suggested that both of them are but translations of some original canon in Magadhi, which is lost to us.

**Mahavastu:  
its date**

The most important work of the Hinayana school is the *Mahavastu*, the book of the Great Events. This *Mahavastu*, a book belonging to the school of the Loko-

<sup>1</sup>It may be observed in this connection that the Nasik Cave inscription No. X of Nahapana is written in this dialect.

ttaravadins, a sub-division of the Mahasari-ghikas, shows after the introduction, the following title : *Aryamahasanghikanam Lokottaravadinani madhyadesikanam pathena vinayapitakasya mahavastu adi*. This may furnish us with a clue to determine the date of its composition. In order to ascertain this it is to be found out when the Lokottaravadin sect of the Mahasanghikas sprang up. In this connexion, it would be necessary to fix the date of Buddha's death. Scholars are divided in their opinions as to the exact year when Buddha died. Professors Max Muller and Cunningham make it 477 E.G., while Mr. Gopala Aiyer likes to fix it at 483 B.C. But more probable is Dr. Smith's theory according to which Buddha died in 487 B.C. It is said that Asoka was coronated in 269 B.C., and that this coronation took place some two hundred and eighteen years after the death of Buddha. But, if the account of the Southern Buddhists is to be believed, this year was either 544 or 543 B. Now the opening lines of the fifth chapter of the *Mahavamsa* will throw light on the age when the Mahasanghikas came into being.<sup>1</sup> There it is

<sup>1</sup> Eko 'va theravado so adivassasate ahu | anna-

stated that during the first century after the death of Buddha, there was but one schism among the Theras. Subsequent to this period, other schisms took place among the preceptors. From the whole of those sinful priests, in number ten thousand, who had been degraded by the Theras (who had held the second convocation) originated the schism among the preceptors called the Mahasanghika heresy. It is described in this connexion that as many as eighteen schisms rose and all of them in the course of a couple of centuries after the death of Buddha. But, the difficulty is that there is no mention of the Lokottaravadins in the Mahavamsa. In the appendix of the translation of the *Mahavarhsa*, it has been said that the Lokottaravadins do not appear in the tradition of the Southern Buddhists. They are mentioned immediately beside the Gokulikas. In Rock hill 182, the Lokottaravadins are to be found

cariyavada tu tato oram ajayisuih || Tehi sangltika-  
rehi therehi dutiyehi te | niggahita papabhikkhu sabbe  
dasahassika || Akams'acariyavadam Mahasanghika-  
namakam ||

just in the place where the Gokulikas are expected. Moreover, in two other contexts, the Gokulikas and not the Lokottaravadins are mentioned. Thus, it is better to identify the two and in that case, the Lokottaravadins seem to have sprung up at least in the third century B.C. That being so, the *Mahavastu*, which has been described to be the first work of their sect, could not have been written later than that period.

But a fresh difficulty makes its appearance. The *Mahavastu* is not a composite whole. Different parts of it have been composed at different periods and this accounts for the unmethodical arrangement of facts and ideas in the work. Besides, the *Mahavastu* is not a piece of artistic literature. It has rightly been called 'a labyrinth in which we can only with an effort, discover the thread of a coherent account of the life of Buddha.' The contents are not in the least properly arranged and the reader may come across the repetition of the same story, over and over again. But the importance of the work can never be undervalued in view of the fact that it has preserved numerous traditions of respectable antiquity and versions of texts occurring in the Pali canon.

The *Mahavastu* has yet another claim to its importance, for in it the reader discovers a storehouse of stories. It is a truth that nearly half of the book is devoted to Jatakas and stories of like nature. Most of the narratives remind us of the stories of Puranas and the history of Brahmadata may be cited as an instance. To conclude, the *Mahavastu*, though a work of the Hinayana school, betrays some affinity to the Mahayanistic thought. The mention of a number of Buddhas and the conception of Buddha's self-begottenness, are ideas associated with the Mahayana school.

**Lalitavistara : its character**

The literature of the Mahayana school of Buddhism is extremely rich. Though originally a work of the Sarvastivadin school attached to the Hinayana, the *Lalitavistara* is believed to be one of the most sacred Mahayana texts, inasmuch as it is regarded as a Vaipulyasutra. That the work contains the Mahayanistic faith may easily be inferred from the very title of the work which means 'the Exhaustive narrative of the sport of the Buddha.' A critical study of the work reveals, however, that it is but a 'redaction of an older Hinayana text expanded and embellished in the sense of

the Mahayana, a biography of the Buddha, representing the Sarvastivadin school' It is also a fact that the present *Lalitavistara* is not the work of a single author ; it is rather 'an anonymous compilation in which both the old and the young fragments have found their places.' Such being the -case, it is hardly proper to regard the work as a good old source for the knowledge of Buddhism. The reader finds in it the gradual development of the Buddha legend in its earliest beginnings. Hence, there is hardly any significance in the statement of Professor Vallee Poussin when he says that "the *Lalitavistara* represents the popular Buddhism.' The book, however, is of great importance from the standpoint of literary history, inasmuch as it has supplied materials for the monumental epic of Asvaghosa entitled the *Buddhacarita*.

To determine the date of composition of the work it would be necessary to bear in mind that the work is a Vaipulyasutra. In the Vaipulyasutras we find sections in a redaction of prose followed by one in verse, the latter being in substance, only a repetition of the former. The idiom of prose portions is a kind of Sanskrit ; while that of

**Date of  
Lalitavis-  
tara. Kern's  
view**

verses, Gathas, a veiled Prakrit somewhat clumsily Sanskritized as much as the exigencies of the metre have permitted. Professor Kern thinks that the prose passages are undoubtedly translations of a Prakrit text into Sanskrit. The question, therefore, arises: why and when has the original idiom been replaced by Sanskrit ? It is known that in India it has been the common fate of all Prakrits that they have become obsolete whilst the study and practice of Sanskrit have been kept up all over the country, as the common language of science and literature, and also as a bond between Aryans and Dravidians. Now it may be asked, at what time then might Sanskrit have reconquered its ascendancy ? Professor Kern suggests that it was in all probability shortly before or after the council in the reign of that great Indo-Scythian King Kaniska.

**Nariman's  
view and  
conclusions**

Mr. G. K. Nariman, in his Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism, says that it is an erroneous conception that the *Lalitavistara* was translated into Chinese in the first-Christian era. Moreover, he doubts that the Chinese biography of Buddha, called the Phuyau-king, published in 300 A.D., is the second translation of our present text of the

*Lalitavistara*. On the other hand, he says that a precise rendering of the Sanskrit text was completed in Tibetan and it was produced as late as the fifth century A.D. It may, however, be noted here that Professor Kern has taken sufficient pains to prove that there is much that is of respectable antiquity in the work. Taking this factor into consideration its date may be assigned some time before the Christian era.

The most outstanding Buddhist writer in Sanskrit is Asvaghosa. Round his date hangs a veil of mystery. Dr. Smith writes in his History of India : 'In literature, the memory of Kaniska is associated with the names of the eminent Buddhist writers Nagarjuna, Asvaghosa, and Vasumitra. Asvaghosa is described as having been a poet, musician, scholar, religious controversialist, and zealous Buddhist monk, orthodox in creed, and a strict observer of discipline.' Judged from all evidences it may be concluded that Kaniska flourished in 78 A.D. Hence Asvaghosa who adorned his court, flourished in the first century of the Christian era.<sup>1</sup>

**Asvaghosa :**  
his date

<sup>1</sup> In the chronological group generally accepted by numismatics, the Kanaka group succeeds the Kadphi-

Buddha-  
carita

The masterpiece of Asvaghosa is his *Buddhacarita*—the life-history of Buddha. From the account of I-tsing it appears that the *Buddhacarita* with which he was acquainted, consisted of *twenty-eight* cantos. The

ses group. But even this view has not the unanimous support of scholars. If, as some scholars hold, the group of kings comprising Kaniska, Vasiska, Huviska and Vasudeva preceded Kadphises I, the coins of the two princes last named should be found together, as they are not, and those of Kadphises II and Kaniska should not be associated, as they are. Chief supporters of the view stated above are Drs. Fleet, Frank and Mr. Kennedy. Dr. Frank lays stress on the fact that Chinese historians as apart from Buddhist authors make no mention of Kaniska. But he himself answers the question when he holds that with the year 125 A.D., the source was dried up from which the chronicler could draw the information regarding the peoples of Turkestan. Dr. Fleet connects Kaniska's accession to the throne with the traditional Vikrama Samvat, beginning with the year 57 B.C. This view has been ably controverted by Dr. Thomas and discoveries of Professor Marshall totally belie its truth. Inscriptions, coins and the records of Hiuen Tsang point out that Kaniska's dominion included Gandhara. According to Chinese evidence, Kipin or Kapisa-Gandhara was not under the Kuslina kings in the second half of the first century B.C. Professors Marshall, Sten Konow, Smith and other scholars think that Kanaka's rule begins about 125 A.D. The evidence of Sue Vihar

Tibetan translation, too, contains the same number of cantos. But unluckily the Sanskrit text comprises *seventeen* cantos only, of which, again, the last four are of dubious origin. It is said that one Amrtananda of

inscriptions proves that Kanaka's empire extended as far as the Lower Indus valley ; but the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman tells us that the dominions of the Emperor included Sindhu and Sauvira. It is known that Rudradaman lived from A.D. 130 to A.D. 150. Under the circumstances, it is almost impossible to reconcile the suzerainty of the Kusana King with the independence of this powerful satrap (of. *Svayamadhigatain mahaksatrapnama*). From Kaniska's dates 3—23, Vasiska's dates 24—28, Huviska's dates 31—60, and Vasudeva's dates 74—98 it is almost evident that Kaniska was the originator of an era. But according to our evidence, no new era was in vogue about the beginning of the second century A.D. Dr. R. O. Mazumdar is of opinion that the era started by Kaniska was the Kalachun era of 248-49 A.D. But Professor Jouveau Dubreuil contends that it is not likely that Vasudeva's reign terminated after 100 years from Kaniska's date of accession ; for Mathura where Vasudeva reigned, came under the Nngas about 350 A.D. It may be further mentioned that for the reason stated above we can hardly accept the theory of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar who accepts A.D. 278, as the date of Kaniska's accession. According to Professors Ferguson, Oldenberg, Thomas, R. D. Banerjee, Rapson and others, Kanaka started the Saka era commencing from 78 A.D.

the ninth century A.D. added these four cantos. Even the manuscript discovered by M.M. Haraprasada Sastrin, reaches down to the middle of the fourteenth canto.

Professor Dubreuil does not accept the view as well on the following grounds. First, if the view that Kujula-kara-Kadphises and Hermaios reigned about 50 A.D. and that Kanaka founded the era in 78 A.D. is accepted, there remain only *twenty-eight* years for the end of the reign of Kadphises I and the entire reign of Kadphises II. But Kadphises II succeeded an octogenarian and it is not impossible that his reign was one of short duration. Professor Marshall says that Professor Dubreuil has discovered at Taxila a document which can be placed in 79 A.D. and the king, it mentions, was certainly not Kaniska. But Professor H. C. Ray Chaudhuri has shown that the title Devaputra was applicable to the Kaniska group and not to the earlier group. The omission of a personal name does not prove that the first Kusana king was meant. Secondly, Professor Dubreuil says that Professor Sten Konow has shown that Tibetan and Chinese documents prove that Kaniska lived in the second century A.D. But it is not improbable that this Kanaka is the Kaniska of the Ara inscription of the year 41 which, if referred to the Saka era, would give a date that would fall in the second century A.D. Po-t'iao may be one of the successors of Vasudeva I. Professors Banerjee and Smith recognize the existence of more than one Vasudeva. Finally, Professor Konow has shown that inscriptions of the Kaniska era and the Saka era are not dated in

The *Buddhacarita* is really a work of art. Unlike the *Mahavastu* and the *Lalitavistara*, it shows a systematic treatment of the subject-matter. Nowhere will the reader come across a confused or incoherent description. Throughout the work, the poet is very cautious about the use of figures of speech, and this abstinence from the superabundant employment of figures of speech has lent special charm to the merit of the work. Over and above this, the presentment of the miraculous in the Buddha legend has been done with equal moderation. Thus, in short, the work is an artistic creation. An account of the assemblage of fair and young ladies watching from gabled windows of high mansions, the exit of the royal prince from the capital, is followed by a vivid life-like description of how he came in contact with the hateful spectacle of senility. The

A critical  
appreciation

the same manner. The learned scholar shows that the inscriptions of Kaniska are dated in different fashions. In the Kharosthi inscriptions, Kaniska follows the method of his Saka-Pallava predecessors. On the other hand, in the Brahmi inscriptions he follows the ancient Indian method. Is it then impossible that he adopted a third method to suit the local conditions in Western India ?

ladies, when they came to know that the prince was going out of the city, rushed to the window, careless of girdles falling off from their bodies and the poet speaks of their faces as so many full-blown lotuses with which the palace was decorated. The poet shows high artistic craftsmanship in depicting how the prince overcame the lures of sweet ladies who made an attempt to divert his mind from the desire to bid good-bye to all the joys and comforts of the world and also in the description of the famous scene in which the prince, gazing on the undecked bodies of the ladies, locked in the sweet embrace of sleep, resolved to abandon the palace. No less artistically pathetic is the scene in which the prince takes leave of his charioteer and the conversation between the two is remarkable for the spirit of absolute disinterestedness towards worldly happiness, which is displayed by the prince. The poet is also an adept in the description of battles, and no one will forget the spirited picture of the contest of Buddha against the demon Mara and his monstrous hosts. Evidences are also discernible in the work to show that the poet was familiar with the doctrine of statecraft.

Asvaghosa is the author of another epic, the *Saundarananda*, which has been discovered and edited by MM. Haraprasada Sastrin. This work also turns round the history of Buddha's life, but the central theme is the history of the reciprocal love of Sundari and Nanda, the half-brother of Buddha, who is initiated into the order against his will by the latter.

**Saundara-  
nanda**

The third work of the poet is a lyrical poem, the *Gandistotragatha*, reconstructed in the Sanskrit original from the Chinese by A. von Stael-Holstein.

**Gandisto-  
tragatha**

Another work of the poet is the *Sutralankara*<sup>1</sup> which undoubtedly is a later production than the *Buddhacarita*, inasmuch as the former quotes the latter. It is to be regretted that the Sanskrit original is not yet available ; what we have is only the Chinese translation of the work. This *Sutralankara* is a collection of pious legends after the model of *Jatakas* and *Avadanas*. This work, however, has furnished us with a clue to the existence of dramatic

**Sutralah-  
kara**

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Winternitz is of opinion that this work was written by Kumaralata, a junior contemporary of Asvaghosa. The work bears the title *Kalpanama-nditika* or *Kalpanalankrtika*.

literature even at the time Asvaghosa. In the piece relating to Mara we have the recapitulation of a drama.

**Sariputra-  
prakarana**

There is a positive evidence to show that Asvaghosa was a dramatist as well and in this connection reference may be made to the momentous discovery of the concluding portion of a *nine-act* drama entitled the *Sariputraprakarana* which treats of the conversion of Sariputra and his friend Maudgalyayana. Among the valuable manuscript treasures in palm-leaf recovered from Turfan there is a fragmentary manuscript in which Professor Luders found this drama which bore the name of Asvaghosa as its author.

**Mahayana-  
sraddhot-  
padasutra**

One more work attributed to the poet is the *Mahayanasraddhotpasasutra*, a philosophical treatise on the basis of the Mahayana doctrine.<sup>1</sup> Herein, as Professor Levi remarks, the author shows himself as a profound metaphysician, as an intrepid reviver of a doctrine which was intended to regenerate Buddhism. It is believed that the author came of a Brahmana family and that he was later initiated into the doctrine of Buddhism.

<sup>1</sup> According to Dr. Winternitz this work has been wrongly ascribed to Asvaghosa.

At first, he joined the Sarvastivadin school and then prepared for the Mahayana. It was at one time believed that Asvaghosa was a pioneer in the field of Mahayanism ; but it is better to suppose that he was not the first to write a treatise on that subject, but was a strong exponent of it. For, it is undeniable that the Mahayana school developed long before Asvaghosa.

Another work attributed to Asvaghosa, is the *Vajrasuci*. Here the author takes up the Brahmanic standpoint and disputes the authority of sacred texts and the claims of caste, and advocates the doctrine of equality. In the Chinese *Tipitaka* Catalogue the work has been ascribed to Dharmakirti.<sup>1</sup>

**Vajrasuci**

Matrceta is the mystical name of a Buddhist-Sanskrit poet who, according to the Tibetan historian Taranatha, is none other than Asvaghosa. According to I-tsing, Matrceta is the author of the *Catussata-kastotra* and the *Satapancasatikanamastotra*, two poems in *four hundred and one hundred and fifty* verses respectively. Fragments of the Sanskrit original of the former have been discovered in Central Asia.

**Matrceta :  
his works**

<sup>1</sup> Vide, Bunyiu Nanjio, Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist *Tipitaka*, No. 1303.

The poems show some artistic excellence. Another work attributed to him is the *Maharaja-Kanikalekha*.<sup>1</sup>

**Aryacandra :**  
**Maitreyavyakarana**

Aryacandra belonging probably to the same period as that of Matrçeta, is known as the author of the *Maitreyavyakarana* or the *Maitreyasamiti* which is in the form of a dialogue between Gotama Buddha and Sariputra. The work, translated into various languages, seems to have been very popular.

**Aryasura :**  
**Jatakamala**

Very well-known is the name of the poet Aryasura, the author of the popular *Jatakamala*, written after the model of the *Sutralankara*. Among the frescoes in the caves of Ajanta, there are scenes from the *Jatakamala* with inscribed strophes from Aryasura. The inscriptions belong to the sixth century A.D. ; but as another work of the poet was translated into Chinese in 434 A.P., he must have lived in the fourth century A.P.

**Saddharmapundarika,**  
**Karandavyuha,**  
**Sukhavativyuha**  
**and**  
**Aksobhavyuha**

The Buddhist Sanskrit literature belonging purely to the Mahayana school has preserved a number of books called the Mahayanasutras which are mainly devoted to the glorification of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The most important of

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Thomas : Matrçeta and the Maharaja-Kanikalekha (IA. Vol. XXXII).

them is the *Saddharmapundarika* written in the manner of the Puranas. The book which is a glorification of Buddha Sakyamuni, contains elements of quite different periods ; for it is believed that Sanskrit prose and Gathas in mixed Sanskrit could not have developed at the same time. The book was translated into Chinese between 125 A.D. and 310 A.D. The original, therefore, must have been composed not later than the second century A.D. Some scholars, however, like to give it an early date. But even Professor Kern has not been able to find out passages which may show any ancient thought. Another work is the *Karandavyuha* preserved in two versions and betraying a theistic tendency. It contains a glorification of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. It was translated into Chinese as early as 270 A.D. The *Sukhavativyuha* in which is glorified the Buddha Amitabha, is one more important book in which the reader may find a longing for spiritual liberation. The *Aksobhyavyuha* which was translated into Chinese between 385 A.D. and 433 A.D., contains an account of Buddha Aksobhya.

The philosophical writings of Buddhist

Philosophi-  
cal litera-  
ture

poets constitute no mean contribution to early Sanskrit literature. Among philosophical works belonging to the earliest Mahayanasutras mention should be made of the *Prajnaparamitas* which occupy a unique place from the point of view of the history of religion. The Chinese translation of a *Prajnaparamita* was made as early as 179 A.D. Other philosophical Mahayanasutras are the *Buddhavatamsaka*, the *Gayavyuha*, the *Dasabhumaka*, the *Ratnakuta*, the *Rastrapala*, the *Lankavatara*, the *Samadhiraja* and the *Suvarnaprabhasa*.

Nagarjuna  
his works

The *Madhyamikakarika* which is a systematic philosophical work of the class with which we are familiar in the Brahmanic philosophical literature was written in a metrical form (in *four hundred* verses) by Nagarjuna whose name is associated with the Kusana King Kaniska.<sup>1</sup> Nagarjuna is also known as the author of the *Akutobhaya*, a commentary on his own work, which is preserved in a Tibetan translation. The *Yuktisastika*, the *Sunyatasaptati*, the *Pratityasamutpadahrdaya*, the *Mahaydnavimsaka*, the *Vigrahavydvartani*,

<sup>1</sup> Some think that Nagarjuna lived at the close of the second century A.D.

the *Ekaslokasastra*, the *Prajnadanda* and a few commentaries are his other works. There is another work the *Dharmasamgraha*, which passes as his composition.<sup>1</sup>

In the Chinese translations (404 A.D.) of the biographies of Asvaghosa and Nagarjuna, there occurs the name of one Aryadeva. His *Catussataka* is a work on the Madhyamika system and is a polemic directed against the Brahmanic ritual. His other works are the *Dvadasanikayasastra* and the *Cittavisuddhiprakarana*. Maitreyanatha, the real founder of the Yogacara school, is the author of the *Abhisamayalahkarakarikas*, translated into Chinese probably in the fourth century A.D. Arya Asanga, the famous student of Maitreyanatha, wrote the *Yogacarabhumisastra* besides a few works all preserved in Chinese translations. Vasubandhu Asanga, a strong adherent of the Sarvastivadin school, whom Professor Takakusu places between 420 A.D. and 500 A.D. and to whom Professor Wogihara assigns a date between 390 A.D. and 470 A.D., wrote the *Abhidharmakosa* and the *Paramarthasaptati* to combat the Sankhya

**Aryadeva,  
Maitreya  
natha.  
Arya  
Asanga  
and  
Vasubandhu  
Asanga :  
their works**

<sup>1</sup> The *Suhrillekha* is ascribed to Nagarjuna. It contains no Madhyamika doctrine.

philosophy. In his later life, when he is believed to have been converted into Mahayana, he wrote the *Vijnaptimatratasiddhi*.

**Dignaga :**  
**his works**

Dignaga is the chief of the early philosophers who had made valuable contribution through his masterpieces, the *Pramahasamuccaya* and the *Nyayapravesa*. He lived probably in the fifth century A.D. To the same century probably belonged Sthiramati and Dharmapala who wrote valuable commentaries on the Madhyamika system.<sup>1</sup>

**Avadana**  
**literature**

The vast field of Avadana literature presents a good and sufficient specimen of Sanskrit writing by Buddhist poets. The word *avadana* signifies a 'great religious or moral achievement as well as the history of a great achievement'. Such a great act may consist in the sacrifice of one's own life, but also maybe confined to the founding of an institution for the supply of incense, flowers, gold and jewels to, or the building of, sanctuaries. Avadana stories are designed to inculcate that dark (ignoble) deeds bear

<sup>1</sup> Later philosophical works, belonging to definitely identified schools of Buddhism, e.g., the works of Yasomitra, Candrakirti, Santideva, Dharmakirti, Dharmottara and others, will be treated in detail in a subsequent chapter on Philosophy.

dark (ignoble) fruits while white (noble) acts beget white (noble) fruits. Thus they are also tales of karman.

The *Avadanasataka* heads the list of works on Avadana literature. It consists of ten decades each having a theme of its own. Another work, the *Karmasataka*, preserved only in the Tibetan translation, bears close affinity to the former. Yet another collection of stories in Tibetan (translated, of course, from original Sanskrit) is known in the world's literature as 'Dsanglun.'

**Avadana-  
sataka and  
Karmasa-  
taka**

A well-known collection of Avadana literature is the *Divyavadana*. The book belongs broadly to the Hinayana school ; but traces of Mahayanistic influence may yet be discovered. The collection is composed of many materials and no uniformity of language is, therefore, possible. But the language is lucid, and true poetry is not wanting. The book has a great importance from the standpoint of Indian sociology. As regards the time of redaction, it may be said that as Asoka's successors down to Pusyamisra are mentioned and the word *dinara* is frequently used, a date prior to the second century A.D., can hardly be assigned to it.

**Divyava-  
datia**

Mention may be made of the *Asokava-*

Asokava-  
dana, Kal-  
padruma-  
vadanamala,  
Ratnavada-  
namala,  
Dvavimsa-  
tyavadana  
and minor  
avadanas

*dana*, the cycle of stories having for its central theme the history of Asoka. Historically, these stories have little or no value. The work was translated into Chinese as early as the third century A.D. A passing reference may be made to the *Kalpadrumavadanamala*, the *Ratnavadanamala* and the *Dvavimsatyavadana*, the materials of which are drawn from the *Avadanasataka*. Three more works the *Bhadrakalpavadana*, the *Vratavadanamala* and the *Vicitrakarnikavadana* are known to us in manuscripts only.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A most extensive work on Avadana literature is the *Avadanakalpalata* of Ksemendra of the eleventh century A.D. The work has been written in the style of ornate Court-epics.

# CHAPTER SIX

## COURT-EPICS

### A

#### INTRODUCTION

Authoritative writers on Sanskrit rhetoric have given an exhaustive list of the characteristics of epic poems in Classical Sanskrit. These characteristics may be divided under *two* heads. Of them the essential characteristics, the more important, are based on the conception of the *three* constituents of poetry, viz., the plot (*rastu*) the hero (*netr*) and the sentiment (*ram*)} The plot of an epic must have a historical basis and should not be fictitious. The hero must be an accomplished person of high lineage and should be of the type technically called

Characteristics : essential

<sup>1</sup> Generally the sentiments are *eight* in number, viz., *srngara* (erotic), *hasya* (comic), *karuna* (pathetic), *raudra* (furious), *vira* (heroic), *bhayunaka* (terrible), *bibhatsa* (disgustful) and *adbhuta* (marvellous). It is held by some that the *santa* (quietistic) was added later on by Abhinavagupta, the erudite commentator on Bharata's *Natyasastra*. This was perhaps added for representing the spirit of *mahaprasthan*a in the *Mahabharata*. It is even argued that Bharata has enumerated the eight sentiments for the drama only, and not for the epic.

Dhirodatta Delineation of various sentiments and emotions is the third characteristic.

Character-  
istics :  
non-essen-  
tial

The non-essential characteristics which are formal and apply only to technique, are many in number. They demand (i) that the epic should begin with a benediction, salutation or statement of facts, (ii) that chapters or sections should bear the appellation *sarga*, (iii) that the number of cantos should not exceed *thirty* and should not be less than *eight*, (iv) that the number of verses in each canto should not generally be less than *thirty* and should not exceed *two hundred*, (v) that there should be descriptions of sunrise and sunset pools and gardens, amorous sports and pleasure-trips and the like, (vi) that the development of the plot should be natural and the *five* junctures of the plot (*sandhis*) should be well-arranged, and (vii) that the last two or three stanzas of each canto should be composed in a different metre or metres.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is easy to find that these characteristics are not always present in every epic. The *Haravijaya* in *fifty* cantos, some cantos of the *Naisadhiyacarita* containing more than *two hundred* verses and the first canto of the *Bhattikavya* having only *twenty-seven* verses, are examples to the point.

## B

### GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF COURT-EPICS

The name of Asvaghosa has come down to us as one of the earliest known epic poets. An account of his two great epics the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda* has already been given in a preceding chapter.

The next great epic poet is Kalidasa whose age can hardly be determined with any amount of precision. It is most deplorable that scholars differ widely in their opinions in fixing the age of this prince of Indian poets. The most popular theory of the day states that the poet flourished during the reign of Candragupta II (380 A.D.—415 A.D.), that his powers were at their highest during the reign of Kumaragupta I (415 A.D.—455 A.D.) and that he lived to see the reign of Skandagupta (455 A.D.—480 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>

**Kalidasa :**  
his age

<sup>1</sup>The date of Kalidasa is one of the most perplexing questions in the history of Sanskrit literature and the opinions of scholars, however ingeniously conceived, fail to give us definiteness and certainty. It is a fact to be regretted that India has not preserved the history of her greatest poet and dramatist. Tradition has been busy in weaving round the name of Kalidasa many fictitious stories and it is almost impossible to

**Kumara-  
sambhava**

The *Kumarasambhava* of Kalidasa is an epic in *seventeen* cantos of which the first *eight* are believed to be genuine. Mallinatha writes his commentary on the first eight

separate at such a distant date the historical fact from its rich colouring of fables. The traditional theory makes Kalidasa a contemporary of the Vikrama Samvat, the initial year of which is 57 B.C. Among the chief supporters of this theory are the late Sir William Jones, Dr. Peterson, Principal S. Roy, and Mr. I. R. Balasubrahmanyam. Principal Roy has argued that the Bhita medallion found near Allahabad by Dr. Marshall in 1909-10 A.D. pictures a scene which looks exactly like the opening scene of the *Sakuntala*. The medallion belongs to the Sunga period 185-73 B.C. Moreover, the diction and style of Kalidasa definitely establishes him as a predecessor of Asvaghosa who has made use of the description of Aja's entry to the capital found in the *Baghuvamsa*, and has borrowed Kalidasa's words and style. But archaeologists are of opinion that the scene found in the Allahabad Bhita medallion cannot be definitely proved to be identical with the scene in the *Sakuntala*. Professor Cowell in his edition of the *Buddhacarita* remarks that it is Kalidasa who imitates Asvaghosa and not vice versa. Mr. Balasubrahmanyam has based his theory on the internal evidences found in Kalidasa's dramas. Thus the epilogue of the *Malavikagnimitra* supports that Kalidasa lived in the reign of Agnimitra, the son of Pusyamitra, of the first century B.C. The system of law, specially that of inheritance, as found

cantos alone. There is also difference of opinion regarding the propriety of the theme of the later cantos. The theme of the epic is the marriage of Lord Siva and Uma and the

in the *Sukuntala*, points to the fact that the poet must have lived before the beginning of the Christian era. Moreover, there was one Vikramaditya in Ujjaymrin the first century B.C., and Kalidasa's works indirectly allude to him, as the poet lived in his court.

Dr. Peterson has no particular argument to take his stand upon. He simply writes, "Kalidasa stands near the beginning of the Christian era if indeed he does not overtop it". Sir Willam Jones in his introduction to the *Sukuntala* advances no argument but accepts the B.C. theory.

Another theory places Kalidasa in the sixth century A.B. The late MM. Haraprasada Sastrin, one of the supporters of this theory, has pointed out that the defeat of Hunas by Raghu in course of his world-conquest, refers to the conquest of Humas by Skandagupta (455 A.P.—489 A.B). And the terms Dignaga and Nicula, occurring in the *Meghaduta*, refer to the great teachers who lived before Kalidasa. Professor Max Muller, another adherent of this doctrine, has based his theory on the suggestions of Professor Fergusson who points out that the era of the Malavas was put back to 56 B.C., and Yasodharma-deva Visnuvardhana Vikramaditya who conquered the Hurras in 544 A.D., commemorated his victory by starting the Malava era. But in doing so, he willingly antedated it by 600 years. Fergusson's theory (known as

birth of Karttikeya who vanquished the demon T&raka. Scholars are of opinion that the work is one of the first compositions of the poet.

The *Raghuvamsa*, which is undoubtedly a production of a mature hand, deals with the life-history of the kings of the Ikshvaku family in general and of Rama in particular.

Raghu-  
vamsa

the Korur theory), however, has been exploded by Dr. Fleet who pointed out by his researches that there was no Vikramaditya who achieved a victory over the Hunas in 544 A.D., and furthermore, that there was in existence an era known as the Malava era long before 544 A.D. Thus the theory of Professor Max Muller is without any historical value. In this connection, mention may be made of his once popular and now discarded 'Renaissance Theory of Classical Sanskrit Literature', which states that there was a revival of the Sanskrit learning and literature in the wake of the Gupta civilization and culture and that Kalidasa was the best flower of this age.

It is, however, generally believed that Kalidasa flourished in the reign of Candragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty (380 A.D.—415 A.D.). But it has been argued that his best works were written during the reign of Kumaragupta I (415 A.D.—455 A.D.). But some would like to suggest that the poet lived to see the reign of Skandagupta (455 A.D.—480 A.D.). It should be noted, however, that both Candragupta and Skandagupta held the title of 'Vikramaditya', while Kumaragupta had the title of 'Mahendraditya'.

The epic which is composed in *nineteen* cantos, is the tale of Valmiki retold with the mastery of a finished poet. It is said that the work fulfils to a considerable extent the conditions of Sanskrit epic poetry.

It is not difficult to surmise the date of Bharavi as his name is mentioned along with Kalidasa in the famous Aihole inscription of Pulakesm II, dated 634 A.D. Bharavi has to his credit only one epic, viz., the *Kiratarjuniya* which is based on the *Mahabharata*. The poem describes how Arjuna obtained the Pasupata weapon from Siva. The work is in nineteen cantos and is written in an ornate style, though full of dignity of sense (*arthagaurava*) with occasional jingling of words.

**Bharavi :**  
**Kiratar-**  
**juniya**

Nowhere in the literature of the world can be found a single instance where poetry has been written with the sole object of illustrating the rules and principles of grammar. The *Bhattikavya* or *Ravanavadha* which is written in *twenty-two* cantos, is divided into *four* sections, viz., *Prakirnakanda*, *Prasannakanda*, *Alahkarakanda* and *Tihantakanda*. The poem is an epic depicting the life-history of Rama from his birth up to the time of Havana's death'. The author of this

**Bhatti :**  
**Ravana-**  
**vadha**

epic, Bhatti, must be distinguished from the great grammarian-philosopher Bhartrhari, popularly known as Hari. The author writes in his own work that he lived in Valabhi under one Sridharasena. History gives us four Dharasenas, the last of whom died in 651 A.D. It is, therefore, probable that Bhatti flourished in the latter half of the sixth and the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. It may be mentioned in this connection that Bhatti lived before Bhamaha, the great rhetorician who decries the poetic excellence of the *Ravanavadha*.<sup>1</sup> Though the work is a grammatical poem, still in more places than one the poet has given ample proof of his artistic talents. The second, tenth and twelfth cantos of the poem may be cited as instances.

Kumaradasa, said to be the King of Ceylon from 517 A.D. to 526 A.D., is mentioned as a poet of remarkable talent by Rajasekhara. It is maintained by Dr. Keith that the poet knew the *Kasikavrtti* (650 A.D.), and was known to Vamana (800 A.D.). The theme of his poem, the *Janakiharana* in *twenty-five* cantos, is taken from the *Rammjana*, as the

Kumara-  
dasa :  
Janaki-  
harana

<sup>1</sup> *KL*. II. 20.

century A.D. The work is written in *twenty-two* cantos. The poet is a scholar of repute in the different systems of Indian philosophy and has a thorough command over grammar and lexicon. Though he does not show that power of poetical suggestion which distinguishes the writings of great Indian poets like Kalidasa, his power of expression is singularly captivating. What strikes us as his defect is that he has a special liking for exaggerated statements in the form of poetic conceit.

## C

### LESSER EPIC POEMS

- Jumbavativilaya*  
and  
*Patala-vijaya* : ascribed to Panini—according to some, the two are the names of the one and the same book—not free from grammatical errors—the authorship is much disputed.
- Vararuca-kavya* : lost to us.
- Padyacudamani* : ascribed to Buddhaghosa (not later than the fifth century A.D.).
- Kutesvaradaitya* : ascribed to Kalidasa by Ksemendra.
- Hayagrivavadha* : a lost work by Bhartṛmētha who flourished under Matṛgupta of the sixth century A.D.—praised by Rajasekhara.

*Padmapurana* : by Ravisena of the seventh century A.D.—containing a glorification of Rsabha, the first Tirthakara.

*Ravanarjuniya* by Bhaumaka—written in *twenty-seven* cantos in the fashion of Bhatti—based on or, the strife between Kartavirya *Arjunaravaniya* and Havana.

*Harivamsapurana* by Jinasena of the eighth century A.D.—in *sixty-six* cantos—describing the story of the *Mahabharata* in a Jinistic setting.

*Kapphanabhyudaya* . by Sivasvamin, a Kashmirian Buddhist, during the reign of Avantivarman of the ninth century A.D.—written in *twenty* cantos—based on a tale in the *Avadanasataka*.

*Haravijaya* : by Ratnakara, a Kashmirian of the ninth century A.D.—based on the slaying of the demon Andhaka by Siva—written in *fifty* cantos—influenced by Bana and Magha.

*Raghavapundaviya* : by Kavirlija—mentioned by Rajasekhara—probably of the ninth century A.D.—giving us the two stories of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* simultaneously through *double entendre*.

*Mahapurana* : by Jinasena and Gunabhadra of the ninth century A.D.—containing *two* parts, the *Adipurana* and the *Uttarapurana*.

*Parsvabhyudaya* : by Jinasena of the ninth century A.D. who has incorporated the entire *Meghaduta* while relating the story of Parsvanatha.

*Kadambarikathasara* : by Abhinanda, son of the logician Jayantabhatta of the tenth century A.D.

- Yasodharacarita* : by Vadiraja of the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. —written in *four* cantos.
- Kavirahasya* : by Halayudha of the tenth century A.D.—containing an eulogy of King Krsna I I I —written after the style of Bhatti.
- Ramacarita* : by Abhinanda, son of Satananda of unknown date.
- Ramayanamanjari* by Ksemendra of the eleventh and *Bharatamarijari* century A D.
- Yasodharacaritra* : 'by Manikyasuri of the eleventh century A.D.
- Harivilasa* : by Lolirabaraja of the eleventh century A.D.
- Srikaulhacarita* : by Mankha—a Kashmirian and a pupil of Ruyyaka of the twelfth century A.D. —written in *twenty-five* cantos—based on the tale of the destruction of the demon Tripura by Siva.
- Satrunjayamahutmya* : by Dhanesvara of the twelfth century A.D.—written in *fourteen* cantos—containing a glorification of the sacred mountain Satrunjaya.
- Trisastisalakupurusacarita* : by Hemacandra of 1088-1172 A.D.—a highly important work, its seventh book being called the *Jaina-Ramayana*, the tenth entitled the *Mahaviracarita*, containing the life-story of Mahavira, and its appendix-section, the *Parisistaparvan*, being a mine of fairy tales and stories.
- Dharmasarmabhyudaya* : by Haricandra of unknown date—written in *twenty-one* cantos.

*Nemirinivana* : by Vagbhata of the twelfth century A.D.—in *fifteen* cantos—dealing with Nemina-tha's life.

*Balabharata* : by Amracandra of the thirteenth century A.D.

*Pandavacaritra* and *Mrgavaticaritra* by Devaprabhasuri of the thirteenth century A.D.

*Parsvanuthacarita* : by Bhavadevasuri of the thirteenth century A.D.

*Harivamsa* : by Sakalakirti and his pupil Jinadasa of the fifteenth century A.D.

*Rasikanjana* : by Ramacandra of the sixteenth century A.D.—describing the two sentiments of love and asceticism through *double entendre*,

*Pandavapurana* : by Subhacandra of the sixteenth century A.D.—also called the *Jama-Mahabharata*.

*Rughavanaisadhiya* : by Haradattasuri of unknown date.

*Raghavapandaviyayadaviya* : by Cidambara of unknown date.

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## CHAPTER SEVEN

### DRAMA

#### A

### ORIGIN OF SANSKRIT DRAMA

#### Orthodox view

The origin of Sanskrit drama is a most interesting study in the history of Sanskrit literature and divergent views are found amongst scholars which can hardly be reconciled. It is an undeniable fact that Bharata's *Natyasastra* is the earliest known book on Sanskrit dramaturgy. The third century A.D. is the generally accepted date of the *Natyasastra*, and some scholars hold that the book is a compilation on the basis of an original work of the Sutra-type. According to a legend found in this book, Brahma created drama by taking passages for recitation from the *Rgveda*, songs from the *Sama-veda*, gestures from the *Yajurveda* and emotions from the *Atharvaveda*. Thus a drama is known as the fifth Veda. From Siva and Parvati, Tandava and Lasya dances were obtained and Visnu gave the Riti. The same book also informs us that the dramas were enacted during the Indradhvaja festival where the sons and disciples of the sage Bharata together with Gandharvas and Apsarases took

part in the play. The first two plays enacted were the *Amrtamanthana* and the *Tripuradalia* both written by Brahma himself.

There was a time when the theory of the Greek-origin of Indian drama found its adherents amongst scholars.<sup>1</sup> The chief exponent was Professor Windiseh (1882) who found many striking similarities between Greek and Sanskrit plays and based his theory on the ground that Indians were in touch with Greeks for a considerable period after the invasion of Alexander and that none of the extant Sanskrit plays belongs to a pre-Christian date. Thus to him the very classification into acts, the prologues and the epilogues, the way in which the actors make their entrance and exit, the term *yavanika*, the theme and its manipulation, the variety of stage-directions, the typical characters like the Vidusaka, Pratinayaka, etc.,—all smell of Greek origin. This theory was further corroborated by the discovery in the Sitabenga cave, of the Greek theatre in its Indian imitation.<sup>2</sup> But this theory has

**Theory of  
Greek  
Origin**

<sup>1</sup> The suggestion came from Professor Weber, but Professor Pischel vehemently repudiated it.

<sup>2</sup> On the antiquities of Ramgarh Hill, District of Sarguja—IA. Vol. II.

been rejected as the points of contrast are far too many. The absence of the *three unities of Time, Space and Action* in a Sanskrit drama brings it nearer to an Elizabethan drama than to a Greek drama where the three unities are essential. The difference in time between two acts in a Sanskrit drama may be several years (e. g , the *Uttararamacarita* of Bhavabhuti where twelve years intervene between the incidents of the first two acts). Moreover, it is only in a particular act of a Sanskrit drama that the actions which happen in a single place are usually represented. Thus while the sixth act of the *Sakuntala* represents the scene at King Dusyanta's palace, the seventh act shows the scene at sage Marica's hermitage on the top of the Himalayas and the first part of it represents the king's aerial journey. As for the term *yavanika*, most scholars think that it is of later introduction and it refers to Persian tapestries and not to anything Greek.

On the other hand, there are some scholars who want to determine the origin of Sanskrit dramas in the same manner in which Western scholars seek to explain the origin of European plays. So it has been argued that as the first Sanskrit play is stated

to have been produced at the Indradhvaja festival (which has a parallel in the May-pole dance in Europe), the origin of Sanskrit dramas is to be connected with the festivities of the spring after the passing away of the winter. But this theory is rejected as M.M. Haraprasada Sastrin has pointed out that the aforesaid Indradhvaja festival comes off at the end of the rains.

Professor Ridgeway has connected the origin of Indian drama with the worshipping of dead ancestors. But the theory is inapplicable to the case of Indian Aryans whose ritual of the disposing of the dead has the minimum ostentation.

**Ridgeway's theory**

The Krsna-worship is thought by some scholars to be the origin of Sanskrit plays. Thus the role which the Saurasenī Prakrit plays in a Sanskrit drama is easily explained. But this theory involves anachronism, as it remains to be proved that Krsna dramas are the earliest Sanskrit dramas.<sup>1</sup>

**Krsna-cult origin**

Professor Pischel has set forth the theory that Sanskrit drama in its origin was a puppet-play. The stage-manager in a Sans-

**Pischel's theory**

<sup>1</sup> It may be proved in the same way that the theories of the Vishnu-cult, Siva-cult or Rama-cult origin of Indian drama cannot be accepted.

krit drama is called Sutradhara (the holder of the string) and his assistant Sthapaka is to enter immediately after the stage-manager and is expected to place in proper position, the plot, the hero or the germ of the play. The puppets also are frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature ; they could be made to dance or move about and they could even be made to talk. Such a talking puppet, impersonating Sita, is found in one of Rajasekhara's plays. The episode of the Shadow-Sita in Bhavabhuti's *Uttararamacarita* is reminiscent of the old shadow-play in ancient India. But this theory cannot furnish sufficient explanation of Sanskrit drama in all its bearings, such as, the mixture of prose and verse in a Sanskrit play, as also the varieties of languages and the like.<sup>1</sup>

Another theory on this subject states that the origin of Sanskrit drama should be sought in the Samvada-hymns of the *Rgveda*. These ballad hymns which are nearly twenty in number, are marked by a dramatic spirit.<sup>2</sup>

Origin to  
be traced to  
the Vedic  
period

<sup>1</sup> Professor Hillebrandt has argued that professor Pischel's theory cannot be accepted as the puppet-play assumes the pre-existence of the drama.

<sup>2</sup> RV. I. 165, 170 and 179, 111. 33, IV. 18, VII. 33, VIII. 100, X. 11, 28, 51—53, 86, 95 and 108, etc.

There are no specific ritualistic applications accompanying these Samvada-hymns and they seem to have been recited between the intervals of long sacrificial sessions (pariplava) for the satisfaction of the patrons of sacrifices. But whether the hymns were treated as ballads (as Professors Pischel and Geldner thought); or as regular ritualistic dramas with actual stage-directions and action including singing and dancing (as held by Professor von Schroeder) ; or, finally as narrative stories with an admixture of prose to connect the poems into one whole, with a preponderance of dialogue (as maintained by Professor Oldenberg)—is still keenly disputed amongst scholars.<sup>1</sup>

It has been universally found that the growth of drama is intimately connected with royal patronage. And India is no exception. Bearing in our mind the existence of the ritualistic drama which marks the early beginnings of Indian plays we can boldly assert that Sanskrit drama is a product of the Indian mind which viewed life in all its various aspects and passed through many stages of development, being

**Conclu-  
sion**

<sup>1</sup> Professor Hertel has found a full drama in the *Suparnadhyaya*.

influenced by Jainism and Buddhism in its allegorical sphere or by any other foreign factor and yet maintaining its own peculiarity. No one theory, therefore, can adequately explain all its features and as such one should refrain from making a choice of any one of them.

## B

### CHARACTERISTICS OF SANSKRIT DRAMA

**Predominance of sentiment**

According to Indian thinkers, the best of poets is a dramatist. Sanskrit drama evolved in all its aspects in a particularly Indian atmosphere. Sanskrit dramatists with their inherent aesthetic sense gave more importance to the portrayal of the sentiment than to the character or the plot. Sanskrit dramas were, therefore, highly idealistic and romantic in their character. Though the best of Sanskrit dramas glow with occasional touches of realism, still the fact cannot be denied that the poetic value has never been sacrificed for direct delineation of action or character. Nevertheless we cannot say that

Sanskrit dramatists were totally indifferent to the action of a drama, and it has been said clearly that a drama must have *five* critical junctures of plot (*sandhi*), viz., *mukha* (opening or *protasis*), *pratimuka* (progression or *epitasis*), *garbha* (development or *catastasis*), *vimarsa* (pause or *peripeteia*) and *nirvahana* (conclusion or *catastrophe*). It has been the usual convention with Sanskrit poets that they select the Erotic, the Heroic or the Quietistic as the principal sentiment in a Nataka (the type of major dramas) which is assisted by every other sentiment according to propriety. It needs to be added here that in the opinion of some thinkers, the aforesaid convention should not command any respect and any one of the nine sentiments may be the predominant sentiment in a Nataka.

A charge is often levelled by critics that Sanskrit drama is marked by an absence of tragedy ; but it may be answered by saying that what is known as *Vipralambha-srngara* (love-in-separation) more than compensates for the comparatively rare 'Pathetic' which is the prominent sentiment in only one class of minor dramas. But it is a fact that Sanskrit dramas have never a tragic catas-

**Absence of  
tragedy**

trophe, and the reason is to be found in the conception that it mars the sentiment. Hence the representation of death, murder, war, revolution and anything indecorous which is a hiatus in aesthetic pleasure, has been prohibited on the stage.

**Hero**

As the main interest in Sanskrit drama lies in the creation of the sentiment, it is convenient for a dramatist to take a plot with a popular theme. The hero of the drama must be an accomplished person of high lineage and should belong to the Dhi-rodatta type. He must be a hero either of the earth or of heaven, and sometimes even we find in Sanskrit drama gods side by side with mortal men, and thus is given ample scope to the dramatist's imagination to create the appropriate romantic atmosphere.

**Morality  
and drama**

Like every other branch of Indian literature, Sanskrit drama has also a religious basis and nothing violating the moral and religious code has been represented in Sanskrit drama.

## C

### CLASSIFICATION OF SANSKRIT DRAMAS

It must be said at the outset that the Sanskrit synonym for drama is Rupaka and not Nataka, the latter being a variety of the former which has a more comprehensive import. Authors on Sanskrit dramaturgy have classified Sanskrit dramas into *two* types : (1) the major (Rupaka) and (2) the minor (Uparupaka). The varieties of each type differ according to different authorities. The following is the list given by Visvanatha in his *Sahityadarpana* of the varieties of the two types of Sanskrit dramas :

Rupaka &  
Uparupaka

1. The major type : (i) Nataka (e.g., *Abhijanasakuntala* of Kalidasa) (ii) Prakarana (e.g., *Malatimadhava* of Bhavabhuti) (iii) Bhana (e.g., *Karpuracarita* of Vatsaraja) (iv) Vyayoga (e.g., *Madhyama-vyayoga* of Bhasa) (v) Samavakara (e.g., *Samudramathana* of Vatsaraja) (vi) Dima (e.g., *Tripuradaha* of Vatsaraja) (vii) Ihamrga (e.g., *Rukminiharana* of Vatsaraja) (viii) Anka or Utsrstikanka (e.g., *Sarmisthayayati*) (ix) Vithi (e.g., *Malavika*) and (x) Prahasana (e.g., *Mattavilasa* of Mahendravikramavarman).

2. The minor type : (i) Natika (e.g., *Ratnavali* of Sri-Harsa) (ii) Trotaka (e.g., *Vikramorvasi* of Kalidasa) (iii) Gosthi (e.g., *Raivatamadanika*) (iv) Sattaka (e.g., *Karpitramahjarl* of Rajasekhara) (v) Natyarasaka (e.g., *Vilasavati*) (vi) Prasthanana (e.g., *Srngaratilaka*) (vii) Ullapya (e.g., *Devimahadeva*) (viii) Kavya (e.g., *Yadavodaya*) (ix) Prekhana (e.g., *Valivadha*) (x) Rasaka (e.g., *Menakahita*) (xi) Samlapaka (e.g., *Mayakapalika*). (xii) Srigadita (e.g., *Kridarasatala*) (xiii) Silpaka (e.g., *Kanakavatimadhaua*) (xiv) Vilasika (no work mentioned in SD.) (xv) Durmallika (e.g., *Hindu mail*) (xvi) Prakarana (no work mentioned in SD.) (xvii) Hallisa (e.g., *Kcliraloataka*) and (xviii) Bhanika (e.g., *Kamadatta*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The works, against which authors are mentioned, have now been published and are all available. The other works are only mentioned by the author of the *Sahityadarpana* and are not actually known to exist at present.

## D

### GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF SANSKRIT DRAMA

The Indian drama can be traced to the fifth or the fourth century B.C Panini refers to dramatic aphorisms<sup>1</sup> and the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, which is a book of the fourth century B.C., contains reference to the term *Kusilava*, which may have an allusion to the twin sons of Rama or to the proverbially bad character of actors. The *Mahabhasya*, beside its reference to the dramas, *Kamsavadha* and *Balibandha*, speaks of the painting of actors and of the three kinds of artists. In the *Ramayana* we find the mention of *Nataka* and the *Mahabharata* refers to a wooden feminine figure.<sup>2</sup> In the *Harivamsa*, however, we find unmistakable reference to a full-fledged drama acted by Krsna's descendants. But Dr. Keith looks upon all these evidences as mere references to pantomimes and not to pure dramas. He, however, admits that the dramas of Asvaghosa and Bhasa, the first extant dramas,

Introduc-  
tion

<sup>1</sup> *Ast* IV. iii. 110.

<sup>2</sup> *Mbh.* III. xxx. 23.

are not the earliest specimens of Indian plays, inasmuch as they show much polish and exquisite finish.<sup>1</sup> The earliest extant Sanskrit drama according to European scholars is the *Sariputraprakarana* of Asvaghosa which was discovered sometime ago in Turfan in Central Asia.

**Bhasa :  
age and  
authorship**

The Bhasa-problem has in recent years been a most interesting topic for discussion in the history of Sanskrit drama. It has drawn the attention of many scholars widely differing in their opinions on the authenticity and authorship of the plays of Bhasa. Credit goes to M.M. Ganapati Sastrin who first published the *thirteen* plays of Bhasa in 1912. But for his editorship, the plays of Bhasa would have remained mere fictitious names. Bhasa is mentioned by Kalidasa, Bana, Rajasekhara and others. M.M. G. Sastrin, the editor, fixed the third century B.C. or earlier as the date for Bhasa ; but European scholars would not agree on the evidence of Prakrit. They would like to place the author of these plays in the third century A.D.

Bhasa's myriad-mindedness is well

<sup>1</sup> Asvaghosa has followed the rules of Sanskrit dramaturgy ; the higher characters use Sanskrit, while others speak Prakrit.

reflected in the number of his plays and the variety of their themes. The style of Bhasa is simple, at the same time forceful, and conforms to what is known as the Vaidarbha style. The initial characteristic of the dramas of Bhasa is action which has never been sacrificed for poetry and poetic charm. In fact, the plays of Bhasa are really of dramatic value and qualities of a very high order. On the other hand, there are scholars who hold that the dramas in their present forms are not the composition of one and the same poet, but they are the composite product of the plagiarism of many scribes. Some scholars have gone so far even as to surmise the existence of a genuine Bhasa of whose works the extant plays are mere abridgement by the traditional players of Southern India (especially Kerala).

Appreciation

The *thirteen* plays of Bhasa may be arranged under *three* heads according to the sources from which the plots have been taken :—(a) plots taken from the *Ramayana*, (b) plots taken from the *Mahabharata*, the *Harivamsa* and the Puranas, and (c) plots taken probably from the *Brhatkatha* of Gunadhy and other popular sources.

Classification of Bhasa's dramas

Ramayana-  
plays

The *Pratima* (Nataka) which is the most popular of the *Ramayana-plays*, is written in *seven* acts. The story starts from the death of King Dasaratha and ends with Kama's return to Ayodhya from Lanka. The second play, based on the Ramayana, is the *Abhiseka* (Nataka) in *six* acts. The subject-matter is the coronation of Kama.

Mahabha-  
rata-plays

The *Madhyama-vyadyoga* deserves mention first amongst the *Mahabharata-plays*. This drama (Vyayoga) in *one* act amply testifies to the skill of the dramatist in depicting characters. The play is based on the tale of Hidimba's love for Bhima. The *Duta-ghatokaca* is also a drama (Vyayoga) in *one* act which describes Ghatokaca appearing before the Kauravas immediately after the death of Abhimanyu, with the news that Arjuna is preparing for their punishment. The *Karnabhara* (Vyayoga) also contains *one* act, the story being how the armour and ear-rings of Kama are stolen by Indra. The story of *Urubhanga* (probably of the Anka type) in *one* act depicts the fight between Bhima and Duryodhana ending in the breaking of the latter's thigh. The *Dutavakya* is also a drama (Vyayoga) in *one* act where Krsna appears as an

ambassador to bring about reconciliation between the contending parties, the Kauravas and the Pandavas, and is ill-treated by Duryodhana who tries to entrap him without success. The *Pancaratra* is a play (Sama-vakara) in *three* acts. There the story is how Drona undertakes a sacrifice for Duryodhana and seeks as fee the grant of half the kingdom to the Pandavas and Duryodhana promises on the condition that the Pandavas who were living incognito, should be found out within five nights. The *Balacarita* is a drama (Nataka) in *five* acts depicting the various incidents in the early life of Krsna up to the death of Kamsa. Its plot seems to be derived from the *Harivainsa* and the Puranas describing Krsna's life.

Indian critics claim Svapnavasadatta to be the best of Bhasa's dramas where the poet has displayed his skill of characteriza-  
tion and the fine manipulation of the plot which has made the drama interesting up to the last. The play (Nataka) contains *six* acts. The theme of the play is the marriage between Vatsaraja Udayana and Padmavati, the sister of King Darsaka, which was effected by Yaugandharayana, Udayana's minister, to serve a political

**Brhatkatha-  
plays**

purpose. To gain the end in view, Yaugandharayana spread the rumour that Vasavadatta the former queen of Udayana, had been burnt in a conflagration ; but he actually kept her as a deposit to Padmavati. The *Pratijnayatiigandharayana* (Nataka) in four acts is the prelude to *Svapnavasavadatta* which depicts Yaugandharayana coming to Ujjayini and causing Vasavadatta to escape with Udayana who was taken captive by Pradyota Mahasena while the former was out a-hunting. The *Carudatta* is an incomplete drama (Prakarana) in four acts on which Sudraka seems to have based his *Mrcchakatika*. The theme is the love-story of Brahmana Carudatta and courtesan Vasantasena. The material for this drama was taken from popular stories. The *Avimaraka* is a play (Nataka) in six acts, having for its theme the union of Princess Kurangi with Prince Visnusena *alias* Avimaraka. The plots of all the four dramas are said to have been taken from the *Brhatkatha*. and they can be traced to the *Kathasaritsagara*.

The date and authorship of the *Mrcchakatika* (Prakarana) in ten acts is still a disputed point in the history of Sanskrit

literature.<sup>1</sup> According to some scholars, the drama was written by the poet Dandin who quotes a verse of the *Mrcchakatika* in his *Kavyadarsa*? But the recent discovery of the dramas of Bhasa shows that the verse is found in the *Carudatta* and the *Balacarita* also, and it is highly probable that the drama was written just after the *Carudatta*, nearly about the first century A.D. It is a point to be noted that though Kalidasa mentions Bhasa, Saumilla and Kaviputra, he does not say a word about Sudraka. In the prologue of the *Mrcchakatika* the royal author has been described as master of various Sastras. He performed a horse-sacrifice and in the one hundred and tenth year of his life entered into fire having made over the kingdom to his son. From this it is evident that either this portion of the text is an interpolation or that the real author was some one else. The name

<sup>1</sup> Vamana is the earliest known writer to quote from the drama of Sudraka.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Piscbel first ascribes this play to Bhasa and next to Dandin. According to the orthodox tradition, Dandin is the author of three works, the other two being, the *Karvyadaria* and the *Dasakumaracarita*.

of King Sudraka is found in the *Rajatarahgini* the *Kathasaritsagara* and the *Skandapurana*. In some of the manuscripts, Sudraka has been described as a minister of Salivahana who subsequently became the ruler of Pratisthana. According to Professor Konow, Sudraka is to be identified with the Abhira prince, Sivadatta. According to Dr. Fleet, Sudraka's son Isvarasena defeated the Andhras and established the Cedi era of 248-49 A.D. The play is a Prakarana in ten acts having the love-story of Carudatta and Vasantasena for its theme. It is a social drama with magnificent touches of realism. The characterization is of a high standard. The drama is highly suggestive on account of its simple and dignified style.

### Kalidasa

Kalidasa is acclaimed to be the best of Indian dramatists, whom Goethe has praised in the most fascinating terms. Superb characterization, study of human nature and wonderful mastery over the Sanskrit language have placed him in the forefront of Indian dramatists. Kalidasa is not verbose like later Sanskrit dramatists, economy being the most remarkable feature of his technique. Though Kalidasa is pre-eminently a poet of love, he can rise occa-

sionally to a tragic elevation. Every character of Kalidasa's dramas has a core of personality which is sharply individualized. Though it is said that the dramas of Kalidasa lacks action to some extent, yet they have a moral purity and a peculiar charm unsurpassed by any other Indian dramatist.

The *Malavikagnimitra* (Nataka), undoubtedly an earlier writing of the dramatist, is written in *five* acts. It describes the love-story of Malavika and Agnimitra, King of Vidisa and founder of the Sunga dynasty. This drama, unlike the two others, is characterized by quick action. The jester is a veritable rogue and is far more intelligent than the jester in the *Sakuntala*. The female characters and the dancing masters are all productions of really great merit.

**Malavikag-  
nimitra**

The second drama, the *Vikramorvasiya* shows remarkable development over the former in the manipulation of the plot, characterization and language, and there are scholars who think that it is the last of the three dramatic compositions of the poet. The materials for this drama, preserved in two recensions, northern and southern, have been taken from a Samvada-hymn of the *Rgveda*. This drama (Trotaka) which is

**Vikramor-  
vasiya**

written in *five* acts, has for its theme the union of the earthly king Pururavas and the celestial nymph Urvasi. The fourth act of this drama which is a soliloquy of the love-stricken and frenzied Pururavas, is a novel conception of the dramatist.

### Sakuntala

The *Abhijnansakuntala* or *Sakuntala* is the production of Kalidasa's maturer hand, which has gained world-wide recognition and the play has been translated into many European languages. The drama (Nataka) which is in *seven* acts, describes the union of Dusyanta and Sakuntala. The plot of this drama has been taken from the *Mahabharata*, but the dramatist has introduced many noble innovations. The story is also to be found in the *Padmapurana* and the Pali Jataka collections. There are *four* different recensions of this drama, viz., Bengal, North-western, Kashmirian and South Indian. According to Professor Pischel, the Bengal recension fully represents the original.

### Harsa

Three dramas are ascribed to Harsa, King of Kanyakubja, who reigned from 606 A.D. to 647 A.D.<sup>1</sup> He was the reputed patron of

<sup>1</sup> It is believed by some scholars that the author

Banabhatta who has glorified him in his *Harsacarita*. Harsa's style is not strictly classical, but his arrangement of plot is fairly satisfactory.

The *Ratnavali* is a drama (Natika) in *four* acts which deals with the story of the union of King Udayana and Ratnavali, daughter of the King of Ceylon.

**Ratnavali**

The *Priyadarsika* is also a drama (Natika) in *four* acts having for its theme the union of Udayana and Priyadarsika, daughter of King Drdhavarman. In both these dramas we have not only a similarity of subject-matter and form but also a reminiscence of Kalidasa's *Malavikagnimitra*.

**Priyadar-  
sika**

The *Nagananda* is a drama (Nataka) in *five* acts which describes the self-sacrifice of Jimutavahana, Prince of Vidyadharas.

**Nagananda**

Mahendravikrama flourished in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D His *Mattavilasa* is a farce (Prahasana) which describes the moral degradations of the dramatist's contemporary society.

**Mahendra-  
vikrama  
Mattavilasa**

Bhavabhuti is the next great name

of these plays was Bana and not Harsa. Thus Professor Weber attributes *Ratnavali* to Banabhatta while Professors Konow, Winternitz, Levi and others accept Harsa's authorship.

**Bhavabhuti**

after Kalidasa who is mentioned by Kalhana in his *Rajatarahgini* as a poet in the court of Yasovarman, King of Kanyakubja whose probable date is 736 A.D. Vakpati also refers to Bhavabhuti in his *Gaudavaha*. As is evident from the prologue of the *Malatimadhava*, Bhavabhuti could not enjoy any popularity in his life-time. Nevertheless, Bhavabhuti displays a masterly skill in characterization, and his language is forceful. Though he is pre-eminently a poet of the Pathetic sentiment, he has excelled his great predecessor in the delineation of the Heroic and the Wonderful. Bhavabhuti is a follower of the Gauda style, while Kalidasa is an advocate of the Vaidarbha. Bhavabhuti amplifies his theme, while Kalidasa suggests it.

**Mahavira-carita**

Three dramas are ascribed to Bhavabhuti of which the *Mahavlracarita* is the earliest. The drama (Nataka) is written in *seven* acts, depicting the heroic achievements of Rama's early life. The plot is based on the *Ramayana*, but the dramatist has introduced several significant innovations.

**Malati-madhava**

The *Malatimadhava* is a Prakarana in *ten* acts which deals with the love-story of Malati and Madhava. According to some scholars, it is the latest of all his dramas.

The *Uttararamacarita* is regarded as the best product of Bhavabhuti's virile pen, where the dramatist has shown his wonderful skill in delineating genuine pathos and describing the sublime and awful aspects of nature. The plot of this drama (Nataka), which is written in *seven* acts, covers the later life of Rama, beginning from the banishment of Sita and ending in their happy re-union.

Uttararfi-  
macarita

The date of Visakhadatta may be placed somewhere about 860 A.D., as the lunar eclipse mentioned in his drama *Mudraraksasa* refers to the phenomenon of that date. The drama (Nataka) is written in *seven* acts. The theme is a political intrigue between Raksasa, the minister of the Nandas and Canakya, the great politician, who succeeded in overthrowing the Nandas and winning Raksasa to the side of Candragupta. The style of Visakhadatta marks a distinct falling off from the lucid diction of Kalidasa and the grandeur of Bhavabhuti. In fact, the style of Visakhadatta is highly artificial.

Visakha-  
datta .  
Mudra-  
raksasa

Vamana and Anandavardhana quote from the work of Bhattanarayana who probably flourished in the eighth century A.D. His only drama (Nataka) *Venisamhara*,

Bhattana-  
rayana :  
Venisa-  
mhara

written in *six* acts, is based on the story of the *Mahabharata*. Bhima kills Duhsasana and ties the braid of Draupadi with his blood. Ultimately he succeeds in killing Duryodhana also. Bhattanarayana is undoubtedly a remarkable craftsman among later Sanskrit dramatists ; he is particularly adept in describing the Heroic sentiment. The first three acts of the *Venisamhara* are full of action, and the predominant emotion is enthusiasm (*utsaha*). The poet has also very successfully illustrated the manifold technicalities of Sanskrit dramaturgy in his drama.

No other later dramatist was able to dramatize successfully the Rama-episode, after Bhavabhuti had written his masterpieces. Murari who is not an exception to this rule, wrote his *Anargharaghava* sometime about the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The drama (Nataka) is written in *seven* acts, and the style is clear.

Rajasekhara was the reputed teacher of King Mahendrapala of Kanauj (893-907 A.D.) Among his many works, Rajasekhara has written *four* dramas. The *Balaramayana* is a drama (Nataka) in *ten* acts, dealing with the life-history of Kama. The *Balabharata* is an incomplete drama (Nataka) of which two

Murari :  
Anargha  
raghava

Rajase-  
khara :  
his plays

acts only are available. The *Karpuramanjari*, a play (Sattaka) in *four* acts, is written in Prakrit. The *Viddhasalabhanjika* is also a drama (Natika) in *four* acts. Rajasekhara's style is highly artificial, but the dramatist himself claims to be a great poet.

The *Candakausika* of Ksemisvara is a drama (Nataka) in *five* acts. The author wrote this play for King Mahipala of Kanauj whose accession to the throne took place in 914 A.D. The plot of this drama is the famous story of King Hariscandra and sage Visvamitra. The style of this drama also is highly artificial.

Ksemis-  
vara :  
Canda-  
kausika

Damodaramisra wrote his *Mahanataka* or *Hanumannataka* in the eleventh century A.D. The drama is found in *three* recensions separately containing *nine, ten* and *fourteen* acts. The plot is based on the *Ramayana*, and the dramatist shows considerable skill in versification.

Damodara-  
misra :  
Maha-  
nataka

The date of the *Prabodhacandrodaya*, an allegorical drama, written by Krsnamisra is the fourteenth century A.D. The characters of this drama are represented by such characters as Viveka, Manas, Buddhi, etc. This drama is a solitary instance where the Quietistic sentiment has been represented on

Krsna-  
misra :  
Prabodha-  
candrodaya

the stage. The drama (Nataka) contains *six* acts, and the style is simple.

## E

## LESS IMPORTANT DRAMAS

- Bhagavadajjukiya* : by Bodhayanakavi—sometime between the first and the fourth century A.D.—written with the purpose of throwing a fling against Buddhism—a Prahāsana in *two* acts.
- Tapasavatsamjagarita* : by Anāfigaharsa Matraraġa—Dr. Keith fixes the age of the *Ratnavali* as the upper limit of the work—based on a variation of the theme of Vatsaraja, Padmavati and Vasavadatta.
- Loknanda* ascribed to Candra or Candraka(?) who is identified with Candragomin, the grammarian, of the seventh century A.D.
- Udattaraghava* by Mayuraja who appears to have known Bhavabhūti and is referred to by Rājasekhara.
- Svapnadasanana* by Bhimata—mentioned by Rājasekhara.
- Dharmabhyudaya* by Meghaprabhacarya—a shadow-drama of unknown date,
- Karnasundari* by Bilhana of the eleventh century A.D.—a Natika.

- Citrabharata* : by Ksemendra of the eleventh century A.D.—a lost drama.
- Prabuddharauhineya* : by Kamabhadra Muni of the twelfth century A.D.—in *six* acts.
- Kaumudimitrananda* : by Bamacandra of the twelfth century A.D.—a Prakarana in *ten* acts.
- Latakamelaka* : by Sankhadhara Kaviraja of the twelfth century A.D.—a Prahāsana.
- Mudritakumudacandra* : by Yasascandra of the twelfth century A.D.— a Jinistic drama.
- Nirbhayabhimavyayoga* : by Ramacandra, a prolific Jaina dramatist, belonging to the twelfth century A.D.
- Kiratarjuniya,*  
*Rukminiharana,*  
*Tripuradaha*  
*Samudramathana*  
*Karpuracanta &*  
*Hasyacudamani* : by Vatsaraja of the twelfth century A.D.—the first, a Vyayoga; the second, an Ihamrga in *four* acts ; the third, a Dima in *four* acts ; the fourth, a Samavakara in *three* acts, the fifth, a Bhana and the sixth, a farce (Prahāsana) *one* act.
- Parthaparakrama* : by Prahladanadeva of the twelfth century A.D.—a Vyayoga.
- Prasannaraghava* : by Jayadeva (of Berar) of the twelfth century A.D.—based on the *Ramayana*—a Nataka in *seven* acts.
- Harakelinataka* : by Vinaladeva Vighararaja of the twelfth century A.D.—partially preserved in stone.
- Kundamala* : ascribed to Dignaga—but according to some, written by Dhi-

- ranaga—quoted in the *Sahitya-darpana*—not later than the thirteenth century A.D.
- Dutangada* : by Subhata of the thirteenth century A.D.—a shadow-play.
- Hammiramadamadana* : by Jayasimha of the thirteenth century A.D.—in *five* acts.
- Moharajaparajaya* by Yasahpala of the thirteenth century A.D.—an allegorical drama in *five* acts.
- Vikrantakaurava & Matthil'ikalyana* by Hastimalla of the thirteenth century A.D.—in *six* and *five* acts respectively.
- Purvatiparinaya* attributed to Bana, but allotted to Vamana Bhatta Bana of the fourteenth century A.D.
- Saugandhikaharana* : by Visvanatha of the fourteenth century A.D.—a Vyayoga.
- Dhurtasamagama* : by Kavisekhara of the fifteenth century A.D.—a Prahasana.
- Caitanyacandrodaya* : by Kavikarnapura of the sixteenth century A.D.
- Vidaghamadhava & Lahtamadhava* <sup>teenth</sup> by Rupagosvamin of the sixteenth century A.D.—dealing with the attractive Krsna legend —in *seven* and *ten* acts respectively.
- Kainsavadha* : by Sesakysna of the seventeenth century A.D.—in *seven* acts,
- Janakiparinaya* by Ramabhadra Diksita of the seventeenth century A.D.
- Mallikamaruta* : by Uddandin of the seventeenth century A.D.—a Prakarana.

- Adbhutadarpana* : by Mahadeva, contemporary of Ramabhadra—in *ten* acts.
- Hasyurnava* by Jagadisvara of unknown date—a Prahasana.
- Kautukasarvasva* : by Gopinatha of unknown date—a Prahasana.
- Unmattaraghava* : by Bhaskara of unknown date—an Anka.
- Mudhavasadhana* (and other plays) by Nrtyagopala Kaviratna of the nineteenth century A D.
- Amaramahgala* by Pancanana Tarkaratna of the latter half of the nineteenth century A.D. and the first half of the twentieth century A.D.—in *eight* acts.

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## CHAPTER SIX

### LYRIC POETRY

#### A

### INTRODUCTION

Classical Sanskrit literature is highly rich in lyrical poetry. Though it is a fact that Classical lyric poetry has not produced many works of respectable length and size, yet none would deny that its merit is usually of a high order. Lyrical poets have often been successful in depicting the amorous feeling with a few artistic strokes, and their compositions can very well stand comparison with those of foreign poets. The range of lyrical literature in Sanskrit is very wide. It is not confined to the theme of love and amorous feeling only. It includes secular, religious, gnomic and didactic poems and thus offers a variety which is sufficient to remove monotony.

**Extent of  
Sanskrit  
lyrics**

In all lyrical poems dealing with love, Nature plays a very important part. The intimate relation between Nature and Man has not in all probability found a more charming expression in any other branch of

**Nature in  
Sanskrit  
lyrics**

literature. The lotus and the lily, the Cakora the Cakravaka and the Cataka, all are inseparably connected with human life and Jove in its different phases.

**Prakrit  
lyrics**

It is further to be noted that Prakrit literature is also highly rich in lyrical poetry. The *Sattasai* or *Gathasaptasati* attributed to Satayahana is an outstanding work of this type. The book is a collection of *seven hundred* verses in Prakrit dealing with various phases of the sentiment of love. Bana refers to this work in his *Harsacarita*. Professor Macdonell wants to place it before 1000 A.D. If, on the other hand, Hala or Satavahana, to whom the work is attributed, is taken as a king of that name of the Andhra dynasty, the work must be placed early in the Christian era.

## B

### GROWTH & DEVELOPMENT OF LYRIC POETRY

**Meghaduta**

The name of Kalidasa stands high in the realm of Sanskrit lyrical poetry. There is no gainsaying the fact that his Meghaduta which has been unsuccessfully imitated

times without number by later poets,<sup>1</sup> is the finest flower of Classical lyric poetry. The lyric has inspired poets like Goethe and Rabindranath who have lavishly bestowed their praise upon this magic personality in literature. Fancifully the poet makes a cloud the messenger of the message of love and admiration to the beloved of a banished Yaksa, who had been pining for him during the rainy season at Alaka. The work is divided into *two* sections known as the *Purvamegha* and the *Uttaramegha*. The poem is written in Mandakranta metre of gorgeous rhythm like the roar of a July cloud weary under the burden of its water. This is also quite in keeping with the sublime conception of love which, tinged with the burning colour of separation, resembles a black cloud with a silver lining. The stanzas containing the words of message are the most poignant and beautiful in literature and the lyric will ever stand impressed on our memory' like a rainbow springing from the earth.

<sup>1</sup> Vedantadesika's *Hamsasandesa* (of the thirteenth century A.D.) Bupagosvamin's *Hamsaduta* (of the fifteenth century A.D.) Krsnananda's *Padankaduta* (of the seventeenth century A.D.) are some of the more well-known Dutakavyas.

The book has been translated into various European languages and Schiller's *Maria Stuart* owes its origin to it.

**Rtusamhara**

The *Rtusamhara* is the second lyric of Kalidasa. It is a short poem in six cantos describing all the six seasons of the year. It is undoubtedly an earlier production of the poet and though Kalidasa's authorship of this poem is doubted by many scholars,<sup>1</sup> still we can find in it the aspirations of a budding poet.<sup>2</sup>

**Ghatak-  
karpara :  
Ghatak-  
para-kavya**

Tradition makes Ghatakarpara one of the nine gems in the court of King Vikramaditya. The *Ghatakarpara-kavya* after the name of the poet is written in *twenty-two* stanzas. It describes how a young wife in the beginning of the rains sends a cloud-messenger to her absent husband. The poem abounds in Yamakas (figure of speech) for which the author feels proud.

**Bhartrhari  
three  
Satakas**

Bhartrhari has to his credit the *three* Satakas (collection of a hundred verses), viz., (a) the *Srngarasataka* (b) the *Nitisataka*

<sup>1</sup> Professors Kielhorn, Buhler, Macdonell, Schroeder and others accept the authorship of Kalidasa while other scholars entertain a different view.

<sup>2</sup> See, Aurobinda Ghosh, Kalidasa ; Gajendragadkar *Rtusamhara*.

and (c) the *Vairagyasataka*. The single authorship of these three poems is doubted by some scholars, but Indian tradition accepts Bhartrhari to be their author. Bhartrhari is said to have died in 651 A.D.<sup>1</sup>. All the three poems are written in a very lucid style, and they have the greatest interest to them for whom they are intended.

Mayura was a contemporary of Banabhatta of the seventh century A.D., and reported to be his father-in-law. His *Suryasataka*<sup>2</sup> is a religious lyric in *one hundred* verses written in honour of the Sun. Tradition says that the poet was cured of leprosy by composing this eulogy of the Sun.<sup>3</sup>

**Mayura :  
Suryasataka**

It is impossible to ascertain the date of Amaru. Vamana (800 A.D.) is the earliest writer who quotes three verses from the *Amarusataka*, a lyrical poem in *one hundred*

**Amaru :  
Amaru-  
sataka**

<sup>1</sup> It is yet to be decided whether the author of the Satakas is the same person as the famous grammarian of that name who wrote the *Vakypadiya*.

<sup>2</sup> There are other *Suryasatakas* by different poets which do not deserve any special mention.

<sup>3</sup> Vajradatta, a Buddhist poet of the ninth century A.D. composed his *Lokesvarasataka* and was cured of leprosy.

stanzas<sup>1</sup> describing the conditions of women at different stages of life and love. The poet is really gifted and his delineation of sentiments and emotions, especially of love, is superb in character. His style is difficult, but certainly graceful. Amaru's poem has found the widest recognition in the hands of Sanskrit rhetoricians and he is quoted by great thinkers on poetry like Anandavardhana. The poem has been commented on by more than a dozen writers including Arjunavarman (1215 A.D.).

**Bilhana :**  
**Caurapan-**  
**casika**

The *Caurapan-casika* of Bilhana is a lover's recollections of the sweet company of his beloved. The poem contains *fifty* stanzas. The date of the poet is 1076 A. D. — 1127 A.D. Bharatacandra, a Bengali poet of the eighteenth century A.D., drew the inspiration of his popular poem '*Vidyasundara*' from this work of Bilhana.

**Jayadeva :**  
**Gitagovinda**

The Krsna-legend found a poetical interpreter in Jayadeva, the last great name in Sanskrit poetry, who flourished in Bengal during the reign of King Laksmanasena of the twelfth century A.D. He was the son of Bhojadeva of Kendubilva. His poem, the

<sup>1</sup> The text of the poem has come down to us in *four* recensions which vary widely among themselves.

*Gitagovinda*, ranks high amongst Sanskrit lyrics, and the poet is a gifted master of poetry. According to Professor Macdonell the poem marks a transitional period between pure lyric and pure drama.<sup>1</sup> Sir William Jones calls it a small pastoral drama while Professor Lassen regards it as a lyrical drama. Leopold von Schroeder would look upon it as a refined Yatra. Both Professors Pischel and Levi place it in the category between song and drama. Some Indian scholars maintain that the poem is a court-epic.

Dhoyi, a contemporary of Jayadeva, graced the court of King Laksanasena. Like other Dutakavyas, his poem, the *Pavanadrita*, is written in imitation of the *Meghaduta*.

**Dhoyi :  
Pavanaduta**

## G

### LESSER LYRIC POEMS AND ANTHOLOGIES

*Srngaratilaka* : attributed to Kalidasa—containing attractive pictures of love in *twenty-three* stanzas.

*Bhaktamarastotra* : by Manatunga, probably a contemporary of Eana or earlier—

<sup>1</sup>It is probable that the poet took as his model popular plays representing incidents from the life of Kysna as the modern Yatras in Bengal still do.

- written in honour of the Jaina saint Rsabha in *forty-four* verses.
- Kalyanamandirastotra* : by Siddhasena Divakara, probably of the seventh century A.D. —written in imitation of Manantunga—containing *forty-four* stanzas.
- Suprabhatastotra* and *Astamaharicaityastotra* by King Harsavardhana —the first being a morning hymn in *twenty-four* verses in praise of Buddha and the second, a hymn in *five* verses in praise of the eight great shrines.
- Candisataka* : by Banabhatta of the seventh century A.D.—a collection of *one hundred* and *two* verses written in honour of the goddess Parvati.
- Sragdharastotra* : by Sarvajnamitra, a Buddhist of the eighth century A.D. —dedicated to Tara, the Buddhist goddess—containing *thirty-seven* stanzas.
- Kuttanimata* : by Damodaragupta, minister of King Jayapida of Kashmir of 772 A.D.—813 A.D.—an erotic poem.
- Anandalahari*  
or *Saundaryalahart & Mohamudgara* attributed to Sankara, the great teacher of monistic Vedanta.
- Devisataka* : by Anandavardhana, the famous rhetorician of the ninth century A.D.

*Bhallata-Sataka* : by Bhallat, a junior contemporary of Anandavardhana—a gnostic poem.

*Mahimnahstotra* : by Puspadanta, not later than the ninth century A. D.—a religious lyric.

*Subhawtaratnasandoha* ) by Amitagati of the tenth century A.D.—all didactic poems.  
*Dharmapariksa & Yogasara*

*Krsnakarnamrta* by Bilvamangala or Lilasuka of & *Vrndavanstuti* ' the eleventh century A.D.—highly popular and of graceful style.

*Samayamatrka,*  
*Kalavilasa, Darpadalana,* by Ksemendra of Kash-  
*Sevyasevakopadesa,* : mir—all didactic poems.  
*Caturvargasaingraha & Carucaryasataka*

*Kavindravacanasamuccaya* : an anthology—of the eleventh century A.D.

*Anyoktimuktalatasataka* : by Sambhu who wrote under Harsa of Kashmir (1089 A.D—1101 A.D.)—a gnostic poem.

*Aryasaptasati* : by Govardhana, a contemporary of Jayadeva—containing *seven hundred* erotic stanzas—written after the *Sattasaz* of Hala.

*Yogamstra* by Hemacandra of the  
*Vitardgastotra &* : twelfth century A.D.—very  
*Mahavirastotra* good didactic lyric poems, sometimes reminding us of the poems of Bhartrhari.

*Saduktikarnamrta* : an anthology by Sridhara of the twelfth century A.D.

*Santisataka* : by Silhana, of Kashmir who lived before 1205 A.D.—written in the style of Bhartrhari's poems.

*Bhaktisataka* : by Ramacandra of Bengal who came to Ceylon with King Parakramabahu (thirteenth century A.D.)

*Srnguravairagyatarangini* : by Somaprabha of the thirteenth century A.D.—a didactic poem in *forty-six* stanzas written in perfect Kavya style.

*Subhasitamuktavali* : an anthology by Jalhana of the thirteenth century A.D.

*Sarangadharapaddhati* : an anthology by Sarangadhara of the fourteenth century A.D.

*Subhasitavali* : an anthology by Srivara of the fifteenth century A.D.

*Bhaminivilasa* & *Gangalahart* : by Jagannatha, the famous rhetorician of the seventeenth century A.D.

[N. B. Names of some lyrical poetesses and their stray verses are found in some anthologies. The more important among them are Silabhattarika, Vijjaka, Vikatanitamba, Priyamvada etc., etc.]

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**CHAPTER SEVEN**  
**HISTORICAL WRITINGS**  
**A**  
**INTRODUCTION**

Nobody denies the antiquity and greatness of Indian civilization but it is rather unfortunate that in the wide range of early or medieval Sanskrit literature, one seldom comes across a useful work of history. The paucity of authoritative historical books bewilders all students of Classical Sanskrit literature, and it is a pity that India has failed to produce even one outstanding historian noted for his critical insight and scientific presentation of facts. It is, however, admitted on all hands that Kalhana is the most successful of all Indian historians and that the history of Kashmir would have remained obscure without his immortal work, the *Rajatarahgini*. But even Kalhana's writings are not without exaggerated and confusing statements, and poetic fancy has often been allowed to dominate the genuine spirit of a historian. The causes of the paucity of historical works may be traced to the peculiarities of **Indian** psycho-

**Paucity of  
Historical  
works :  
causes**

logy aided by environment and the course of events. The popular Indian view on worldly life and the teachings of Indian philosophical and religious works are surely responsible for fostering a feeling of apathy towards making any serious attempt at recording facts and dwelling on them.

Earliest  
Historical  
works

The beginnings of Indian history are to be traced to the Puranas which contain amidst vast masses of religious and social matters, accounts of genealogies which are the very germs of history.

Vakpati :  
Gaudavaho

In Prakrit, however, there is a very important historical work called the *Gaudavaho* which was written by Vakpati. It celebrates the defeat of one Gauda king by Yasovarman, King of Kanauj, the poet's patron, who was again overthrown by Lalitaditya Muktapada, King of Kashmir. Vakpati is a follower of the Gauda style and uses long compounds. His date has approximately been fixed in the eighth century A.D., and he is mentioned along with Bhavabhuti.

## B

### GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORICAL WORKS

Padmagupta also known as Parimala, wrote his *Navasahasankacarita* in 1050

A.D. The book contains *eighteen* cantos and describes the winning of Princess Sasiprabha and also alludes to the history of Sindhuraja Navasahasanka of Malava.

**Padma-  
gupta :**  
Navasaha-  
sankacarita

Sandhyakaranandin's *Ramapalacarita* describes through *double entendre* the story of Kama and also the history of King Ramapala of Bengal who recovered his ancestral home from Bhima, a Kaivarta chief, and conquered Mithila. Sandhyakaranandin flourished during 1057 A.D.—1087 A.D.

**Sandhya-  
karanan-  
din :** Rama-  
palacarita

Bilhana's patron was Vikramaditya VI, a Calukya king of Kalyana who flourished during 1076 A.D.—1127 A.D. Bilhana glorified his patron by writing his *Vikramankadecarita* in *eighteen* cantos. Bilhana was more a poet than a historian and his work abounds in numerous imaginary and fanciful descriptions.

**Bilhana :**  
Vikraman-  
kadeca-  
carita

Kalhana is the best of Indian historians. He wrote his *Rajatarahgini* in 1100 A.D. Kalhana has derived materials for his book from older sources including the *Nilamatapurana*. The *Rajatarangini* is the only reliable book on the history of Kashmir after the death of King Harsa when the country passed through stormy bloody days. Though a historian, Kalhana has the rare

**Kalhana .**  
Rajataran-

gifts of a poet, and his book is a wonderful admixture of poetic fancy and historical facts. According to European scholars, it is the only work in Sanskrit literature which approaches history to a certain extent.

Hemacandra who flourished during 1088 A.D.—1172 A.D. wrote his *Kumarpalacarita* or *Dvyasrayakavya* in honour of Kumarpala, King of the Calukyas.

Hema-  
candra  
Kumara-  
palacarita

The anonymous *Prthvirajavijaya* celebrates the victories of King Prthviraja over Shihab-ud-din Grhori in 1191 A.D.

Prthviraja-  
vijaya

## C

### MINOR HISTORICAL WORKS

*Prabhavakacaritra* : by Prabhacandra and revised by Pradyumnasuri (1277 A.D.)—regarded as a continuation of Hemacandra's *Parisista-parvart*—containing the life-history of twenty-two Jaina teachers—a semi-historical work.

*Rajendrakarnapura* : by Sambhu who wrote in honour of Harsadeva of Kashmir (1089 A.D.—1101 A.D.)

*Kirti kaumudi* & *Surathotsava* by Somesvaradatta (1179 A.D.—1262 A.D.)—more in the form of panegyrics—the latter, written in *fifteen* cantos.

- Sukrtasankirtana* : by Arisimha of the thirteenth century A.D.—a panegyric in eleven cantos.
- Jagaducarita* : by Sarvananda of unknown date—a panegyric of a Jaina who rendered help to his townfolk at the time of the famine of 1256-8 A.D. in Gujarat.
- Prabandhacintamani* : by Merutunga of the fourteenth century A.D.—a quasi-historical-biographical work.
- Prabandhakosa* : by Rajasekhara of the fourteenth century A.D.—containing the life-stories of Jaina teachers, poets, kings and other personages.
- Kirtilata* : by Vidyapati of the fourteenth century A.D.

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# CHAPTER EIGHT

## PROSE LITERATURE

A

### INTRODUCTION

History of  
Sanskrit  
Prose  
literature

In matters of expression the Indian mind has always preferred poetry to prose. Commentaries and lexicons were written in verse, and sometimes conversation even was carried on in metre. The major portion of Vedic literature is in metre. So the peculiarity of the Indian mind is the cause of the dearth of prose literature in Sanskrit. In the *Krsna-Yajurveda*, however, we come across the earliest specimen of prose-writing. The prose of the *Atharvaveda* should also be considered in connection with the study of the history and development of prose-writings in ancient India. The prose of the Brahmanas is simple yet elegant, and the prose of the Sukta literature is more or less in the form of a message we usually send in a telegram. All these, however, cannot give us any standard of writing which may be imitated with profit. The prose portions of the *Mahabhdrata*, and of the Puranas such as, the *Visnu* and the

*Bhagavata*, and of the medical compilations of Caraka and Susruta should also be mentioned. The earliest standard of prose-writing is to be found in Patanjali's *Mahabhasya* which is noted for its grace, vigour and elegance, and in it we find a perfection of Brahmanical prose. The prose of explanatory treatises or commentaries offers a good specimen of Sanskrit composition. Thus the writings of Sabarasvamin on the *Mimamsasutras*, of Vatsyayana on the *Nyayasutras* the commentaries of Sankara on the *Brahmasutras* and the Upanisads and the explanatory work of Medhatithi on *Manusmṛti* are instances to the point. Besides all these, there is the prose of the early dramatic literature which should necessarily demand a careful study. In fact, the extent of prose-writing is not very small, but when it is said that it is insignificant, the greater extent of poetic compositions is considered.

Though the beginnings of Sanskrit prose-writings may be traced to a very dim antiquity, the extant works on prose literature are of a comparatively late date. The extant prose literature may be divided into *two* broad classes :—romance and fable.

It appears that in early Classical Sans-

**Romance  
Fable**

**Akhyayika  
& Katha**

krit there were numerous types of prose romances, the two most important among them being Akhyayika and Katha. But as early as the seventh century A.D., Dandin writes in his *Kavyadarsa* that there is no vital point of difference in the nature of these two types of prose compositions and he regards them as the different names of one and the same species. Amarasimha, the lexicographer, however, distinguishes between the two, Akhyayika having a historical basis and Katha being a purely poetic creation.

**Origin of  
Fable  
literature**

The origin of Indian fable literature must be traced back to the earliest times in the life of Vedic Indians. The tales current among the people were later on used for a definite purpose, and the didactic fable became a mode of inculcating useful knowledge.

**B****ROMANCE****Dandin :  
age & home**

There is a great difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the age of Dandin. It is held on the evidence of the *Kavyadarsa*, a well-known work on rhetorical

canons by the poet, that he flourished after Pravarasena. According to the *Rajatarahgini*, Pravarasena ruled Kashmir in the sixth century A.D. This Pravarasena was probably the author of the poem *Setubandha*. The relation between Dandin and Bhamaha, another rhetorician, has created a great controversy. Some scholars are inclined to believe that Dandin has criticized the views of Bhamaha while others entertain the opposite view. There is some controversy again with regard to the relation of Dandin to Bhatti, the grammarian-poet. Some scholars are definitely of opinion that Dandin used the *Bhattikavya*. It is, however, presumed that he flourished in the seventh century A.D. From the internal evidence furnished by both the *Dasakumaracarita* and the *Kavyadarsa*, it appears that Dandin was an inhabitant of South India. He was fairly acquainted with the Kaveri, the Andhras and the Colas.

Dandin's *Dasakumaracarita*, a work of the Akhyayika type, describes the exploits of eight princes, Rajavahana and others. As the name of the work implies, it should have contained accounts of ten princes. The stories of the other two princes are given in

**Dasakumi  
racarita :  
contents  
character**

the prelude (*Purvapthika*), and the incomplete story of one of the princes (*Visruta*) has been incorporated in the sequel (*Uttara-pithika*), which two chapters seem to be the work of a different hand. The romance reflects admirably the social conditions in which the author lived and where the standard of morality was markedly poor. Dandin's writings usually conform to the Vaidarbha style.

**Subandhu :**  
**age & work**

Subandhu appears to have been earlier than Banabhatta who has referred to the former's *Vasavadatta* in his introduction to the *Kadambari*. In a passage in the *Vasavadatta* Subandhu laments over the death of Vikramaditya. This has led scholars to surmise that after the death of Candragupta, II of the Gupta dynasty, who assumed the title of Vikramaditya, there was a civil war in the country, and Subandhu was aggrieved by upholding the losing cause. This theory,, however, is not generally accepted. From two passages in the *Vasavadatta*, European scholars find references to Uddyotakara, the great writer on Nyaya, and the *Bauddhasangatyalankara* of Dharmakirti. If the allusions, are correct, Subandhu may be placed in the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

The theme of Subandhu's *Vasavadatta* is the love-story of Prince Kandarpaketu and Princess Vasavadatta. The playful imagination of the poet conceives how on one night, the prince dreams about a beautiful princess and starts in quest of her. Meanwhile, the princess having dreamt of Prince Kandarpaketu sends one of her personal attendants in search of him. Kandarpaketu in course of his travels comes to learn about Vasavadatta from the conversation of a pair of birds. He arrives at Pataliputra and is united with Vasavadatta. But the king, Vasavadatta's father, wants to give her away to another prince. Thereupon the two leave the palace on a magic steed and go to the Vindhya. One night they fall asleep but in the morning the prince gets up and is surprised not to find Vasavadatta by his side. He commences a vigorous search and at last discovers her in the hermitage of the sage. She is turned into a stone, and the prince revives her by his touch.

**Story of  
Vasavadatta**

The poet is a master of a style which is marked by a preponderant use of alliteration.

**Style**

Banabhatta is undoubtedly the greatest of Indian prose-writers. Fortunately, the

**Bana :**  
**age &**  
**works**

date of Bana is one of the surest planks in the tottering edifice of ancient Indian chronology. Bana has to his credit the *Harsacarita* and the *Kadambari* which are respectively an Akhyayika and a Katha.

**Harsa-**  
**carita**

In his *Harsacarita*, Bana glorifies his patron, King Harsa who flourished during 606 A.D.-647 A.D. In the first and second chapters of this incomplete book Bana gives an account of his genealogy and early life which reveals him as a great traveller.

**Kadambari**

Bana makes lavish use of his poetic imagination in relating the story of *Kadambari* which also he could not complete. The theme of this book is the fascinating love-story of Candraplida and Kadambari in their several births. Running parallel with the main story we also find the love-episode of Pundarlka and Mahasveta. The romance relates how the Moon-god being cursed by Pundarika who was pining for Mahasveta, was born on earth as Candraplida and fell in love with Kadambari, the Gandharva princess. Pundarlka also cursed by the Moon-god was born on earth as Vaisampayana, the friend of Candraplida. In this birth also both Candraplida and Vaisampayana gave up their lives and were again born as King

Sudraka and the parrot respectively. Happily in this birth they were all reunited.

Much has been said of Bana's style. Western critics describe it as a big forest where all access is prohibited because of the luxuriant undergrowth of words. But Indian scholars have the highest admiration for Bana and his style, and it would not be an exaggeration to say that his style has been regarded by Indian scholars as the standard style of prose. Superb is Bana's power of description and he wields the language with the greatest ease.

## C

### FABLE

The short stories in Indian literature may be classed under *three* different heads, viz., the popular tales, the beast-fables and the fairy tales. The popular tales again may be broadly sub-divided into Buddhistic and non-Buddhistic.

Classifica-  
tion of  
fables

The Buddhist popular tales are the Pali Jatakas which were current among the

Buddhist  
popular  
tales

<sup>1</sup> The fable literature of the Jainas is extremely rich. But only a few works are written in pure Sanskrit.

Buddhists from the earliest times. Apart from these Jataka stories there are some Buddhist Sanskrit works on popular stories (already referred to in a previous chapter).

Gunadhya's  
Brhatkatha  
& works  
based on it

Gunadhya's *Brhatkatha* is an outstanding work among non-Buddhistic popular tales. The work was written in Parsaci Prakrit, a dialect spoken in the north western parts of India. The work is now unfortunately lost to us, but the story has been preserved in *three* Sanskrit works, viz., (1) Budhasvamin's *Slokasamgraha* (composed between the eighth and the ninth century A.D.), (2) Ksemendra's *Brhatkathamajari* (1037 A.D.) and (3) Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara* (1003-81 A.D.). According to Dr. Keith the *Slohasamgraha* (which is found only in a fragment of *twenty-eight* chapters and some 4539 verses) is a genuine translation of Gunadhya's work and he holds that both Somadeva's *Kathasaritsdgara* (containing 21,388 verses) and Ksemendra's *Brhatkathamajari* (containing about 7500 verses) are not from the original *Brhatkatha*. Nevertheless, the *Brhatkatha* is mentioned as early as the seventh century A.D. in Dandin's *Kavyadarsa*, and Dr. Buhler has placed the

work in the first or the second century A.D. Dr. Keith suggests that it was written not later than the fourth century A.D. The importance of the *Brhatkatha* can never be over-estimated. As a perpetual source of inspiration the *Brhatkatha* occupies in ancient Indian literature, a place next only to that of the two Great Epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*.

The *Paucatantra* by Visnusarman is an important work on the beast-fable literature and it is said that the book has an earlier basis called the *Tantrakhyayika* now lost to us. The work is written in *five* books in clear lucid style with an admixture of prose and verse. It alludes to Canakya and follows Kautilya's *Arthasastra*. The importance of this work may be judged from the fact that it was translated into Pahlavi and Syriac in the sixth century A.D., into Arabic in the eighth century A.D., into Hebrew in the eleventh century A.D., into Spanish in the thirteenth century A.D., and into Latin and English in the sixteenth century A.D.

The *Hitopadesa* is another work on beast-fable literature written by one Narayana Pandita. The author imitates the style of Visnusarman and the method of arrange-

Visnu-  
sarman  
Panca-  
tantra

Narayana :  
Hitopadesa

ment is entirely the same in both the works. The author lived in the court of King Dhavalacandra of whom we know little. A manuscript of this work is dated the fourteenth century A.D. According to Dr. Keith its date cannot be earlier than the eleventh century A.D., as a verse of Rudrabhatta is cited in the book. Moreover a Jaina scholar made use of it in 1199 A.D. in order to produce a new version.

Another work of the beast-fable class is Srivara's *Kathakantuka* written in the fifteenth century A.D.

Srivara .  
Katha-  
kautuka

Under the fairy-tale literature we may class the following three books of unknown date. The *Vetalapancavimsati* attributed to Sivadasa and the *Simhasanadvatrimika* are probably of the Buddhist origin. Both the books are based on the character of a fictitious king named Vikrama. The *Sukasaptati* of unknown origin and date is a collection of *seventy* tales which the parrot narrates to the mistress who was about to play false to her husband.

Vetalapan-  
cavimsati,  
Simhasana-  
dvatrimika  
& Suka-  
saptati

## D

## LESSER PROSE TALES

- Upamitibhavaprapanca katha* : by Siddha or Siddharsi, a Jaina monk, of 906 A.D.—written in prose interspersed with verses—a didactic tale.
- Katharnava* : by Sivadasa—containing *thirty-five* tales chiefly of fools and thieves—of unknown date but appearing as a late work.
- Purusapariksa* : by Vidyapati belonging to the latter part of the fourteenth century A.D.—containing *forty-four* stories.
- Bhojaprabandha* : by Ballalasena of the sixteenth century A.D.—containing legends of the court of King Bhoja.
- Campakasresthikathanaka* & *Palagopalakathanaka* by Jinakirti of the fifteenth century A.D.
- Kathakosa* : of unknown date—written in bad Sanskrit.
- Samyaktvakaumudi* : by an unknown author—probably of a later date.

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# CHAPTER NINE

## CAMPU LITERATURE

### A

#### INTRODUCTION

Composition in mixed prose and verse in Sanskrit is called Campu. Though the admixture of prose and verse can be traced even in Vedic literature, specially in the Brahmanas, still the origin of Campu is to be sought in its immediate predecessors, the fables and the romances. Already in the writings of Subandhu and Bana and in some inscriptions we find stray verses, until very lately the mingling of prose and verse became a singular characteristic of a different section of literature. But it is a curious fact that no Campu older than the tenth century A.D. is extant, though Professor Oldenberg has discovered something like Campu in the *Jatakamala* of Aryasura.

Campu :  
character  
& age

### B

#### SOME IMPORTANT WORKS

*Nalacampu* & *Madalacampu* by Trivikramabhatta of the tenth century A.D.

- Yasastilaka* : by Somadeva, a Digambara Jaina, of the middle of the tenth century A.D.—describing the conversion of King Maridatta.
- Tilakamanjari* : by Dhanapala, a Jaina, who wrote about 970 A.D.
- Jivandharacampu* : by Haricandra, not earlier than 900 A.D.
- Ramayanacampu* : attributed to Bhojaraja and Laksanabhata.
- Bharatacampu* : by Ananta of unknown date.
- Udayasundarikatha* : by Soddhala of 1040 A.D.—highly influenced by Bana.
- Gopalacampu* : by Jivagosvamin of the sixteenth century A.D.
- Svahasudhakaracampu* : by Narayana of the seventeenth century A.D.
- Sankaracetovilasacampu* : by Sankara—a very late work.

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# CHAPTER TEN

## GRAMMAR

### A

#### INTRODUCTION

**Importance  
of Sanskrit  
grammar**

Grammar is one of the most important branches of Sanskrit literature. From very early times till most recently, grammar has held a unique place, and its study has been continued through centuries with deepest reverence and consummate application. Patanjali, the author of the *Vyakarana-mahabhasya*, has dwelt at length on the various uses of the study of grammar. It is a fact that grammar as a branch of literature had a peculiar appeal to the early Indians, and it is worthy of notice that it is in India alone that the study of grammar has ultimately led to the discovery of a system of philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The high degree of popularity enjoyed by Sanskrit grammar is corroborated by the existence of nearly a dozen schools of grammar each of which is represented by writers of established reputation and following. Indra is, however, mentioned in the *Taittiriya-samhita* as the first of grammarians. The *Kathasaritsagara*,

The most popular of all the schools of grammar is that of Panini who has mentioned no less than *sixty-four* names of previous grammarians among which Kasyapa, Apisali, Gargya, Galava, Sakatayana, Senaka and Sphotayana may be cited.

Paini &  
his prede-  
cessors

## B.

### PANINI SCHOOL

Scholars vary widely among themselves in determining the age of Panini. Professor Goldstucker places him in the eighth century B.c., while Professors Max Midler and Weber are of opinion that he belonged to the fourth century B.C. His grammar, the *Astadhyayi*, is a work in *eight* chapters each of which contains *four* sections. The arrangement of the rules is highly scientific, economy being the most outstanding characteristic.

Paini :  
Astadhyayi

informs us that the Aindra school was supplanted by Panini, the author of the *Astadhyayi*. This has led Dr. Burnell to conclude that the Aindra school of grammar is the oldest in India. It should be noted, however, that neither Panini nor Patanjali mentions Indra as a grammarian. It is, therefore, argued by some that the Aindra school is post-Paniniya in date, though pre-Paniniya in substance.

**Katyayana  
Varttika**

Katyayana who is known as the Varttikakara came after Panini and his age is usually assigned to the third century B.C. The Varttikas are undoubtedly 'supplementary rules' which were framed by Katyayana to justify certain new forms which crept into the language after Panini had written his Sutas. But Katyayana did not only supplement the rules of Panini but also rejected some of them which were deemed unnecessary. In some cases again he improved upon the text of the *Astadhyayi* to meet the demands of a living language.

**Patanjali :  
Mahabhasya :  
150 B.C.**

Patanjali who is regarded as the last of the 'three great sages', lived during the reign of King Pusyamitra (or Puspamitra) of the Sunga dynasty. His date is one of the few definite landmarks in the whole range of early Indian literature. Patanjali earned for himself a rare reputation and his views were referred to by later schools of rival philosophers with utmost respect and reverence. Patanjali resorted to some technical devices whereby he could effectively extend the scope of the original Sutas of Panini and did not on that account venture any addition like Katyayana. It must, however, be said that he, too, rejected quite a good

number of the Sutras of Panini. The prose of Patanjali's *Mahabhasya*, is inimitable and marked by the qualities of grace, brevity and perspicuity.

Next after the three great sages mentioned above, one must remember the name of Bhartrhari who is often wrongly identified with Bhatti, the grammarian-poet, and who is in all probability referred to by I-tsing when he says that a great grammarian died in 651 A.D. Bhartrhari is known as the author of the *Vakyapadiya* (in two chapters), the *Prakirna* and a commentary on Patanjali's *Mahabhasya*, fragments of which are preserved in the Berlin library. It may be proved on the strength of the internal evidence furnished by the *Vakyapadiya* that the grammarian lived earlier than the seventh century A.D. The opening chapter of the *Vakyapadiya* discusses the philosophy of Sanskrit grammar. In the second chapter and the *Prakirna*, he discusses various topics of Sanskrit grammar.

V&mana and Jayaditya are the two Buddhist writers who wrote the *Kasika*, a commentary on the Sutras of Panini. I-tsing informs us that Jayaditya died about

**Bhartrhari  
Vskya-  
padiya and  
other works**

**Vamana &  
Jayaditya :  
Kasika**

660 A.D. The object of Vamana and Jayaditya was to incorporate in the system of Panini all the improvements made by Candragomin. The *Kasika* is usually known as the *Vrtti*.

Jinendra-  
buddhi:  
Nyasa

Jinendrabuddhi, a Bengali Buddhist, wrote an excellent and exhaustive commentary called the *Nyasa* or the *Kasikavivarana-panjika*, on the *Kasika* of Vamana and Jayaditya. Jinendrabuddhi is referred to by Bhamaha, the rhetorician, and as such he cannot be later than the eighth century A.D.

Kaiyata :  
Pradipa

Kaiyata is one of the most authoritative writers affiliated to the school of Panini. His commentary, the *Pradipa*, on the *Maha-bhasya* of Patanjali, is an invaluable treatise. It is believed that Kaiyata wrote in the eleventh century A.D.

Haradatta  
Pada  
manjari

Haradatta, the author of the *Padamanjari*, a commentary of the *Kasika* is well-known for his independent views which more often than not contradict the statements of Patanjali. Haradatta is quoted by Mallinatha while he himself quotes Magha. It is assumed that Haradatta flourished in the twelfth century A.D.

The *Astadhyayi* of Panini was remoulded

by later grammarians belonging to the school of Panini who arranged the Sutras of Panini according to the topics selected for discussion. Ramacandra who flourished in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D., wrote his *Prakriyakaumudi*, which is supposed to be the model for Bhattoji's *Siddhantakaumudi*. The most famous commentary, the *Prasada*, on the *Prakriyakaumudi* was written by Vitthalacarya in the first half of the sixteenth century A.D.

**Rama-  
candra:  
Prakriya-  
kaumudi**

The *Siddhantakaumudi*, of Bhattoji is a recast of the Sutras of Panini in the topical method. Bhattoji flourished in seventeenth century A.D. Bhattoji himself wrote a commentary on his *Siddhantakaumudi* which is called the *Praudhamanorama*. His *Sabdakaustubha* is an authoritative commentary on Panini's *Astadhyayi*. It is true that Bhattoji's reputation as an authority on Sanskrit grammar is enviable. The most famous commentary on the *Siddhantakaumudi* is the *Tattva-bodhini* by Jnanendra Sarasvati of the eighteenth century A.D. The *Balamanorama* of Vasudeva is an easy commentary on the *Siddhantakaumudi*.

**Bhattoji :  
Siddhanta-  
kaumudi &  
other works**

Nagesabhata was a versatile genius of the

**Nagesa :**  
**his works**

eighteenth century A.D. who wrote treatises not only on grammar but also on Yoga, Alankara and other subjects. Among his important works in grammar are the *Uddyota*, a commentary on Kaiyata's *Pradipa*, the *Brhacchahdendusekhara* and the *Laghusabdendusekhara* (both commentaries on Bhattoji's *Siddhantakaumudi*) and the *Paribhasendusekhara*, a collection of Paribhasas in connection with Panini's grammar. The *Vaiyakaranasiddhanta-manjusa* (*Brhat* and *Laghu*) is another outstanding work which has discussed various topics of Sanskrit grammar.<sup>1</sup>

**Varadaraja**  
**his works**

Varadaraja, a very recent writer popularized his name by making abridgements of the *Siddhantakaumudi*. His two books, the *Laghusiddhantakaumudi* and the *Madhyasiddhantakaumudi* are widely read by all beginners of Sanskrit grammar.

### C

## OTHER IMPORTANT SCHOOLS OF GRAMMAR

Candragomin flourished in the middle of the fifth century A.D. Bhartrhari in his

<sup>1</sup> According to the tradition which we have been privileged to inherit and which comes down uninter-  
ruptedly from Nagesabhata, the *Paramalaghumanjusa*  
is not the work of Nagesa.

*Vakyapadiya* refers to the Candra school of grammarians. The object of Candra-gomin was to rearrange with marked brevity the system of Panini. The Candra grammar, however, gained much popularity and was widely commented upon. The commentaries are now preserved mostly in Tibetan translations.

**Candra  
school**

According to Professor Pathak Jainendra flourished in the latter part of the fifth century A.D, Jainendra lacks originality inasmuch as he condenses Panini and the Varttikas. Two main commentaries on this grammar have been preserved—one by Abhayanandi (750 A.D.) and another called *Sabdarnavacandrika* by Somadeva.

**Jainendra-  
school**

Sakatayana, the founder of a school after his name, should not be confused with the ancient Sakatayana mentioned by Panini. Sakatayana wrote his *Sabdanusasana* in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. *Amoghavytti* is another work of this author. Sakatayana has based his work upon Panini, Katyayana and Jinendra. Sakatayana is also credited with the authorship of (i) the *Paribhasasutras* (ii) the *Ganapatha* (iii) the *Dhatupdtha* (iv) the *Unadisutras* and (v) the *Linganusasana*.

**Sakatayana  
school**

Hema  
candra  
school

Hemacandra, the prolific Jaina writer, wrote his *Sabdanusasana* in the eleventh century A.D. The book consists of more than *four thousand* Sutras, and is a compilation rather than an original work. Hemacandra himself wrote a commentary of his book known as *Sabdanusasana-brhadvr̥tti*.

Katantra  
school

Sarvavarman is the author of the *Katantrasutras* otherwise known as the Kaumara and the Kalapa. The beginnings of this school go to the early centuries of the Christian era. There are, however, evidences of later interpolations in the *Katantra-sutras*. Sarvavarman's views are in many places different from those of Panini. Durgasimha wrote his famous *Vr̥tti* on this grammar not later than the ninth century A.D. Durgasimha's *Vr̥tti* was commented by Vardhamana in the eleventh century A.D. Prthvidhara wrote a sub-commentary on Vardhamana's work. The Katantra school has been highly popular in Bengal and Kashmir.

Sarasvata  
school

Anubhūtiśvarupācārya is the author of the *Sarasvatapṛakriyā*, who flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. Brevity of expression is a characteristic of

this school. Some of the many commentators on the *Sarasvataprakriya*, are Punjara, Amrtabharati, Ksemendra and others.

Vopadeva wrote his *Mugdhabodha* in the thirteenth century A.D. Vopadeva's style is brief and simple. His technical terms in many places differ from those of Panini. Kama Tarkavagisa is the most celebrated commentator of this grammar.

**Mugdha-  
bodha  
school**

Kramadisvara wrote his *Samksiptasara* in the thirteenth century A.D. The work has *eight* sections and the illustrations have been taken from the *Bhattikavya*. The *Samksiptasara* underwent a thorough revision in the hand of Jumaranandin who wrote a commentary called the *Rasavati*. This grammar is widely read in Western Bengal.

**Jaumara  
school**

The author of the *Supadma* is Padmanabha who flourished in the fourteenth century A.D. This system of grammar, like many other systems, is based on Panini. Padmanabha himself wrote a commentary known as the *Supadmapanjika*.

**Saupadma  
school**

## D

### SECTARIAN SCHOOLS OF GRAMMAR

In recent centuries there flourished some grammarians who wanted to make grammar

the vehicle of religion. This tendency was already present in Vopadeva. Rupagosvamin wrote his *Harinamamrta* in the fifteenth century A.D. The names of Krsna and Radha are used as actual technical terms of grammar. Jivagosvamin wrote a grammar of the same name. A third Vaisnava grammar named *Caitanyamrta* is mentioned by Professor Colebrooke.

## E

### SOME IMPORTANT WORKS ON GRAMMER

- Durghatavrtti* : by Saranadeva—a Bengali Buddhist of the twelfth century A.D.—dealing with derivations of difficult words.
- Bhasavrtti* : by Purusottamadeva of the twelfth century A.D.—a commentary on the *Astadhyayi* (sections on Vedic accent are left out).
- Ganaratnamahodadhi* : by Vardhamana in 1140 A.D.
- Paribhasavrtti* : by Siradeva—a collection of *paribhasas* with their explanation.
- Dhatupradipa* : by Maitreyaraksita who is later than Hemacandra—containing a list of roots and their uses.
- Dhatuvrtti* : by Madhava, son of Sayana—written after the model of the *Dhatupradipa*.

*Vaiyakarauabhusaua* & *Vaiyakaranabhusanasara* by Kaundabhatta, nephew of Bhattoji—dealing with philosophical and other points of Sanskrit grammar.

*Sabdaratna* : by Haridiksita, grandson of Bhattoji and teacher of Nagesa—a commentary on the *Praudhamanorama*.

*Praudhamanoramakucamardini* : by Panditaraja Jagannatha, the great rhetorician—a criticism of the *Praudhamanorama*.

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**CHAPTER ELEVEN**  
**POETICS AND DRAMATURGY**  
**A**  
**INTRODUCTION**

**Bharata :**  
**Natyasastra**

The literature on poetics and dramaturgy is conspicuously rich in Classical Sanskrit. Many able thinkers have written important works both on poetics and dramaturgy, and it is also a fact that one and the same author has written on both these subjects of kindred nature. Bharata's *Natyasastra* is the earliest known treatise on poetics and dramaturgy. The date of this monumental composition has been variously assigned by scholars to the period between the second century B.C. and third century A.D. The *Natyasastra* shows unmistakable proofs of a systematic tradition which has preceded it by at least a century. Bharata has been held in high esteem by all later writers on poetics and his work has continued to be a source of inspiration to them.

**Four**  
**schools of**  
**poetics**

With the progress of years there arose *four* main schools of poetics which maintain different views with regard to the essential characteristics of poetry. Thus from time

to time, Alankara (Figure), Riti (Style), Rasa (Aesthetic pleasure) and Dhvani (Suggestion) have been declared to be the essential factors of poetry. The Dhvani school, however, has grown to be the most important of all other schools of Alankara literature. Anandavardhana, the author of the *Dhvanyaloka* is known to be the pioneer of this school and it has been for his commentator Abhinavagupta to bring out the importance of the doctrine of Dhvani through his lasting contributions.<sup>1</sup>

Bhamaha is one of the earliest rhetoricians to take up a systematic discussion of poetic embellishments after Bharata's treatment of figures. Bhamaha flourished in all probability in the seventh century A.D. His only work, the *Kavyalankara*, contains six chapters. In his definition of poetry Bhamaha has accorded equal status to 'word' and 'import', though he has devoted more attention to the former.

Udbhata wrote his *Alankarasamgraha in*

<sup>1</sup> According to modern scholars, a comparatively late work on Indian poetics is the *Agnipurana* where in as many as *eleven* chapters, a comprehensive and authoritative information about the various schools of poetics known to the author is available.

(i) Alan-  
kara school

Bhamaha :  
Kavyalan  
kara

Udbhata :  
Alankara-  
samgraha

the latter half of the eighth century A.D. The work is a collection of verses defining *forty-one* figures and contains *six* chapters. In his treatment of figures Udbhata has followed in the line of Bhamaha.<sup>1</sup>

Rudrata :  
Kavyalan-  
kara

Rudrata wrote his *Kavyalankara* in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. The work which is in *sixteen* chapters, deals mainly with figures of poetry. In his treatment of figures Rudrata seems to have been the follower of a tradition different from that of Bhamaha and Udbhata. Of the three commentators of Rudrata, Namisadhu appears to be the most important.

(ii) Riti  
school

Dandin  
Kavyadarsa

Dandin, the author of the *Kavyadarsa*, is the precursor to the Riti school which was developed by Vamana. Though Dandin is usually assigned to the seventh century A.D., still the mutual priority of Bhamaha and Dandin is a disputed point in the history of Sanskrit poetics. Dandin appears to have been greatly influenced by the Alankara school. His most outstanding con-

<sup>1</sup> Though Udbhata belongs to the Alankara school, his well-known commentator Pratiharenduraja, a pupil of Mukulabhatta, is a follower of the Rasa school. Pratiharenduraja is assigned to the first half of the tenth century A. D.

tribution to poetics is the concept of Guna. In his definition of poetry Dandin gives more importance to the word-element than to the sense-element. The most authoritative commentator of the *Kavyadarta* is Tarunavacaspati.

Vamana who flourished in the latter half of the eighth century A.D., wrote his *Kavyalankarasutra* in five chapters and twelve sections in which he boldly asserted that Riti is the soul of poetry. The ten Gunas are important in so far as they constitute Riti. The *Kamadhenu*, a late work by Gopendra Tippa Bhupala, is a lucid commentary on the *Kavyalankarasutra*.

**Vamana :**  
**Kavyalan-**  
**karasutra**

The Rasa school originated from the interpretations by different commentators of Bharata's aphorism on Rasa. Lollata who is known to be the earliest interpreter, flourished in the eighth century A.D. The work of Lollata is unfortunately lost to us, though a review of his opinion is found in the *Abhinavabharati* of Abhinavagupta and the *Kavyaprakasa* of Mammata.

**(iii) Rasa**  
**school**

**Lollata**

Another interpreter is Sri-Sankuka who has criticized the views of Lollata. The work of Sri-Sarikuka also is lost to us. He is believed to be a junior contemporary of Lollata

**Sri-Sankuka**

Bhafta-  
nayaka ;  
Hridaya-  
darpana

Bhattanayaka is the most celebrated commentator of the Rasa school. He is said to have flourished between the last quarter of the ninth century A.D. and the beginning of the tenth century A.D. His work, the *Hridayadarpana*, is unfortunately lost to us. Bhattanayaka has rejected the views of Lollata and Sri-Sankuka. It is interesting to note that Bhattanayaka has recognized *two* additional powers of word, viz., the power of generalization ( *bhava-katva* ) by which the meaning is made intelligible to the audience and the power of *bhojakatva* which enables the audience to relish the enjoyment of the poem.

(iv) Dhvani  
school

Anandavar-  
dhana :  
Dhvanyg-  
loka

The doctrine of Dhvani according to which 'suggestion' is held to be the essence of poetry, was formulated by Anandavardhana in his *Dhvanyaloka* in the middle of the ninth century A.D. Anandavardhana informs us that the doctrine of Dhvani is very old, the dim beginnings of which are lost in oblivion. According to Anandavardhana, word is not only endowed with the *two* powers of denotation (*sakti*) and implication (*laksaya*) but also of suggestion (*vyanjana*). Through the power of sugges-

tion, either a subject, or a figure or a sentiment is revealed.

The views of Anandavardhana found a large and definite shape in the writings of his erudite commentator Abhinavagupta who flourished at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. Abhinavagupta has to his credit two important commentaries on poetics which may be looked upon as independent treatises and these are the *Locana on the Dhvanyaloka* of Anandavardhana and the *Abhinavabharati* on the *Natyasastra* of Bharata. Abhinavagupta thinks that all suggestion must be of sentiment, for the suggestion of subject or that of figure-may be ultimately reduced to the suggestion of sentiment.

Abhinava-  
gupta :  
Locana &  
Abhinava-  
bharati

## B

### WORKS ON POETICS & DRAMATURGY

*Abhidhavrthtimatrka* : by Mukulabhatta who is generally assigned to the period between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century A. D.— a grammatico-rhetorical work.

*Kavyamimamsa* : by Rajasekhara of the tenth century A.D.—written in *eighteen*

chapters— a practical hand-book for poets.

- Vakroktijivita* by Kuntala or Kuntaka who flourished in the middle of the tenth century A.D. and belonged to a reactionary school to Dhvani—upholding Vakrokti (figurative speech) as the essence of poetry. (The Vakrokti school is an off-shoot of the older Alankara school).
- Dasarupaka* by Dhananjaya of the tenth century A.D.—containing also a section on dramaturgy besides sections on Rasa and allied topics—commented on by Dhanika, a contemporary of Dhananjaya in his *Avaloka*.
- Aucityavicara and Kaiikavithabharana* by Ksemendra of the eleventh century A.D.—the first, discussing propriety as essential to sentiment and the second, discussing such topics as the possibility of becoming a poet, the issue of borrowing, etc., etc.
- Sarasvatikanthabharana and Srngaraprakasa* by Bhoja of the first half of the eleventh century A.D.—the first, an encyclopaedic work containing information about different schools of poetics and the second, a supplement to the first and containing a section on dramaturgy.
- Vyaktiviveka* : by Mahimabhata of the second half of the eleventh century A.D. who belonged to the reactionary school

to Dhvani—containing discussions on the possibility of including Dhvani under inference.

*Kavyaprakasa* : by Mammata of the eleventh century A.D.—highly influenced by the writings of Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta—discussing Rasa as the soul of poetry—commented on by Rucaka (identified with Ruyyaka, author of the *Alankarasarvasva*), Manikyacandra, Sridhara, Candidasa, Visvanatha and Govinda, besides a number of minor commentators.

*Bhavaprakasana* : by Saradatanaya who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century A.D. and was one of the later writers on Rasa—highly influenced by the works of Bhoja—dealing with topics of drama.

*Alankarasarvasva* : by Ruyyaka of the latter half of the twelfth century A.D.—written in the line of Udbhata—discussing the importance of Dhvani in so far as it embellishes the expressed meaning—commented on by Jayaratha, Vidyacakravartin and others.

*Kavyanusasana* : by Hemacandra, belonging to the twelfth century A.D. who has borrowed from the writings of Abhinavagupta, Mammata, Kuntala and others.

- Vagbhatalankara* : by Vagbhata of the twelfth century A.D.—a work in verses.
- Candraloka* : by Jayadeva who was not earlier than the twelfth century A.D.—a convenient manual of figures of speech with happy illustrations.
- ( by Bhanudatta who was not earlier than the twelfth century A.D.—the two works treating of Rasa and allied topics.
- Natyadarpana* : by Ramacandra and Gunacandra of the twelfth century A.D.—a work on dramaturgy differing widely from the *Natyasastra* of Bharata.
- Kavyanusasana* : by Vagbhata of the thirteenth century A.D. who has followed Hemacandra.
- Kavitarahasya* or *Kavyakalpalata* : by Arisimha and his pupil Amara-candra, two Svetambara Jainas, belonging to the thirteenth century A.D.
- Kavikalpalala* : by Devesvara, a Jaina writer, probably belonging to the thirteenth century A.D.
- Natakakalaksanaratnakosa* : by Sagarandandin of the thirteenth century A.D.—a work on dramaturgy—strictly following the *Natyasastra*.
- Ekavali* : by Vidyadhara of the fourteenth century A.D.—written for King Narasimha of Orissa—belonging to the Dhvani school—commented on by Mallinatha in his *Tarala*.

*Prataparudrayasobhusana* : by Vidyanatha of the fourteenth century A.D.—written for King Prataparudra of Warangal—a voluminous treatise containing various informations about poetics and dramaturgy.

*Sahityadarpana* : by Visvanatha of the fourteenth century A.D.—treating in the manner of Mammata, Rasa as the soul of poetry, though fully acknowledging the importance of Dhvani—containing discussions on both poetics and dramaturgy—criticizing Mammata and in turn criticized by Govinda and Jagannatha.

*Ujjvalanilamani* : by Rupagosvamin of the sixteenth century A.D. who regards the Erotic as only a different name of the Devotional (*Bhakti*)—commented on by Jivagosvamin who flourished after him in the same century, in his *Locanarocani*.

*Alankarasekhara* by "Kesavamisra of the sixteenth century A.D.—a short treatise on poetics, the Karikas of which according to the author are the composition of Sauddhodani.

*Citramimamsa* and *Kuvalayananda* by Appayyadiksita of the seventeenth century A.D., who is noted for his critical insight and originality of appreciation - the first has been criticized by Jagannatha and the second is based on the *Candraloka* of Jayadeva.

## 170 AN INTRODUCTION TO CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

*Rasagangadhara* : by Jagannatha of the seventeenth century A.D. who is the last of the Titans in Indian poetics and evinces a superb power of criticism and presentation—an important work on the dialectics of Indian, poetics in particular.

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## CHAPTER TWELVE

### METRICS

#### A

### INTRODUCTION

In the Brahmanas we find discussions on metrical matters and it may be presumed that at that time the study of metrics was deemed essential as one of six Vedangas.

**Metrics :  
a Vedanga**

Pingala is, however, the earliest known author on prosody. In his work which is of the Sutra-type, we find for the first time the use of algebraic symbols. The book discusses both Vedic and Classical metres. Scholars opine that Pingala's work is surely earlier than the chapters on metre (chs. XIV, XV) in the *Natyasastra* and the metrical section of the *Agnipurana*. The text attributed to this author on Prakrit metres (*Prakṛta-Paingala*) is undoubtedly a later work.

**Pingala  
his Sutra**

#### B

### WORKS ON METRICS

*Srutabodha* : ascribed to Kalidasa and often attributed to Vararuci—a manual of Classical metres.

- Suvrtatilaka* : by Ksemendra of the eleventh century A.D.—containing a variety of Classical metres.
- Chando'nusasana* : by Hemacandra of the twelfth century A.D.—a compilation and not an original work.
- Vrttaratnakara* : by Kedarabhata ( earlier than the fifteenth century A.D. )—a bulky book dealing with *one hundred and thirty-six* metres.
- Vrttaratnakara* : by Nuruyana of the sixteenth century A.D.
- Chandomanjari* : by Gangadasa—a late and yet popular work on prosody.

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## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### LEXICOGRAPHY

#### A

### INTRODUCTION

Yaska's *Nirukta* is the oldest extant lexicographic work which contains a collection of Vedic terms. The lexicons of Classical Sanskrit literature are in many respects different from the *Nirukta*. One of the salient points of difference is that the Classical dictionaries treat of nouns and indeclinables while the Nighantus contain both nominal and verbal forms. Almost all the lexicographical works of Classical Sanskrit are written in verse.

**Yaska .  
Nirukta**

The *Namalinganusasana* or the *Amara-kosa* is one of the earliest lexicographical works in Classical Sanskrit. Amarasimha, the author, probably flourished in the seventh century A.D. He is, however, believed to have been one of the 'nine gems' in the court of the famous Vikramaditya. Of the many commentators of this work, Ksirasvamin, Sarvananda, Bhanuji and Mahesvara are well-known.

**Araara-  
simha :  
Amaiakosa**

## B

## LESS IMPORTANT LEXICONS

- Trikandasesa* & *Haravai* by Purusottama—both early lexicons, containing a collection of many rare words.
- Anekarthasamuccaya* : by Sasvata, a contemporary of Amarasimha.
- Abhidhanaratnamala* ; by Halayudha of the tenth century A.D.
- Vaijayanti* : by Yadava of the eleventh century A.D.  
*Abhidhanacintamani* by Hemacandra of the twelfth century A.D.—both containing a rich variety of words.  
 & *Anekarthasamgraha*
- Visvaprakasa* : by Mehesvara of the twelfth century A.D.
- Anekarthasabdakosa* : by Medinlkara of the fourteenth century A.D.
- Vacaspatya* : by Taranatha Tarkavacaspati of the nineteenth century A.D.—an encyclopaedic work of outstanding merit.
- Sabdakalpadruma* : an encyclopaedic compilation made by a batch of Sanskrit Pandits in the nineteenth century A.D., under the patronage of Raja Sir Radhakanta Deva.

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**CHAPTER FOURTEEN**  
**CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LAW**  
**A**

**GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF  
LEGAL WORKS**

Besides the Srautasutras and the Grhyasutras there were in ancient times a number of Dharmasutras which may be viewed as rudimentary texts on civil and religious law. Among these Dharmasutras mention must be made of the *Dharmasutras* of Gautama, Harita, Vasistha, Bodhayana, Apastamba, Hiranyakesin and others. It is not definitely known when these Sutras were composed but it is generally believed that their age would approximately be the fifth or the fourth century b.c. Two other Dharmasutras, the *Vaisravadharmasutra* and the *Vaikhanasadharmasutra* were written at a later period, the former being assigned to the third century A.D.

**Early  
Dharma-  
sutras**

The most outstanding and popular work on Brahmanical laws is the *Manavadharmasastra* or the *Manusmṛiti*. Though the author of this work is generally known to be

**Manusmrti  
authorship**

Manu, still the present text is said to have been the work of Bhr̥gu. Again, from certain references it becomes evident that the present version of the *Manusmrti* was narrated by one student of Bhr̥gu and not by Bhr̥gu himself even. Dr. Buhler suggests that the *Manavadharmasastra* or the *Manusmrti* is a recast and versification of one original work of the type of Sutra works known as the *Manavasutrahara*, a subdivision of the Maitrayaniya school which adheres to a redaction of the *Krsna-Yajurveda*.

**Age**

It has been argued that the present text of the *Manusmrti* contains various facts about the supremacy of the Brahr̥nanas over other castes. The presumption, therefore, is that the work was written at a time when the Brahr̥nanas were kings of India and had great power in their hands. History tells us that there were Brahr̥mana kings in India after the fall of the Sungas. It is known that the Kanvas ruled in ancient India for forty-five years in the first century B.C. It is suggested that the present text of the *Manusmrti* was prepared during the reign of the Kanvas.

The *Manusmrti* is written in lucid

Sanskrit verse which comprises 2684 couplets arranged in *twelve* chapters. The work has been commented on by numerous scholars including Medhatithi, Govindaraja, Narayana, Kulluka, Raghavananda and Nandana.

Contents &  
commentators

## B

### IMPORTANT WORKS ON LAW

- Naradasmṛti* : Presumably a late work which has its individual merits but cannot stand comparison with the work of Manu—usually regarded as the legal supplement to the *Manusmṛti*.
- Bṛhaspatismṛti* A supplementary work to the *Manusmṛti*—belonging to the sixth or the seventh century A.D.
- Yajñavalkyasmṛti* An important work in the style of the *Mānismṛti*—containing a methodical and highly satisfactory treatment with stamps of individuality—not earlier than the third century A.D.—commented on by Vijnanesvara of the eleventh century A.D. in his *Mitaksara*.
- Tautatitamatatilaka, Sainskarapaddhati & Prayascittaprakarana* by Bhavadevabhata (eleventh century A.D.), the famous minister of King Harivarman of south Bengal.
- Smṛtikalpataru* by Laksmidhara, minister of Govindacandra of Kanauj (twelfth century A.D.)

- Parasarasmr̥ti* : The author of this work is not the same person quoted as an authority by Yajñavalkya—commented on by Madhava, of the fourteenth century A.D., in his *Parasaramadhava*.
- Brahmanasarvasva* : by Halayudha, of the twelfth century A.D.—written for King Lakṣmanasena of Bengal.
- Dasakarmapaddhati* : by Paśupati of the twelfth century A.D.
- Pitrdayita* : by Aniruddha of the twelfth century A.D.
- Caturvargacintamaui* : by Hemadri of the thirteenth century A.D.—a voluminous work.
- Dharmaratna* : by Jimutavahana of the fourteenth century A.D.—an important work containing the famous *Dayabhaga* which dominates the views of Bengal on inheritance.
- Dipakalika* : by Sulapani of the fourteenth century A.D.—a commentary on the *Yajñavalkyasmṛti*.
- Madanaparijata* : by Viśveśvara of the fourteenth century A.D.—a work on religious laws.
- Vivddaratnakara*, by Candēśvara, grand-uncle of  
*Smṛtiratnakara* Vidyapati, minister of Hari-  
 and other : śimha of the fourteenth cen-  
*Batnakaras* tury A.D.—very important law  
 books.
- Raghunandanasmṛtis* : by Raghunandana of the sixteenth century A.D.—*twenty-eight* in number—all bearing the appella-

tion of 'Tattva', e.g., *Tithitattva*,  
*Udvahatattva*, etc.—highly autho-  
ritative, specially in Bengal.

- Vivadacintamani*,  
*Vyavaharacintamani*  
and other  
*Cintamanis* by Vacaspati who wrote for  
Bhairavasimha (Harinara-  
yana) and Ramabhadra  
(Rupanarayana) of Mithila  
(fifteenth century A.D.)—  
highly important law books.
- Viramitrodaya* by Mitramisra of the seventeenth  
century A.D.—a voluminous work,
- Nirnayasindhu* by Kamalakarabhatta of the seven-  
teenth century A.D.

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**CHAPTER FIFTEEN**  
**POLITICS**  
**A**  
**INTRODUCTION**

**Kautilya  
Artha-  
sastra**

Of the four objects of life the science of politics deals with the aim and achievement of the second (*artha*) and Kautilya's *Arthashastra* amply proves the existence of the study of political science and practical life in ancient India. The *Arthashastra* is an outstanding work in the field of Indian politics and is claimed by some modern scholars to have been composed sometime in the third century. A.D., though traditionally the author is believed to have been none other than Chanakya or Vishnugupta, the able minister of Maurya Chandragupta (fourth century B.C.), who has been unanimously recognized by all scholars as the Machiavelli of India. The *Arthashastra*, however, mentions *Brhaspati*, *Bahudantiputra*, *Visalaksa* and *Usanas* as authorities. The book is a perfect manual for the conduct of kings in their political existence. Later works on this science are mainly based on the *Arthashastra*.

## B

## MINOR WORKS ON POLITICS

- Nitisara* : by Kamandaka—written in verso with the character of a Kavya—not later than the eighth century A.D.
- Nitivakyamrta* : by Somadeva, the author of Yasas-tilaka—the details of war and kindred topics are meagrely dealt with and the author appears to be a great moral teacher.
- Laghu Arnanniti* : by the great Jaina writer Hemacandra (1088 A.D.—1172 A.D.)—written in verse—an abbreviation of another bigger work of the author written in Prakrit.
- Yuktikalpataru* : ascribed to Bhoja.
- Nitiratnakara* : by Candessvara, a jurist—grand-uncle of Vidyapati.
- Sukraniti* : of unknown authorship—a work of a very late date, mentioning the use of gunpowder.

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# CHAPTER SIXTEEN

## EROTICS

### A

#### INTRODUCTION

Vatsyayana  
Kamasutra

Erotics or the science of love was specially studied in ancient India. The most outstanding work on the subject is the *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana who is placed sometime in the third century A.D. The work is divided into *seven* parts and is written in prose interspersed with stray verses. The work does not claim to have been the first to be written on that subject. The work is a mine of informations on matters relating to the social order and customs of the day.

Yasodhara  
Jaya-  
mangala

Yasodhara of the thirteenth century A.D., wrote a commentary, the *Jayamangala*, on the *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana. Credit is due to this commentator who has explained many technical terms used by Vatsyayana.

### B

#### MINOR WORKS ON EROTICS

*Pancasayaka* : by Jyotirisvara—later than Ksemendra.  
*Ratirahasya* : by Kokkoka—prior to 1200 A.D.

- Ratimanjari* : by one Jayadeva of unknown date—  
sometimes identified with the  
poet of the *Gitagovinda*.
- Anangaranga* : by Kalyanamalla of the sixteenth  
century A.D.
- Ratisastra* by Nagarjuna of unknown date—often  
wrongly identified with the great  
Buddhist thinker.

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## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

### MEDICINE

#### A

### HISTORY OF MEDICAL WORKS

#### Introduc- tion

A study of Vedic literature will reveal that Anatomy, Embryology and Hygiene were known to Vedic Indians. The science of Ayurveda was also looked upon as one of the auxiliary sciences to the Vedas. There are references in early literature to ancient sages who delivered instruction on the science of medicine. Atreya is one of these sages who is usually held to be the founder of the science while Canakya is said to have written on medicine. According to Buddhist tradition, Jivaka, a student of Atreya, was a specialist in the diseases of children.

#### Caraka

The earliest extant literature on medicine is the *Carakasamhita*. Caraka, according to Professor Levi, was a contemporary of King Kaniska. It is, however, known that the present text of Caraka was revised by one Drdhabala, a Kashmirian, who lived as late as the eighth or the ninth century A.D.

Susruta is another great teacher of Indian medicine whose name occurs in the famous

Bower Manuscript and who is mentioned as the son of Visvamitra in the *Mahabharata*. As early as the ninth and the tenth centuries his reputation travelled far beyond India. Among his commentators, mention must be made of Cakrapanidatta (eleventh century A.D), besides Jaiyyata, Gayadasa and Dallana.

Susruta &  
his com-  
mentators

Bhela is another authority who is said to have written a *Samhita* which, in the opinion of some scholars, is earlier than the work of Caraka.

Bhela

B

LATER MEDICAL WORKS

- Ayngasamgraha* and *Astangahrdayasamhitu* : by Vagbhata, the next great authority after Susruta—often identified with the medical authority referred to by I-tsing.
- Rasaratnakara* by Nugarjuna, probably of the seventh or the eighth century A.D.—containing a section on the practical application of mercury.
- Nidana* : by Madhavakara of the eighth or the ninth century A.D.—an important treatise on Pathology.
- Cikitsasarasamgraha* : by Cakrapanidatta : a work on Therapeutics.

*Crkitsakalika* . by Tisata of the fourteenth century  
A.D.

*Bhavaprakasa* : by Bhavamisra of the sixteenth  
century A.D.

*Vaidyajivana* : by Lolimbaraja of the seventeenth  
century A.D.

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## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

### ASTRONOMY, MATHEMATICS AND ASTROLOGY

A

#### HISTORY OF ASTRONOMY

It is not definitely known whether Astronomy was systematically studied as a science in Vedic times. It is as late as the sixth century A.D. when in the *Panca-siddhantihaka* Varahamihira we get the information about the contents of five Siddhantas of an earlier date. It is, however, a fact that the lunar mansions were known to Vedic Indians. Dr. Weber says that the names of some asterisms occur in the *Rgveda*, the *Satapathabrahmana*, the *Taittiriya-samhita* and the *Atharvaveda*. It is presumed that with the discovery of planets, the science of Astronomy made a significant advance. Planets are mentioned in the *Taittiriya-aryaka* the two Great Epics, and the Law-books of Manu. It still remains an open question, however, whether the ancient Indians discovered the planets independently of others or whether

**Astronomy:  
an early  
science**

the knowledge came to them from a foreign source. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Indian Astronomy thrived well under Greek influence.

## B

## WORKS ON ASTRONOMY

Aryabhata  
his works

Before the discovery of the *Pancasiddhantika*, Aryabhata was regarded as the only authority on Indian Astronomy. Aryabhata wrote towards the close of the fifth century A.D. Three of his works now available to us are the *Aryabhatiya*, in *ten* stanzas, the *Dasagitikasutra* and the *Aryadasata* in which there is a section on Mathematics.

Aryabhata  
Arya-  
siddhanta

Aryabhata is to be carefully distinguished from another author of the same name who wrote the *Aryasiddhanta* in the tenth century A.D. and was known to Alberuni.

**Brahma-**  
gupta : his  
works

Brahmagupta is another great name in Indian Astronomy who in the seventh century A.D. wrote *two* important works, the *Brahmasphutasiddhanta* and the *Khandahadyaka*.

Lalla who is later than Brahmagupta, has to his credit one work the *Sisyadhidhitantra*.

Lalla .  
Sisyadhiv-  
ddhitantra

To the eleventh century belong two writers Bhoja and Satananda whose works are respectively, the *Rajamrganka* and the *Bhasvati*.

Bhoja &  
Satananda :  
their works-

Bhaskaracarya of 1150 A.D. wrote his masterpiece, the *Siddhantasiromani*, which is divided into *four* sections. A second work of his is the *Karanakutuhala*.

Bhaskara ;  
his works

## C

### WORKS ON MATHEMATICS

In the field of Indian Mathematics, there are only a few names. Aryabhata was the first to include in his work a section on Mathematics. Brahmagupta has discussed the principles of ordinary Arithmetic in a brief manner. In the ninth century A.D. Mahaviracarya wrote an elementary but comprehensive work on Indian Mathematics. In the tenth century A.D. he wrote his *Trisati* which discusses quadratic equations. It was Bhaskaracarya who in the two sections viz., *Lilavati* and *Bijaganita* of his work, the *Siddhantasiromani*, made

Aryabhata,  
Brahma-  
gupta,  
Mahavira &  
Bhaskara

some lasting contributions to Indian Mathematics.

## D

## WORKS ON ASTROLOGY

## Early works

In India Astrology has been studied as a science from very ancient times. The works of Varahamihira, of course, eclipsed the fame of earlier authorities whose writings are now lost to us. Fragments of one *Vrddhagarga-samhita* are still available. Varahamihira classified Astrology into the *three* branches of *Tantra*—the astronomical and mathematical foundations, *Hora*—that dealing with horoscope and *Samhita*—that discussing natural Astrology. The most outstanding contribution of Varahamihira is the *Brhat-samhita* which was commented on by Bhattotpala. On the *Hora* section Varahamihira wrote two works, the *Brhajjataka* and the *Laghujataka*. Besides the works of Varahamihira, we find a reference to one *Yavanajataka* of dubious authorship.

## Later works

Among later works on Astrology, mention may be made of the *Horasatapancasika* by Prthuyasas, son of Varahamihira, the *Horasastra* by Bhattotpala, the *Vidya-*

*madhaviya* (before 1350 A.D.) the *Vrddha-vasisthasamhita* of unknown authorship, the *Jyotisasaroddhara* of Harsakirti, the *Jyotirvidyabharana* of unknown authorship (not later than the sixteenth century A.D.) and the *Tajika* in two parts (the *Samjnantatra* and the *Varsatantra*) of Nilakantha (sixteenth century A.D.)<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Closely associated with works on Astrology are treatises on omens and prognostications. Among such treatises are the *Adbhutasagara* (twelfth century A.I.) and the *Samudratilaka* (twelfth century A.D.) by Durlabharaja and Jagaddeva. The *Ramalarahasya* of Bhayabhanjanasarman is a work on geomancy and under the style of the *Pasakakevali*, preserved in the Bower Manuscript, are the two treatises on cubomancy.

## CHAPTER NINETEEN

### MISCELLANEOUS SCIENCES

Archery

It is a pity that though the Indians specialized in almost every branch of Sanskrit literature, the literature on quite a good number of minor sciences is little known to us. Thus there are no extant works on Archery. Among the authoritative writers on Archery the names of Vikramaditya, Sadasiva and Sarangadatta have reached us.

Sciences of  
elephants &  
horses

On the sciences of elephants and horses which are associated with the names of two ancient sages Palakapya and Salihotra respectively, a few works are available. The *Hastyayurveda* of uncertain date and the *Matangalila* of Narayana are the two known works on the science of elephants. The *Asvayurveda* of Grana, the *Asvavaidyaka* of Jayadatta and of Dipankara, the *Yogamanjan* of Vardhamana and the *Asvacikitsa* of Nakula are extant works on the science of horses.

Architec-  
ture

The literature on Architecture is represented by the *Vastuvidya*, the *Manusyalaya-candrika* in seven chapters, the *Mayamata*

in *thirty-four* chapters, the *Yuktikalpataru* in *twenty-three* chapters, the *Samarangana-sutraddhra* of Bhoja, the *Visvakarma-prakasa* and some sections of the *Brhatsarmhita*, the *Matsyapurana*, the *Agnipurana*, the *Garudapurdna*, the *Visuudharmottara*, the *Kasyapasamhita*, the *Silparatna* of Srikumara and such other works.

The science of jewels has been discussed in such works as the *Agastimata*, the *Ratnapariksa* of Buddhabhatta and the *Navaratnapariksa* of Narayanapandita.

**Science of  
Jewels**

Mention may be made of the *Sanmukha-kalpa*, a treatise on the science of stealing.

**Science of  
Stealing**

Mention should also be made of the *Nalapaka* which treats of the art of cooking.

**Science of  
Cooking**

On music there have been many important works besides the *Natyasastra*. Among the more important works on this subject, mention may be made of the *Sangitamakaranda*, the *Sangitasudartana* of Sudarsana, the *Sangitaratnakara* of Sarangadeva, the *Sangitadarpana* of Damodara and the *Ragavibodha* of Somanatha.

**Science of  
Music**

On dancing the literature is not very extensive. Besides the *Natyasastra*, we have the *Abhinayadarpana* of Nandikesvara,

**Science of  
Dancing**

the *Srihastarmuktavali*, the *Nartanamrnaya* and a few other works.

Science of  
Painting

On painting the *Visnudharmottara*, of uncertain date, contains a chapter.

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# CHAPTER TWENTY

## PHILOSOPHY

A

### ORTHODOX SYSTEMS

The Nyaya system which represents the analytic type of philosophy like the Vaisesika system, has a long history that extends over the vast period of twenty centuries. Indian tradition has assigned a unique status to this system and it has been universally held in high esteem and reverence.

There are two, well-known schools of the Nyaya, system and they are the old and the new. The earliest known literature of the old school are the *Nyayasutras* which are divided into *five* books. It is believed that the *Nyayasutras* are as old as the third century B.C.<sup>1</sup> Vatsyayana's

1  
Nyaya  
Introduction

Works on  
Nyaya :  
(a) Old  
school

<sup>1</sup> Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusana believes that Gautama wrote only the first chapter of the work, and was a contemporary of Buddha. He further thinks that this Gautama is the same as the author of the *Dharmasutras*, who lived in Mithila in the sixth century B.C. He suggests that Gautama's original views are contained in the *Carakasamhita* (*Vimanasthana*). But the *Carakasamhita* itself has suffered considerable re-

*Nyayabhasya* is the most important commentary on the *Nyayasutras* of Gautama and it is presumed that the work was written before 400 A.D. Vatsyayana's views were vehemently criticized by Dignaga, the famous Buddhist logician, whose probable date is not later than the fifth century A.D. Uddyotakara wrote his *Nyayavarttika* in the sixth century A.D. with the sole object of defending Vatsyayana against the criticisms of Dignaga. It was Dharmakirti, another noted Buddhist logician, who took up the cause of Dignaga and wrote his *Nyayabindu* in the latter part of the sixth century A.D. Probably Uddyotakara and Dharmakirti were contemporaries

fashioning and its date is uncertain. Professor Jacobi believes that the *Nyayasutras* and the *Nyayabhasya* belong to about the same time perhaps separated by a generation. He places them between the second century A.D. when the doctrine of Sunya developed, and the fifth century A.D. when the doctrine of Vijnana was systematized. Professor Suali also supports Professor Jacobi and refers the work to 300 A.D. According to Professor Garbe the date is 100 A.D. MM. Haraprasada Sastrin believes that the work has undergone several redactions. Professor Radhakrishnan places it (though not in the present form) in the fourth century B.C.

who mutually referred to each other. A commentary on the *Nyayabindu* was written in the ninth century by the Buddhist logician Dharmottara. It was in the first half of the ninth century A.D. that Vacaspati, a versatile genius and most prolific writer, came to write his *Nyayavarttikatatparyatika*, a super-commentary on the *Nyayavarttika* of Uddyotakara and gave a sufficient stimulus to the orthodox line of thought by writing his *Nyayashcinibandha* (841 A.D.) and *Nyayasutroddhara*. Udayana who is noted for his trenchant logic and convincing presentation of facts, wrote a commentary on Vacaspati's *Nyayanarttikatatparyatika*, known as the *Nyayavarttikatatparyapari-Huddhi* in the last part of the tenth century (984 A.D.). The *Nyayakusumanjali*, the *Atmatattvaviveka*, the *Kiranaivali* and the *Nyayaparisista* are four other well-known works of Udayana. Jayanta is the next great name after Udayana and he wrote the *Nyayamanjari* in the tenth century A.D. He is admitted to have been a Bengali by origin. Bhasarvajna's *Nyayasara* is a survey of Indian logic. The author was a Kashmir Saivite of the tenth century A.D.

Gangesa is the father of the new school

Works on  
Nyaya :  
(b) New  
school

of the Nyaya system (Navyanyaya) which flourished mainly in Bengal. His *Tattvacintamani* is a *magnum opus* which was written in the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D. The work discusses primarily the *four* means of knowledge admitted in the Nyaya system. His son Vardhamana (1225 A.D.) continued the tradition by writing commentaries on the treatises of Udayana and Gangesa, Jayadeva (sometimes identified with Paksadhara Misra) of Mithila wrote his *Aloka* on the *Tattvacintamani* in the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D. Vasudeva Sarva-bhauma, a Bengali Brahmana, wrote his *Tattvacintmanivyakhya*—the first great work of the Navadvipa (Nadia) school. He had at least three distinguished pupils : Sri-Caitanya Mahaprabhu, the famous Vaisnava saint and founder of the Gaudiya Vaisnava school, Raghunatha Siromani, the great logician and Krsnananda Agama-vagisa, the author of the *Tantrasara*. Raghunatha wrote two outstanding works, viz, the *Didhiti* and the *Padarthakhandana* in the fifteenth century A.D. Jagadisa (end of the sixteenth century A.D). and Gadadhara (seventeenth century A.D.) are reputed

thinkers of the modern school, who wrote beside many commentaries, the *Sabdasakti-prakasika* and the *Vyaptipancaka* respectively. Visvanatha's *Nyayasutravrtti* (1634 A.D.) is another important work.

The logicians of the old school recognize *sixteen* categories while those of the modern school who have been greatly influenced by the Vaisesika system, reduce them to *seven* only. The logicians of both schools accept *four* means of proof, viz., perception (*pratyaksa*) inference (*anumana*) analogy (*upamana*) and verbal testimony (*sabda*). They do not admit of the self-manifestation of a cognition. Like the Vaisesika, the Nyaya regards the world as a composite of external, unchangeable and causeless atoms. The soul in the Nyaya system is a 'real substantive being' which has certain qualities. The God (Isvara) is the Supreme Spirit or the Universal Soul who acts as the Creator of the universe in the capacity of an efficient cause (*nimittakarana*), while the atoms are the material cause (*upadanakarava*). A true knowledge (*tattvajnana*) of the categories leads to the liberation (*mukti*) of the soul in bondage, and the liberated soul is essentially conscious.

**Funda-  
mental  
concepts  
of Nyaya**

II  
Vaisesika

Introduc-  
tion

The Vaisesika system which is also called the Aulukya philosophy, is closely akin to the Nyaya system. It is, however, presumed that the earliest extant literature of this system is older than what is available in the Nyaya system. Thus while the *Vaisesikasutras* of Kanada (Kanabhaksa, Kanabhuk or Kasyapa) and the *Padarthadharmasanmgraha* of Prasastapada, evince no influence of the Nyaya system, the *Nyaya-sutras* of Gautama and the *Bhasya* of Vatsyayana betray the fact that they have been greatly influenced by the views of the Vaisesika system.

Works on  
Vaisesika

The *Vaiseikasutras* of Kanada which are of unknown date but are generally assigned to a date which is later than 300 B.C., received additions from time to time. They are divided into *ten* books. The work of Prasastapada which is generally regarded as a commentary on the *Vaisesikasutras* may be viewed as an original contribution to the Vaisesika system. Prasastapada is usually assigned to the end of the fourth century A.D., though Dr. Keith makes him later than Dignaga, but earlier than Uddyotakara. There are *four* noted commentaries on the work of Prasastapada and they are

(1) the *Vyomavati* by Vyomasivacarya alias Vyomasekhara or Sivaditya (of unknown date, probably of the ninth century A.D.), (2) the *Nyayakandali* by Srdhara (last part of the tenth century A.D.), (3) *the Kiranavail*, and the *Laksanavail* by Udayana (last part of the tenth century A.D.) and (4) the *Nyayaliavati*, by Srivatsa or Vallabha (probably towards the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A.D.). Sankara's *Upaskara* (latter half of the fifteenth century A.D.) is one important commentary on the *Vaisesikasutras* of Kanada. Laugaksi Bhaskara's *Tarkakaumadi* is another work based on Prasastapada's treatise.

Among manuals belonging to both Nyaya and Vaisesika systems of Indian philosophy, may be mentioned Sivaditya's *Saptapadarthi* (eleventh century A.D.) Varadaraja's *Tarkikaraksa*, Kesavamisra's *Tarkabhasa* (thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D.), Annambhatta's *Tarkasamgraha* and *Dipika* (sixteenth or seventeenth century A.D.), Jagadisa's *Tarhamrta* (1635 A.D.) and Visvanatha's *Bhampariccheda* or *Karilcavali* (seventeenth century A.D.) and its famous commentary *Siddhantamuktavali* by him-

Manuals of  
Nyaya &  
Vaisesika

self. Jayanarayana's (seventeenth century A.D.) *Vivrti* is another important compendium of the Vaisesika school.

**Funda-  
mental  
concepts of  
Vaisesika**

The Vaisesika system which in broader details agrees with the Nyaya, accepts *six* categories to which a *seventh* was added later on. It recognizes only *two* means of knowledge, viz., perception and inference. It does not accept verbal testimony as an independent means of proof, but as one included in inference. Both the Vaisesika and the Naiyayika are advocates of what is known in philosophical terms as Asatkaryavada (the doctrine of the creation of the non-existent effect) and Arambhavada (the doctrine of initiation which makes the universe an effect newly produced from the eternal atoms). In the state of liberation,, the soul in Vaisesika conception retains no consciousness (*jnana*), while in the Nyaya view the released soul is conscious.

**III  
Sahkhya**

**Introduc-  
tion**

The Sankhya system is universally believed to be the oldest of the existing systems of Indian philosophy. The Sankhya views are found in the Upanisads, in the *Mahabharata*, in the Law-books of Manu and in the medical works of Caraka and others. Indian tradition ascribes the-

authorship of the system to the sage Kapila, an incarnation of Lord Visnu. The successors of Kapila were Asun, Pancasikha, Glirgya and Tluka. Professor Garbe makes Pailcasikha a contemporary of the great Mimamsist Sabarasvamin (sometime between 100 A.D. and 300 A.D.). Chinese tradition ascribes the authorship of the *Sathitantra* to Pancasikha, while Varsaganya gets the same credit in other's opinion.

The *Sankhyakarika* is the earliest known work of the Sankhya system. It is believed that Isvarakrsna wrote this work in the third century A.D.<sup>1</sup> An important commentary on the *Karika* is that of Ciadapada.<sup>2</sup> The *Matharavrtti* is another commentary which is regarded by some to be the source of Gaudapada's commentary while others

Works on  
Sankhya

<sup>1</sup> A Chinese tradition ascribes to Vindhyavasin the writing of a work of Varsaganya. Professor Takakusu indentifies Vindhyavasin with Isvarakrsna. In that case the *Karika* of Isvarakrsna has an earlier basis. Gunaratna, however, regards Vindhyavasin and Isvarakrsna as different. Isvarakrsna was earlier than Vasubandhu who is now assigned to the fourth century A.D. The *Karika* was translated into Chinese by Paramartha (sixth century A.D.)

<sup>2</sup> Whether he is the same as the author of the

assign a later date to it. Yet another commentary on the *Sankhyakarika* is the *Yuktidipika* which is wrongly ascribed to Vacaspati. The *Sankhyatattvakatmudi* of Vacaspati (middle of the ninth century A.D.) is a most popular work of this system. Another popular work is the *Sankhyapravacanasutra* which contains six chapters. The authorship of this work is attributed to one Kapila. But this Kapila cannot be identical" with the founder sage of this system, for the work cannot but be assigned to such a late date as the fourteenth century A.D. ; since it is not referred to even in the *Sarvadarshanamgraha* of Madhava (fourteenth century A.D.). Aniruddha's *Sankhyasutravrtti* which was composed in the fifteenth century A.D., is an important work commenting on the *Sankhyapravacanasutra*. But the *Sankhyapravacanabhasya* of Vijnanabhiksu, (sixteenth century A.D.) a commentary on the *Sankhyapravacanasutra*, is the most important work of the system. Vijnanabhiksu wrote another work on Sarikhya known as the *Sankhyasara*.

*Mandukyakarika* cannot be decided, and some seek to place him in the eighth century A.D,

The Sankhya system is essentially dualistic, inasmuch as it speaks of Purusa (Spirit) and Prakrti (Matter) as the two Ultimate Realities. The fundamental position of this system is that 'cause' is the entity in which 'effect' lies in a subtle form. Thus this system advocates the doctrine of Satkaryavada. The world is said to be the evolution of Prakrti which is its material cause. Prakrti has been described to be of the nature of equilibrium of the triple *Chinas*, *sattva* (purity-stuff), *rajas* (passion-stuff) and *tamas* (inertia-stuff). Purusa is defined as Pure Spirit which is different from Prakrti and Purusas are many in number. A Supreme Spirit (Isvara) or God is not admitted to exist in so many words. The Sankhya system acknowledges the authority of *three* means of knowledge, viz., perception, inference and verbal testimony.

The Yoga and the Sankhya systems are used as complementary aspects of one whole system. While the Sankhya system signifies 'theory', the Yoga signifies 'practice'. In the Upanisads, the *Mahabharata*, the Jaina and the Buddhist literatures, Yoga practices have been mentioned.

The *Yogasntas* of Patanjali form the

**Fundamen  
tal concepts  
of Sankhya**

**IV  
Yoga**

**Introduc-  
tion**

**Works on  
Yoga**

earliest extant literature on the Yoga system. The *Yogasutras* are divided into *four* chapters known as *Samadhi* (Concentration), *Sadhana* (Practice), *Vibhuti* (Miraculous Powers) and *Kaivalya* (Emancipation). It was Vyasa who, according to modern scholars, is said to have written a masterly commentary on the *Yogasutras* about the fourth century A.D., though traditionally he is believed to be the same as the author of the *Mahabharata*. Vacaspati wrote an interesting and learned gloss on the *Vyasabhayya* known as the *Tattvavaisaradi*. Nagesabhata of the eighteenth century A.D., wrote another gloss on the *Vyasabhayya* known as the *Chaya*. Other important works on the Yoga system are the *Rajamartanda* of Bhoja (eleventh century A.D.) and the *Yogavarttika* and the *Yogasarasamgraha* of Vijnanabhiksu (sixteenth century A.D.). Vijnanabhiksu criticizes Vacaspati and

<sup>1</sup> It is traditionally believed that Patanjali, the author of the *Yogasutras* is the same person as the great grammarian of that name who wrote the *Mahabhasya* in the middle of the second century B.C. But there is no positive evidence to prove the identity and some modern scholars are positively against this

brings the Yoga system nearer to the philosophy of the Upanisads.

The Yoga system discusses how through methodical effort of concentration of mind we can attain perfection. It teaches us how to control the different elements of human nature both physical and psychical. The Yoga system explains fully the principles according to which 'the physical body, the active will and the understanding mind are to be harmonically brought under control'. This is technically known by the name Royal Yoga (Rajayoga). There is yet a magical side of Yoga (Hathayoga) which describes how to perform miracles of various nature. Too much indulgence in this Hathayoga serves as an obstacle to the attainment of real Perfection.

**Rajayoga &  
Hathayoga**

The Yoga system materially differs from the Sankhya at least in one essential point, viz., that while the latter system does not explicitly speak anything of Clod, the former regards God as a third category besides

**Yoga &  
Sankhya :  
comparison**

view. Bhoja in the introductory verses of the *Bajamar-tanda* makes a suggestion to the effect that Patanjali (author of the *Mahabkasya*), Patanjali (author of the *Yogasutras*), and Caraka (author of the *Carakasamhita*) are identical.

Prakṛti and Puruṣa and holds that devotion to the Lord is also one of the means of Release (*Kaivalya*).

The Purvamīmāṃsā, Karmamīmāṃsā or the Mīmāṃsā system mainly interprets and explains Vedic injunctions and their applications, and as such it has a unique importance of its own.

The earliest literature on the Purvamīmāṃsā are the *Purvamīmāṃsāsūtras* of Jaimini who, according to modern scholars, wrote in all probability in the fourth century B.C. The orthodox tradition, however, makes Jaimini a disciple of Vyasa, the author of the *Mahābhārata*. It is held by some that the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* are later than both the *Nyāyasūtras* and the *Yogasūtras*. Sahara wrote his commentary on the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* probably in the first century B.C. Professor Jacobi thinks that the *Vṛtti* quoted by Sahara, belongs to a period between 200 A.D. and 500 A.D., while Dr. Keith holds 400 A.D. to be the earliest date for it. Sahara's predecessors were Upavarsa, Bodhayana, Bhātr̥mītra, Bhavadāsa and Hari. M.M. Sir Ganganath Jha identifies Bhavadāsa with the *Vṛttikāra* referred to in the *Sabarabhatya*\* Both the *Mīmāṃsā-*

V  
Purvami-  
mamsa

Introduc-  
tion

Works on  
Purvami-  
mamsa

*sutras* and the *BhaSya* were interpreted differently by *three* different schools of thought associated with the names of Prabhakara, Kumarila and Murari. The school of Murari is known by name alone.

Prabhakara who was called 'Gaudamlmamsaka' and 'Guru' wrote the *BrhatI* a commentary on the *Bhasya* of Sahara, probably about 600 A.D. According to some Prabhakara preceded Kumarila, while the tradition runs that he was a pupil of Kumarila. Salikanatha's *Rjuvimala* which is a commentary on the *BrhatI*, was written about the ninth century A.D. Another important work of the same author is the *Prakarayapancika*, a good and useful manual of the Prabhakara system. Salikanatha has referred to Dharmakirti. Bhavanatha's *Nayaviveka* (c. 1050 A.D.—1150 A.D.) is another important work of this school. Vacaspati in his *Nyayakanika* differentiates between two sub-schools of the Prabhakaras, viz., old and new.

**Prabhakara  
school**

Kumarila is a great name in Indian philosophy, noted for his spirited zeal for Brahmanical orthodoxy. It was he who fought courageously against the onslaughts of Buddhism, and but for the stand he took up, much of Brahmanical heritage of which

**Bhatta  
school**

we feel proud today, would have been lost. Kumarila's *Slokavarttika*, *Tantravarttika* and *Tuptika* are the three great works. The first one, which is in verse, is a commentary on the first part of the first chapter of the *Mimamsasutras*. The second which is in prose, occasionally interspersed with verses, takes us to the end of the third chapter, while the third covers the rest. Kumarila is earlier than Sankara and is usually assigned to 750 A.D., though some new data point to the fact that he lived in the seventh century A.D. The *Slokavarttika* was commented upon by Umbeka or Bhavabhuti (eighth century A.D.), by Sucaritamisra (not later than the middle of the thirteenth century A.D.) in his *Kasika* and by Parthasarathimisra (according to the orthodox tradition, tenth century A.D.; according to Professor Radhakrishnan, 1300 A.D.) in his *Nyayaratnakara*. The *Tantravarttika* was commented upon by Bhavadabhata (eleventh century A.D.) in his *Tautatitamatatilaka* and by Somesvarabhata (c. 1200 A.D.) in his *Nyayasudha*. Venkata-diksita wrote his commentary on the *Tuptika* known as the *Varttikabharya*. Mandana (eighth century A.D.) is the next great

name after Kumarila who is reported to be Mandana's teacher and father-in-law. Mandana who is earlier than Vacaspati and is traditionally identified with Suresvara and Visvarupa, wrote his *Vidhiviveka*, *Bhavanaviveka*, *Vibhramaviveka* and *Mimamsanukramani*.<sup>1</sup> The first was commented upon by Vacaspati in his *Nyayakanika*.

Among independent works on the Mimamsa system, may be mentioned the *Sastradipika* of Parthasarathimisra, the *Jaiminiyanyayamala* of Madhava (fourteenth century A.D.), the *Upakramaparakrama* and the *Vidhirasayana* of Appayyadiksita, the *Mimamsanyayarakasa* of Apodeva (seventeenth century A.D.), the *Arthasamgraha* of Laugaksibhaskara (seventeenth century A.D.), the *Bhattadipika*, the *Mimamsakaustubha* and the *Bhattarahasya* of Khandadeva (seventeenth century A.D.), the *Bhatacintamani* of Gagabhatta (seventeenth century A.D.), the *Manameyodaya* of Narayanabhatta (seventeenth century A.D.) and the *Mimamsaparibhasa* of Krsnayajvan (eighteenth century A.D.). Ramakrsnabhatta, author of the *Yukti-*

**Independent  
works on  
Mimamsa**

<sup>1</sup> The *Sphotasiddhi* of Mandana which explains the grammarian's doctrine of Sphota is an important work.

*snehaprapuram*, Somanatha, author of the *Mayukhamalika*, Dinakarabhatta and Karnalakarabhatta belong to the Bhatta school.-

Important  
concepts of  
Mimamsa

The Purvamimamsa system recognizes the self-validity of knowledge. Jaimini accepts only *three* means of knowledge— perception, inference and verbal testimony. To these *three* Prabhakara adds *two* more, viz., comparison (*upamana*) and implication (*arthapatti*). Kurnarila also recognizes non-apprehension (*anupalabdhi*) as a means of knowledge.) It is generally believed that the Purvamimamsa has not accorded any significant status to God, though, in the *Vedantasutras*, Jaimini has been represented as theistic in his views.<sup>1</sup>

VI  
Vedanta

Introduc-  
tion

The Uttaramimamsa, Brahnamimamsa or the Vedanta is the most popular of all orthodox systems of Indian philosophy. The earliest teachers of the school were Asmarathya, Badari, Karsnajim, Kasakrtsna, Audulomi and Atreya. These teachers along with Jaimini are mentioned in the *Vedantasutras*.

Scholars differ with regard to the age when the *Vedantasutras* or the *Brahmasutras*

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to the Purvamimamsa, Dr. Pashupatinath Shastri, pp. 132-8.

of Badarayana were composed. Modern Indian scholars are inclined to assign as early a date as the sixth century B.C., while others would prefer to fix the date between 400 B.C. and 200 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

The *Vedantasutras* contain *four* chapters. The first discusses the Brahman as the Ultimate Reality. The second deals with objections raised by rival schools of philosophy. The third proposes to study the means of attaining Brahavidya, while the fourth discusses the results of Brahavidya. The *Vedantasutras* are in intimate agreement with the teachings of the Upanisads. As such Badarayana has evinced his great and abiding reverence for the Vedas. Unlike the Sankhya, the Vedanta

The  
Vedanta-  
sutras

<sup>1</sup> The orthodox Indian *tradition* makes the author identical with Vyasa, the author of the *Mahabharata*. Sankaracarya, however, does not clearly state anywhere that Vyasa (or, Krsnadvaipayana born as an incarnation of the Vedic sage Apantaratamas by the direction of Lord Visnu) was the author of the *Brahmasutras*. He calls this author invariably as Badarayana and never as Vyasa and does not explicitly say that the two are identical. But Vacaspati, Anandagiri, Bamanuja, Madhva, Vallabha and Baladeva identify Badarayana with Vyasa.

of Badarayana champions the cause of monism when he holds that it is the One Brahman which is the Transcendent Reality. Badarayana openly refutes the Sankhya doctrine which conceives Purusa and Prakrti as two independent entities. The conception of Maya as the illusory principle which shuts out the vision of the Brahman and reflects *It* as many, is a great contribution to the philosophical thought of the world. The world exists so long as the vision of the Brahman does not dawn upon us. While the Sankhya maintains that the world is an evolution (*parinama*) of Prakrti, the Vedanta holds that the world is an appearance (*vivarta*) of the Brahman.

Among the early teachers of Vedanta mention must be made of Gaudapada who in his famous *Karikas* has made a systematic treatment of the monistic Vedanta. Another important author is Bhartrhari (probably belonging to the first part of the seventh century A.D.) who is said to have written a commentary on the *Brahmasutras*. Yet another author hinted at by Sankara is Bhartrprapanca according to whom the Brahman is at once, one and dual. Besides him Sankara speaks of one

Vrttikara, who remains even now unidentified.<sup>1</sup>

The greatest of all thinkers on monistic Vedanta is Sankara who, according to Professor Max Muller and other modern scholars, wrote his immortal *Sarirakabhāṣya* during 788 A.D.—820 A.D. The orthodox tradition, however, assigns him to the latter half of the seventh century A.D. (686 A.D.—720 A.D.). Besides the philosophical insight which marks his writings, his style and diction have always lent a unique distinction to them. Sankara has written commentaries on the *ten* major Upanisads and his commentary on the *Bṛhadaranyakopaniṣad* has, in particular, attracted the attention of many an able thinker. Sankara's expositions have earned for him a distinction which may be described in this way that by the expression Vedanta we seem invariably to understand his views on it.

The *Sarirakabhāṣya* was commented upon by two schools of thought known as

<sup>1</sup> Whether he is the same as Upavarsa, a brother of Varsa, the teacher of Panini, or Bodhayana, or whether the two sages are identical, or whether there was a third author who passed as Vrttikara, cannot be definitely ascertained.

**Vivarana  
school**

the Vivarana school and the Bhamati school. The original source of the former school is found in the *Pancapadika* of Padmapada who is said to have composed the commentary on the *first five quarters* (padas) of the *Brahmasutra-sarirakabhasya* of which only the commentary on the *first four* Sutras are now available. The age of Padmapada is about the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century A.D., as he is represented as the senior-most disciple of Sankara. The *Vivarana* which is a gloss on the *Pancapadika*, was composed by Prakasatmari (probably, ninth century A.D.; 1200 A.D. according to Professor Radhakrishnan). According to him the Brahman is both the content (*visaya*) and the locus (*asraya*) of Maya. Vidyaranya who is generally identified with Madhava (fourteenth century A.D.), wrote a summary on the *Vivarana* known as the *Vivaranaprameyasamgraha*.

**Bhamati  
school**

The Bhamati school has been well represented in the *Bhamati* of Vacaspati, the *Kalpataru* and the *Sastradarpana* of Amalananda (thirteenth century A.D.) and the *Parimala* of Appayadlksita (sixteenth—seventeenth century A.D.).

The literature on monistic Vedanta, as

interpreted by Sankara, is extremely rich. Suresvara (who is traditionally identified with Mandana who later became a disciple of Sankara), wrote his *Taittirlyopaanisad-bhatyavarttika*, *Brhadarayyakabhasyavarttika* and *Naiskarmyasiddhi* about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century A.D.<sup>1</sup> Mandana's *Brahmasiddhi* is an outstanding work in which he puts forward many original ideas. The *Samksepariraka* was written in verse by Sarvajnatmamuni in the ninth century A.D. The *Idasiddhi* of Avimuktatman (or Vimuktatman) is another notable work of the school. In 1190 A.D. Sri-Harsa who is noted for his trenchant logic and Advaita polemics, composed his *Khavdanakhandakhadya*—a masterly contribution. In the thirteenth century A.D. Citsukha wrote on the same lines his *Pratyaktattvapradipika* or *Citsukhi*. In the fourteenth century A.D. Vidyaranya wrote his *Pancadasi*, a highly popular work in verse, and the *Jivanmuktiviveka*, a work of considerable importance. Vidyaranya and his teacher Bharatitirtha jointly wrote the

Works on  
Monistic  
Vedanta

<sup>1</sup> Some would rather place him in the first half of the ninth century A.D.

*Vaiyasikanyayamala*. The *Vedantasara* of Sadananda, is a good manual of monistic Vedanta. It was composed in the fifteenth century A.D. Another epistemological manual on monistic Vedanta is the *Vedantaparibhasa* which was composed by Dharmarajadhvarindra in the sixteenth century A.D. His son Ramakrsna (sixteenth—seventeenth century A.D.) wrote the commentary *Sikhamavi* on it. Anandagiri's *Nyayanirnaya* (fourteenth century A.D.) and Govindananda's *Ratnaprabha* (fifteenth century A.D.) are two other commentaries on Sankara's *Brahmasutrabhasya*. Prakasananda's *Siddhantamuhtavali* (fifteenth century A.D.) and Appayyadiksita's *Nyayaraksamani* and *Siddhantalesasamgraha* are other valuable manuals of the monistic school. Madhusudana Sarasvati, a Bengali of the sixteenth century A.D., wrote his monumental work the *Advaitasiddhi* which contains an intricate and abstruse criticism of the rival school of Madhva as represented in the *Nyayamrta* of Vyasa-tirtha or Vyasaraja (last part of the fifteenth century A.D.). The *Gaudabrahmanandt* or *Laghucandrika* of Brahmananda, is a defence of the *Advaitasiddhi* against the criticism of Ramacarya.

(alias Ramatirtha or Vyasarama) in his *Tarangini* (latter part of the sixteenth century A.D.).

The *Brahmasutras* of Badarayana have been differently interpreted by a number of great thinkers of different schools, all of whom wrote their works after Sankara. One such thinker was Bhaskara who wrote his *Bhasya* sometime about the end of the eighth or the first part of the ninth century A.D. Bhaskara was a champion of the doctrine of the simultaneous identity and difference (Bhedabhedavada).

**Schools of  
Vedanta  
(i) Bhaskara**

Ramanuja is another great commentator on the *Brahmasutras* whose age is assigned to the eleventh century A.D. His philosophy is based on the doctrine of qualified monism (Visistadvaitavada) according to which God is the one Reality, but is a composite of the conscious individual selves and the non-conscious material world. Ramanuja's chief sources of inspiration were the Tamil Gathas of the Alvaras or Vaisnava saints of South India, the chief of them being Nathamuni and Yamunacarya (tenth century A.D.). The name of his commentary is the *Sribhasya*. The *Srutaprasika*

**(ii) Rama  
nuja**

of Sudarsana (thirteenth century A.D.) is a well-known gloss on the *Sribhasya*. Venkatanatha Vedantadesika (thirteenth century A.D.) was perhaps the greatest successor of Ramanuja. He was the author of the *Satadusani*, the *Tattvatika* (a commentary on the *Sribhasya*) and the *Sesvaramimamsa*.

(iii) **Nimbarka**

Nimbarka is another commentator on the *Brahmasutras*. His commentary is called the *Vedantaparijatasaurabha*. He advocates the doctrine of dualistic non-dualism (Dvaitadvaitavada) which is somewhat akin to the view of Bhaskara with but minor technical differences. Nimbarka lived about the eleventh century A.D. His disciple Srinivasacarya wrote a commentary known as the *Vedantakaustubha*. Kesavakasmirin, a follower of this school (fifteenth century A.D), wrote a commentary on the Gita known as the *Tattvaprasika*.

(iv) **Madhva**

One more commentator on the *Brahmasutras* is Madhva who was born in 1199 A.D. Besides the commentary he wrote, he justified his interpretation in another work called the *Anuvyakhydna*. He advocates the theory of pure dualism (Dvaitavada).

Yet another commentator is Vallabha who lived in the last part of the fifteenth

century and the first part of the sixteenth century A.D. His commentary is called the *Ayubhasya*. The theory he advocates is pure non-dualism (Suddhadvaitavada). He looks upon the world as a reality which is in its subtlest form the Brahman.

Last, though not the least, is the school of the Gaudiya Vaisnavas who advocate the doctrine of inscrutable identity and difference (v) **Gaudiya** (*Acintyabhedabhedavada*). Though they call themselves a branch of the Madhva school yet in views they are more akin to the school of Nimbarka and sometimes follow Sankara also. The school traces its origin to the teachings of Sri-Krsna-Caitanya who flourished in Bengal in the sixteenth century A.D. In the Gaudiya Vaisnava school, Rupa-gosvamin, a contemporary and disciple of Sri-Caitanya, was a great versatile scholar who wrote many works on drama, rhetoric and philosophy. His *Vaisnavatosini*, a commentary on the tenth chapter of the *Bhagavata*, is an important contribution to the literature of the Gaudiya Vaisnavas. His nephew and disciple Jivagosvamin also was a great scholar and a prolific writer. His six *Sandarbhās* (*Kramasandarbhā*, *Tattvasandarbhā*, *Bhākisandarbhā*, etc.,) and

the *Sarvasamvadini* are outstanding works on Gaudlya Vaisnava philosophy. Baladeva Vidyabhusana (eighteenth century A.D.) wrote the *Govindabhāṣya*, the commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*, written according to the Gaudlya Vaisnava point of view. His *Prameyārātnavalī* is also a popular work.

## B

## HETERODOX SYSTEMS

The Buddhists are the followers of Gotama Buddha who preached his doctrines in the language of the people sometime in the sixth and the fifth centuries B.c. The Buddhist Canonical literature or the *Tipitaka* which was written in Pali, has *three* divisions : (1) the *Vinayapitaka*, (2) the *Suttapitaka* and (3) the *Abhidhammapitaka*. Besides the Canonical works, the Buddhist literature possesses a rich number of non-Canonical works which were also written in Pali. It must be mentioned here that the Buddhist literature has a still wider scope and it includes fairly a long list of Sanskrit works an account of which has already been set forth in a previous chapter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chap. V, pp. 51-75.

The Buddhist philosophers are broadly divided into the *four* schools—the Sautrantikas, the Vaibhasikas, the Madhyamikas and the Yogacaras. Like Jainism, Buddhism also does not accept the authority of the Vedas. The Buddhists acknowledge only *two* means of knowledge—perception and inference. Though there are sharp lines of demarcation among the *four* schools referred to above, they are unanimous in their attitude against Brahmanic culture. I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, says—Those who worship the Bodhisattvas and read the Mahayanasutras are the Mahayanists and those who do not perform such acts, are the Hlnayanists. The Mahayanists are divided into *two* branches—(1) Madhyamika and (2) Yogacara. The Hlnayanists also have *two* divisions—(1) Vaibhasika and (2) Sautrantika. Both are called Sarvastivadins.

The Vaibhasikas reject the authority of the Sutras and attach themselves to the *Vibhasa*, the commentary on the *Abhidharma*. Katyayanlputra's *Jnanaprasthana* (composed about three hundred years after Buddha's Nirvana) is their chief work. The commentary *Mahavibhasa* was compiled by five hundred Arhats led by Vasumitra, pro-

**Four  
schools of  
Buddhism**

**(i) Vaibha-  
sika**

bably after the great council under Kaniska. Fragments of *Udanavagga*, *Dhammapada*, *Ekottaragama*, Asvaghosa's *Buddhacarita* and Aryasura's *Jatakamala* seem to belong to this school. Bhadanta (third century A.D.) Dharmatrata and Ghosaka are other prominent exponents of this school.

(ii) Sautran-  
tika

According to Hiuen Tsang (Yuan Chwang) Kumaralata (or Kumaralabdha), a contemporary of Nagarjuna, was the founder of the Sautrantika school. The Sautrantikas derive their name from the fact that they take their stand on the Sutras. To be precise, unlike the Vaibhasikas, they adhere to the *Suttapitaka*, (the section consisting of the discourses of Lord Buddha) to the rejection of the two other Pitakas. It is unfortunate that all works of this school are no longer extant. Dharmottara, the logician, and Yasomitra, the author of the commentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakosa*, are said to be the followers of this school.

(iii) Madhy-  
amika

The founder of the Madhyamika school was Nagarjuna who is said to have written the *Satasahasrika-prajnaparamita*, the latest of the Mahayanasutras. It may be mentioned in this connection that the *Prajnaparamitas* declare that the highest wisdom consists of

the knowledge of Void (*Sunyata*). The most representative work of the Madhyamika school is the *Madhyamikakarika* or the *Madhyamikasutra* of Nagarjuna which consists of *four hundred*, verses in *twenty-seven* chapters. Nagarjuna wrote a commentary of his own work, which is named the *Akutobhaya*. Unfortunately the work has not come down to us in Sanskrit. Among other works written by Nagarjuna are the *Yuktisastika*, the *Sunyata-saptati*, the *Pratityasamutpadahrdaya*, the *Mahayanavimsaka* and the *Vigrahavyavartani*. Nagarjuna is usually placed between the first century B.C (according to the tradition preserved in the archives of the Dalai-Lama) and the fourth century A.D. (according to Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusana). In any case he cannot be later than 401 A.D., when Kumarajiva translated his life into Chinese. Santideva (seventh century A.D.), the author of the *Bodhicaryavatara* and the *Sikhsasamuccaya*, is named sometimes as a Madhyamika and sometimes as an advocate of the Yogacara doctrine. The commentary named the *Prasannapadd*, written by Candrakirti in the sixth or the seventh century A.D., is an important contribution to the Madhyamika literature. Aryadeva who

is a disciple of Nagarjuna, wrote the *Catus-sataka* which is another important work of the Madhyamika school. It was commented on by Candrakirti. Other works by Aryadeva are the *Cittavisuddhiprakarna'*, the *Hastalaprakarana* and two other small treatises constituting a kind of commentary on some sections of the *Lankavatara*.

(iv) Yoga-  
cara

The founder of the Yogacara school was Maitreyanatha, the teacher of Asanga who is generally believed to have clearly expressed the implications of his system. Asanga is at least as late as the third century A.D., though some would place him in the fourth or the fifth century A.J). According to the Yogacara school nothing exists beyond consciousness (*vijnana*). The *Abhisamayalakararikas* and probably the text of the *Mahayanasutralannkara* attributed by Professor Levi to Asanga and the *Yogacarahumisastra*, a prose work after the manner of the *Abhidharma* text, are the works of Maitreyanatha.<sup>1</sup> Asvaghosa

<sup>1</sup> The name of Asanga has become more famous than that of his teacher Maitreyanatha. This explains why the works of the latter are attributed to the former. According to the Tibetans and Hiuen Tsang the *Yogacarabhumisastra* has been ascribed to Asanga.

was a follower of the Yogacara school who wrote among other works the *Mahayanasraddhotpadasutra* as detailed in a previous chapter.<sup>1</sup> Vasubandhu Asanga is a great name in Buddhist literature who is assigned to the fourth century A.D., though some place him in the fifth century A.D. His work the *Abhidharmakosa* in six hundred verses which has not reached us in the Sanskrit original, is a lasting contribution to Buddhist philosophy. In this work the author has refuted chiefly the views of the Vaisesikas. The Sankhya theory has been criticized in his *Paramarthasaptati*. Yasomitra wrote a commentary on the *Abhidharmakosa* known as the *Abhidharmakosaryakhya*, the earliest translation of which into Chinese was done in the sixth century A.D. The work is highly important as it enables us to know the views of the Vaibhasikas and the Sautrantikas. Vasubandhu wrote his monumental treatise, the *Vijnaptimatratasiddhi* consisting of two works the *Vitmsatika* and the *Trimtika* which explain the doctrine of the reality of consciousness. A few other works, viz., *Pancaskandhaprakarana*, the *Vyakhyayukti*,

<sup>1</sup> Ch. V. p. 66

the *Karmasiddhiprakaraija* and two commentaries on the *Mahayanasutralahkara* and the *Pratityasamutpadasutra*, the *Madhyantavibhaga* and the *Aparimitayussutropadesa* are said to have been written by Vasubandhu. Among the adherents to the school of Vasubandhu mention must be made of Sthiramati, Dignaga, Dharmapala and Sllabhadra. Sthiramati wrote a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Trimsika-Vijnapti* while Dharmapala had a commentary on the *Vimsatika-Vijnapti*. Dignaga was the disciple of Vasubandhu, brother of Arya Asanga. Dignaga's date also is not accurately fixed. Thus while some assign him to the fifth century A.D., others place him between 520 A.D. and 600 A.P., and make him a contemporary of Gunaprabha, the teacher of King Sri-Harsa of Kanauj. Mallinatha, the famous commentator of the fifteenth century A.D., seems to find a reference to this Dignaga in Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*. Dignaga's *Pravianasamuccaya*, *Pramanasastrapravesa* and other works are preserved in Tibetan translations, and are very popular in Japan. The only Sanskrit work of Dignaga which has recently come down to us is the *Nyayapravesa*. Dharmakirti (sixth or

seventh century A.D.) wrote a valuable work—the *Nyayabindu* which was commented on by Dharmottara (ninth century A.D.) in his *Nyayabindutika*. Silabhadra (seventh century A.D.) was the head of the Buddhist Vihara at Nalanda and Yuan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang) acquired from him his knowledge of Buddhist philosophy. Santaraksita in the eighth century A.D. wrote a voluminous work, the *Tattvasaingraha*, in which he has criticized the views of many rival schools of philosophers. His work was commented on by Kamalasila in his *Pancika*.<sup>1</sup>

The Jainas are the followers of Jina which is a title applied to Vardhamana, the last prophet. Vardhamana said that he was the expounder of tenets that had been successively held by *twenty-three* earlier sages. The Jainas are divided into *two* schools : (1) Svetambara (white-robed) and (2) the Digambara (sky-robed or nude). We are told that this division took place as early as the first century A.D. The

11  
Jainism

<sup>1</sup> A late treatise on the Buddhist philosophy is the work of Advayavajra who is assigned to the close of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.

Svetambara Jainas possess both Canonical and philosophical works, while the Digambara Jainas have no Canonical literature. The Canonical literature of the Svetambara sect comprises *eighty-four* books among which *forty-one* are Sutras. Both the schools disregard the authority of the Veda and are, therefore, called heterodox schools of philosophy by the orthodox Hindu philosophers.

(i) Digambara

The earliest Digambara author who is also held in high esteem by the Svetambara sect, is Kundakunda whose works are all written in Prakrit. The first known Digambara writer in Sanskrit, is Umasvamin, also called Umasvati (third century A.D.) whose *Tattvarthadhigamasutra* (in *ten* chapters) is regarded as an authoritative text by both sects. Siddhasena Divakara is also a well-known Digambara philosopher who wrote probably in the fifth century A.D. His commentary on the *Tattvarthadhigaviasittra* and his two other works the *Nydydvatara* and the *Sammatitarkasutra* are all important contributions. In the first half of the eighth century A.D., Samantabhadra, a Digambara, wrote a commentary on the *Tattvarthadhigamasutra* which contains an

introduction called the *Aptamimamsa* which was known both to Kumarila and Vacaspati. Samantabhadra's other works are *Yuktyausasana* and *Ratnakarandasravakavara*. To the same century, in all probability, lived Akalanka among whose works the *Tattvartharajavarttika* and the *Astasati*, commentaries on the *Tattvarthddhigamasutra* and the *Aptamvmamsa* respectively, may be mentioned. His views were strongly opposed by Kumarila. It was Vidyanda who defended Akalanka against the criticisms of Kumarila by writing the *Adasahasri*, the *Tattvarthaslokavarttika*, the *Aptapariksa*, the *Patrapariksa* the *Pramanapariksa* and the *Pramananirnaya*. Manikyanandin wrote his *Pariksamukhasutra* which is based on the *Nydyaviniscaya* of Akalanka. Prabhacandra who is said to be a pupil of Kundakunda, wrote two independent works on logic, the *Prameyakamalamartanda* and the *Nyayakumnudacandrodaya*. It is usually believed that Prabhacandra was a pupil of Akalanka, but it is stated in the epilogue of the *Prameyakamalamartanda* that the work was composed during the reign of Bhoja of Dhara. Subhacandra is another Digambara Jaina who wrote his

*Jnanarnava*, a philosophical work in verse, at the close of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A.D.

(ii) Svetam-  
bara

Haribhadra is the earliest Svetambara Jaina philosopher who wrote two important works, the *Saddarsanasamuccaya* and the *Lokatattvaniryaya*, besides a commentary on the *Nyayapravesa* of Dignaga, the *Yogadrstisamuccaya*, the *Yogabindu* and the *Dharmabindu*. His date is believed to be the ninth century A.D. Towards the close of the ninth century A.D. Amrtacandra wrote the *Tattoarthasara* and the *Purusarthadddhyupdya* besides a few commentaries. Hemacandra is a great Jaina philosopher whose *Pramanamimamsa* is an important work on Jaina philosophy. Mallisena in the thirteenth century A.D. wrote his *Syadvadamanjari*, a commentary on Hemacandra's *Amyayogavyavacchedika*. To the same century belongs Asadhara among whose works mention should be made of the *Dharmamrta*. Devendrasuri, another writer of the same century, wrote the *Siddhapaanicasika*, the *Vanddruvrtti* and the *Upamitibhavaprapanca-katha-saroddhdra*. In the fifteenth century Sakalakirti wrote a voluminous work the *Tattvarthasaradipaka* in twelve

chapters. To the same century belonged Srutasagara who wrote the *Jinendra-yajnavidhi* and the *Tattvarthadipika*. In the seventeenth century flourished Yaso-vijaya who wrote the *Jnanabinduprakarana* and the *Jhanasara*.

The substance of the doctrine of the Indian materialists is aptly and very briefly summed up in the allegorical drama, the Prabodhacandrodaya—Lokayata is the only Sastra. In this system perceptual evidence is the only authority. The elements are four in number—earth, water, fire and wind. Wealth and enjoyment are the objects of human existence. Matter can think ; there is no other world. Death is the end of all 'Lokayata' (directed to the world of enjoyment through senses) is the Sanskrit expression for materialism. It is the name of the Sastra. The materialists are called Lokayatikas or Carvakas called as such after the name of the founder of the school.

Carvaka's story is found in the *Mahabharata* while the doctrine is referred to in the *Mahabharata* (*Salyaparvan* and *Santiparvan*), the *Visnupurdna* and the *Manusmrti*, as that of the Nihilists and the

iii  
Materialism  
(Carvaka)

Introduc  
tion

References  
to Carvaka  
philosophy

Heretics. Sometimes Carvaka is identified with Brhaspati, who incarnated himself as an atheist in order to bring ruin unto the demons. The classic authority on the materialist theory is said to be the Sutras of Brhaspati, which have perished. The *Sarvadarsanasamgraha* of Madhava gives a summary of the teaching of the school in its first chapter. Fragmentary quotations of Sutras and passages from works of the school now lost to us, can be traced in the polemical works of other philosophical schools.

**Early  
teachers**

Among the earlier heretical teachers,, mention may be made of Sanjaya the sceptic, Ajita Kesakambalin the materialist, Purana Kasyapa the indifferentist, Maskarin Gosala the fatalist and Kakuda Katyayana the elementalist.

**Schools of  
Materialism**

The materialists, again, were subdivided' into several schools—those who identified the body with the self, those who confused the self with the external senses, those who regarded the internal organ (*antahkarana*) as their self and so on. The oft-quoted verses quoted by Madhava, give a popular view of the materialists—"While the life remains, let a man live happily ; let him feed on

ghee, even if he runs in debt; when once the body becomes ashes, how can it ever return again ?" "The three authors of the Vedas were the hypocrites, knaves and night-prowlers", etc., etc.

## C

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS ON  
PHILOSOPHY

- Srikanthabhasya* a commentary on the *Brahmasutras* by Srikantha alias Nilakantha (thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D.).—written from the Visistasisivadvaita point of view - much in the same line as that adopted by Ramanuja.—commented on by Appayadiksita in his *Sivarkamam dipuka* (It is said that Appavya was at first a Saivaite and later was converted into an Advaitin.)
- Srikarabhasya* a commentary on the *Brahmasutras* by Sripati Pandita representing the Dvaitadvaita point of view,
- Commentaries on the Gita (named Subodhini), the Bhagavata, and the Visnupurana :* by Sridharasvamin (twelfth or thirteenth century A.n.)—who is claimed to be an exponent of the Suddhadvaita school, inasmuch as he refers to-

Visnusvamin, the founder of the Suddhadvaita school in the commentary on the *Bhugavata*. [Vallabhacarya (fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D.) was a later exponent of this school. But as he has also referred to Citsukha, it may also be possible that he was a thinker of the Advaita school, who was rather inclined to the doctrine of Devotion (*Bhakti*). This sort of compromise between the doctrines of Devotion (*Bhakti*) and Knowledge (*Jnana*). is also found later in the *Bhaktirasayana* of Madhusfidana Sarasvati who was a sturdy champion of the Advaita philosophy.]

*Sarvadarsuna-  
samgraha*

by Madhavacarya who along with his brother Sayana, the celebrated commentator of Vedic literature, was in the court of Kings Hanhara and Vira Bukka of Vijayanagara (fourteenth century A.D. and subsequently turned a Sannyasim and passed his days in the Sringeri Matha.—a valuable encyclopaedia of Indian philosophy, which contains the summary of the views of at least *seventeen* different orthodox and heterodox schools of Indian philosophy.

*Sarvasiddanta-  
sarasamgraha*

ascribed to Sahkaracarya but seems to be the work of a more modern hand who was possibly one of the later chiefs of the Sankara Matha—a work in the line of the *Sarvadarsanasamgraha* though written in easy verses.

*Vijanamrtabhasya*

by Vijnanabhiksu (sixteenth century A.D.) who by writing this commentary on the Brahmasuthas tried to make in the body of this work a sort of compromise; between the Sahkhya and Yoga views on one hand and the Vedantic (Upanisadie) views on the other.

*Saktibhasya*

by Pancanana Tarkaratua of the twentieth century A D, -an ingenious work in the form of a commentary on the Brahmasutras. It does not, however, strictly conform to the orthodox Saktagama standpoint.

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## APPENDIX

### HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF SANSKRIT IN THE WEST

It was in the seventeenth century that the European people, particularly missionaries and travellers, came to know of the Indian languages. In 1651 A. D. Ahraham Rozer published a Portugese translation of Bhartrharfs poems. In 1699 A. D. the Jesuit Father Johann Ernst Hanxleden came to India and after getting himself acquainted with the Sanskrit language wrote the first Sanskrit grammar in a European language. The book, however, was not printed but was consulted by Fra Paolo de St. Bartholomeo who wrote two Sanskrit grammars besides a number of important works. It was during the administration of Warren Hastings that the work called 'Vivadarnavasetu' was compiled. Under the title 'A Code of Gentoo Law' it was published in English in 1776 A. D. Nine years later, the Bhagavadgita was translated into English by Charles Wilkins who also rendered into English the Hitopadesa and the Sakuntala episode of the *Mahabharata*. It was, however, Sir William Jones who did most to arouse the interest of Europeans in Indian literature. In 1789 A. D. he published his English translation of Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*, and this was followed by his translation of the *Manusmṛti*, the most important legal literature of ancient India. It was again through his enthusiasm that the *Rtusamhara* of Kalidasa was published in the original text in 1792 A. D. The English translation of Kalidasa's works by Sir William Jones was followed by the German translation of *Sakuntala* by Georg Forster in 1791 which attracted the attention of men like Herder and Goethe. The work of Jones was followed up by Henry Thomas Colehrooke who

published 'A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions' based on a composition in Sanskrit by orthodox Indian scholars. He also edited a number of Sanskrit works including the *Amarakosa* the *Astadhyayi* the *Hitopadesa* and the *Kiratarjuniya* Another Englishman who studied Sanskrit in India was Alexander Hamilton who, while returning to England in 1802 A. D., was imprisoned with other Englishmen at Paris under orders of Napoleon Bonaparte. During the period of his imprisonment Hamilton trained up a band of European scholars who took to the study of Sanskrit with earnest zeal. This is commonly referred to as the 'Discovery of Sanskrit' in the West. One of Hamilton's most distinguished students was the great German scholar and poet Friedrich Schlegel, who wrote that epoch-making work On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians' This work introduced for the first time the comparative and the historical method. It also contained translations in German of many passages from the *Ramayana*, the *Bhagavadgita*, the *Manusmṛiti* and other early works Friedrich Schlegel's brother August Wilhelm von Schlegel. student of Professor A. L. Chezy, the first French scholar in Sanskrit, not only contributed much to the study of Comparative Philology but also helped the study of Sanskrit by editing texts and writing translations. One of Schlegel's students was Christian Lassen who was deeply interested in Indian culture. The science of Comparative Philology was founded by Franz Bopp, a student of Professor Chezy and contemporary of August Wilhelm. Bopp also rendered great service to the investigation of Sanskrit literature by incorporating in his work "Conjugations-System" translations from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahubhurata*. His Sanskrit Grammars considerably furthered the study of Sanskrit in Germany. The work of Bopp in the domain of Comparative Philology was developed in a most comprehensive manner by Wilhelm von Humboldt whose interest in the philosophical works of the

Indians was of an abiding character. Another noted German, Fredrich Ruckert, was also highly interested in Indian poetry. The Latin translations of the Upamsads in the beginning of the nineteenth century inspired German philosophers. Schelling, Kant, Schiller, and Schopenhauer were highly charmed to discover "the production of the highest human wisdom". The actual investigation of Vedic literature was first undertaken by Friedrich Rosen in 1838 and was subsequently continued by a band of illustrious students of the great French Orientalist Eugene Burnouf, including Rudolf Roth and F. Max Muller, who brought out his famous *editto princeps* of the Rgveda with the commentary of Sayana in the years 1819-75. One of Roth's distinguished students was H. Grassmann who published a complete translation of the Rgveda. It was during this period that Horace Hayman Wilson who came to Calcutta represented the orthodox interpretation of the Rgveda by translating it on the lines of Sayana's commentary. Similar work was done by Alfred Ludwig, who is looked upon as a forerunner of R. Pischel, and K. F. Geldner, the joint authors of 'Vedic Studies'. The name of Theodor Aufrecht is also associated with Vedic investigations.

The publication of the great St. Petersburg Dictionary (Sanskrit-Worterbuch) in 1852 is an important event in the history of progressive studies in Sanskrit in the West. The Dictionary was compiled by Otto Bohtlmgk and Rudolf Roth and published by the Academy of Fine Arts and Sciences, St. Petersburg. 'The History of Indian Literature' which was published by Albrecht Webei in 1852 A. D. and was edited for the second time in 1876 A. D., is another important work. The edition of the *Satapathabrahmana* by the same author is another outstanding contribution. The 'Catalogus Catalogorum' published by Theodor Aufrecht in the years 1891, 1896, and 1906, forms a most comprehensive list of Sanskrit authors and works and is a monumental work of its kind.

**Arthur** Anthony Macdonell's 'Vedic Grammar' and 'Vedic Mythology' and the 'Vedic Index' by Macdonell and Arthur Berriedale Keith, have all proved helpful works for the study of Sanskrit in Europe. Maurice Bloomfield's 'Vedic Concordance' is another great work which has been of immense help to Vedic studies in the West. William Dwight Whitney's 'Sanskrit Grammar' is yet another important treatise. Edward Byle Cowell, who was Principal, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, gave a distinct fillip to Sanskritic studies by his translations of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* and many other important Sanskrit works. Arthur Venis, Principal, Government Sanskrit College, Benares, also did a lot to help Sanskritic studies. Amongst European scholars who lived in India and took interest in Sanskrit learning and literature, mention may be made of J. F. Fleet, Vincent A. Smith, Sir Alexander Cunningham, Sir John H. Marshall, Sir M. A. Stein, Sir George Grierson and J. Fergusson.

Among later European scholars who have done invaluable service to the cause of Sanskrit studies, the names of George Buhler, J. Muir, Frank Kielhorn, E. Boer, H. Luders, Hermann Jacobi, E. Senart, Sylvain Levi, Edward Washburn Hopkins, E. Hultzsch, Arthur Coke Burnell, Monier Williams, Theodor Goldstucker, Richard Garbe, Paul Deussen, Julius Eggeling, George Thibaut, Julius Jolly, and Maurice Winternitz are remembered by all lovers of Sanskrit J

Of living western indologists, the more important names include F. W. Thomas, A. B. Keith, L. D. Barnett, T. Tscherbatsky, Sten Konow, Vallee Poussin, Otto Strauss, C. B. Lanman and Giuseppe Tucci.

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