A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

SIEGFRIED LIENHARD

A HISTORY OF CLASSICAL POETRY SANSKRIT – PALI – PRAKRIT

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

Urheberrechtlich geschütztes Material

A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

SIEGFRIED LIENHARD

A HISTORY OF CLASSICAL POETRY SANSKRIT – PALI – PRAKRIT

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

EDITED BY JAN GONDA

VOLUME III

Fasc. 1

1984

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

SIEGFRIED LIENHARD

A HISTORY OF CLASSICAL POETRY SANSKRIT – PALI – PRAKRIT

1984

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

Contents of Vol. III

Vol. III: *Classical Sanskrit Literature*

Fasc. 1: S. Lienhard A History of Classical Poetry

CIP-Kurztitelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek

A **history of Indian literature** / ed. by
Jan Gonda. – Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz
NE: Gonda, Jan [Hrsg.]
Vol. 3. Classical Sanskrit literature.
Fasc. 1. → Lienhard, Siegfried: A history of **classical poetry**

Lienhard, Siegfried:
A history of classical poetry : Sanskrit – Pāli – Prakrit / **Siegfried Lienhard.** –
Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz, 1984.
(A history of Indian literature ; Vol. 3, fasc. 1)
ISBN 3-447-02425-9

© Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1984. Alle Rechte vorbehalten. Photographische und photomechanische Wiedergabe nur mit ausdrücklicher Genehmigung des Verlages.
Satz: vpa, Landshut. Druck: Allgäuer Zeitungsverlag GmbH, Kempten. Printed in Germany.
Sigel: HIL

PREFACE

As recommended by the general editor, this *History of Classical Poetry* has been written so as to make it accessible to both layman and scholar alike. Although in scope it far exceeds the description of *kāvya* in most extant histories of Sanskrit or ancient Indian literature, the corpus of this book is nevertheless arbitrarily chosen. In spite of the fact that the space allotted to me was generous, it proved necessary to restrict this history mainly to those poetic works that have already been edited in print, whereas poems that at present are available only in manuscript are not discussed other than in exceptional cases. As the criteria used to determine whether a given text is *kāvya* or not were strict, a large number of works were rejected without difficulty. My selective principles, which to some extent are naturally also subjective, are most clearly perceptible in the treatment of minor poems and in footnotes containing bibliographical data; here readers well-versed in Indian literature will sometimes wish to include some works I have omitted and vice versa. Texts published in India have frequently been reprinted. In order to save space, however, not all the reprints have been included in my bibliographical notes. A bibliography of *kāvya* is still one of the most urgently felt desiderata.

Four of the chapters in this book have, with some alterations, already been published: Chapter I, 2 (*The Poetic Process*) appeared as an article entitled *On the Textual Structure of kāvya* in the Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. 44/45 (1980/81), pp. 161–178, while Chapters I, 4 and I, 5 (*The Training of a Poet* and *The Creative Process*) were published as one article under the title *The Making of a Poet* in Indologica Taurinensia, Vol. VII (1979), pp. 309–321. Chapter III, 6 (*Other Species of Short Poetry – Riddles and Carmina Figurata*) appeared in a much altered and enlarged Swedish version entitled *Enigmatisk vers och carmina figurata i sanskrit-diktningen* in Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok 1983, pp. 79–88.

It is my pleasant duty to record here my gratitude to all those colleagues, in Sweden and abroad, who have given me valuable advice and assistance. My thanks are also due to the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences for the generous grant they have put at my disposal.

Siegfried Lienhard

CONTENTS

Preface V

CHAPTER I
1. An Introduction to *Kāvya* Literature 1
2. The Poetic Process 4
3. The Poet 13
4. The Training of a Poet 19
5. The Creative Process 22
6. Readers and Critics 31
7. Original and Imitative Writing 43
8. The Classification of Literature 45
9. Periods, Chronology and Extent of Classical Poetry 48

CHAPTER II *The Beginnings of Kāvya*
1. The Beginning of the *Kāvya* Tradition 53
2. Epic Poetry. The *Rāmāyaṇa* 57
3. Lyrical Tendencies 61

CHAPTER III *Poetry of the Minor Form – Laghukāvya*
1. Introductory Remarks 65
2. The Single-Stanza Poem (*muktaka*). Introduction 67
3. Single-Stanza Poetry 75
4. Multiple-Stanza Poems. Introduction 104
5. Multiple-Stanza Poetry
   a) Secular Lyrical Poetry 107
   b) Religious Poetry 128
6. Other Species of Short Poetry · Riddles and Carmina Figurata 150

CHAPTER IV *Poetry of the Major Form – Sargabandha*
1. Introductory Remarks 159
2. The *Sargabandha* 161
3. *Sargabandhas* before Kālidāsa 163
4. The Six Great *Sargabandhas* 170
5. Other *Sargabandhas*
   a) Poetry after Kālidāsa 196
   b) Jaina Poetry 211
   c) Poems with Historical Themes 215

d) *Yamaka-* and *Śleṣakāvyas* 222
e) *Śāstrakāvya* 225

CHAPTER V *Poetry of the Major Form – Prose*
1. *Ākhyāyikā* and *Kathā* 228
2. Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa 234
3. Later Prose Poets 257

CHAPTER VI *Poetry of the Major Form – Campū*
1. Introductory Remarks 265
2. The Poems 266
3. Conclusion 273

ABBREVIATIONS
1. Texts 275
2. Periodicals 275
3. Series, publishing houses and often quoted books 277

INDICES
1. Authors 279
2. Works 284
3. General Index 290

CHAPTER I

1. An Introduction to Kāvya Literature

In Indian usage, the concept kāvya covers two main things. Firstly, it refers to poetry itself, i.e., all those works that conform to artistic and literary norms. Secondly, kāvya is used of individual poems. Poetry is of course only one part of all the writing comprehended in the Sanskrit word vāṅmaya, which is used in some texts that deal with literature and other writings to include everything that is expressed in words.[1] Indian manuals on poetics and the practice of poetry tend to reflect the impression that all poetry falls into one of two categories; on one hand poetry that is purely oral (śrāvya[2]) and, on the other, poetry that can also be seen, that is to say, performed (dṛśya, prekṣya). This view is of course justified. Quite a number of poets have written works in both genres, and one of the distinguishing marks of later drama is that the metrical passages and some of the longer prose sections display an artistic use of words that is closely allied to poetry. The division of kāvya into dṛśya and śrāvya is, however, not strictly observed. There is a tendency to prefer to regard lyrical and epic poetry as belonging to kāvya but drama (nāṭaka[3]) as belonging to the field of belles-lettres which, though not essentially different in nature, is nevertheless somewhat more sharply defined in several respects.[4] We may assume that drama, the rules and practice of which have right from the very beginning been described by theorists, for the most part in separate texts, originally formed a more or less independent branch of art of its own. It requires its own equipment and achieves a regularity which, apart from the above-mentioned parts of drama and certain elements in its construction,[5] makes quite

[1] According to *Agnip.* 327, 1, *vāṅmaya* can be divided into the following branches – *dhvani, varṇa, pada* and *vākya;* according to *Agnip.* 327, 2, into *śāstra, itihāsa* and *kāvya;* according to *Kāvyam.* 2 (beginning), into *śāstra* and *kāvya* (the epics, the Veda and the Purāṇas then being in the province of *śāstra*); according to *Śṛṅgāraprak.* 7, into *apauruṣeya, ārṣa* and *pauruṣeya.* Cf. N. STCHOUPAK et L. RENOU, La Kāvyamīmāṃsā de Rājaśekhara, etc., Paris, 1946, p. 28, note 1.

[2] In this connection one must take into account the fact that the public received poetic works principally in the form of recitation or oral performance, particularly in earlier times.

[3] Thus according to the most important classification of drama; cf. ST. KONOW, Das indische Drama, Berlin und Leipzig 1920, p.27.

[4] The evaluation of both literary categories varies. However, the learned critic Abhinavagupta, who wrote a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra,* and others have regarded the drama as being the highest form of *kāvya.* The poet Bhavabhūti is probably of the same opinion.

[5] For example the subdivision of a drama into *saṃdhis,* which poets also prescribe for the great poem, the *mahākāvya.*

different demands than do lyrical poetry and the artificially elaborated tale. My history of kāvya literature therefore separates kāvya in the narrow sense from the theatre (nāṭaka), especially as purely practical aspects dictate separate treatment of these sometimes very substantial areas of Old and Middle Indian poetry.

The poetry presented here is accordingly that poetry which is partly epic, partly lyrical. It is either written entirely in verse, entirely in prose or alternates between verse and prose. Formally it falls into two main categories: poetry of the major form (mahākāvya), which is almost always subdivided into sections, and poetry of the minor form (laghukāvya), whose important relative is single stanza and short poems.

I purposely avoid using in this book expressions like "ornate poetry" or "Kunstdichtung" about kāvya. Neither of these terms is particularly well-chosen. To call kāvya "ornate poetry" is erroneous insofar as numerous kāvyas or parts of kāvyas are entirely devoid of ornamentation, while the term "Kunstdichtung" as a variant for "poetry" seems superfluous. As we know, poetry, unlike non-literary texts, is created in India as elsewhere when a poet employs certain artistic devices. Furthermore, it is evident that the nature of these artificial or artistic devices varies in different periods and regions, as does the extent to which they are employed.[6] To characterize kāvya as court poetry is not satisfactory either as we know that it was not confined to the court but also flourished in towns, in learned schools and in the houses of Paṇḍits, courtesans and merchants. I use in this book the term "classical poetry", where "classical" does not refer to any definite period but to that poetry which corresponds most closely to the poetic canon irrespective of period. This term is particularly suitable for kāvya literature as it is impossible to state that any period was its golden age. Although older histories of literature regard the time about and immediately following Kālidāsa as the period when kāvya reached its highest point, in fact it forms an almost unbroken line more or less unchanged in essentials from its inception about the middle of the first century B.C. up to the present.

One very important question concerns the characteristics and the extent of kāvya. It is obvious that literary texts possess certain characteristics which are either lacking in other works or are not so clearly marked. In order to define the limits of kāvya literature more sharply than has hitherto been done we had better first rid ourselves of two common misapprehensions which have proved long-lived though outdated. Firstly, we should not regard certain works as belonging to kāvya just because they are written in verse if they prove to be merely metrical or versified texts. Secondly, it would be incorrect a priori to count for example didactic poetry, religious hymns or all the narrative literature as kāvya on the same level as the lyrical poetry, epic poetry and drama which, in the literature of India as in other

[6] We come up against the conviction that poetry arises out of the conscious use of such means as far back as the earliest phases of *kāvya*. The poetry of later times shows clearly that artificial means, when applied in a routine, technical manner, do not result in art but in artificiality.

countries, are the central material of poetry. It would be a better principle to differentiate clearly between literary and non-literary texts and then imagine a border zone lying between them. In fact there are numerous works that belong to this intermediate area: they tend to use poetic expressions but, as they only partly conform to the norms of poetry, their rightful place is not in the field of kāvya but in this intermediate zone, that is to say, on the threshold of poetry. This is true of most narrative literature in Sanskrit and Prākrit, for example. We shall thus have to assume the principle that the poetic merit of a text cannot be decided by the outer form, the type or genre, but that the text, even if it is in prose, deserves the title "poetry" if and when it is executed with artistry, i.e., organized in a poetic manner. Literary works reveal a high degree of intensive structure, their poetic organization permeates the text at all levels and, when most complete, embraces both form and content. If artistic values are not dependent on outer form, but on the manner in which a work is structured, it follows that practically any sort of text – a gnomic or didactic verse, an inscription or even a treatise – may be regarded as a poetic work. Specific poetic elements may be inserted almost anywhere if the author so wishes. Now it is one of the characteristics of Sanskrit literature that numerous works or parts of works which, if judged by content, are far removed from the sphere of poetry, are written in kāvya style. This is true of the presentation of astronomy in Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā[7] and of algebra in Bhāskara's Līlāvatī[8], which contain so many verses, beautiful descriptions of nature and poetic figures that these two central scientific works are held in esteem as mahākāvyas. While the aim of a poem is generally a purely artistic one, quite a number of texts have this double function. Kṣemendra[9] rightly distinguishes between kāvya and śāstra, poetic and scientific works, but he also differentiates between two intermediary forms; sāstrakāvya, poetry that is also scientific and kāvyaśāstra, a scientific work that is also poetry. This distinction is a very useful one in my opinion: it may be the task of an educational book to offer us poetry as well; even more often we find that a poem also has the function of serving as an educational book, of imparting knowledge. The interplay of these two functions is perhaps encountered most frequently not only in learned poetry, but also in works belonging to other genres, particularly in a large number of verses found in devotional and philosophic writing. On rare occasions a third function is present: a fine example of this is to be found in the Bhāskarabhūṣaṇa by the polyhistor Sūrya Paṇḍita[10] which, although a handbook in astronomy and a hymn to the sun, also has scientific and religious qualities.

In general the enjoyment of poetry – the manner in which it is appreciated by the reader or listener – only takes place within the framework of the aesthetic function of the text. For artistic understanding it is enough to penetrate as deeply as possible

[7] WINTERNITZ, GIL III, p. 567.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 574; cf. K.S. NAGARAJAN, Bhaskara's Leelavathi: Its Cultural Importance, AP 20 (1949), p. 310 ff.

[9] *Suvṛttatilaka* 3, 2; cf. P.S. FILLIOZAT, JA 262 (1974), p. 478.

[10] K. MADHAV KRISHNA SHARMA, The Bhāskara Bhūṣaṇa of Sūrya Paṇḍita, PO 11 (1946), p. 54 ff.

into the complicated, poetically organized relationship created by the individual parts of the work; other, non-artistic elements are to all intents and purposes of no significance in this connection. Non-poetic components do not generally assume any importance unless the outlook of the reader is not artistic and he is reading for instance a religious or educational work from a devotional or didactic point of view. As I have already said, it is typical of classical Indian poetry that a poetic work frequently has a second, non-literary aim. It is, however, also characteristic that this secondary function is seldom irrelevant and is generally made use of in some way. Religious poetry often begs non-aesthetic use quite openly, and it is therefore no surprise to find that numerous hymns in Jayadeva's Gītagovinda, for example, are privately as well as officially employed as stotras, as litanies or songs of praise. We can find parallels in other literatures. More remarkable, however, is the fact that the discriminating (sahṛdaya, rasika, rasajña) generally take pleasure not only in an artistic turn of phrase, in purely poetic qualities, but also prize whatever learning a poem has to offer. It is characteristic of their attitude towards a literary work that they take note of any details that reveal the poet's breadth of reading and education as well as of the artistry displayed.

A kāvya need not of course deal with learned matters. Too much learning will adversely affect a poem, while a single-stanza or a short poem simply has not the requisite length to sustain it. Nevertheless it has been a convention right from the very beginning of kāvya that, when composing a longer poem, a poet should give a demonstration of his learning and knowledge in at least one or two verses or passages. Sanskrit poetics also endorse the role of kāvya as a vehicle for instruction. While the earliest theorists – Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana – state that the aims of poetry are the renown (kīrti) won by the poem and the enjoyment (prīti) experienced by the reader, later critics specify instruction (upadeśa) as an additional aim. However, they make it clear that, unlike prosaic, tedious textbooks, poetry imparts very gentle instruction and includes the deeds of heroes[11] in various fields of human activity[12] in its teaching and advice.

2. *The Poetic Process*

The particular nature of classical poetry is shown most clearly if we compare kāvya texts with other, non-literary texts. This comparison is possible between any two works, but the contrast between literary and non-literary is demonstrated with

[11] As the heroes (*nāyaka*) of *kāvya* are always ideal types personifying qualities such as goodness, nobility and beauty (e.g. Rāma) their deeds as described by the poet are always worthy of imitation to the highest degree. On the other hand their antagonists represent the quintessence of evil (e.g. Rāvaṇa) and their actions are reprehensible in the extreme.

[12] The group of three or four fields of human activity (*trivarga* or *caturvarga*) consists of acquisition of worldly property (*artha*), love (*kāma*), life conducted on religious or moral principles (*dharma*) and the struggle for liberation (*mokṣa*).

the greatest clarity in texts having a high degree of lexical similarity. We observe that poems lose their attraction as soon as we paraphrase them or attempt to render in ordinary language what the poet has expressed in another and better manner. We frequently come across simplified renderings of a text in commentaries in Sanskrit and other Indian languages where paraphrase has the function of explaining to the reader the context (anvaya) in a verse or, in complex prose, in a complete sentence.[13] We will take the following example:

daivād dūravartī te priyaḥ tanunā taptena sāsreṇa utkaṇṭhitena socchvāsena ca svāṅgena tādṛśam eva te 'ṅgaṃ manorathair viśati /

"By (means of) desires your lover, far away because of (the irony of) fate, with his lean, tortured, weeping, longing and sighing body penetrates your body, (which is) of the same nature."

And then this stanza:

aṅgenāṅgaṃ pratanu tanunāgādhataptena taptaṃ
sāsreṇāśrudrutam aviratotkaṇṭham utkaṇṭhitena /
uṣṇocchvāsaṃ samadhikatarocchvāsinā dūravartī
saṃkalpais tair viśati vidhinā vairiṇā ruddhamārgaḥ //

"By such dreams (of love) the absent one, whose way (home) is blocked by hostile fate, penetrates your body with his: (his is) lean, (hers is) slim; (hers is) unusually hot, (his is) glowing hot; (hers is) full of tears, (his is) bathed in tears; (his is) full of longing, (hers is) endlessly longing; (his is shaken by) the heaviest sighs, (hers is) sighing hotly."

The sentence in prose is taken from the modern commentary Bhāvaprabodhinī by Nārāyaṇaśāstrī Khiste[14], while the stanza comes from Kālidāsa's poem Meghadūta[15], which is the subject of the commentary. This, perhaps the most famous and most accomplished work of classical poetry, describes how a yakṣa, banished by the god Kubera, sends a rain-cloud as a messenger of love to Alakā, the city of the gods, where his wife, who is awaiting his return, is aflame with the pangs of love.

These two extracts show clearly the difference between non-literary and literary texts. The first example lacks artistry. It is obvious that its object is merely to impart information, and the facts it gives are not of an artistic nature. Although the long row of appositions agreeing in case with the instrumental of the noun aṅga (body) is somewhat unusual, the paraphrase, which keeps very close to the original, is written in more or less ordinary language. The sentence does not appear to have been written with painstaking care; indeed, it creates a loose, rather spontaneous effect insofar as some words could easily be omitted entirely, moved to another position or replaced by others without affecting the sense of the passage. The commentator

[13] As a simplified version of the text enables a given work to be understood at first sight, it has a become a valuable aid in modern literary criticism.

[14] *Meghad.* KSS 88, Benares 1931.

[15] *Meghad.* 2, 39.

might equally well have begun the sentence with the words: priyas te daivād dūravartī, etc., priyas te dūravartī tanunāsrasahitena, etc.

Kālidāsa's stanza, on the other hand, surprises us by its density of expression, by the strictness with which it is constructed. All the elements in the sentence are welded together into a complex and unalterable whole. The stanza is composed with the care that is characteristic of literary texts, and yet the lines are elegant and accomplished although the poet has conformed to a number of rules. In addition to the ordinary rules governing the use of language, which of course also apply to poetry, there are new restrictions which, although artistic, nevertheless leave the poet considerably less freedom than is available to the author of ordinary texts. The first limitation is imposed by the choice of a difficult metre, the Mandākrāntā, others arise from the poet's endeavour to create a maximum of euphony and also to establish exact congruence between the stanza and the sentence. Like other poets, Kālidāsa aims at achieving consonance and assonance by repeating words in forms that resemble each other or are derived from the same root or stem (aṅgena aṅgam, pratanu tanunā, °taptena taptam, °utkaṇṭham utkaṇṭhitena, °ucchvāsam °ucchvāsinā). Furthermore, he may employ alliteration, as he does towards the end of the stanza (viśati vidhinā vairiṇā).

The symmetry and balance of the stanza reveal the hand of the true master. Whereas the first three lines contain pairs of words (pratanu: tanu, etc.) which describe the bodies of the separated lovers with increasing intensity, the fourth line does not continue the series but allows the emotion to ebb out in a kind of diminuendo: saṃkalpais tair viśati vidhinā vairiṇā ruddhamārgaḥ. One word in each pair refers to the yakṣa's body, the other to the woman's; yet this does not mean that the distribution of the words is done in a mechanical manner, as I shall show. The poet does not consistently place each accusative after its corresponding instrumental; neither does he put all instrumentals[16] before accusatives[17], as Khiste's paraphrase does. Kālidāsa avoids any arrangement of this sort. He constructs a complex pattern which, although making it more difficult to comprehend the sense of the text, engages the reader or the listener more actively and gives the stanza a certain heightening of effect and liveliness. Each of the five pairs consists of one short and one long word. However, one soon notices that the length of each word in a pair slowly increases as one approaches the end of the series. Kālidāsa's arrangement is done on an alternating system. In the first pair he uses the short word for the instrumental, in the second for the accusative, but he interrupts this order when he comes to the fourth pair of modifiers (aviratotkaṇṭham, etc.): here he stops, begins the pattern again and thus, by doing the opposite of what the reader is expecting, heightens the density and tension of the text. This interruption of the system is also to be found in the order in which the accusative

16 *tanunā* 1. *taptena* 2. *sāsreṇa* 3. *utkaṇṭhitena* 4. *socchvāsena* 5. *ca svāṅgena.*

17 The *tādṛśam . . . aṅgam* of the paraphrase replaces the original's *tanuṃ* 1. *taptaṃ* 2. *sāsram* 3. *utkaṇṭhitaṃ* 4. *socchvāsaṃ* 5. *cāṅgam.*

and instrumental cases are arranged in the five different pairs. The following table will illustrate the system:

Distribution of the words in apposition to:		*Length*		*Case sequence in the stanza*	
aṅgena	*aṅgam*				
1. tanunā	pratanu	s[18]	l[19]	a[20]	i[21]
2. gāḍhataptena	taptam	l	s	i	a
3. sāsreṇa	aśrudrutam	s	l	i	a
4. utkaṇṭhitena	aviratotkaṇṭham	s	l	a	i
5. samadhikataro-cchvāsinā	uṣṇocchvāsam	l	s	a	i

We could imagine a much more detailed and exact paraphrase of the stanza than that given in the Bhāvaprabodhinī; the wording might also have been different, for instance: aṅgena tanunā taptena sāsreṇotkaṇṭhitena socchvāsena ca svāṅgena tanu taptaṃ sāsram utkaṇṭhitaṃ socchvāsaṃ cāṅgaṃ (viśati), "(He), (by means of desires), penetrates with his lean, hot, weeping, longing and sighing body your body (which is likewise) lean, hot, weeping, longing and sighing." The poet, however, organizes his text, as we have shown: he puts the considerable number of nominal modifiers in pairs, which he makes longer and longer as the stanza proceeds, and, following an important rule in the poetic canon, he replaces the second modifier from time to time with an alternative expression having a similar sound, pratanu tanunā instead of tanu tanunā, sāsreṇāśrudrutam instead of sāsreṇa sāsram, etc. This substitution of variants for words that have already been used is a special characteristic of poetic style. The direct repetition of lexemes is carefully avoided in literary works; in poetry for a minimum of one stanza, but often for a number of stanzas in succession,[22] in prose, in the neighbourhood of the expression replaced.

The analysis we have just made shows clearly that no single element in this stanza is haphazard. Any tampering with a single part, a word or even a syllable would not only upset the structure, the delicate balance of the various components, but would also damage the fine poetic character of the verse. This is not true of the paraphrase, however well it is done. The prefix pra itself, one single syllable, as in the word

[18] The short apposition.
[19] The long apposition.
[20] The accusative.
[21] The instrumental.
[22] In *Saund.* 7, 36–42, the god Kāma is called by three different names, in *Kirāt.* 9, 1–8, the sun by eight different names, in *Kirāt.* 9, 17–30, the moon by twelve different names, in *Kirāt.* 16, 50–61, fire by ten different names, in *Śiśup.* 3, 35–40, the sea by six different names. The descriptions of nature in *Kumāras.* 8 are put into the mouth of the god Śiva who, whenever he speaks to the newly-married Umā, uses a quite different appellative: *(he) mitakathe* (34), *pīvaroru* (36), *adrirājatanaye* (47), *valguvādini* (48), *sutanu* (52), *śailarājatanaye* (53), *dīrghanayane* (55), *puṇḍarīkamukhi* (58), *pārvati* (64), etc.

pratanu, is pregnant with poetic meaning: for one thing, the poet needs the variant form pratanu as a substitute for tanu, for another, it gives him the contrast pratanu: tanu which, from the artistic point of view, is – like the following gāḍhatapta: tapta – an integral part of the pattern the poet has been building up from the beginning of the stanza: the increasing length, the variation and the same sort of construction.

In order to allow his text not only to convey information but to convey it in an artistic manner, the poet uses a complex structure, as the stanza from the Meghadūta shows. Natural language is the foundation on which poetry is built. It is, however, in the nature of poetry to create for itself a language that to some extent has a character of its own, that departs from ordinary linguistic usage; it wears alien clothing, so to speak. The poet arranges his bricks in a manner quite different from that employed by the writer of non-literary texts. He assembles his material in a non-standard fashion and, as the theorist Vāmana correctly realized, his creative processes involve using a word-order (padaracanā) which, as it is formed in a particular way (viśiṣṭa), possesses particular characteristics.[23] With considerable acumen Vāmana advanced the view that the special characteristics (viśeṣa) of kāvya are mainly due to the fact that the poet aims at quite definite stylistic effects on the phonetic and semantic plane. The theories held by Vāmana and other critics with similar opinions are only partly correct, however, when they regard style (rīti, mārga) as being the most essential thing and consider the total number of guṇas to be the traditional ten. The omnipresent characteristics of accomplished kāvya are rather its structure, the accompanying textual density and its above-mentioned alienation in expression and content from the norms of non-literary writing. In order to achieve these aims, the poet employs certain processes which give every word such significance and meaning that they render the understanding of the text more difficult and frequently lead to the poetic message being polysemic. If these processes are not present, we cannot properly call the text kāvya.

This point of view may profitably be tested on epigrammatic literature, on so-called didactic and gnomic "poetry". Didactic poems and epigrams are seldom presented in the form of kāvya; generally they are little more than versified maxims but, as the boundary between literary and non-literary is easily eradicated by the devices employed by the author, they may well prove to be genuine poetry. A verse like the following, for instance, cannot claim to be regarded as kāvya:

yena yatra ca bhoktavyaṃ sukhaṃ vā duḥkham eva vā /
sa tatra rajjvā baddhvaiva balād daivena nīyate //

"He who is somewhere to taste sorrow or joy (to the full), him fate carries off by violence as though (he were) tied to the end of a rope".

It is difficult to see any characteristics whatever in these two lines that would justify calling them poetic. The dictum lacks density and the language is in no wise heightened; nor do the possibly chance alliterations (y – y in yena yatra, ba° – ba° in

[23] *Kāvyālaṃkāras.* 1, 2, 7 and 8.

baddhvaiva balād), the interior rhyme (sukham – duḥkham) or the repeated vā suffice to give this sentence, a typical gnomic statement, the character of a genuine poem. Furthermore, the simile of a man carried off by fate as though he were tied to the end of a rope is banal[24]. On the other hand another stanza of a didactic and gnomic nature (Nītiśataka 60) is of high poetic quality; its attribution to the lyrical poet Bhartṛhari is probably correct:

namratvenonnamantaḥ paraguṇakathanaiḥ svān guṇān khyāpayantaḥ
svārthān saṃpādayanto vitataprthutarāmbhayatnāḥ parārthe /
kṣāntyaivākṣeparūkṣākṣaramukharamukhān durjanān duḥkhayantaḥ
santaḥ sāścaryacaryā jagati bahumatāḥ kasya nābhyarcanīyāḥ //

"To whom do not the highly regarded of the world seem worthy of respect, wondrously progressing noble ones who, sublime in humility, proclaim their excellence by speaking of the excellence of others; and who, (only) out of forgiveness, cause pain to the evil ones from whose mouths harsh words of reproach issue?"

We meet here a broad, flowing utterance which, eschewing brevity, strives to attain richness of words and expression. The stream of words is, however, controlled and the ordering of the intentionally rather long, impressive-sounding words, mostly compounds, is carefully articulated. While each of the first three lines contains a complete thought of its own, the last one sums up these various ideas and ends in true praise of these genuinely noble beings who are above fraud and deceit. We also find here, as we found in the example from Kālidāsa's Meghadūta and can find in countless other poems, a very close correspondence between the length of the sentence and the stanza; in this case it is complete. Bhartṛhari takes pleasure in repeating words and elements of words which, we feel, lends emphasis to his maxim. Their constant repetition is also intended to drive home to the reader the truth of the message the poet is proclaiming:

1. –antaḥ, –guṇa–, guṇān, –antaḥ
2. –anto, –tata–, –atnāḥ
3. –āntyai–, –mukhara–, –mukhān, dur–, duḥ–, –antaḥ
4. –antaḥ, –atāḥ, –āḥ.

We obtain an equally compact pattern if we consider the stanza from the purely phonetic point of view and just look at the dentals (t, th, d, n):

1. n– –t– –n– –nn– –nt– –th– –n– –n –n –nt–
2. –th– –n –d– –nt– –t– –t– –th– –t– –tn– –th–
3. –nt– –n d– –n– –n d– –nt–
4. –nt– –t– –t– n– –n–.

[24] The stanza is included in the Adyar version of Bhartṛhari's *Nītiśataka* (9, 14) as well as in the well-known anthology *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (pp. 91, 33), but is almost certainly not by the hand of Bhartṛhari; see D.D. Kosambi, Śatakatrayam of Bhartṛhari (The Southern Archetype of The Three Centuries of Epigrams, etc.), Bombay 1946 (= Bharatiya Vidya Series IX), p. 54 f.

Characteristics such as these are certainly not the work of pure chance; they put the lines on a plane far above that of ordinary everyday writing. We could extend our analysis to include other traits, but consideration of the obvious features we have just mentioned will be sufficient to convince us that, in contrast to the first, merely didactic verse, the second stanza quoted is a genuine, accomplished work of verbal art.

We have come to a very important feature of classical Indian poetry: Sanskrit and Middle Indian languages offer writers a rich opportunity of varying linguistic elements and of putting them in any order they choose so as to obtain the maximum effect. The great majority of authors concentrate on the sound qualities of their sentences and verses and do not hesitate to make full use of the possibilities their language offers them. From the point of view of euphony the most important factors to consider when selecting a word were the multiple meanings often carried by a word[25] and the vast wealth of synonyms in Sanskrit and Prākrit[26]. The language of kāvya went even further in that poets were constantly enlarging the existing number and scope of synonyms and were able to create new designations almost at will by forming compounds or adding suffixes. We must regard this aim as being a traditional one in Old Indian poetic language, which in certain fields has built up a real synthetic vocabulary that is peculiar to itself. Many new names are formed by replacing at will the prior or the final member of a certain semantic model, generally a determinative (tatpuruṣa) or possessive compound (bahuvrīhi), with some word of the same or of a similar meaning. Thus a possessive compound whose prior member always means "cold" (adj.), "cold" (noun) or "snow" and whose final member always means "lustre" or "ray(s)" serves as a semantic model to signify the moon. The poet now has complete freedom to use quite different lexemes with the same or approximately the same meaning anywhere he wishes. The word he chooses may be different each time he returns to the concept; it may be an odd choice, it may be abstruse; the only important thing is that both members retain the sense of "cold-radiating", "cool-gleaming", "snow-radiant", etc. Any synonym may be employed for the prior member, for example hima-dīdhiti, śiśira-dīdhiti, śīta-dīdhiti, tuhina-dīdhiti, etc., and the final member may also be varied ad libitum: hima-dīdhiti, him-āṃśu, hima-bhās, hima-dhāman, hima-dyuti, hima-raśmi, hima-ruci, etc.[27] This extreme flexibility often enables a poet to put together names so as to create the tone-colour he desires and to suit the length and sound of the vowels and consonants in an expression to the demands of the context. If we keep to the example of the moon, he can easily produce names in which the vowel i is dominant (e.g. śiśiradīdhiti) or those containing only ă (e.g. agharmadhāman) or

[25] Some of the meanings of Skt. *go-* are: cow, head of cattle, bull, herd of cattle, milk (of cow), hide, beef, (pl.) stars, rays of light, sky, heaven, sun, moon, water, sense-organ; the word *bhū-* can mean: originate, originating, origin, universe, earth, land (property), place, material.

[26] M. LEUMANN, Merkmale des Sanskrit als Brahmanensprache und als Kunstsprache, ASEA 18/19 (1965), p. 207 ff.

[27] Instead of *hima-* one could of course choose *śiśira-*, *śīta-* or *tuhina-*.

compounds with members containing u sounds, which may convey a somewhat darker impression to the reader (e.g. tuhinadyuti).

Sound and word-play of this nature is used by most poets, as we have said. They call euphony to their aid, sometimes to the extent that it seems to us exaggerated and uninhibited, but they do so with the object of achieving agreement between content (artha) and expression (śabda). In the following stanza from the Kumārasambhava (I, 18), which describes the young maiden Menā, the succession of soft consonants in the second line, particularly m, n, v and p, evokes a feeling of gentleness and charm:

sa mānasīṃ merusakhaḥ pitṝṇāṃ kanyāṃ kulasya sthitaye sthitijñaḥ /
menāṃ munīnām api mānanīyām ātmānurūpāṃ vidhinopayeme //

"In order to ensure the continuance of the family, knowing the custom, he, a friend of Meru's, married Menā in accordance with the ritual: (she) was the spiritual daughter of her ancestors, resembled him in nature, and seemed worthy of respect even to the ascetics."

In contrast, let us look at the following harsh consonants, above all the aspirated palatals, r and kṣ, wich reproduce the spraying and splashing of water:

ucchalacchīkarācchācchanirjharāmbhaḥkaṇokṣitaḥ /

"(The wind), sprinkled with drops from a very pure cascade whose spume sprays up . . ."[28]

One cannot fail to recognize that the endeavour to achieve such aims is one of the basic demands of Indian poetry and poetics. The idea of kāvya as a close association of sound and meaning, an intimate interweaving (samparka) of śabda and artha[29], runs like a red thread through practically all poetry.[30] The concept of poetic art, of

[28] *Kāvyād.* 1, 48. Cf. the first quarter of the stanza in *Kāvyaprakāśa* 1, 5, 4, which gives a similar depiction in sound of the swift currents of the Ganges: *svacchandocchaladacchakacchakuharacchātetarāmbucchaṭā* and the first half of Śiśup. 3, 37, which describes the rolling waves of the ocean: *°vāridhivārivīcicchaṭocchalacchaṅkakulākulena / (vapreṇa. .).*

[29] Cf. *Raghuv.* 1, 1:
vāgarthāv iva saṃpṛktau vāgarthapratipattaye /
jagataḥ pitarau vande pārvatīparameśvarau //
"So that (I) may be granted (insight into) words and meaning, I greet you, Pārvatī and the Highest (i.e., Śiva), parents of the world, twined together like word and meaning."

[30] The following definitions of *kāvya,* given by various poets, are illuminating: *śabdārthau sahitau kāvyam,* "poetry is word and meaning together" (Bhāmaha, *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 1, 16); *nanu śabdārthau kāvyam,* "poetry is word and meaning" (Rudraṭa, *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 2, 1); *tad adoṣau śabdārthau saguṇāv analaṃkṛtī punaḥ kvāpi,* "this (i.e., poetry) is word and meaning: without faults, furnished with excellencies, sometimes without (decorative) figures" (Mammaṭa, *Kāvyaprakāśa* 1, 4); *adoṣau saguṇau sālaṃkārau ca śabdārthau kāvyam,* "poetry is word and meaning: without faults, furnished with excellencies and figures" (Hemacandra, *Kāvyānuśāsana* 1, KM, p. 19); *sādhuśabdārthasaṃdarbhaṃ guṇālaṃkārabhūṣitam / sphuṭarītirasopetaṃ kāvyaṃ kurvīta kīrtaye,* "let (the poet) compose poetry with the object (of gaining fame): an intertwining of word and meaning decorated with excellencies and figures and furnished with a clear style and (a clear) poetic sentiment" (Vāgbhaṭa I, *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* 1, 2); *śabdārthau nirdoṣau saguṇau prāyaḥ sālaṃkārau kāvyam,* "poetry is word and meaning: without faults, furnished with excellencies and – often – with figures" (Vāgbhaṭa II, *Kāvyānuśāsana* 1); cf. also Kuntaka, *Vakroktijīvita* 1, 7.

ARCHIVUM

literary composition, is caught very well by the term sāhitya, which stresses precisely this close relationship, this unity of expression and content.[31]

This is not the place to mention in detail the numerous devices which give literary works their particular character. What is valid for the small number of examples given above is also valid, on the whole, for others. Time and again the common aim proves to be the endeavour to make the language of literary texts different from that of ordinary speech; it should have a quality of freshness about it and it should be relatively difficult. The earliest means of marking this divorce between poetry and everyday language were of course metre, enlivening the text with decorative figures (alaṃkāra) and detailed descriptions. Of far greater significance to the development of a poetic language possessing striking characteristics of its own, however, were metaphor, the repetition of certain conventional patterns and images and the use of long, unusual expressions. Moreover it is worth noting that a literary text frequently does not yield up its meaning at first sight; it does so only slowly and by degrees; the meaning must be deciphered. The technique of poetry makes use of these different devices in various ways, but to ensure that distance is kept from ordinary language the general rule is that banal words are to be avoided whenever possible. To replace words that have already been used, poets employ substitutes. They have a decided preference for compounds and striking or polysemic words, which are often archaic.

Hand in hand with the divorce of the two styles on the linguistic plane goes a parallel phenomenon which affects the conception of what a work of literary art is, since a sort of transformational process also influences content, the message. In actual fact the basic mechanisms which govern the poet in his choice of words are also active where content is concerned. Here, too, the three principles of rearrangement, added difficulty and selection are valid. As it cannot be the task of a kāvya faithfully to mirror reality to the reader, the poet generally selects only some aspects of reality, transforms them and presents them as whatever he wishes from a new, poetically rendered point of view. Among other things the very lavish use of polysemic words and, above all of various forms of simile, leads to a broadening of perspective and produces a sort of multiple vision of the phenomena presented; it is unique and conveys the message in an artistic manner. Not only do poets show us familiar objects in a new light, as Ānandavardhana's criticism correctly recognizes;[32] they also reveal truths, relationships and beauties that are either not present in ordinary life or else remain unrecognized.

[31] Skt. *sahita*, "together", "joined", "put together", from which comes *sāhitya*. Cf. Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyam.* 2 (GOS, p. 5): *śabdārthayor yathāvat sahabhāvena vidyā sāhityavidyā*, "The science of literary composition is a science consisting in the correct matching of word and content."

[32] It is true that he regards the effect as being achieved only through *rasa*, poetic sentiment:
dṛṣṭapūrvā api hy arthāḥ kāvye rasaparigrahāt /
sarve navā ivābhānti madhumāsa iva drumāḥ //

It is obvious that Indian tradition could not have remained unaware of the distinguishing characteristics of poetic speech. Sanskrit poetics is fond of referring to the difference that is clearly appreciable between śāstra and kāvya, i.e., between didactic writing and poetry. The two sorts of writing show fundamental differences. The former is purely informative and monosemic in style;[33] the latter is a linguistically complex, organic whole which, although built up on the same linguistic foundations, is loaded with meaning down to the last detail and is frequently polysemic. Indian tradition might equally well have created other categories for other forms of text, but the division into kāvya and śāstra is motivated by more than one reason. For one thing, poetry could hardly have employed the language of common speech, firstly because the everyday language of poets was not identical with the language of poetry and, secondly, because Sanskrit, even at the time when it was used by the greatest poets as a vehicle for their works, had long ceased to be a living language; furthermore, kāvya and śāstra were by far the most important contemporary forms of literature.

3. The Poet

If we attempt to form a picture of the Indian poet, the kavi, we must not forget that Sanskrit poetry is a highly educated, indeed directly academic art. Classical poetry arose in a well developed society when India already possessed a rich scientific, religious and cultural heritage, and when kāvya was born it could look back on several centuries of advanced civilization. The social classes from which kāvya sprang possessed considerable cultural refinement which found expression not merely in outward forms such as dress, polished manners and cosmetics, but also in sophisticated education, elaborate social intercourse and in a devotion to belles-lettres (sāhitya), music (saṃgīta) and the arts (kalā)[34]. Some forms of poetry were naturally practised in older times, in the early Vedic period, but poetry in the sense of kāvya is associated with the brilliance and elegance of later eras, with Hindu court life and the wealthy upper classes found in cities. The figure of the poet now changes completely: in place of the seer, the Ṛṣi of the Vedic era and of the bard, in place of the rhapsodist of the popular poetry that is now lost to us or of the epic poet, we now find a man of refined taste and great versatility who has a broad education acquired by wide reading and, generally, a command of several languages, particularly Sanskrit.

[33] In this connection it is of no significance that, as we have already mentioned, *śāstra* may sometimes be written in the form of *kāvya*.

[34] The maxim *sāhityasaṃgītakalāvihīnaḥ sākṣāt paśuḥ pucchaviṣāṇahīnaḥ*, "He who has not a command of poetry, music and the arts is no better than an animal lacking horns and a tail", is attributed to Bhartṛhari.

The few accounts we possess of the daily life and conditions of poets[35] give us a picture that is idealized in many respects. They do, however, show the kavi as living in the same style as the upper classes in very civilized surroundings: his house was kept clean, he moved from place to place according to the three seasons (six by some accounts), he had private grounds with resting places under numerous trees, an artificial hill on which to divert himself, a lotus pool and waterfalls. His land was irrigated by canals and was filled with peacocks, antilopes and doves, with herons, ducks and geese, with cakora and krauñca birds and with sea-eagles. It was terraced, and to banish the lassitude caused by heat, there were showers, swings and bowers of lianas. The poet's dwelling appears either to be uninhabited or peopled with servants who silently entertained him upon command when his poetic exertions had tired him. The male servants were accustomed to speak Apabhraṃśa while the female servants tended to use Māgadhī. The ladies of the women's quarters understood both Prākrit and Sanskrit and his friends spoke all Indian languages.[36]

The technical equipment which Rājaśekhara says must always be within reach of the poet's hand consisted of a box containing a slate and chalk, a stand for brushes and ink-wells, palm leaves (tāḍipatra) or birch bark (bhūrjatvac) and an iron stylus (kaṇṭaka).[37] The commonest writing materials were palm leaves on which letters were scratched with the metal stylus, but if there were no palm trees in the neighbourhood, birch bark could be used instead, in which case it had to be cut into broader strips than the palm leaves. The successful or prosperous poet probably wrote only the first draft himself; the fair copy of the day's work as well as all the copying of complete poems would be done by the scribe. The latter, a man versed in all languages, must be capable of improving the proofs produced at the meeting between his master and other poets (see below). He should also be a good speaker, have beautiful handwriting, understand the language of gestures and movements of the body, be an expert in various writing systems and a poet himself.[38]

As regards the poet's routine, these texts describe the kavi as being a disciplined man whose days – and even nights – were regulated by his calling in almost every detail. He rises early, performs his dawn worship (saṃdhyāvandana), praises Sarasvatī,[39] sacrifices to or honours the god Gaṇeśa, who removes obstacles from his way and promotes the progress of his work. Immediately after this we shall find the poet at work in a sort of library or study (vidyāvasatha) where, comfortably ensconced, he is engaged in studying the art of kāvya, some related science, metrical exercises or the works of other poets. All this activity is, however, merely preparatory; it stimulates his power of vision and imagination (pratibhā) and occupies the whole of the first watch.[40] Creative work proper, the kāvyakriyā, takes

[35] Particularly important are Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyam.* 10 and Kṣemendra, *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa.*

[36] Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyam.*, GOS, p. 49 f.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] The goddess Sarasvatī is the patroness of the sciences and arts.

[40] According to an old division of time, day and night each fall into four watches (*prahara, yāma*).

place in the second watch; it must be done with meticulous earnestness. Towards noon he bathes, eats leisurely and, after his meal, calls a meeting of his fellow-poets (kavi- or kāvyagoṣṭhī). Here he takes part in a verse-riddle game called question-and-answer (praśnottara)[41], completes unfinished verses (samasyāpūraṇa)[42] that are given to him or diverts himself in other ways until the beginning of the third watch. During this period the poet, either alone or together with a select circle, examines and revises what he has composed in the morning. The final version is written towards evening after the rites performed at dusk and renewed praise of Sarasvatī. This task takes until the end of the third watch. The poet usually passes the evening in the company of women, indulges in social intercourse, listens to music or goes to the theatre. The second and third watches of the night are devoted to a sound sleep, which our poet has now thoroughly deserved.[43]

It will be obvious that not all writers could adhere to this strict routine or were as devoted to the service of poetry as the ideal figure portrayed above. Many authors, perhaps the majority, were undoubtedly of the hard-working, zealous type who spent their time only on poetry. Even a superficial glance at classical works will make us realize that to practise the art requires peace and quiet as well as the right conditions. Certain poets – Rājaśekhara calls them "those who do not look at the sun" (asūryaṃpaśya) – even cut themselves off from daylight and wrote in caves or in dwellings below ground where these sensitive writers could at any time concentrate on their creative work without fear of being disturbed. There were also large numbers who wrote when they had time and the spirit moved them, the occasional poets (dattāvasara), as well as another type who is rather important in Indian literature, the poet of circumstance (prāyojanika)[44] who wrote poems only to celebrate definite events.

The life and work of all kinds of poets, those already mentioned and others, were mainly connected with cities and courts, but both the theory and practice of

[41] A sort of verse-riddle much favoured in Jaina poetry and narrative literature. The hearer is expected to find a Skt. or Pkt. compound word in the separate members or syllables of which are to be found answers to all the questions asked in the stanza quoted. Here is an example taken from Sumati Sūri's *Jinadattākhyāna,* composed in Prākrit:

kiṃ maruthalīsu dulahaṃ? kā vā bhavaṇassa bhūsaṇī bhaṇiyā?
kaṃ kāmaï selasuyā? kaṃ piyaï juvāṇao tuṭṭho?

"(1) What is difficult to obtain in the desert? (2) What is the ornament of the house called? (3) What is it that Umā desires? (4) What does the young man drink (= kiss) with joy?"
The answer to all these questions is: *kantāharam,* i.e., to take them in the same order, (1) *kaṃ,* "water", (2) *kantā,* "the beloved one", (3) *haram,* "Śiva", and (4) *aharam,* "the lip (of the beloved one)". After JAGADĪŚ CANDRA JAIN, *Prākṛt sāhitya kā itihās,* Vārāṇasī 1961, p. 478.

[42] *samasyāpūraṇa,* which emerged as a separate branch of *kāvya,* generally consists of the poet being required to continue in his own words some lines that he has been given to complete. These lines are usually taken from some well-known poem.

[43] Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyam.,* GOS, p. 52; for certain details also Kṣemendra, *op. cit.,* 2, 2–23.

[44] These types of poet (*niṣaṇṇa, asūryaṃpaśya, dattāvasara* and *prāyojanika*) are mentioned by Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyam,* GOS, p. 53.

literature were held in high esteem in many smaller places by educated families who enjoyed the pleasures of the art in a traditional fashion. We need hardly mention in detail all the reasons why cities held such a dominating position. Classical poetry was not associated with a refined way of life only because kāvya demanded a knowledge of language and education, which were best acquired in an urban milieu. Cities also exercised a natural fascination because they were always pulsating with life and offered the widest range of the entertainments of cultivated society: magnificent festivals, processions, dancing displays, theatres and concerts. They also had an important part to play in the mental, artistic and linguistic development of the poet. Only in cultural foci such as cities was an exchange of ideas and criticism made possible by personal contact with fellow-poets, other artists and scholars.

We must not forget that the kavi was very strongly influenced by a spirit of competition, by a constant endeavour to improve his work and to surpass his rivals. He found confirmation of his worth not only when reading the works of his contemporaries and of the great writers of the past but also in discussion, challenges and open contests. We know of numerous societies (goṣṭhī) which promoted cultural interest in much the same way as associations and clubs do today. There artists of all kinds and those sharing their interests could meet, and they used to display their knowledge and sharpen their wits in private and public debates in some definite field: in kāvyagoṣṭhīs classical poetry, in jalpagoṣṭhīs the old epics, the Purāṇas and narrative literature, in nṛtyagoṣṭhīs the art of dancing and in vādyagoṣṭhīs and vīṇāgoṣṭhīs instrumental music and the vina. These societies were either established by some king or prince, in which case they were frequently connected with court life, or they were of a private nature, sponsored by wealthy citizens. It was advantageous for kāvyagoṣṭhīs to be under the protection of some maharaja. They not infrequently became famous and were often visited by poets from afar. The poets' meetings might be presided over by the prince in person or by some important personage from the court or the city. These gatherings were not only held in the societies themselves, however; at many courts large open-air meetings (samāja) or court receptions (sabhā) were arranged for poets and those learned in kāvya at which the president requested some poets to give readings of their works or, having set them difficult tasks such as improvising on a given theme (samasyāpūraṇa), pronounced judgement on their performance. Many of these assemblies were brilliant exhibitions not only of poetic wit and artistic ability, but also of flashes of inspiration and the knowledge and humour of the poets. They were attended mainly by poets and learned men, the court and the aristocracy, but also by many other people associated with the arts such as sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, jewellers, fine metal workers, actors and courtesans.[45] A rich reward awaited the man who emerged victorious from the contests he had entered at the beginning of the meeting if he was able to solve the various riddles and verse puzzles

[45] Cf. Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyam.*, GOS, p. 54 f.

set him. He left laden with money and possessions, a fine title and an enhanced reputation. If he were a stranger, the king might persuade him to stay on, or even attempt to get him to join his own court.

Attendance at these kāvyagoṣṭhīs was a natural part of the poet's practical work. As the art of kāvya demanded correctness both in language and in content, the kavi was generally receptive to wise, objective criticism. He corrected errors that were pointed out to him and took note of improvements suggested by the meeting. Furthermore, visits to famous goṣṭhīs that were under royal protection formed part of the existence of the classical Indian poet, particularly if he were poor and saw no other chance of advancing his career. Those rulers who patronized many arts[46] were fond of surrounding themselves with poets and paṇḍits.[47] This was partly in self-interest as the presence of illustrious persons added to the lustre and fame of their courts. Partly also it was because the highly literate poet was indispensible to the monarch, particularly at more ambitious courts, since documents, inscriptions of all kinds, deeds of gift etc. were usually left to the poet to compose, as the high-flown diction and the artistic style often show. Poetry could not in itself give the poet an income; only participation in samājas and goṣṭhīs could sometimes earn him money and then only if he had talent and was lucky. Social security was really only possible if he had money of his own or had some profession besides poetry. The chance of obtaining the coveted position of court poet was alas all too seldom open to him. Only too often was the poet's path strewn with thorns. Numerous didactic and gnomic verses record the lack of generosity of princes, and we know that Bilhaṇa, who came from Kashmir, had to wander far and wide before he was finally well received, in southern India, at the court of the Cālukya king, Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (1076–1126 A.D.).

It was an inherent trait in the structure of these societies that if a classical author aspired to an appointment, it was always as court poet. As during the European Renaissance, the economic basis of poets who earned their living by their art was the service of the prince. Even text books dealing with the theory of poetry constantly stress this traditional aspect of the kavi's role; one of the most important aims (prayojana) of the court poet was recognized to be his duty to gain undying fame in which he allowed his lord and master to share. Many writers whose

[46] A coin minted by King Samudragupta (4th century A.D.) illustrates this royal interest in the arts; the sovereign is shown playing the vina. Several kings like Kumāradāsa of Ceylon, Harṣa or Pravarasena II of Kashmir were themselves great poets, while others earned themselves a considerable reputation as poetic theorists. King Bhoja of Dhārā, for instance, wrote important works on poetics.

[47] Legend relates that the well-known lexicographer Amara(siṃha) and the so-called Nine Jewels, who included Kālidāsa, Vetālabhaṭṭa, Vararuci and Ghaṭakarpara, worked at the court of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī (frequently identified as Candragupta II, who also bore this name). The patron of the most famous writer of artistic prose, Bāṇa, was none other than King Harṣa (606–647 A.D.) who is himself credited with having written three dramas. Later, King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal (1179 to about 1205 A.D.) kept a large staff of Sanskrit poets at his court: Śrutidhara, Dhoyī and – most famous of them all – Jayadeva and Govardhanācārya were some of them. Numerous other examples could be given.

reputation was already established diffused their fame by their mere presence at the court of their patron. Others, less renowned, performed their task in a more direct manner and repaid the maintainance they received from the monarch by praising him in a variety of compositions: in poems of the major form (mahākāvya) or of the minor form (laghukāvya), in poetically designed biographies (carita) or in inscriptions (praśasti), for which they received more detailed instructions. In addition, they were always being expected to write new plays which were performed on various state occasions such as the visit of some high-ranking personage, at banquets, festivals, etc. Another function that tended to devolve on the kavi was to act as adviser to his sovereign. In this role the poet needed to exercise caution, for the amour propre of the prince could not be hurt with impunity. He therefore sugared the pill when necessary and diplomatically wrapped up his counsel in an elegant package.

While the majority of kavis probably attended poets' meetings and the court only as travelling poets, there could arise between the established writer, the poet laureate, and his patron such close bonds that the relationship often endured for many years, as some sources show. There were cases in which the appointment was even handed on from father to son, as happened, for instance, at the court of the Hoysala rulers (1022–1342 A.D.), where a succession of court poets, there entitled vidyācakravartin[48], all came from the same family, the name of which has unfortunately now been lost. Mighty princes could afford to keep a staff of court poets and, as we have already seen, their generosity could sometimes be great indeed, as in the case of Dhoyī(ka), one of the court poets in the employ of Lakṣmaṇasena (1179 to about 1205). At the end of his poem Pavanadūta (The Wind Messenger) Dhoyī looks back in satisfaction on his life and says: "He who, as the great ruler over princes among poets[49], received from the Gauḍa King (Lakṣmaṇasena) a troop of elephants, an ornament of gold, a fan and a golden sceptre, the wise, venerable Dhoyīka, has published this poem, like a great mantra to Sarasvatī, for the pleasure of all connoisseurs (101). May I enjoy in (my) reincarnation the company[50] of sensitive poets, (the gift of) the Vaidarbhī style[51] in speech, an abode near the Ganges, the fine fruits of illustriousness, an inclination towards all that is good, an appointment as court poet[52] to kings and the respect of the two feet of the consort of Lakṣmī[53] (102). I have won fame in the assemblies of the learned and completed some word-combinations flowing with nectar that have pleased kings. May I now spend (the remainder of) my days somewhere by a cliff on the banks of the river of the gods (the Ganges) devoting myself to Brahma exercises (104)." These stanzas illustrate very well the honour in which a court poet was held.

48 I.e., Great ruler of the science (of poetry).

49 *kavikṣmābhṛtāṃ cakravartī.*

50 *goṣṭhībandhaḥ.*

51 Among the various styles recognized by poetics Vaidarbhī is known for its clear and flowing qualities. Its finest exponent was probably Kālidāsa.

52 *kavitācāryakam.*

53 I.e., Viṣṇu.

They also emphasize the immense importance of the goṣṭhīs and the extremely close relationship that existed between poetic practice, poetic theory and classical education.

4. The Training of a Poet

Very little separated the connoisseur from the writer of kāvya. This is shown by the fact that a great many critics themselves wrote poetry and that poets possessed critical knowledge that was frequently profound. At the very least they had to be familiar with poetics and allied sciences such as grammar, metrics, lexicography and semantics, but many of them were in fact paṇḍits. Since they were expected to deal with things in a factual manner, and in any case the majority liked to embellish their poetry with learned matter, the sciences that were closely allied in a narrow sense were not enough and a knowledge of numerous other fields was required, above all of erotics (kāmaśāstra), logic (nyāya), the arts (kalā), political science (arthaśāstra) and familiarity with such important sources of literary material as the epics Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata as well as with the Purāṇas.

Theorists sum up these disciplines under the heading vyutpatti (also śruta or abhyāsa), translated as "training" or "the acquisition of knowledge", and they count vyutpatti as being one of the qualifications (kāvyahetu) which are necessary for a practising writer. A man is therefore qualified as a poet if he has poetic imagination (pratibhā)[54], possesses the required education (vyutpatti) and constantly devotes himself to exercises (abhiyoga, prayatna) both as a beginner and, later, as an experienced writer. The second and third requirements for the composition of kāvya, i.e., the study of various sciences and of other authors, and of continually doing exercises, are often lumped together into one which, also called vyutpatti or abhyāsa, combines reading with practice. Vyutpatti thus summed up is the writer's experience, his training, which, when fully completed, was often a laborious one to which the poet usually had to dedicate most of his time, as the description of his daily routine showed.

In general a writer did these exercises either by himself or under the guidance of an experienced teacher – a poet or a paṇḍit – or, in the case of a mature author, among his fellow-poets in the goṣṭhī. The exercises might be designed, for example, to give mastery of metrical patterns, to practise imitation or to impart skill in completing intentionally unfinished stanzas. An easier exercise which must have appealed to beginners consisted in composing stanzas in various forms paying attention only to euphony and the metrical rules without having to consider whether the words and the order in which they were used formed a correct sentence. The following stanza is a good example of this sort of euphonic-metrical exercise. The verse form is the Indravajrā and it has the following pattern:

[54] This is the most common term, but Daṇḍin and Vāmana use *pratibhāna* and Mammaṭa uses *śakti*.

– – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪
– – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪
– – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪
– – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪

The choice of words, however, is quite **clearly determined by the mellifluous weak** consonants, particularly the link nd:

ānandasandohapadāravinda–
kundendukandoditabinduvṛndam /
indindirāndolitamandamanda–
niṣyandanandanmakarandavandyam //[55]

Another exercise, intended to test the pupil's vocabulary, was to find synonyms for certain words in a stanza which was often taken from the work of some prominent poet. Synonym books and other works of reference such as Vopadeva's dictionary Kavikalpadruma, "The Poet's Wishing-Tree"[56], were frequently used for this exercise. Others, such as Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī's Kavīndrakalpadruma[57], contained models for creative literary work which the author expressly stated were intended to serve the novice as a kind of poetry primer. An example taken from the introductory stanza of Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa will illustrate how a vocabulary exercise may work. The original version runs:

vāg-arthāv iva *saṃpṛktau vāg*-arthapratipattaye /
jagataḥ *pitarau* vande *pārvatī-parameśvarau* //[58]

The exercise, which also aims at developing metrical skill, now requires that synonyms be substituted for certain parts of the sentence, in this case the words vāc, sampṛkta, pitṛ, pārvatī and parameśvara. These synonyms must be of the same length as the words replaced and must fit the metrical system exactly.

vāṇy-arthāv iva *saṃyuktau vāṇy*-arthapratipattaye /
jagato *janakau* vande *śarvāṇī-śaśiśekharau* //[59]

[55] Kṣemendra, *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* 1, 21. The stanza consists of two long compounds divided equally between the two halves. With the exception of the two final members *vṛnda* and *vandya*, the words are prior members arranged in a row one after the other. A translation might give something like the following meaningless series of words: "Multitudes of joy, lotus-foot, jasmine, moon, drops arisen from roots; (large) bee, swinging, slowly dropping down, rejoicing, flower-juice, to be venerated."

[56] Vopadeva Gosvami, Kavikalpadruma, critically ed. by G.B. PALSULE, Poona 1945 (Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography).

[57] Cf. J. EGGELING, Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, VII, London 1904, No. 3947.

[58] For a translation, see note 29.

[59] Kṣemendra, *loc. cit.* This sort of substitution may seem to be a contradiction of what was said on p. 4 ff. regarding the nature of literary texts whose complicated structure does not admit of any alteration. In this case, however, substitution is merely an exercise and, as such, certainly useful.

Other exercises were intended to develop the poet's skill in employing different words to express the same meaning in one and the same metrical pattern. Thus the three following lines: a) rājate pṛthivīpatiḥ, b) śobhate bhūmivallabaḥ and c) so vibhāti bhuvo vibhuḥ are all written in the Śloka metre and all mean: "(there) is (or: was) the king, radiant (with majesty)".[60]

Theorists are united in believing that it is when the poet is working under the above demands that pratibhā, "poetic or creative imagination", is of the greatest importance. It is partly the "flashing upon the thought" (prati-bhā) of an illuminating artistic idea in the mind of the poet and partly the particular ability (śakti) to turn it to good account, i.e., to utilise the idea in some poem, long or short, and give it concrete expression in form and content (artha and śabda). Most critics regard this ability as being a natural (naisargika) gift with which one is born (sahaja) but, like Daṇḍin and Rudraṭa, consider it possible that poetic talent, even when it is not innate, can be acquired to a certain extent by diligent practice and veneration of the goddess Sarasvatī.[61] This sort of late development is, however, always laborious. Daṇḍin, Rudraṭa, Rājaśekhara and others let it clearly be understood that acquired pratibhā is definitely inferior to natural talent. Even genuine poetic imagination is not a gift from above which descends on a poet more or less by chance, as is generally supposed. On the contrary, it is an acquired faculty gained by merit of acts (karman) performed in previous existences which have influenced the poet's mind in such a way that they have left behind a residue of latent mental impressions (saṃskāra) which has matured in his present life to genuine, innate pratibhā.[62] An acute definition, even by modern standards of literary criticism, is that given by Abhinavagupta who, when taking up Ānandavardhana's ideas[63], called poetic imagination a sort of intuitive ability (prajñā) which enables the poet continually to create something new[64] which strikes the reader, too, as original.

[60] *Vṛtti* on *Kāvyakalpalatā* 1, 2, 30; see also S.I. POLLOCK, Aspects of Versification in Sanskrit Lyric Poetry, New Haven, Conn. 1977 (AOS 61), p. 130 f.

[61] Exceptions are, for example, Vāmana and Jagannātha. Vāmana, who accepts genuine *pratibhā* alone, is of the opinion that any attempt to acquire poetic talent by one's own efforts can only excite laughter; see *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti* ad 1, 3, 16: *yasmād* (i.e., *pratibhānād*) *vinā kāvyaṃ na niṣpadyate niṣpannaṃ vā hāsyāyatanaṃ syāt.* Jagannātha, on the other hand, although also recognizing a single power of imagination (*Rasagaṅgādhara,* VBhSG, p. 25: *kevalā pratibhā*), sees it as having three origins, sometimes through grace (*prasāda*) coming from a god or from a *mahāpuruṣa* and sometimes acquired by *vyutpatti* or *abhyāsa* (*ibid.*, p. 26).

[62] See Daṇḍin, *Kāvyād.* 1, 104: *pūrvavāsanāgunānubandhi pratibhānam adbhutam;* Vāmana, *Kāvyālaṃkāras.* 1, 3, 16: *kavitvabījaṃ pratibhānam* and in his *vṛtti* to this: *kavitvasya bījaṃ kavitvabījaṃ, janmāntarāgatasaṃskāraviśeṣaḥ kaścit;* similarly Mammaṭa, *Kāvyaprakāśvṛtti* ad 1, 3: *śaktiḥ kavitvabījarūpaḥ saṃskāraviśeṣaḥ kaścit;* Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyam.* 4 (GOS, p. 12): *janmāntarasaṃskārāpekṣiṇī sahajā;* the same thought is to be found in Abhinavagupta, *Abhinavabhāratī* 7, 2 (p. 346).

[63] Cf. 12 and note 32.

[64] *apūrvavastunirmāṇakṣama.*

5. *The Creative Process*

To gain a true understanding of the manner in which the kavi works it is necessary to bear in mind that most literary theorists do not consider pratibhā to be the only prerequisite for a career as a poet. In fact, none of the three qualifications we have discussed, poetic imagination, training and practice, is in itself sufficient; it is, as Mammaṭa expressly states, the combination of all these kāvyahetus that provides the common ground (not: grounds) on which the successful creation and excellence of poetry may be built.[65] Even if poetic imagination was the decisive factor in the work of some writers, the poet's creative process was nevertheless strictly regulated by norms the observance and application of which were watched over by critics, fellow-poets and the goṣṭhīs. Classical poets also built their works on original concepts, but their inspiration was kept strictly within bounds. Their creative activity had to obey numerous objective laws, which tended to make poetic composition easier, and it had to follow conventions that laid down in detail the way in which many themes were to be dealt with. A great many themes and set phrases turn up again and again and although the rules were originally based on accepted practice, as in other literatures, they were further developed by theorists and these developments in their turn subsequently influenced poetic practice. As a result, what classical poetry offers us is a world that is to a certain extent predetermined, its raw material partly pre-set. The methods poets employ also show a tendency towards the reconstruction and reorganization of existing material into new combinations so that the poetic or artistic element frequently consists merely of novel, unusual or surprising juxtapositions of two or more standard components. This stock of themes and the associations that accompany them, which have been available since far earlier times, have been used by every poet to create situations and phrases. As he has inherited an exceedingly large number of themes, he generally chooses only a few of them but, if he is master, he is careful always to find new combinations, new phrases and similes so as to give his theme or situation the brilliance of the hitherto unexpressed (apūrva) and thereby delight the educated reader.

This phenomenon is not limited to kāvya alone. We find a stock of given themes, situations and set phrases both in other highly-developed Indian literatures and in other eras (for instance in European Antiquity and, in India, in Caṅkam lyrical poetry written in Tamil) where fixed conventions, well-established by long and subtle use, relieved the poet of some of his labour. Kāvya appears to have been particularly rich in patterns and set phrases such as these and, in fact, we discover few aspects of life that have not in some way or other been preconceived and already shaped, either in toto or in certain details, and which do not provide bricks that the poet is obliged to use in his construction. This can be studied to advantage

[65] *Kāvyaprakāśavṛtti* ad 1, 3: *trayaḥ samuditāḥ, na tu vyastāḥ, tasya kāvyasyodbhave nirmāṇe samullāse ca hetur na tu hetavaḥ.*

in short poems (muktaka) and single stanzas from longer works which deal with the same theme. Let us choose as an example the monsoon, one of the favourite themes of Indian poetry, the correct literary description of which must contain a whole series of stereotyped elements. The list includes, for instance, clouds and wind; showers and lightning; rushing rivers swollen by rain; roads on which the dust has been laid; dancing, screaming peacocks gladdened by the sight of clouds; herons accompanying the clouds; the rain-mite;[66] ketakī-, kadamba-, nīpa-, nimba- and kuṭaja-blossom; the nightly love-promenades of young women (abhisārikā); the love-games of the beloved in well-roofed dwellings protected from rain and storm; the traveller who, eagerly awaited by his beloved, hastens to set out on his journey home or who has arrived before the outbreak of the monsoon.[67] When the poet wished to deal with the rainy season theme, he would immediately turn to these stock attributes[68] employing at least one if the poem were short. In a longer poem he would probably use most of them. He could follow traditional practice even where details were concerned by making use of well-known expressions, similes and set phrases. When describing a cloud, for instance, he could compare its dark mass to a drum, a mountain or an elephant, or he could say of clouds that they were dense (ghana), hanging low (avalambin), bearing a burden of water (toyabhāra), or describe their denseness as a veil of cloud or a cover of cloud (ghanapaṭala, jaladapaṭala, payodharapaṭala)[69], etc. However, even a tradition that placed as great an importance as kāvya did on common sources which had been handed down could realise that themes and set phrases might, in the end, become hackneyed. In order to avoid clichés, the poet could then renew these expressions by making them highly connotative or ambiguous, thus allowing them to be interpreted differently – in a spiritual or a witty manner – or use stock phrases and attributes in a new sense. What was important was that in every phase of the creative process the kavi had to choose between words from the literary and the non-literary vocabulary. To keep to our example of a cloud, he could select names like ghana, jīmūta, balāhaka, megha, or ambuda, ambhoda, jalada, nīrada, payoda, vārida (bestowing water), ambodhara, jaladhara, nīradhara, payodhara (bearing water), or jalavāha, vārivāha (bringing water), jalamuc, payomuc, vārimuc (releasing water), etc. From among these, he would search for just the expression that suited the context and the metre.[70] Let us look at a few stanzas.

[66] Generally called *indragopa:* a bright-red mite with a velvety skin incorrectly translated in some dictionaries as "Leuchtkäfer", Eng. "fire-fly"; cf. M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, Sanskrit-English Dictionary. See S. LIENHARD, On the Meaning and Use of the Word indragopa, IT 6 (1978), p. 177 ff. and S. LIENHARD, Beobachtungen zu einem wenig bekannten kāvya-Motiv, WZKS 22 (1978), p. 57 ff.

[67] It should be stressed that this list does not by any means cover all the possibilities, but only records the most important structures.

[68] I shall use this term borrowed from art history to describe the various phenomena (e.g. "dancing peacocks") associated with a given theme (in this case, the monsoon theme).

[69] Also similar compounds using other words for "cloud".

[70] As we have shown (p. 10 f)., compounds such as *jalada, jaladhara, jalavāha, jalamuc,* etc. can act as models for other, possibly more complicated names.

upari ghanaṃ ghanapaṭalaṃ tiryag girayo 'pi nartitamayūrāḥ /
kṣitir api kandaladhavalā dṛṣṭiṃ pathikaḥ kva pātayati //[71]

"On high a dense fabric of cloud. To one side, the mountains with dancing peacocks. The earth white with blossom: where is the traveller to look?"

In this stanza by Bhartṛhari the much-loved phrase ghanapaṭala (veil of cloud) is modified by the adjective ghana (dense) which, being a homonym of the noun (ghana), gives the text greater interest. The poet also introduces a second and third attribute associated with rain – the dancing peacocks and the traveller.

This semi-automatic technique is pursued even further in another short poem in which we also find the expression ghanapaṭala. According to Vallabhadeva, the author is a poet called Vṛddhi, i.e., Bhaṭṭavṛddhi. He plays with the words "clouds" (payodhara), "the disappearance of the dust" (rajas) and the "veil of clouds" (ghanapaṭala), but reinforces the poetic power of these elements by giving all of them double meanings:

apagatarajovikārā ghanapaṭalākrāntatārakālokā /
lambapayodharamālā prāvṛḍ iyaṃ vṛddhavaniteva //[72]

As the first three parts of the sentence, which are all ambiguous, refer both to the subject and the object of the comparison, we can translate either as: "This monsoon is like an aged woman; gone is the burden of the dust, clouds veil the light of the stars and multitudes of clouds hang down" or as „This monsoon is like an aged woman; she is free from the trouble of menstruation, her pupil is covered with coarse-grained cataract and her breasts hang down."

The comparison of a cloud to a loud drum is made in the two following verses. In the first, a stanza taken from Māgha's Śiśupālavadha, dancing peacocks are again introduced as an indication of the rain theme; in the second, whose author is said to be a certain Jayamāghava[73], kadamba-blossom, a tree whose flowering is characteristic of this season:

jaladapaṅktir anartayad unmadaṃ kalavilāpi kalāpikadambakam /
kṛtasamārjanamardalamaṇḍaladhvanijayā nijayā svanasampadā //[74]

"The row of clouds with its fullness of notes, which rumbled (like) the beat of a great many oiled drums, made the excited flock of sweetly calling peacocks dance."

atha manasijadigjayābhiśaṃsī
jaladharadundubhir ātatāna śabdam /
tadanu tadanujīvibhiḥ kadambaiḥ
kavacitam unmadaṣaṭpadacchalena[75] //

[71] Bhartṛhari, *Śṛṅgāraś.* 92 (Kosambi, Śatakatrayam).
[72] *Subh.* 1738; *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* 231 (which has *payodharabhārā* instead of *°mālā*).
[73] Vallabhadeva ad *Subh.* 1758.
[74] *Śiśup.* 6, 31.
[75] *Subh.* 1758.

"Now resounded the rain-cloud drum which proclaimed the world-wide victory of the (King) God of Love. Then his servants, the kadambas, donned their armour, assuming the appearance of (dark-coloured) drunken bees."

Both poems are the product of highly-developed verbal artistry and show clearly, as does other poetry, how consciously Sanskrit writers worked on the construction of a kāvya. Their poems are in fact compositions and grow out of a clearly thought-out process based on a free but carefully made choice of all the elements. The process itself is governed by fixed rules which are valid for all poets. Far more important than the choice of themes, attributes, set phrases and words, however, is another process taking place at the same time: the organization and co-ordination of these elements at all levels, which gives the composition the quality of a work of art and, more than any other single act on the part of the poet, converts his ideas into reality. We can discern the watchful hand of a conscious artist behind both the above poems. Mastery of language is revealed in particular in the stanza by Māgha, who was recognized as a virtuoso. In accordance with an increasingly important tendency, he makes the length of his sentence coincide with the stanza and builds up his verbal structure within this rhythmic-syntactic framework so that it is highly alliterative and at the same time shows agreement between expression and content. What strikes the cultivated reader is the novel use made of the cloud-drum attribute which Māgha clearly associates with the field of music:

Like trained birds, peacocks dance to the thunder of the clouds as if to the music of drums.

Jayamāghava, on the other hand, employs warlike imagery:

Like a king, the god Kāma proclaims his victory with drumbeats while those shown as his followers, the kadambas, put on their shining, dusky armour.[76]

The reader is shown a new aspect of reality by being presented with an attribute with which he is thoroughly acquainted in a sense that is new and surprising. In other words, the poet paints the reader a picture in which all the details are familiar yet which strikes him as original because they are re-arranged into a quite new pattern. In both these poems, as in the two previously mentioned, it becomes evident that attributes are elements which can be handled with considerable freedom, whereas we recognize set phrases as being formed on typical models which have a tendency to recur with a fixed word-order if they are in the same sort of context. Indeed, they may even be so much a part of the attribute that they form its linguistic aspect. Something that set phrases have in common with poetic wording is that although, like the names of people, animals and things, other words may easily be substituted for the various elements they contain, they do not willingly change their structure. A poet using a set phrase meaning "veil of clouds" may replace the

[76] The way was prepared for this warlike imagery in the descriptions of rain in the *Rām.* and the *Rtus.* in both of which clouds are compared to an army, a war-drum and a battle-flag; see V. RAGHAVAN, Rtu in Sanskrit Literature, Delhi 1972 (= Saradiya Jnana Mahotsava Lecture Series), p. 16 and p. 47.

prior member of, for example, ghanapaṭala with some synonym and write meghapaṭala, payodharapaṭala, jīmūtapaṭala, etc. This enables almost any set phrase to be adapted rhythmically or from the assonance/consonance point of view to the metrical or contextual demands of the passage. We must, however, admit that in this case none of the variants contain the neat double meaning of ghanapaṭala – "veil of clouds" or "thick veil". In Śiśupālavadha VI, 31, Māgha uses the expression jaladapaṅkti for "row of clouds" as it is demanded in this context by the metre and the sound (the preference for the vowel a at the beginning of the stanza), but it can of course be varied (ambudapaṅkti, jaladharapaṅkti, balāhakapaṅkti, ambudarekhā, jaladhararekhā, balāhakarekhā, etc.). Jayamāghava, on the other hand, chooses the equally euphonious, metrically exactly correct jaladharadundubhi for "cloud drum", which can be replaced in other contexts by meghadundubhi, payodharadundubhi, meghamardala, payodharamardala, etc.

Attributes occupy a far more important place in the poetic hierarchy than set phrases. One of their characteristics is that they have been able to preserve their poetic force throughout the development of kāvya due to the fact that it is possible to use them in ways that create a surprise effect. As they are continually being given new references, they are the material with which poetic pictures are made. Since the primary function of attributes was to show characteristics of the theme to be described, the predominant practice in older phases of kāvya was to give a long sequence of attributes, which usually consisted of merely naming conventional ones – although in considerable numbers and in some detail – either in a single stanza or at most in a few. In later times a different procedure was adopted: the aim of the poet became elaboration. Instead of a multiplicity, a minimum of attributes appeared in a single stanza: particularly when composing short poems, the poet now realized his ideas with the aid of only a few attributes which he scrutinized as it were close-up and, by the clever use of poetic figures (alaṃkāra), similes (upamā), witty interpretations (utprekṣā), etc., gave the simple image a new and wider perspective. Sometimes he sought to confuse the reader, as perhaps Māgha did in the stanza quoted above. We cannot conclusively prove that the word kadambaka in Śiśupālavadha, VI, 31 is really employed with this object in mind, but one might easily be misled by a superficial reading into thinking that the reference is to the kadamba-tree. A second reading soon corrects this misapprehension, for kalāpi-kadambaka, taken together, is a sort of periphrastic plural giving the meaning "host of peacocks". However we judge this passage, this sort of concealed play on words and other elements is quite typical of literary texts in Sanskrit and Prākrit.

We can follow the development from a sequence of attributes towards a concentration on only one or two in the following stanzas, all of which contain references to another conventional attribute associated with the monsoon theme – the previously mentioned rain-mite, Skt. indragopa(ka), śakragopa(ka). We find a sequence of attributes in the Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa 28, 41, which is admittedly only a very small part of a much longer, detailed description of the rainy season:

prahṛṣṭasannāditabarhiṇāni saśakragopākulaśādvalāni /
caranti nīpārjunavāsitāni gajāḥ suramyāṇi vanāntarāṇi //

"Elephants move through charming, wooded strips of land in which peacocks cry joyfully (and) the juicy grass of which is full of rain-mites and the smell of nīpa- and arjuna-blossom."

The attributes listed here are: peacocks crying joyfully, grass that is juicy because of rain that has just fallen, rain-mites, nīpa- and arjuna-blossom. Vikramāṅkadevacarita XIII, 37 is also part of a long description of rain. Here the poet has made use of three attributes only: clouds, fresh grass and rain-mites. Nevertheless they are linked together into a single united image far better than in the stanza from the Rāmāyaṇa:

namaty ayaṃ śyāmalaśaṣpamaṇḍalasthitendragopapracayāsu vāridaḥ /
giristhalīṣu cyutaśakrakārmukabhramād ivodbhrāntataḍidvilocanaḥ //

"Under the erroneous impression of (having seen) something like a fallen rainbow, the cloud bows its flashing eyes down to the mountain on whose patches of dark grass there are hosts of rain-mites."

What we see here is: the red indragopa(ka)s are contrasted with the dark-green grass on the mountains thus creating the illusion of a red and green rainbow shining on the mountains where it has fallen. Filled with curiosity, the cloud bends down to examine the miraculous phenomenon with its eyes, the flashes of lightning. Uñcchavṛtti is even bolder: he also uses clouds and indragopas, here called harigopa(ka)s, but puts them into a most unusual relationship, creating new constellations which he employs with great poetic effect:

bhraṣṭair meghaśukāghātadalitād arkadāḍimāt /
phalair iva mahī piṅgaiḥ pūritā harigopakaiḥ /[77]

"The earth is filled with reddish-brown rain-mites: (they look) like the seeds fallen from a pomegranate-sun that has been broken into pieces by the hammering of parrots, (i.e.) of the clouds."

If we sum up the above analyses, we come to the conclusion that classical poets built up their texts in several layers. Here we should like to emphasize once again that complicated, interwoven layers are not to be found in non-literary texts of an ordinary or scientific nature except in rudimentary form. When they do occur it is due to the influence of poetry, but they are not employed in a poetic manner, are not connected to each other and, above all, they are not worked out in detail. In kāvya, on the other hand, they form a hierarchy in the following order:

Theme

Application[78]

[77] *Subh.* 1722.
[78] I shall employ this term to denote the use to which an attribute is put.

Attribute(s)

Set phrase(s): Words

If we arrange the components of the above stanzas by Bhartṛhari, Bhaṭṭavṛddhi, Māgha, Jayamāghava, Vālmīki and Bilhaṇa according to this model[79], we get:

Monsoon

A cloud looking at the rainbow created by indragopas;
Peacocks dancing to the drum-music of the clouds.

Clouds, rain-mites, peacocks, etc.

Various words for "cloud" such as ghana, jalada, megha, etc.

The order given here is not really as hierarchical as it appears. In fact, the various levels in a poem are not directly superimposed on one another; rather, they interact and thereby produce the typical density, the complexity and the structural formation of poetry. It is a characteristic of kāvya that the different layers are intimately related to each other and that the unity of a text is not to be assessed as the sum of its parts, but as being due to this relationship and the complicated, often concealed interplay of the elements.

It is unfortunately not possible here to deal with all the fields in which the poet must exercise care and accuracy. We may regard suitability (aucitya) as being the guiding principle employed by the kavi in his choice of metre, word, style or attribute. On every level of kāvya, both from the point of view of sound and of intellectual content, it helped in the selection of those elements that best fitted the given theme. We saw above how a certain description governed the choice of definite attributes as far as content is concerned, and, if we read carefully, we shall discover that the same desire for accuracy also regulates the choice of similes, words, attributes and their application. They are all selected with an eye to their suitability and should be attuned as closely as possible to the sense of a stanza or to the atmosphere of a longer passage, a chapter or, indeed, even of a whole kāvya. In Sarga XXII of Bhaṭṭi's Rāma poem, usually known as Bhaṭṭikāvya, it is certainly not by chance, but by intention that Bhaṭṭi chooses the Praharṣiṇī (rejoicing) metre for two passages. Chapter XXII, which describes Rāma and Sītā's final return to Ayodhyā, is the closing song of the poem. In stanzas 26 and 27 this metre, which moves briskly and expresses joy (notice the finite verb nananda, "rejoiced")[80], emphasizes Rāma's pleasure when, looking down from his air-borne chariot Puṣpaka, he beholds Mount Citrakūṭa and the Ganges beneath him:

[79] For the structure of classical Tamil lyrical poetry, cf. K.V. Zvelebil, Tamil Literature, Wiesbaden 1974 (HIL X, 1), p. 26 ff.

[80] Kṣemendra (*Suvṛttatilaka* II, 19) and others attest to the power of this metre to convey joy.

ete te munijanamaṇḍitā digantāḥ
śailo 'yaṃ lulitavanaḥ sa citrakūṭaḥ /
gaṅgeyaṃ sutanu viśālatīraramyā
maithilyā raghutanayo diśan nananda //

"(Behold) here the regions embellished by (the presence of) ascetics, here Mount Citrakūṭa with its undulating forests and there, oh slim one[81], the broad banks of the lovely Ganges. The descendant of Raghu[82] rejoiced to show (all this) to Maithilī[81]."

Another example: The first song in the Raghuvaṃśa describes the visit of King Dilīpa and his consort to the grove of ascetics presided over by the sage Vasiṣṭha. Stanza 56 relates how they meet the guru after he has performed the twilight ceremonies. Kālidāsa portrays the scene in two short similes which may seem somewhat trivial at first sight. A re-reading, however, reveals an important characteristic of the poet's method. In this passage the seer Vasiṣṭha, who has great experience of sacrifices and has been credited with composing a large number of Ṛgveda hymns, and his wife Arundhatī are compared by Kālidāsa with concepts taken from the vocabulary of sacrifice and not with ideas casually chosen from some other field of life. This is correct from the poetic point of view and is also in agreement with the principle of aucitya:

vidheḥ sāyantanasyānte sa dadarśa taponidhim /
anvāsitam Arundhatyā svāhayeva havirbhujam //

"At the conclusion of the twilight rites (King Dilīpa) saw the treasure of asceticism[83], like a fire accompanied by the sacrificial cry 'svāhā', whom[83] Arundhatī was assisting."

Observe that the simile is constructed with careful attention to gender: Vasiṣṭha is compared to fire, which is masculine in Sanskrit; Arundhatī to 'svāhā', which is feminine. As slips are to be found even in the work of important poets, it is not unimportant to note the great pains Kālidāsa has taken to be accurate.

One does not have to read many literary texts before being struck by this endeavour to achieve accuracy. It is never the aim of a poet merely to give a beautiful poetic rendering of a theme. Going further than our conception of pure aesthetic effect, he attempts to build up the theme correctly, from the objective point of view, that is to say to choose the right attributes, the right associations, etc. It is one of the characteristics of classical Indian poetry that the desire to give an exact description of an object extends down to the smallest details, which are carefully worked out so as to reflect the need to find the most appropriate expression for each attribute, the most suitable simile, etc. These strict requirements were not always easy to fulfil, for the author always ran the risk of discovering that he had neglected to pay sufficient attention to the poetic side of his work or to its scientific, learned aspects. The long history of kāvya shows that it was, in fact, perfectly possible to meet all these requirements. The delicate balance between

[81] I.e., Sītā.
[82] I.e., Rāma.
[83] Vasiṣṭha.

poetic genius and exact description is masterfully maintained in quite a few poems and, as we shall see in the next section, both readers and listeners, the connoisseurs, were highly conscious of the fact that each of these two aspects formed part of the enjoyment of poetry. Discussions in critical works and in commentaries to individual kāvyas take up questions both of expression and of content and let it clearly be understood that, in their opinion, the presence of factual errors will diminish the value of a kāvya.

We must judge the nature and personality of the classical Indian poet from a quite different standpoint than that taken when considering writers in the Western tradition or modern authors. Above all it would be wrong to think of him as being in some way related to the European idea of a Romantic poet – drunk with daemonic inspiration, his head in the clouds, writing to fulfil his artistic nature. With the exception of certain holy men belonging to later religious groups or sects in whom a burning devotion to God (bhakti), mixed in some cases with Tantric beliefs, might lead to transports of spontaneous poetry[84], and also with the possible exception of the Vedic poet-seer, the concept of the undisciplined poet autoschediastically composing great works with a sort of somnambulistic certainty is entirely alien to the Indian tradition. The attitude of the kavi was totally different. He worked at his text in a deliberate manner and, governed by a host of rules and norms, put his lines carefully together. In actual fact, hardly any Sanskrit or Prākrit poems give a hint of a state resembling Cicero's afflatus quasi furoris. If the Indian poet could create imagery that far exceeded in boldness anything that his Western counterpart produced, his methods of work and even his poetic imagination (pratibhā) were constantly held in check. Moreover, definite procedures such as the realization of the poet's intentions in similes containing several members, in paronomasia (śleṣa) or in the implied (dhvani) left no room for the blind dictates of grandiose inspiration. It was one of the conditions of kāvya not only that the message should conform to the poetic codex in the narrow sense, but also that it should be factually correct. Naturally, this did not mean that the classical poet was not free to follow a flash of inspiration or some subconscious mental process if he wished. What was essential was that whatever he wrote, whether it was the result of plodding labour or of inspiration, should be submitted to rigorous criticism, have its accuracy checked and be corrected if necessary. I have already dilated on the importance of kāvyagoṣṭhīs and similar meetings in this connection. We have also seen[85] that the disciplined poet was not prepared to write haphazardly and at irregular intervals but set aside a definite period of time for each step in the creative process, including re-reading, revision and improvement. It cannot be denied that this conscientious, somewhat hide-bound attitude of authors to their work had a conservative effect and is therefore partly responsible for the great unity – uniformity even – of classical poetry. We observe time and again that the differences between one poet and another as far as their manner of writing is concerned are not

[84] One of the best examples is the Bauls of Bengal.
[85] See p. 14 f.

normally in essentials. They seldom contravene either the themes or the forms sanctioned by tradition, but are clearly a matter of detail. As the history of kāvya shows, individual authors sought renewal and effect primarily through profundity and, when attempting something new, did not allow the novelty of their work to express itself in drastic changes but rather in ever greater refinement, by surpassing either earlier poetry or, more commonly, similar works by other poets.

6. *Readers and Critics*

A natural consequence of the prerequisites and particular nature of classical poetry was that kāvya literature, whether in Sanskrit or in one of the Middle Indian languages[86], did not appeal to a wide public. It is true that it flowered for an unusually long time with a richness and volume that is impressive, but true understanding of this poetry was by no means achieved at first sight, as our survey of the creative process indicated. If we wish to judge its effects on its time and on society, we must, however, not fall into the common error of thinking that it was the province solely of the rich and the socially privileged. On the contrary, it was a matter that concerned everyone with education, and its communicative and artistic aspects were directed precisely at these people. Kāvya could also be enjoyed by the poor, but educated and well-read Brahman.

Only in readers as highly educated as the poet himself could one expect to find complete understanding of the artistic quality of a literary text and the ability to subject it to a critical analysis. Such readers were well prepared for literature of this kind and could assimilate not only the poetic whole, but also the separate elements which had been welded together into an entity. This education went far beyond a mere knowledge of Sanskrit and Prākrit which, as literary languages, were to some extent Kunstsprachen. They had ceased to be living languages before the emergence of classical poetry. The reader or listener had a command not only of the literary language, its means of expression and style, but was also familiar with the sources and technique of poetry. Naturally he knew the Epics and Purāṇas which, if the poet did not himself invent his subject matter, were a rich mine of all sorts of themes for the major form of kāvya (drama and mahākāvya). He also had a knowledge of metrics, decorative figures (alaṃkāra), the theory of the sentiments (rasa) and the implied (dhvani); indeed, he might even be a specialist in some other branches of science as well. He possessed, in short, the measure of general knowledge that was the prerequisite for an appreciation of classical poetry. This appreciation was to some extent recognition of the norms that were applied by the poet at any time which, being part of the poetic canon, were the most important tools in the hands of poet and reader alike. When reading poetry one's interest was

[86] The *kāvya* tradition was carried on in New Indian literatures both in the north and in the south and was consciously revived, for instance, in the poetry of the so-called *Rītikāl* in Hindī poetry.

at the same time engaged in detecting the variations, original concepts and refinements the work contained. Whereas a single quick reading was often sufficient for ordinary texts, the appreciation of a poem required constant repetition, re-reading and comparison with earlier pages. To assimilate a poem, the reader generally read it through as a whole in order to grasp the underlying sentiment (rasa), then looked through the text for its merits (guṇa) or defects (doṣa). Finally, after much searching backwards and forwards, he would arrive at understanding of the slight alterations and innovations, which would frequently lead to his experiencing camatkāra, the astonishment aroused in a reader by surprise and joy.

The educated man was well versed not only in the subject matter (vastu) of kāvya as handed down by older sources, he was also thoroughly conversant with the individual themes. If, for example, he intended to read a mahākāvya, he knew perfectly well that he might expect to find in it descriptions of such things as "a town, a sea, a mountain, the seasons, the rising of the sun and moon, of games in pleasure gardens or in water, of carousals and of amorous festivals, of disappointments, weddings and the birth of a prince, of councils, messages and military expeditions, of battles and of the victorious deeds of heroes".[87] However, the reader would also expect to come across certain standard types of phrasing, attributes or other details. We have already considered a number of these elements in connection with descriptions of the monsoon period.[88] Let us take a few examples from this bewildering array of stock attributes, the way in which they are applied and other conventions which, because they are compulsory ingredients in poetic usage, have a strong tendency to become standardized and pre-formed in style and language: the red aśoka[89], the amaranth[90] and the kiṃśuka-tree[91] all blossom in springtime. While a great many authors make poetic use of the superstition that the aśoka-tree does not blossom until the foot of a beautiful woman has touched it, other texts like to associate the tree with a play on the words aśoka: śoka or aśoka: saśoka, thus giving a pleasing contrast between the supposedly free-from-trouble (a-śoka) tree and young people hopelessly in love and bowed down by troubles.[92] Other signs of spring are the cuckoo's call and the humming of bees. Summer scenes conjure up pictures of scorching heat, particularly that of midday, of forest fires, of drought and stillness. Even love-games languish. Now shower-baths and moonlit nights are refreshing, or sandalwood paste which, rubbed on women's breasts, revives them. Animals, too, exhausted by the heat, lie still in the shade and even bitter enemies like the peacock and the snake are peaceful neighbours. In summer the śirīṣa[93] in flower is beautiful, but sorrow and melancholy make the traveller depressed: he is consumed by longing for home and the beloved, or sometimes he is enticed by the dark-eyed beauty by the wayside who deceitfully offers the weary wanderer drink

87 Daṇḍin, *Kāvyād.* 1, 16–17.
88 P. 23 ff.
89 Jonesia asoka.
90 Skt. *kurabaka.*
91 Butea frondosa.
92, 93 See page 33.

and lodging. In autumn the sugar-cane and the rice ripen. While brooks and streams again start to flow in their beds and the lotus[94] flowers in pools and ponds, birds of passage prepare for their departure. This is not the time when peacocks cry aloud, heralding the arrival of clouds and rain, but the time when geese[95] cry pleasingly, especially the bar-headed goose[96], which poets always describe as white and dignified. Neither is this the time of the kadamba-, kuṭa-, nimba- or arjuna-tree, which also indicate rain[97], but of the seven-leafed tree[98] which flowers magnificently in the autumn. Love takes its rightful place again, and the flower that stands both for the early[99] and the real winter[100], the coldest time of the Indian year, is the white jasmine.[101] Descriptions of people also use stereotyped characteristics: girls and women shoot well-directed, wounding looks from the corners of their eyes. They have moon or lotus faces, graceful liana arms, lotus feet, narrow waists with three folds of skin round the navel as a sign of beauty, heavy, firm breasts, broad hips

92 The use of the aśoka motif and the formulæ associated with it may be briefly illustrated with the following stanzas:
Rām., 4, 1, 59:
kāmināṃ ayam atyantam aśokaḥ śokavardhanaḥ /
stabakaiḥ pavanotkṣiptais tarjayann iva māṃ sthitaḥ //

"Here – 'free from trouble' – stands the aśoka tree, which endlessly increases the troubles of lovers (and) whose clusters (of blossom), shaken by the wind, seem to threaten me."

Buddhac. 4, 45:
aśoko dṛśyatām eṣa kāmiśokavivardhanaḥ /

"Behold, here (is) the 'free-from-trouble' (tree, the aśoka), which increases the suffering of lovers."

Ṛtus. 6, 16:
ā mūlato vidrumarāgatāmraṃ sapallavāḥ puṣpacayaṃ dadhānāḥ /
kurvanty aśokā hṛdayaṃ saśokaṃ nirīkṣyamāṇā navayauvanānām //

"The – 'free from trouble' – aśokas, which wear a mantle of blossom on their twigs as red as coral – down to their roots – trouble the hearts of girls (when they) see (them)."

Raghuv. 8, 63:
smarateva saśabdanūpuraṃ caraṇānugraham anyadurlabham /
amunā kusumāśruvarṣiṇā tvam aśokena sugātri śocyase //

"Beautiful-limbed one, sorrow is felt for you by that aśoka which (although it is free from troubles) sheds blossom-tears as if it were remembering (the) favour of (your) foot furnished with tinkling rings, (a favour) which others have difficulty in obtaining."

93 Acacia Sirissa.
94 Skt. *kamala, saroruha, saroja, paṅkaja,* etc.
95 Skt. *haṃsa.*
96 Skt. *rājahaṃsa.*
97 See p. 23.
98 Skt. *saptacchada,* Alstonia scholaris.
99 Skt. *hemanta.*
100 Skt. *śiśira.*
101 Skt. *kunda.*

swelling out like sandbanks in a river or a sea, and thighs which invite bold comparisons with the trunk of an elephant or a banana tree. While their shy and restless eyes remind one of gazelles, their bowed carriage[102] and languid gait resemble geese. Kings and heroes, on the other hand, walk like bulls, have shoulders as broad as a lion's and long arms that reach down to their knees. In comeliness they can only be compared to Kāma, the god of love, and as far as character is concerned they are always described as self-controlled, eloquent and resolute.

The educated reader knew all these and other details: What he could not know – and this was the source of a considerable part of the special enjoyment of reading kāvya – was how all this familiar material would emerge from the creative process. Every poet makes use of this uncertainty felt by the connoisseur to look at things from a new perspective, to use a phrase that is surprising because it occurs in an unexpected context and, not least important, continually to make new combinations out of even the smallest units in his verbal arsenal. Just as the poet's inspiration is shown mainly in the presentation, often in the details and refinements of a few lines, so the connoisseur's attitude to the poem is characterized by the fact that it is not the subject matter or the theme as such that primarily arouses his interest and gives him the pleasure of discovering something new, but the manner of presentation – the "how" rather than the "what". For the reader, the individuality and unique quality of any work resides chiefly in the way in which the poet has handled the traditional, predetermined elements which belong to kāvya. He sees the special qualities of a work above all in the individual details, new points, often in the elaborateness of the composition but, with the exception of dramatic works, pays little attention to the text as a whole which, even in poetry of the major form, is often completely eclipsed by the brilliance of a complete mastery of art on a small scale displayed in a section, a single stanza or even in a sentence.

Although some kāvyas strike a genuinely personal note, for instance Jayadeva's Gītagovinda and numerous stanzas by Bhavabhūti, writers seldom allow themselves to obtrude. This concealment of the poet's own personality is quite natural, for classical poets do not work in a realistic tradition or attempt to convey their own experience; they write according to the conventions of kāvya, which ring changes on familiar subject material, themes and attributes and, by doing so, hallow ancient usage.

When judging poetry, style cannot be regarded as a reliable guide to a writer's originality or temperament. As far as kāvya is concerned, it is exceedingly difficult to differentiate between collective and individual peculiarities in style. A poet's style does not aim at being subjective; like the other elements from which this intellectual poetry is constructed it obeys objective rules. The two most important styles (rīti) are Vaidarbhī from southern India and Gauḍī[103] from the east. The

[102] The poetic convention is that a young woman's body leans forward because of the weight of her full breasts.

[103] In addition to these two, a certain importance must be attached to the western (*Lāṭī*) and northern (*Pañcālī*) styles. Those from Magadha (*Māgadhī*) and Avanti (*Āvantikā*) are, however, of little importance to poetry.

former is famous for its lucidity and flowing manner; the latter is a complete contrast, being fond of long and difficult compound words. A poet using these or other styles has little freedom of action as he is obliged to conform to the rules governing the correct proportion of well-known stylistic elements.[104] The choice of style may be determined by the genre, as a particular style is required for certain categories of literature. Kavis may also employ different styles within one and the same poem, even within a single stanza, if the theme so demands.[105] This is particularly noticeable in later poetry. Since the beginning of the eighth century at the latest it has become increasingly clear that both erotic (śṛṅgārarasa) and sad or pathetic (karuṇarasa) themes prefer Vaidarbhī while heroic (vīrarasa), repulsive or nauseous (bībhatsarasa) or furious (raudrarasa) poetry tends to be written in the heavier and more verbose Gauḍī style. As the style chosen is an integral part of the inner coherence of a work, a section or a stanza it cannot be a means of personal expression cultivated by any single poet once and for all. Style is never definable on the basis of a poet's individual characteristics; the viewpoint adopted by the work, the genre and the theme must also be taken into consideration.

The reader or listener discovers the special qualities that a poem (and its author) wishes to emphasize by paying close attention to the handling of details. He recognizes them, as already stated, by the fine variations from the norm, by new combinations of the fixed poetic material specified for certain descriptions, themes and attributes. He also recognizes them by the way in which figures (alaṃkāra) are constructed, the manner in which information is presented in each sentence or stanza and by the suitability (aucitya) of both sound and sense-bearing elements. Most important of all, he recognizes them by the skill with which the poet has combined those fixed elements into new variations and thereby created the sentiment (rasa) he wished to produce. It is therefore not surprising that the descriptive names given to some kavis such as dīpaśikhā-Kālidāsa, "torch-flame Kālidāsa", and ghaṇṭā-Māgha, "bell Māgha", do not allude to any general characteristic of their works but to a definite detail in a definite stanza; in these examples to particularly successful similes. That this should be so is in perfect accord with the outlook of the typical Indian reader. In the case of Kālidāsa the reference is to Raghuv. VI, 67, in which the poet compares Indumatī to the flame of a torch. The beautiful princess, the sister of King Bhoja, is about to make her choice of a husband and moves along the line of princely suitors, who are presented to her one by one by her servant Sunandā, the educated guardian of the women's quarters:

saṃcāriṇī dīpaśikheva rātrau yaṃ yaṃ vyatīyāya patiṃvarā sā /
narendramārgāṭṭa iva prapede vivarṇabhāvaṃ sa sa bhūmipālaḥ //

[104] This proportion is achieved by employing certain definite stylistic merits (*guṇa*) and avoiding certain stylistic defects (*doṣa*). However, under certain circumstances it is correct to choose an element that is normally regarded as defective, as critics have confirmed.

[105] To give one example, the first half of stanza 33 in *Mahāvīrac.* II is in *Gauḍī,* the second half in *Vaidarbhī;* see V.V. MIRASHI, Bhavabhūti: His Date, Life and Works, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1974, p. 314.

"When, choosing a husband, she walked like the rays of a moving torch at night past each (of the princes, then) each prince grew pale as a tower in the King's street (grows dark again after being briefly illuminated by the light of a torch)."

Ghaṇṭā-Māgha was also given his descriptive name with reference to a bold simile which evidently appealed strongly to his readers. In Śiśup. IV, 20 he compares Mount Raivataka seen in the light of both the setting moon and the rising sun to an elephant. This in itself is the conventional simile; classical poetry frequently compares a mountain to a big grey elephant. Māgha, however, creates an entirely new and surprising image by seeing the sun and moon hanging like bells, one on each flank of the elephant:

udayati vitatordhvaraśmirajjāv ahimarucau himadhāmni yāti cāstam /
vahati girir ayaṃ vilambighaṇṭādvayaparivāritavāraṇendralīlām //

"While the sun is rising with widespread upward ropes of rays and the moon prepares to set, the mountain plays the part of a mighty elephant whose load is two dangling bells."

Observe here the reference to the sun as ahimaruci, "(having) a not cold light", a neologism contrasting with the name given to the moon, himadhāman, "place of cold". Note also the skilfully used figure[106] raśmirajju, "(the sun's) ropes of rays", which rounds off the image conjured up by the poet: the mountain is compared to an elephant and the sun and moon to bells, while the rays of the sun are the ropes that support the load of bells. Also worth noting is the intentional poetic ambiguity contained in the word vitata which, when referring to the sun means "widespread", "far-reaching" but which means "put on", "spread out"[107], etc. when referring to the ropes. This stanza makes it possible to sense the outlines of the two most important characteristics in the attitude of Indian readers. As their interest in literary texts is partly directed towards recognizing the norms handed down by tradition and poetic theory, Māgha's comparison of Mount Raivataka to an elephant fulfils their expectations. We may assume that in the early days of poetry the mere fact that readers recognized the correct application of the norm gave them a feeling of aesthetic satisfaction. Later, when kāvya was fully developed, the educated reader took a further step towards the central experience in the understanding of poetry. This was the awareness of special effects, of hitherto-never-seen (adṛṣṭapūrva) images revealed by the text. As we have seen, Mount Raivataka is not merely compared to an elephant, like any other mountain; the norm is rendered more complicated and it is compared to a splendid elephant on each of whose flanks a bell is hanging. It is easy to see that the classical poet, the person who actually handles the largely stereotyped imagery and language, has first rejuvenated kāvya by employing the technique of elaborating and deepening the imagery and later used his bold artistic skill to break with the old model, a development which

106 A *rūpaka,* a kind of brief simile or metaphor in which the tenor and the vehicle combine into a single word.

107 Compare the phrase *rajjuṃ vitanoti,* "(he) puts on a rope, spreads out a rope".

made comprehension more difficult. For the educated reader, who was the equal of the kavi, the detection of the deepened imagery, of the fine embroidery of the attributes etc. and the new view of things shown him by the poet resulted in a sensation of camatkāra; that is to say he experienced an aesthetic astonishment bringing feelings of delight which led to a multiple vision of the point presented to him by the poet. This is often rightly regarded as the essence of the enjoyment of kāvya.

The comprehension of a literary text requires a different technique from that used for an ordinary text. Whereas one study of the latter is generally sufficient to give understanding, a poetic text needs to be deciphered. This not only involves the continual re-reading of earlier passages but requires the reader to pay close attention to the minutest elements in each sentence. The process will result in the reader making illuminating discoveries both in early and later passages. Besides fulfilling their normal poetic function, a great many details have the additional task of acting as denotative signals, particularly in descriptions connected with certain attributes and set phrases. They are used by the poet, sometimes generously, sometimes sparingly, as diagnostic signs to give the educated reader a key to the interpretation of the text. A similar phenomenon may be observed in Indian miniature painting, an art-form related to short poems and single stanzas. Here also there are markers to help the beholder to identify for example which phase in a love story, the particular situation or what sort of lovers are being described. In a miniature portraying the development of a love story the miniaturist will show the dark-blue night sky and the beautiful beloved, the abhisārikā, on her way to her lover, but in addition to these standard elements of the theme he will also include the menacing snake lying in wait by the side of the road or the flash of lightning which treacherously illuminates the jewels in the woman's ornaments. In the following lines by an anonymous poet[108] the heron motif skilfully introduced into the first line of the stanza acts as an important marker. In fact it would hardly be possible to interpret the stanza correctly without it. The heron, often shown accompanying clouds, is an indication of the approaching monsoon.[109] Here it indicates to the alert reader that the event described must be taking place in the rainy season, the last moment for returning from journeys in foreign parts. From this the reader deduces that the husband of the woman described in the stanza has not returned and that the woman herself, a proṣitabhartṛkā[110], is therefore prepared to die:

108 *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* No. 727. See The Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa compiled by Vidyākara, ed. by D.D. KOSAMBI and V.V. GOKHALE, Cambridge, Mass. 1957 (HOS 42), p. 133 and An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry, Vidyākara's 'Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa' translated by D.H.H. INGALLS, Cambridge, Mass. 1965 (HOS 44), p. 236.

109 Cf. p. 23 f.

110 One of the most important types of lovers (*nāyikā*): "the beloved whose husband is away".

etāṃ mlānim upāgatāṃ srajam iva tyaktvā tanuṃ durvahām
eṣāhaṃ sukhinī bhavāmi na sahe tīvrāṃ viyogavyathām //

"Oh thou beloved, thou peerless row of pearls at the heart of heavenly beauty: [111] Oh line of herons! Tell that man that he should fear for his life. Here I (now) cast down my withered (thin) body, so hard to bear, like a garland of flowers. I shall be happy. I can no longer bear the cutting pain of (agonizing) separation."

The stanza shows very clearly how a certain word or motif – in this case the heron motif – can provide a key to the interpretation of the poetic message. It gave readers pleasure to recognize and evaluate such markers which, as they were quite familiar with the technique of kāvya, they generally comprehended quickly and without difficulty. They mentally assimilated the stanza in a typical step-by-step decipherment process. Each discovery led to greater insight which, in its turn, resulted in further discoveries and increased understanding of the whole stanza. We have therefore cause to re-read and ponder on the comparison of the line of herons with a pearl necklace in the above poem. As well as comparing each bird with a pearl in the necklace, the poet hints at the colour of their feathers – pearl-grey. Another discovery that the reader will slowly make is in the third line, where the poet has employed one of the well-known linguistic peculiarities commonly found in kāvya: a tendency to ambiguity and the use of adjective- and participle-modifiers which qualify two words simultaneously instead of only one as in ordinary speech. The expressions mlānim upāgata, "withered", and durvaha, "hard to bear" do not qualify only tanu, "body"; they can just as easily qualify sraj, "garland of flowers", especially as it was in no way unusual for a poet to describe the body of the love-sick woman as withered or the garland she wore as unbearable and irritating. The line etāṃ mlānim upāgatāṃ srajam iva tyaktvā tanuṃ durvahām could thus be interpreted either as "(here I now cast off) this withered, almost unendurable body like a withered, almost unbearable garland of flowers" or, bearing in mind the fact that tanu can mean "thin" as well as "body", as "(Here I now cast off) this thin, withered, almost unendurable body like a thin, withered, almost unbearable garland of flowers", thereby adding yet another dimension to this already rich line. Interpretations such as these are facilitated by the fact that in Sanskrit and Middle Indian languages there is no hard and fast word-order, particularly where metrical texts are concerned.

It is characteristic of literary works that understanding never ceases to grow. Successive generations of readers and critics have brought to light aspects, refinements and effects that were hidden from their predecessors. Many of these attempts to expound the meaning of a poem have made a lasting mark on the multitude of commentaries on poetry, many of which were written by authors of note. They generally commented on their kāvyas both from the point of view of grammar and of literary theory and, as the more famous a poem was the more critical writings there were, they throw light on the development of criticism, at least to some extent. These explanations, complemented by certain critical

[111] Literally, "at the heart of the (goddess of) beauty (whose name is) Heaven", a *rūpaka*.

arguments in theoretical works on poetry, provide us with a basic structure of possible interpretations which is indispensible to our understanding of kāvya, particularly as classical poetry has grown more difficult in the course of its development. The commentaries in no way exhaust all the possibilities even of those poems that have been minutely examined since interpretations given to poetic works have varied with the passage of years and later generations have discovered new aspects in them, sometimes, indeed, aspects that the author had not intended. In Meghadūta I, 10, Kālidāsa describes the faithful beloved counting the days to the return of her husband.[112] He adds the following aphorism as a sort of justification, giving it the form of an arthāntaranyāsa[113], one of his favourite figures:

āśābandhaḥ kusumasadṛśaṃ prāyaśo hy aṅganānāṃ
sadyaḥ pāti praṇayi hṛdayaṃ viprayoge ruṇaddhi //

"In the separation from her lover, it is mainly the bonds of hope that hold back the loving, flowerlike, easily-broken woman's heart".

This paraphrase follows the interpretation given by Mallinātha (14th century), one of the most important Indian commentators to whom we are indebted for an explanatory work, the Saṃjīvinī, another commentary to the much-analyzed Meghadūta. However, the paraphrase does not fully develop the meaning of the lines. As another commentator, the Jaina scholar Cāritravardhana, has correctly pointed out, the word āśābandha in this context has a second meaning, "cobweb", so that a more accurate translation would be: "In the separation from her lover, it is mainly the bonds of hope that hold back the loving, flowerlike, easily-broken woman's heart – (as) a cobweb (holds back the easily-broken flower)." Mallinātha paraphrases hṛdaya, "heart", with jīvita, which makes understanding easier. In fact danger threatens the life of the Yakṣa's beloved; if she falls into despair she will fade away, but the bonds of hope will keep her safe (āśābandho ruṇaddhi) or, in the opinion of another Jaina commentator on Meghadūta[114], "will hold her back from death". For according to the ancient Indian theory of erotics (kāmaśāstra), which Indian poets and theorists naturally studied and applied, death is the tenth and last stage of love.

As the understanding of poetry is constantly being deepened, the significance of further details in a work of art may become apparent with the passage of time. It will therefore be no surprise to find that modern readers have also discovered hitherto unsuspected aspects in various kāvyas. As a typical, though not momentous example, let us look at the double meaning found by a contemporary Indian scholar[115] in Meghadūta II, 16. Kālidāsa mentions the peacock in the Yakṣa's

[112] See p. 5.

[113] "The introduction of another object", a poetic figure that re-affirms what has already been said by quoting some suitable dictum, proverb or general truth.

[114] Sugamānvayā Vṛtti. A Late Commentary in Jaina Sanskrit on Kālidāsa's Meghadūta by the Jaina Muni Sumativijaya, Critically Edited with an Introduction and Explanatory and Critical Notes by W.H. MAURER, I, Poona 1965.

[115] S.V. SOHONI, Two Peacocks in the Cloud Messenger of Kālidāsa, JBORS 42 (1956), pp. 164–167.

garden in the distant city of Alakā; in fact, like several other things about the house, it is one of the distinctive features that make it easy for the cloud to find its way there. He refers to this peacock as nīlakaṇṭhaḥ suhṛdaḥ, "to the peacock, the friend (of the cloud)". Now both nīlakaṇṭha, literally "blue-necked", and suhṛda, "good-hearted", have other very well-known meanings: "peacock" and "friend" respectively. In the opinion of S.V. Sohoni the two words have been selected with deliberation and great care. The whole stanza runs as follows:

tanmadhye ca sphaṭikaphalakā kāñcanī vāsayaṣṭir
mūle baddhā maṇibhir anatipraudhavaṃśaprakāśaiḥ /
tālaiḥ siñjāvalayasubhagair nartitaḥ kāntayā me
yām adhyāste divasavigame nīlakaṇṭhaḥ suhṛdaḥ //

"In the middle (i.e., between the aśoka- and the kesara-tree) there is a golden post: (on it is) mounted a crystal seat and its root is studded with jewels which have the sheen of young bamboo. On this, in the evening perches (our)[116] friend, (the) peacock, which my dearest causes to dance (in the daytime) with the rhythm (which) her tinkling bracelets (make)".

Sohoni draws attention to the play of colours in the stanza: it is evening and dark, yet the peacock's golden perch shines forth and the jewels glow green like bamboo ("emerald-green" according to Mallinātha and Cāritravardhana). Guided by this context, Sohoni attaches to the word nīlakaṇṭha not only the meaning "peacock" but also its original meaning of "blue-necked". In the same way, he wishes both meanings of suhṛdaḥ to be understood, i.e., "friend" and "with a beautiful breast". If we follow him in this, the passage will then read: "... (my) friend with the beautiful breast, the blue-necked peacock". "A cameo of extraordinarily fine colour effects was intended. When, ordinarily, darkness would have set in, jewels in Alakā shone brilliantly with their own light. That is why a direct reference was made to jewels illuminating this scene with rays of light of a certain colour. This was green light, comparable in its jets with the green arcs of 'not too old bamboo plants'. The pencils of light from these jewels appeared to be like plants having roots in the golden roost. Thus is formed a picture of a yellow stick studded with jewels emitting green light in curves, with the exception of its centre on which was fixed a crystal tablet. Every literary reference to 'sphaṭika' which one may collect from literature in Gupta period showed that this material was used for securing reflections. ... The peacock retired there for the night ... amidst soothing curved beams of green efflorescence, as picturesque as bamboo groves. The beauty of the picture was further increased by the employment of two carefully selected words, viz., 'nīlakaṇṭha' and 'suhṛd' (sic!) both carrying double meanings. The peacock looked pretty with its blue neck among cascades of green light; and it had a well-shaped chest as well."[117]

It is clear that kāvya originally appealed only to a limited circle. The learned connoisseur familiar with kāvya and the theory of kāvya was the reader par

116 Addressed to the cloud.
117 SOHONI, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

excellence, and he is variously referred to in Sanskrit texts as sahṛdaya, the "congenial (reader)", rasajña, rasika, the "connoisseur of sentiment" or simply sat, vidvat, sudhī or vidagdha, the "experienced", "knowledgeable". As the last of these epithets indicates, the connoisseur is above all a learned man. Early theorists expressly stated the value they put upon his bahuśrutatva, the "breadth of his knowledge". In later times, however, when the implied (dhvani), sentiment (rasa) and feeling (bhāva) came to be recognized as central to poetry, then the connoisseur became the expert on sentiment whose main interest was focused on the degree of sentiment achieved at any given time. He transcended the didactic elements in the poem and derived his enjoyment purely from the rasa it contained. Usually, however, the terms rasajña and sahṛdaya are interchangeable and it was generally true that the sensitive connoisseur, or scholar-critic as one might perhaps call him, was the recognized arbiter of the worth of a kāvya: he praised what he considered successful but, even more important, passed authoritative judgement on errors, both in the narrow poetic sense such as faulty metre or incorrectly used figures, and on any sort of factual inaccuracy. Poets always had to keep the scholar-critic in mind when composing a kāvya, which explains why the foreword or epilogue of a major poem often expressed the hope that it would meet with their approval. Kavis sometimes even went so far as to admit quite openly, like Bhaṭṭi, the author of the famous Bhaṭṭikāvya, that their work was addressed only to the intelligent and highly educated reader, to the connoisseur.

According to Rājaśekhara both poet and connoisseur possess the same poetic imagination (pratibhā), though in one it is genuinely creative (kārayitrī), in the other imaginatively re-creative (bhāvayitrī)[118]. Even in the latter's case it is not a purely receptive or passive faculty, as we have seen, but functions in the process of assimilation as an active force which is part of the existence of the poem. One might say that a kāvya is twice-born: first, on the poet's level when his creative imagination conceives it and then, on the level of the connoisseur who, in this capacity, is known as bhāvaka, the same poem is brought to life by his power of imagination, his pratibhā bhāvayitrī.

Poet and connoisseur are in actual fact two sides of the same medal, as is apparent in their way of living. We have seen that in principle all levels of educated society had access to poetry. As the ability to enjoy kāvya presupposed mainly adequate learning and familiarity with the special nature of literary texts poetry was never the prerogative of the upper classes but could be cultivated even by the village Brahman, the impoverished merchant and many others who were far from well-off. The chief difficulty for the educated members of the lower classes, who often did not know the texts by heart, was partly that they seldom possessed any manuscripts and partly that their geographical isolation gave them little opportunity of hearing recitations. Reading in manuscript and, particularly in earlier times, listening to readings, were the means by which epic and lyrical kāvya was disseminated and

118 *Kāvyam.* 4, GOS. p. 12 f.

presented. It is therefore quite understandable that scholar-critics, like poets, desired to live in urban surroundings, preferably in a metropolis or a provincial capital, where they could pursue various occupations, live the life of polished, refined town-dwellers and sometimes lead an unbridled existence devoted to women, the pleasures of society, poetry and music. The word "town-dweller", in Sanskrit nāgara(ka), was generally applied to a well-educated young or middle-aged dandy or bon-vivant interested in poetry and art who was frequently wealthy and lived in extremely comfortable circumstances. He had a house near water, surrounded with a park containing trees, a courtyard and two bedrooms.[119] The interior of the house was tastefully decorated, "equipped with numerous musical instruments and rows of various weapons; filled with the perfume of fine incense and flowers; decorated with gaily coloured canopies of good material; provided with most beautiful seats; filled with the cooing of doves which awakened to the tinkling of their perches; cooled by winds from a charming pool from which can be heard the chattering of cakravāka-ducks and geese; ornamented with suitable pictures (which impart) serene feelings; floored with paving which shines like beautifully coloured minium; and filled with the cries of parrots and preacher-crows (Turdus salica)."[120] This description agrees entirely with the style of life prescribed for the successful poet[121] but is obviously only attainable by the thoroughly pampered, rich connoisseur. The dandy went to entertainments, feasts, processions, plays, meetings (samāja) in the temple of the goddess Sarasvatī[122], etc. He liked to take part in carousals and games, and even in the house of a courtesan (veśyā) indulged in discussions on literature and other arts (kalā).[123] For him poetry was a more or less exclusive pastime, an intellectual musical game on a par with numerous other games pertaining to cultivated urban social life. In its purest form, however, the study and appreciation of literary texts was often a serious occupation requiring wide learning, an occupation which could be practised only by the highly educated, usually Brahmans and Paṇḍits. At this level literary criticism has influenced the history of kāvya itself. Rājaśekhara relates that when the king wished to put new kāvyas and works on theory (śāstra) to the test he summoned assemblies of Brahmans to the larger towns, arranged festivals in their honour and called extra meetings (saṃga) for those scholars who were neither citizens of that town nor courtiers but had come there from foreign parts (deśāntarāt).

119 *Kāmasūtra* 1, 4, 4.
120 Padmaśrī, *Nāgarasarvasva* 2, 4–6.
121 See p. 14.
122 *Kāmasūtra* 1, 4, 27.
123 *Ibid.* 1, 4, 35.

7. *Original and Imitative Writing*

The question of whether a poem was original or not, in toto or in part, would not have struck an Indian reader as an important one. Authors of literary texts were quite accustomed to borrowing material, constructions, the treatment of attributes, themes and other details from contemporary or earlier poets, neither did they hesitate to make use of artistic ideas, devices or formulations they found elsewhere. Furthermore, as we saw in the previous two sections, a large number of the elements of poetry were pre-fabricated. Out of these, poets gradually created a treasury of more or less standardized poetic components which became ever richer with the passage of time.

It is therefore quite natural that the notion of an author's right to his work – "copyright" in the European sense – developed to only a limited extent when awareness of the concepts "plagiarism" and "borrowings" (haraṇa, sometimes upajīvana) finally began to spread. At any rate in practice these problems attracted little attention. Just as an Indian poet was able to use his own lines either unaltered or in an improved form in his later works (compare for example Kumāras. VII, 81 with Raghuv. VII, 26), so it was also acceptable for him to borrow from the works of others. He was not afraid, for instance, of taking from already existing kāvyas the metrical construction, a phrase or two or some similes, etc., but was anxious to improve what he had taken over, to outdo his predecessor by making his own work more attractive or more accurate, particularly if he were an inventive and skilful poet. Some borrowings may therefore be regarded as implied criticism of a less than successful passage in another author's work. Loans of this sort are considered perfectly acceptable (anugrāhya) by the few, mainly theoretical works dealing with this matter, whereas Rājaśekhara, for instance, the only writer who has studied the problem in detail[124], is of the opinion that gross plagiarism such as appropriating a striking or surprising phrase is not permissible, or rather, to be avoided (parityājya). As a rule all imitations were regarded as good provided that they enhanced the poetic beauty of the original or gave greater force to phrases and ideas used elsewhere or in other contexts. They were also looked upon positively if the poet used stereotyped wording and attributes from the stock treasury of poetry in combinations whose originality or density arrested the deterioration of poetic language and imagery or counteracted a mechanical process of understanding in readers.

[124] Chapters 11–13 of his *Kāvyam.* (GOS, p. 56 ff) classify the various types of plagiarism with great exactitude. The justifiable difference between *artha-* and *śabdaharaṇa,* i.e., between borrowing content and form, seems to follow the traditional division of figures into *artha-* and *śabdālaṃkāras,* that is to say by sense and sound. However, the whole system he builds up – classification into 32 different kinds of borrowing – is a piece of academic pedantry which has almost certainly never had any influence on poets. See N. STCHOUPAK et L. RENOU, La Kāvyamīmāṃsā de Rājaśekhara, etc., Paris 1946, p. 14 ff.; V.M. KULKARNI, Sanskrit Writers on Plagiarism, JOIB 3 (1953), p. 403 ff. and 4 (1954–55), p. 58 ff.; G.V. DAVANE, Good and bad verbal borrowing according to Rājaśekhara, JUB 40 (1971), p. 47 ff.

Even if some cases of plagiarism were intentional it was never possible to avoid borrowing entirely. Rājaśekhara sums up the situation very well in the words nāsty acauraḥ kavijanaḥ, "there are no poets who are not (to some extent) thieves"[125], and pardons the skilful poet who conceals his theft so well that he escapes the criticism and reproach of educated readers. The idea that a plagiarist is a sort of thief (caura) was apparently quite a familiar one. We meet it, for example, in Bāṇa's Harṣacarita[126] where, having given it as his opinion that the majority of writers are bad (kukavi) but that there is a small number of "creative" poets (utpādaka-kavi). Bāṇa says that when a writer steals he merely changes the words and sounds (varṇa) of existing kāvyas thereby obscuring the identification signs of the word combinations (bandha) and, as he is simply copying, is not appreciated by critics (sat). Bilhaṇa also recognizes this type of poet; in Vikramāṅkadevacarita I, 11–12, he speaks of the kāvyārthacaura, i.e., the thief of matter, but his attitude to this is, like that of most literati, fairly tolerant: a major poet (kavīśvara, kavīndra) cannot be harmed by the borrowings of these gentlemen and great poetry is an inexhaustible source of riches. The literary critic Ānandavardhana is equally lenient. He quite correctly takes the view that there are indeed numerous points of agreement (saṃvāda) between the kāvyas of different poets[127] and that all poems probably use sounds, words and structures that have been employed before (without doing injury to the freshness (navatā) of a poem).[128] Ultimately, he thinks, the deciding factor is whether the critic will experience aesthetic astonishment (camatkṛti, camatkāra), that is to say whether the purely literary qualities of the text will have an electrifying effect (sphuraṇā) on the reader.[129] The foundation on which it is possible to build the freshness of a poem (kāvyanavatva) is a rich variety of presentation (uktivaicitrya, punaruktivaicitrya or bhaṇitivaicitrya)[130], the achievement of which is facilitated by the fact that devices like dhvani, "the implied", or figures such as similes (upamā) and paronomasia (śleṣa) permit an almost infinite variation of theme and linguistic usage. Although it might be argued that the great epic writers Vyāsa and Vālmīki and later Bāṇa, the most important master of prose kāvya, have dealt with almost every conceivable subject on earth[131] and one gains the impression that poets long ago exhausted the resources of poetry, Ānandavardhana believes that they will never dry up. On the contrary, their potential is continually increasing owing to the ever-new ways in which they are being used by genuine poets (satkavi).[132] The older teachers that Rājaśekhara quotes are of the opinion that

125 *Kāvyam.*, GOS, p. 61.
126 Introduction, stanzas 5–6.
127 *Dhvanyāloka* 4, 11 and onwards.
128 *Loc. cit.* 4, 15.
129 *Loc. cit.* 4, 16.
130 *Loc. cit.* 4, 6–7: *uktivaicitryaṃ . . . kāvyanavatve nibandham ucyate.*
131 There is a saying about Vyāsa: *Vyāsocchiṣṭaṃ jagat sarvam* and also a parody about Bāṇa: *Bāṇocchiṣṭaṃ jagat sarvam*, "The whole world has already been portrayed by Vyāsa" (or "by Bāṇa"). Cf. V.M. KULKARNI, *op. cit.*, p. 403.
132 *Loc. cit.* 4, 10–11.

it requires a considerable effort for a poet to keep to the path of kāvya staked out by his predecessors but nevertheless find subjects that have not already been exploited by them, and that it is only with zeal that a later writer can freshen up the wares he has taken over from them.[133]

Although Rājaśekhara distinguishes clearly between the plagiarism of content and that of words it can be established that, significantly enough, the question of originality or imitation is usually asked about details and execution, but far less often about a whole work. The poetic material itself was of little importance. We know innumerable works, particularly in the major form, in which the plot or action is taken from epic or purāṇic sources and also numerous lesser kāvyas, for instance the dūta poems, which not only deal with the same themes but also show their dependence on approved models in structure, the number of stanzas, choice of metre, etc. The theorist Vāmana made a very useful distinction regarding the subject material of poetry two hundred years before Rājaśekhara wrote his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā. In his Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti (III, 2, 8) Vāmana defines the two main types of poetic material (artha) as on one hand original material that is not based on other works (ayoni-artha) and on the other, derivative material "arising in the shade of another (author or work)" (anyacchāyāyoni-artha). We find a similar term in Kṣemendra's Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa (2, 1) where the chāyopajīvin, "the poet thriving in the shadow of another (poet)" and other types of plagiarist (i.e., the padako-pajīvin, the pādopajīvin and the sakalopajīvin) are contrasted with the bhuvanopa-jīvya, the great master on whom, as on Vālmīki, Kālidāsa and Bāṇa, "the whole world (of poets) feeds". Whereas the chāyopajīvin produces a sort of pastiche of another work by imitating its stylistic peculiarities, sentiment and ideas, the padakopajīvin borrows only a few words, the pādopajīvin not more than a quarter of a stanza and the sakalopajīvin an entire work by another author. Rājaśekhara, too, recognizes that plagiarism takes place on an increasing scale, rising from the appropriation of a single word (pada) via a quarter of a stanza (pāda), half a stanza, a whole stanza (vṛtta) to a complete poetic work (prabandha).

8. *The Classification of Literature*

Even in the early Old Indian period kāvya literature was classified in several different ways. The usual means were (a) by language, (b) by whether it was poetry or prose (or a mixture of the two) and finally (c) by the literary form. Indians did not divide poetry into the three categories that we are familiar with, i.e., lyrical, epic and dramatic. Instead they quite justifiably used a division into two, differentiating as we have seen between poetry that can be seen (dṛśya, prekṣya) and poetry that can only be listened to (śrāvya). The former covers drama, the visual comprehension of a theatre performance, while the latter covers the entire range of lyrical and epic

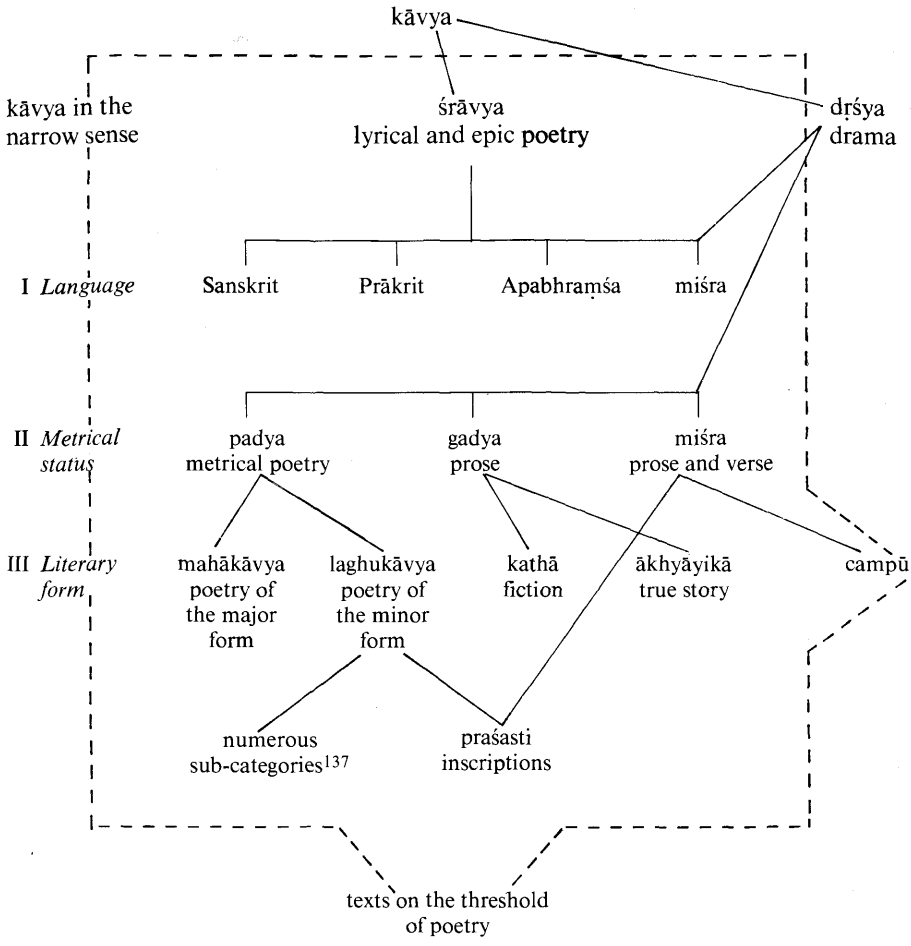
133 *Kāvyam.* 13 (beginning), GOS, p. 62.

poetry generally known as kāvya in the narrow sense, or simply as kāvya. This was literally "listened to", at any rate in earlier times when it was usually recited or sung. However, as classical poetry grew progressively more difficult, and the increasing use of elaborate structures, paronomasia and complex allusions began to make oral comprehension difficult, reading gradually replaced listening as the commonest means of assimilating poetry.

As far as the division by language is concerned, Bhāmaha, the first theorist to deal with Sanskrit poetry (apart from Bharata), classified all poetry as (a) Sanskrit, (b) Prākrit and (c) Apabhraṃśa[134], while Daṇḍin, who was a poet as well, added a fourth category, miśra, written in a mixture of languages.[135] Drama had been written in a mixed form right from the very beginning, but we also possess lyrical and epic works in which more than one language is used although these are of a considerably later date. If we go by form, it can be divided as follows: (a) works written in padas, i.e., metrical poetry (padya), (b) prose poems (gadya) and (c) various mixed forms (miśra).[136] Drama, being prose interspersed with single stanzas or verse passages, belongs once again to the third category as does campū, a form of kāvya written partly in verse, partly in difficult, elaborate prose.

The sub-categories of both metrical and prose poems are dealt with in the introductory paragraphs of the relevant chapters in this book. We must, however, bear in mind that the two categories of kāvya mentioned above are in their turn subdivided into two further groups. Metrical poetry falls into (a) mahākāvya, long poems, or poetry of the major form, and (b) laghukāvya, shorter poems, or poetry of the minor form; prose kāvya falls into (a) kathā, fiction, and (b) ākhyāyikā, true story. Even though the traditional categories overlap to some extent, the distinguishing characteristics, particularly those of poetry of the major and minor forms, are useful even in modern literary criticism. The following chapters in this book have therefore largely been planned on the basis of the ancient Indian system of classification. Whereas metrical poetry led a flourishing existence both as mahākāvya and laghukāvya, prose poems (gadya) and literature in mixed prose and verse (campū) tended to assume the major form. The only exceptions are the panegyric inscriptions (praśasti) and religious epistles (lekha) commonly found in Buddhist societies which may both be composed in the kāvya style. Both are written either all in prose or in a mixture of alternately prose and verse and must therefore be counted as belonging to the minor form representing prose kāvya or campū – a point that Indian theorists seem to have neglected.

134 *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 1, 16.
135 *Kāvyād.* 1, 32.
136 Bhāmaha, *loc. cit.*, distinguished between *padya* and *gadya* only.



These categories all belong to the province of kāvya proper, but there are numerous works or parts of works that stand on the threshold of poetry. Either they are poetic only in part, like many fables, tales, etc., or they have functions that fall outside the scope of the purely artistic; indeed, they may have several different functions. Works of this sort, which only partly measure up to the criteria of poetry, may nevertheless be felt to be kāvya. For this to be so, a text must of course contain a sufficient number of features that admit of a literary interpretation and, equally important, the reader must approach the text from a literary point of view. Since he will then regard the dominant function of the work as being poetic, his attention will mainly be directed to the poetic content of the work, even if it has two or more aims. Seen in this way, a śāstrakāvya or a hymn (stotra) may be no less poetry than

[137] See under Poetry of the Minor Form, Introductory Remarks p. 65 ff.

any other kāvya, although its primary intention might be didactic, religious, etc. Its status as poetry is somewhat dubious, to be sure, as it is not accepted by all readers, nor is it a homogeneous work of art.

9. *The Periods, Chronology and Extent of Classical Poetry*

In this work "classical", which is used to characterize a particular literary form of poetry, excludes a number of aspects that we normally associate with the word. "Classical poetry" does not here refer to an especially excellent standard of poetry written within a specified period of time which later periods have been unable to rival, nor does it mean the poetic work of one particular tribe, people etc. in any single literary language. "Classical" in the sense in which it is used here should rather be taken to mean literature that is of a sufficiently high standard to apply the ever-growing canon of poetic rules in a manner that conforms to the traditions of poetry and can satisfy the demands of trained critics. Other writings such as didactic verse and simple narrative cannot meet these requirements. As we have already seen, many languages were accepted as being suitable linguistic media for kāvya and the majority of poets, not merely dramatists, were familiar with several of the languages that were accepted as literary. Drama (dṛśya) had always been multilingual: Sanskrit for dramatis personae of higher class and caste, Prākrit dialects for the lower orders; but even in lyrical and epic poetry (śrāvya) the author could, and sometimes did, alternate between different languages in one and the same work. In addition to his mastery of languages, the poet was also practised in the use of various impersonal, clearly defined styles of writing, above all Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī. He might prefer to use one or to alternate between two according to the exigencies of the poem.

Once established as described above, kāvya flourished in very much the same form for centuries, right up to the present time. We can see that developments take place in attributes, themes and genres and we can recognize changes of fashion, different currents and tendencies, and can distinguish between major and minor poets, but without resorting to subjective evaluations we can hardly claim that any particular period has produced the finest flowering of classical poetry. The volume of poetic works was considerable in all periods and literary texts of the highest quality did not see the light of day only during the Gupta Era (which is sometimes regarded as being the time when kāvya reached its height).[138] On the contrary, they were produced both earlier and later than this, as the works of Aśvaghoṣa, Bilhaṇa, Śrīharṣa and Jayadeva prove. The great homogeneity of the entire body of poetry is an obstacle to the belief that kāvya literature can be classified by definite periods. It does not therefore seem sound to postulate eras on a literary basis, at any rate not until research has given us further information than we have today. For example, we know of no periods in which any special genre was preferred, no time in which

138 See *inter alia*, WINTERNITZ, GIL III, p. 38 ff.

works were almost exclusively written in prose or when particular themes were favoured. Kāvya can of course be divided into periods if other criteria are used – by milestones in political history, by dynasties, etc. – but as these are externals and mostly artificial, the resulting periods would be of little relevance to the history of kāvya and would not cast much light on the subject; indeed, it would be more likely to have a negative effect as it might distract attention from the long continuity of Indian poetry. In this book, therefore, only its beginnings are regarded as constituting a separate period; fully developed kāvya is dealt with under three main headings, namely poetry of the major form, poetry of the minor form and mixed forms.

As far as the linguistic medium is concerned, we must bear in mind that the Sanskrit used in poetry had long ceased to be a living language and that even the Middle Indian dialects employed in kāvya were to be elevated to the status of literary languages. All these literary media were means of poetic expression which were current over the whole of India. Although they may have been vernaculars in the early, undocumented stages, they can hardly be said to be restricted to any one region, province or realm in the subcontinent. It is true of India as a whole that, up to some time in the thirteenth century A.D., only a relatively few languages were accepted as suitable for poetry in the narrow sense. The most important of them were Sanskrit and, for śrāvya poetry in Prākrit, Māhārāṣṭrī, which was generally considered to be the most euphonious Middle Indian language, particularly suitable for lyrical poetry. Finally there is Apabhraṃśa, which was a blend of later Prākrit and vernacular elements and is the connecting link with the Neo-Aryan languages. The linguistic tradition of the various religions have created certain preferences: whereas Hindu poetry is predominantly in Sanskrit and early Buddhism prefers Pāli, Jaina authors use Sanskrit or a Middle Indian language and later Buddhist poets write in Sanskrit.

In the very south of the subcontinent poetry went its own way. Tamil, one of the still living Dravidian languages, is India's second classical language and the bearer of a great poetic tradition. It has its own norms and is at least as ancient as kāvya. The oldest known texts, written between 100 B.C. and 250 A.D. show linguistic artistry of the highest standard. In fact, this early period is generally regarded as being the classical era of Tamil literature as it was only during this relatively brief time that Caṅkam poetry flowered; later poetry consisted mainly of imitation.[139] While a number of the literary conventions of classical Tamil appear to have influenced early kāvya of the minor form[140], post-classical Tamil poetry has clearly

[139] See G.L. HART III, Common Elements between Early Tamil and Indo-Aryan Literature, Proceedings of the IInd International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, II, Madras 1971, p. 169.

[140] See S. LIENHARD, Palai Poems in Sanskrit and Prakrit, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Vol., Madras 1971, p. 416 ff.; S. LIENHARD, Bauern, Berge, Nacht und Winter, Ksiega pamiatkowa ku czsi Eugeniusza Sluszkiewicza (= Festschrift E. Sluszkiewicz), Warsaw 1974, p. 137 ff.; S. LIENHARD, Tamil Literary Conventions and Sanskrit Muktaka Poetry, WZKS 20 (1976), p. 101 ff.; S. LIENHARD, Summer Poems in Sanskrit and Prākrit, IT 5 (1977), p. 113 ff.

been subject to lasting influence from kāvya. In Tamilnad, Tamil and Prākrit were both used in Jaina, but Tamil and Sanskrit in Brahman circles. Whereas Tamil was limited regionally to Tamilnad itself and to Tamil speakers outside India, Sanskrit and Prākrit were in use all over India. The fact that these two languages were the general means of communication was naturally an advantage to kāvya; it could be composed in all educated circles where Sanskrit and Prākrit were understood irrespective of the poet's mother tongue. Many Tamil authors had a command of both Tamil and Sanskrit literary traditions and made contributions to Tamil poetry as well as to kāvya.[141]

Kāvya and the kāvya style followed in the footsteps of Sanskrit to countries outside India proper. They even spread to Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and the Malay Archipelago which, since the first century A.D., had been exposed to the influence, mainly peaceable, of spiritual and cultural infiltration from India. To take just one example, the numerous Sanskrit inscriptions in Cambodia (fifth to ninth centuries A.D.) adhere closely to the rules for epigraphic kāvya. The authors were well acquainted with the manner in which classical poetry manipulated words and phrases, they used difficult metres, varied their style to suit the subject and, just like Indian poetry, paraded their learning by making frequent reference to epic and purāṇic mythology, grammatical, philosophical and religious concepts.[142]

The spread of the classical form of poetry was by no means connected only with certain languages such as Sanskrit, Prākrit or Apabhraṃśa. In time kāvya began to be written in other languages than those originally accepted as poetic, for example in the Neo-Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages as well as in the vernaculars of many different countries which, like Ceylon, Nepal, Thailand, Cambodia and Indonesia, lay within the cultural sphere of the Indian subcontinent. The very large number of kāvyas in Neo-Indo-Aryan languages, particularly Gujarātī, Bengali and Hindī, are only dealt with briefly here. Great kāvyas in Hindī were composed mainly in the Rītikāl period (about 1650 to 1850) during which some poets attempted to re-introduce Sanskrit poetic practice by writing partly theoretical, partly poetic works to illustrate their aims. In fact, the kāvya tradition lived on in the Hindī-speaking regions right up to the present day as is shown by the poetry based on Sanskrit models written by Jayśaṅkar Prasād (1889–1937). The acceptance of Apabhraṃśa as a poetic medium, which occurred relatively early, proved to be a break-through and the number of acceptable languages began slowly to increase until by about the middle of the last century kāvya could be written in a large number of vernaculars provided always that the author had mastered the poetic canon and that the language chosen was sufficiently mature and flexible.

From this point of view my history of classical poetry is somewhat inconsistent insofar as it describes only kāvya in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa and excludes

141 Cf. J. FILLIOZAT, Tamil and Sanskrit, Compte-Rendu de la Troisième Conférence Internationale, Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, Nr. 50, Pondichéry 1973, p. 107.

142 Cf. K. BHATTACHARYA, Recherches sur le vocabulaire des inscriptions sanskrites du Cambodge, BEFEO 52, 1 (1964), p. 1 ff.

kāvya in the Neo-Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and other languages. These, which form a sort of secondary kāvya literature, as well as poetry in Tamil, Hindī, Bengali, etc. are, however, the subject of separate volumes in this History of Indian Literature. This division by language seems nevertheless to be justified since comparisons show that other languages never took over the Sanskrit or Prākrit writer's rich poetic material in its entirety. But even Apabhraṃśa can surprise us due to its important innovations, particularly as regards form. While the influence of Sanskrit and Prākrit is strongest where presentation is concerned, in poetic figures and in imagery and poets attempt to show their skill in their own language by imitating the linguistic virtuosity, the word-play and the multiple meanings of Sanskrit kāvya, some vernacular kāvya literature goes its own way in many respects. The innovations vary from language to language: some poets use different metres, others rhyme (considering unrhymed verse unpoetic) or express an individual sense of form that is different, more modern, to some extent regionally coloured. The influence of Sanskrit kāvya on the South-East Asian literatures mentioned above naturally had the result that certain categories and sub-categories of kāvya became widespread. Most universal of all in vernacular Indian literature, in the Dravidian south, Indonesia and Thailand was mahākāvya in verse, followed by epigraphic kāvya and "messenger poems" (sandeśakāvya or dūtakāvya), a sub-category of the minor form which also enjoyed great popularity in Sinhalese Eḷu literature.

Up to now, research on Indian literature, above all older poetry, has concentrated mainly on historical aspects in the narrow sense. Besides drawing up descriptions of works and lists of the problems of Sanskrit poetic theory, attention has chiefly been focussed on the dating of individual authors and works and on solving the difficult questions of whether two or more names and titles in fact refer to one poet or several, one work or more than one, on whom certain poems should be ascribed to, and on the origins, background and patrons of various poets. The history of literature as a process of development could not really be attempted until research had built up a chronological framework into which at least the majority of authors and works could be fitted. Despite the large number of certain datings that literary research has hitherto been able to establish there remain countless problems to which no definite solutions have yet been found. The difficulties that arise are to a great extent due to the impersonal, highly anonymous nature of kāvya. The all-important oeuvre always takes precedence over the personality of the poet, his life, etc. and in the great majority of texts there is a paucity of the smallest references which might give clues to even the most elementary biographical data or what experiences the poet has been through. While this sort of information is slightly easier to trace in more recent texts, it is often hardly possible to date older poets or works with any exactness. Thus, even today, we can only give approximate dates for those poets generally reckoned to be the most important, the authors of the six great mahākāvyas[143], and here, as in innumerable other cases, we cannot come closer than to the nearest twenty-five or fifty years at best. It must also be remembered that

143 See p. 171 ff.

early kāvyas in the śrāvya form are rarer than early dramatic works (dṛśyakāvya). A further difficulty is the timeless nature of kāvya. The uniformity of norms throughout the ages and the fact that poetry has changed little in structure have resulted in the most fantastic ascriptions and identifications which can sometimes be many hundred years wide of the mark, a phenomenon that can hardly be parallelled in Western literary scholarship. It is illustration enough to point to the numerous works from both earlier and far later periods that have incorrectly been ascribed to Kālidāsa.[144] The cause of such errors and the confusing of quite different poets is to be sought not so much in the often alleged anti-historical attitude or – better – the Indian lack of historical sense as in the stability of poetic traditions over the ages and the exclusive concentration devoted by critics to the literary text which, although they lived at different times, they have always regarded from approximately the same point of view.

The most important internal sources of information for dating literary texts are the following. Essential facts are frequently to be obtained from the author's presentation of himself and the invocation, which are found at the beginning or the end of most long poems. Unfortunately this does not apply to kāvyas of the minor form, particularly short poems (muktaka), which do not usually include them. The colophons of the often numerous commentaries on the works of major poets often give the poet's place of birth, father, grandfather, caste, patron, etc. We attach particular importance to any mention of a patron as this may allow us to relate the poem to a known ruler or confirm the dating of a poem or the lifetime of a poet that we have already inferred from other data. An exceedingly valuable aid to the dating of poems is when the name of a poet or a text is mentioned in an inscription or when an inscription, which is generally dated, either imitates or quotes from an identifiable text. The mention of names, direct quotation and imitations of stanzas or prose passages from the works of other authors do, however, give us material for a mainly relative chronology. Famous authors soon became surrounded with legends; pseudo-historical tales about dazzling court life, important poets and learned men like Ballāla's Bhojaprabandha are therefore quite worthless for establishing dates. According to Ballāla, Kālidāsa (5th century), Māgha (end of 7th century), Bhavabhūti (beginning of 8th century) and Daṇḍin (first half of 7th century) as well as a number of less renowned poets were all active at the court of King Bhoja of Dhārā (about 1018 to 1060).

Names that are common to two or more persons cause a great deal of difficulty. We now know that we must distinguish clearly between Bhartṛhari the poet and Bhartṛhari the grammarian and linguist, between Jayadeva the author of the Gītagovinda and the Jayadeva who wrote a work about alaṃkāras. We must also distinguish between Bhaṭṭi (the Prākrit form of Bhartṛ) and both Bhartṛ(hari) the poet and Bhartṛ(hari) the grammarian. Furthermore, names like Vāsudeva, Kavirāja ("king of poets", a title of honour) or Ravideva sometimes do not refer to one poet only but to two or more.

[144] Cf. p. 116.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF *KĀVYA*

1. The Beginning of the Kāvya Tradition

A number of histories of literature, especially older ones, support the current Indian view that kāvya literature, like Athena, somehow suddenly sprang into existence fully armed, in this case with a major work: the Rāmāyaṇa. It is accepted that, when compared with the other great Indian epos, the contents of the Rāmāyaṇa are much better organized and that it is a finer work from the literary point of view.[1] Although it is by far the shorter of the two it nevertheless consists of many thousand stanzas.[2] It is traditionally regarded as the ādikāvya, the "first (classical) poem", and this tradition also credits the legendary sage Vālmīki as being the sole author as well as being the ādikavi, the "first poet" in the kāvya style. Although the two versions of the Rāmāyaṇa that have come down to us may correspond quite well in form to mahākāvya it can hardly be said to represent poetry of the major form in the narrow sense. Firstly, it does not, like genuine makākāvya, consist of a more or less clearly defined number or sargas (usually translated as "cantos") but of seven voluminous books (kāṇḍa), and it is only these that are subdivided into sargas. Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa is not conceived as a mahākāvya. Secondly, many parts of the work have been interpolated and there are sections in which the style is strongly reminiscent of the author of the Ṛtusaṃhāra and Aśvaghoṣa, particularly in the later interpolations, which were certainly not written by the ādikavi. Thirdly, we know of early kāvyas that antedate Vālmīki's work; furthermore, the form in which classical poetry originally arose was probably not mahākāvya at all but the minor form (laghukāvya) or, to be more exact, single-stanza poems.

The various steps that led to the rise of kāvya are unfortunately hidden in the mists of antiquity. Not only is there a paucity of ancient texts in the kāvya style, they can only be dated very approximately within very wide limits just as the period when the great epics were composed can only be fixed to some time during the first few centuries B.C. and A.D. We are tempted to choose the close of the Late Vedic Period (about 550 B.C.) as a suitable point for the beginnings of kāvya as this was a time that saw the slow emergence of poetic forms with characteristics of their own, quite different both functionally and structurally from previous models. Changes in surroundings, social conditions, way of life and outlook had gradually brought about a break with tradition which generally makes it possible for us to distinguish

[1] The *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* will in future be referred to as the great epics.
[2] About 24,000 couplets as against the c. 100,000 of the *Mahābhārata*.

clearly between older literary matter and later, forward-looking, non-Vedic works. There are obvious changes above all in linguistic usage, style, metre, imagery and figures, but there are also striking differences in aims. Judging by existing texts, the majority of religious and sacrificial Vedic stanzas tend to have a mainly non-literary function and do not address themselves so much to the general public or the individual hearer as to non-literary powers (such as gods or some sacrificial powers). Later poetry, however, is dominated by consciously included aesthetic features which, as we saw in the previous chapter, are addressed to the reader or listener and demand to be treated as literature.

Religious motifs are still to be found, it is true, although they are generally of a new type or seen in a different light, but secular poetry now becomes common, the dominant theme being love. The various phases of this theme such as the first feelings of attraction (anurāga), the fulfilment of love (sambhoga), sulking (māna) or the separation of the lovers (viraha) become the subject of constantly-varied, ever more elaborate descriptions. The treatment of these and other themes, figures, metres, etc. developed into a treasury of special conventions, a steadily expanding repertoire in which the separate elements, because they were adhered to in poetic practice, gradually became codified. It is difficult to say how many theoretical texts on poetry may have been lost. However, with the exception of Bharatamuni's Nāṭyaśāstra, a textbook dealing mainly with dramatic theory (200 B.C. to 200 A.D.[3]), existing sources seem to indicate that it was not until the fifth century A.D. that writing on poetic theory began to get under way, at a time when classical poetry had long been fully developed and the poetic canon was felt by all authors to have universal and binding validity. It is therefore not surprising that theoretical writing which was such a late starter concentrated mainly on certain areas of poetic theory, above all on figures (alaṃkāra), good and bad qualities in style (guṇa and doṣa respectively), sentiments (rasa) and, surprisingly late, on the unexpressed (dhvani), while the treatment of other fields that may seem important to us such as the conception of themes, the choice of attributes, the technique of short poems, etc. was hardly mentioned, apparently being considered by the authors of textbooks to be such well-known poetic matter that it could be taken more or less for granted.

Unlike the majority of Vedic hymns, kāvya thrived in urban surroundings and to some extent in court circles. It was cultivated not only by the closed classes of society such as Brahmans and the higher castes, but could literally be practised by anybody. As we can see in the Indian ars amatoria, the Kāmasūtra, the educated townsman, the nāgara or nāgaraka, there often portrayed as a bon-vivant, dandy, lover of poetry and music, might come from any class of society, even from a Śūdra caste. Access to poetry was admittedly restricted in that a particular kind of ability was required in order to be able to perceive the special literary characteristics of a literary text. This ability, which could only be acquired through education and

[3] The chronology of the *Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra* is still very uncertain. It has been reworked several times and only parts of the original work from the second to the first century B.C. remain intact.

familiarity with aesthetic works, was essential for the reader or hearer if he wished to benefit from the poetic message.

A number of linguistic devices used in Vedic poetry were naturally adapted by later kavis, some indeed were taken over unchanged. The authors of Vedic songs embellished their texts with figures, saw to it that the language was suitable (áraṃkṛta), employed similes or, like classical writers, endeavoured to see that sentences and stanzas coincided in length. Most of the indicators used in Vedic songs are, however, different; they constitute a framework of signals that is no longer valid in classical poetry and are mainly directed towards religious, magical or conjurational ends, although a few are on worldly themes. An intellectual and social upheaval took place some time towards the end of the Vedic period as far as we can judge. As result, poetry divided into two different fields: on one hand there was the old, predominantly religious writing which contained very little real poetry, sometimes none, as it consisted mainly of invocations, sacrificial texts, conjuration formulae, etc., and on the other, the new secular poetry. The priestly Vedic literature had very little influence on later poetry, which was practised in much wider and somewhat different circles. Secular poetry renewed itself completely on all levels and, what is most significant, established a set of literary criteria. Vedic texts, which repeatedly refer to various gods, rituals and sacrificial concepts, are isolated in a strongly mythological world. On the other hand the classical poetry that gradually arose was non-mythological in character and considered that its

It would fall outside the scope of this work to give a detailed description of the differences between these two forms of literature. The difference between Vedic poetry and kāvya is revealed clearly in the language, not merely because the latter is written in Prākrit and classical Sanskrit but also because the imagery and the poetic vocabulary are new too. For instance, none of the Vedic Saṃhitās describe a beautiful girl using the traditional means so common in classical poetry – the young girl with a moon- or lotus-face, the fleeting eyes of a gazelle, a narrow waist and the gait of a king-goose. We do not find in Vedic prose or songs the conventions, attributes and other characteristics of classical poetry such as the cakora bird[5], which is nourished by the rays of the moon, the cātaka-bird[6], which feeds on raindrops or the ruddy goose (cakravāka)[7], which is always described as ever-faithful to its partner; it is the fate of cakravāka pairs to become separated from each other every evening and they are therefore often used symbolically. Furthermore, the

[4] Cf. W. RUBEN, Die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung im alten Indien, V.: Die Entwicklung der Dichtung, Berlin 1973, p. 81.

[5] Alectoris chukar.

[6] Cuculus melanoleucus. An extensive collection of references to *cātaka* in Sanskrit literature will be found in ST. STASIAK, Le Cātaka (Etude comparative), RO 2 (1919–1924), pp. 33–117.

[7] Ruddy Sheldrake, Brahmany Duck and Collared Duck are other names for Skt. *cakravāka,* the Latin name of which is Tadorna ferruginea. Cf. D. SCHLINGLOFF, Zwei Anatiden-Geschichten im alten Indien, ZDMG 127 (1977), p. 369 f. and note.

substitute words used to avoid repeating the names of plants, animals, people and even gods are seldom the same in later poetry as they were in Vedic verse. The metrics and figures (alaṃkāra) of kāvya undergo a gigantic process of enrichment and refinement.

The song to Parjanya, the god of rain, Ṛgveda V, 83, is an impressive poem. Although it undoubtedly has considerable literary merits, it is very different from later, classical, poetry on the same or similar themes as the following four stanzas show:

rathī́va káśayāśvā́ abhikṣipánn āvír dūtā́n kṛṇute varṣyā́ áha /
dūrā́t siṃhásya stanáthā úd īrate yát parjányaḥ kṛṇuté varṣyàṃ nábhaḥ/ 3 /

prá vā́tā vā́nti patáyanti vidyúta úd óṣadhīr jíhate pínvate svàḥ /
írā víśvasmai bhúvanāya jāyate yát parjányaḥ pṛthivī́ṃ rétasā́vati / 4 /

yát parjanya kánikradat stanáyan hā́ṃsi duṣkṛ́taḥ /
prátīdā́ṃ víśvam modate yát kíṃ ca pṛthivyā́m ádhi / 9 /

ávarṣīr varṣā́m úd u ṣū́ gṛbhāyā́kar dhánvāny átyetavā́ u/
ájījana óṣadhīr bhójanāya kám utá prajā́bhyo 'vido manīṣā́m / 20 /

"(3) Like a charioteer lashing his steeds with his whip, (Parjanya) makes his rain messenger visible. From afar comes the roaring of lions when Parjanya shapes the clouds. (4) Winds break forth, lightning hunts, plants shoot up, the heavens swell. The whole world is refreshed when Parjanya gladdens the earth with his seed. (9) When thou, Parjanya, roaring, thundering, smitest the evildoer, then every thing on earth rejoiceth. (10) Thou hast caused the rain to flow. Now wholly cease. Thou hast made the deserts passable again. Thou hast created herbs for nourishment, hast given spirit to men (i.e., hast revived them)."

We soon see that, apart from the unavoidable mention of lightning and wind, these stanzas contain none of the standard elements constantly used in classical poetry to describe the monsoon season[8], elements that place a wide range of supple tools in the hands of the kavi. The language and imagery of Vedic songs are very different from those of kāvya: in the above lines, the poet's vision has conjured up clouds that roar like lions in the distance and then race nearer like chariot horses driven on by the whip (of the storm-wind) while pouring rain revivifies nature and brings forth lush vegetation everywhere.[9] Vedic poetry often seems to spring direct from experience unlike the work of classical kavis, who do not generally make use of their powers of observation but deliberately arrange their descriptions[10] so as to bring in a number of poetic devices. These they skilfully weave together and frequently build them up into a whole chain of similes. The imagery of the Vedic poets is often heroic as the simile of the charioteer shows; it has its roots in a quite different outlook and is intimately linked with the store of sacramental knowledge in various priestly families, with mythology and magic. The pervasive influence of mythology is clearly demonstrated in another song to the rain, Atharvaveda VI, 22:

8 See p. 23.

9 See also W. RUBEN, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

10 Cf. the *kāvyas* quoted on pp. 29–33, which also deal with the monsoon theme.

clothed in water, pale horses – the clouds – have ascended to heaven, the seat of the highest wisdom, and descend again annointing the earth with ghee.[11] As comparision will show us, there is a clear break in tradition between Vedic and classical poetry. The difference between them is so great that any attempt to interpret the Vedic Saṃhitās (or isolated, particularly poetic parts of them) in the spirit of kāvya[12] is doomed in advance to failure.

It would be an undue simplification of the facts if we were simply to give the impression that Vedic poetry was immediately followed by kāvya. Even though we may safely state that the obsolescent criteria of an older age were gradually replaced by new norms, as is always the case in the development of literature, these new criteria, which were experienced as having a strong aesthetic value, were not as yet codified and a number of transitional phases developed between the old and the new. As, however, no original works or other textual evidence have come down to us it is scarcely possible to arrive at any definite conclusions. Among the various poetic activities that mark the shift away from Vedic poetry two tendencies stand out clearly: one is towards a tradition of epic works in Sanskrit, the other, lyrical in the narrow sense of the word and more radical, was composed in Middle Indian languages. Both flourished in a strongly secular atmosphere: the former developed deep roots among courtiers in particular while the latter enjoyed its greatest popularity in the educated circles of the relatively new urban societies.

2. *Epic Poetry. The Rāmāyaṇa*

Epic poetry was in the hands of wandering singers who travelled through the district carrying their versified narratives and ballads to different places. Their prototypes are Rāma's sons, Kuśa and Lava, from whose names Indian etymology derives the word kuśīlava, the Sanskrit for "rhapsodist", "bard", "actor". As the Rāmāyaṇa relates, Kuśa and Lava were given the task by their foster-father Vālmīki of singing the epos at countless places during their wandering, finally at the court of King Rāma. Vālmīki imposed this duty on them in the following words: "Go and sing the poem Rāmāyaṇa faithfully and with great joy. In the holy precincts of the Ṛṣis, in the hostels of the Brahmans, on the roads, in the royal streets and in the houses of princes, at the door of Rāma's palace, where work is done, and before the priests – ye shall sing it everywhere."[13] This is related in Book VII which, like Book I, is a later addition to the whole work, but as far as the life and work of a rhapsodist is concerned, it undoubtedly gives a historically correct picture of reality.

[11] Given in greater detail in W. RUBEN, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[12] Cf. *inter alia* P.S. SASTRI, The Ṛgvedic Poetic Spirit, ABORI XXXVIII (1958), pp. 54–81 (p. 81: "This is the function of *dhvani* as outlined by the Ṛgvedic seers") and N.J. SHENDE, Kavi and kāvya in the Atharvaveda, Poona 1967.

[13] *Rām.* 7, 93, 5–7 (Bombay edition).

The greater part of the Rāmāyaṇa, like the Mahābhārata, is the collective product of several rhapsodic poets, and both mention that recitations, often of very considerable length, were given at sacrificial ceremonies and celebrations. It is related that Vaiśampāyana, a pupil of Vyāsa's[14], recited the Mahābhārata, then only partially completed, at King Janamejaya's snake-sacrifice while, according to a later-composed section of the epos, Ugraśravas, the narrator of all eighteen books of the completed work, recited the Mahābhārata at a sacrificial celebration held by the Brahman Śaunaka. Kuśa and Lava are also reputed to have declaimed the Rāmāyaṇa at the sacrifice of a horse on one occasion. We may assume that the rhapsodist acted as a reciter only or, probably in the majority of cases, as both reciter and poet. Even when the work declaimed was not their own, many of these specialists would have expanded and amended some sections of the work as they saw fit. "It is quite natural," considers H. Jacobi, "that those with poetic gifts should have enlarged their repertoire with compositions that took account of the nature, sentiments and interests of their audiences."[15]

In earlier times – to some extent even in the Vedic period – kings and princes seem to have had in their service bards whose art was intended for the enjoyment and benefit of their courts. One of the most important tasks of these bards was to sing the praises of the king. They gave their recitations at various festivals, court ceremonies, sacrifices, and other events; indeed, they even accompanied their lords into battle, there to embolden the ruler and the front ranks of the warriors with battle-songs. It was also their duty to awaken the king or prince every morning with songs of praise or verses to bring luck (maṅgala); like the Vedic gods, the king should "grow strong" (vṛdh)[16] on songs of homage and the deeds performed by him and his ancestors should retain the beneficial effect of bringing victory to the people and success to himself by virtue of the rhapsodist's continual praise. We can hardly be wrong if we regard the court bard as the precursor of the court poet: the latter merely substituted kāvya for rhapsodic poetry.

Rhapsodic art has only been preserved in lengthy texts while shorter, self-contained bardic works have not survived, perhaps because of their partially improvised nature. Impressive evidence of the work of Sanskrit rhapsodists is to be found, as we have said, in the two great epics. Both arose out of a relatively long process of amplification and compilation and are certainly not built on one but on several forms of rhapsodic poetry, the elucidation and determination of which must be the task of future research. Songs to awaken a sleeper are one example of a minor genre of courtly bardic poetry. We find verses to awaken the king in Vālmīki's works[17] and it is interesting to note that this type of poem, presumably once a more or less independent category, lives on to a certain extent in classical poetry where it is sometimes employed in the mahākāvya framework to describe the awakening of

[14] The legendary author of the *Mahābhārata*.

[15] H. Jacobi, Das Rāmāyaṇa, Bonn 1893, Darmstadt 1970², p. 63.

[16] Cf. H. Lüders, Die magische Kraft der Wahrheit im alten Indien, ZDMG 98 (1944), p. 8 f.

[17] *Rām.* 2, 65, 1 ff. (Bombay edition).

the king in the morning.[18] Like some other themes, for example the description of a season, the rising of the moon, sunset, etc., this proceeding gave the poet a golden opportunity of slipping into his kāvya a few artistically effective stanzas – in reality small independent poems. It is worth noting that this type of song is also to be found in Tamil pirapantam poetry, where it is known as tuyileṭainilai, "a poem sung to wake a king or other great person from sleep, based on an ancient puṟam theme."[19] Its counterpart is the kaṇpaṭainilai, i.e., "a poem describing the members of the court as they suggest to the king that it is time for him to go to bed."[20] Both types (and some allied forms of poetry) were employed more frequently in Tamil poetry than in Sanskrit kāvya, but it is quite possible that they all originally derive from a common stock of rhapsodic poems.

A number of bards were in permanent residence at the court of a raja, while others, like numerous kavis of later classical poetry, were either at court only at certain periods or not at all. In addition to the court bards, whose audience was often a fastidious one, there were certainly also large numbers of wandering singers who catered for a much broader public. They passed through towns and villages and worked in a popular tradition, but of course their recitations did not need to conform to the same high standards as those of the court singers.

With the exception of the previously mentioned sections that were composed later, the whole of the Rāmāyaṇa has the character of a work intended for recitation. According to H. Jacobi, both the great epics were composed while Sanskrit was still a living language.[21] The indications supporting the idea that the Rāmāyaṇa was indeed intended for oral delivery are firstly the extreme prominence in the older parts of the work given to the narrative element, which is often of a rather primitive nature; further, the preference for the perfect tense and the locativus absolutus, the almost exclusive use of Śloka, an easily handled metre that gives the poet great latitude, and lastly – something that is tabu in classical poetry – frequent repetitions, sometimes of whole stanzas. This last has the effect of making the language more striking, but it is also a trait that is common to all epic poets. Constant use had turned many expressions into stock formulae and phrases: they had an aesthetic value, but also served a practical purpose in that they provided the poet with fixed points around which he could build up his narrative while using a technique of improvisation. As rhapsodic presentation frequently took the form of a poem produced extempore in front of the listening audience, the repertoire of set phrases was an indispensable aid which allowed the material of the narrative to be swiftly structured.[22] The poet had at his disposal a large number of formulae either

[18] Cf. for example *Raghuv.* 5, 65 ff.; *Śiśup.* 11, 1 ff.

[19] K.V. ZVELEBIL, Tamil Literature, p. 205.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 117. H. Jacobi gives the *Rāmāyaṇa* a very early dating. In his opinion (*ibid.*, p. 111), it was composed before the 5th century B.C., possibly 8th to 6th century. A.B. KEITH, JRAS (1915), p. 318, is of a different opinion. He gives 5th to 3rd century B.C.

[22] Instant poetry (*śīghrakavitva*) was an art that was a greatly appreciated form of *kāvya.* The strength of the links between bardic and classical poetry should therefore not be underestimated in this field either.

ready made or in skeleton form which he could rapidly fill out as required. The repetition of words was therefore not regarded as a stylistic blemish at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa. A glance at narrative literature will soon satisfy us that even the modest diction of Indian fables and fairy tales in no way felt under any constraint to vary its expressions.[23]

In many places the poet of the Rāmāyaṇa has consciously repeated a word either to ensure that two or more pādas (quarters of a stanza) have the same ending[24], or to create the impression of having used a homonym or some other play on words. The latter effect is successfully achieved in a phrase quoted by H.R. Diwekar[25]: himavān Himavān giriḥ, "the snowy (himavat) mountain Himavat" (i.e., the Himalaya). The phrase shows how much attention the epic tradition paid to fine differences and shades of meaning.

Increased emotional content and greater eloquence can thus be achieved by repeating one or several times groups of words, parts of a stanza, halves of a stanza and the rhymes or near-rhymes at the end of the stanza. Rām. II, 83 describes how Bharata, who is about to renounce his right to the crown, leaves for Mount Citrakūṭa, where his brother Rāma is dwelling. Bharata intends to persuade Rāma to ascend the throne after accompanying him back to his ancestral court in Ayodhyā. In order to give greater effect to the description of the departure of the prince and the armed host that escorted him, the poet repeats one whole pāda in three stanzas:

navanāgasahasrāṇi kalpitāni yathāvidhi /
anvayur Bharataṃ yāntam Ikṣvākukulanandanam // 3 //
ṣaṣṭī rathasahasrāṇi dhanvino vividhāyudhāḥ /
anvayur Bharataṃ yāntaṃ rājaputraṃ yaśasvinam // 4 //
śataṃ sahasrāṇy aśvānāṃ samārūḍhāni Rāghavam /
anvayur Bharataṃ yāntaṃ satyasandhaṃ jitendriyam // 5 //

"Nine thousand properly accoutred elephants accompanied Bharata when he marched out to (meet Rāma), the delight of the Ikṣvāku dynasty.[26] Sixty thousand chariots and archers with various weapons accompanied Bharata when he marched out to (meet) the glorious

[23] Cf. for example *Hitopadeśa* 2, 8 (The tale of the lion Durdānta and the leveret, beginning): *sa ca sarvadā paśūnāṃ vadhaṃ kurvann āste / tataḥ sarvaiḥ paśubhir militvā sa siṃho vijñaptaḥ / mṛgendra kim artham ekadā bahu-paśu-ghātaḥ kriyate / yadi prasādo bhavati tadā vayam eva bhavadāhārārtham pratyaham ekaikaṃ paśum upadhaukayāmaḥ / ... tataḥ prabhṛty ekaikaṃ paśum upakalpitaṃ bhakṣayann āste /* "That (lion) always used to slaughter beasts. Then all the beasts, having gathered together, made this proposal to the lion: 'Lord of the animals! Why are so many beasts slaughtered at the same time? If it please you we will ourselves send one beast every day for your food.' ... thenceforth he ate the one beast every day that was offered to him." The word *paśu* occurs in almost every sentence in the first part of the fable.

[24] For example *Rām.* 1, 38, 26–27: *vyajāyata – vyajāyata* or *Rām.* 2, 1, 14–15: *pratipūjakaḥ – pratipūjakaḥ.*

[25] H.R. DIWEKAR, Les fleurs de rhétorique dans l'Inde. Etude sur l'évolution des "Alaṅkāra" ou ornements stylistiques dans la littérature sanskrite, Paris 1930, p. 39.

[26] The attributes *Ikṣvākukulanandana(m), yaśasvin(am),* etc. can also refer to Bharata himself.

king's son.[26] A hundred thousand horses bearing riders accompanied Bharata of the house of Raghu when he marched out to (meet) the faithful and self-controlled (Rāma)." [27]

Verses of this sort when taken together with the other characteristics mentioned above indicate that the Rāmāyaṇa is predominantly a work for recitation. We have now clearly sketched out the main differences between this and classical poetry, which obeyed stricter rules and had a more complex structure. Epic poetry does not on the whole show the conscious poetic creative process evident in kāvya but largely followed the dictates of living and spontaneous impulses. This can be seen in the stanzas of an epos, which have a relatively simple construction[28] and, unlike stanzas from a kāvya, cannot easily be detached from the poetic whole and read as independent units. Furthermore, in epic poetry we find a less sophisticated use of compound words – both adjectives and other types of attributive modifiers – the chief measures of the development of poetic speech. The most important poetic figures are in fact already to be found in the Rāmāyaṇa, but it is only in the most recently composed sections of the epic that there is a clear tendency towards the deliberate and frequent use of alaṃkāras and detailed descriptions. The last part in particular, containing the description of Mount Citrakūṭa (Rām. II, 94), the river Mandākinī (II, 95), winter (III, 16), and the monsoon (IV, 28), shows a marked resemblance to the anonymous Ṛtusaṃhāra, often incorrectly ascribed to Kālidāsa, a relatively early collection of stanzas describing the six Indian seasons. We shall later return to the most recently composed parts of the Rāmāyaṇa.

3. *Lyrical Tendencies*

Far more difficult to grasp is the second, somewhat more clearly marked tradition of early poetry, the beginnings of which were fairly early, at a cautious estimate towards the end of the Vedic Era (about 500 B.C.). It seems certain that it flourished in quite different circles from those that cultivated epic poetry. Although few texts from the earliest period have survived, there are enough for us to deduce that poets working in this tradition used a technique quite different in inspiration, criteria and ideals from that of the rhapsodists. They were pioneers in metre and composition and generally preferred to write in certain Middle Indian languages which were regarded as being more melodious than Sanskrit, which was considered harsh. As far as form was concerned, these poets wrote almost exclusively short poems, usually of one stanza only. It is important to remember that this predilection for extreme brevity went hand in hand with a markedly lyrical tone.

[27] Observe also the intensification of the numbers: nine thousand, sixty thousand, a hundred thousand.

[28] The verses scattered here and there throughout classical drama, interrupting the dialogue, are also recognized as being less complex than the artistically constructed stanzas in *kāvya* proper. Their structure must of a necessity be much clearer and smoother as it was the avowed intention of most dramatists to make both the prose and verse passages immediately comprehensible to their audiences.

In the present state of research, it is uncommonly difficult to give any exact details of how or why some poetry took this new direction, when it arose or how far it extended geographically. Its character, however, makes it reasonable to assume that it flourished mainly in cities and, like epic poetry, gradually gained a footing at the courts of those kings who were interested in poetry. The cultural centres of certain areas, in particular the eastern regions and the Deccan, seem to have been especially attracted to this new lyrical form of poetry. We know that urban life only developed on a fairly large scale in the late Vedic and early Post-Vedic Eras and that it would be an error to deduce from the pre-eminent position enjoyed by Prākrit among these writers that their poetry was particularly popular in character, close to nature or rustic although certain connections with contemporary folk-poetry and now lost folksongs must have existed.

Whereas Middle Indian dialects were spoken right back in the Early Vedic Era, Prākrit languages do not reach the height of their importance until about the middle of the first millenium B.C.: it is then that the Buddhist canon takes form in the now lost first version, written in some eastern Prākrit language and followed by a later Pāli version which derives from this. From this time, too, date the older parts of the Jaina canon, written in Ardhamāgadhī. Early inscriptions show the dominant role played by Prākrit as the administrative language and lingua franca of the Post-Vedic Era. Epigraphs in Sanskrit gradually began to make their appearance in the older Prākrit period, but it was not until the Gupta period that Middle Indian languages were finally supplanted. Prākrit dialects thus very early became important languages which were understood all over India and were the general property of Indians everywhere. They differed in several respects from Old Indian: they were less rich in forms, more simplified but also more euphonious. Some constituted a very sensitive instrument for literary purposes insofar as they were regarded as being suitable for literature. In actual fact, these poems had very subtle aims: the epic tradition, as we have seen, had been mainly a recitative form employing improvisation which, in order to function freely, had made use of a number of recurrent fixed passages and, to a limited extent, of the most important poetic figures (alaṃkāra). The lyrical tradition, however, worked in a quite different manner. The concentration on short poems must also have had the effect of concentrating attention on the smaller elements of the text, on the way in which details were worked out and even on single words or parts of words. The aims of the lyrical poets were also quite different from those of the rhapsodist. Whereas it was always the main concern of the latter to interest his audience in the matter by presenting it as effectively as possible, the former captivated his listeners with the same means as those used in the minor form which, though less immediate in effect, stressed above all the elegance of the theme, the sentiment being presented, the choice of words and the refinement of technique. His poetry was early dominated by certain definite scenes, attributes and imagery and, in his love poetry, certain personae tended to recur again and again. With the passage of time, these features developed into the characteristic traits of mature kāvya. It seems that from the very beginning the particular interest of this poetic movement was directed towards exact descriptions

and increased subtlety of meaning so that both the primary and the secondary meanings of a word, phrase or sentence could be suggested to the reader simultaneously. Alaṃkāras either played a subordinate role or belonged neither to the epic nor to the lyrical school but formed what might perhaps be called a third poetic tendency. The main purpose of lyrical poetry was to affect the senses of the reader by suggestion. While epic poetry created art on a large scale and, by its very nature, aimed at painting a broad canvas, in short poems detailed descriptions and suggestive techniques formed an ideal combination which, aided by the format itself, endeavoured to attain perfection even in the smallest elements of the poem.

The ground was prepared for classical poetry by the literary currents the nature of which we have just discussed. Naturally the influence of each varied considerably: while poetry of the minor form, laghukāvya, which is the older form of poetry, may have developed directly out of the lyrical beginnings described above, the development of the major form, mahākāvya, was not at all so simple. The long poem, also called sargabandha, was rather the result of a long period of assimilation which united the epic and the lyrical traditions. Epic elements, which carry the action forward in a logical manner, are prominent in older mahākāvyas such as Aśvaghoṣa's poetry; in later long poems, however, they are largely replaced by the lyrical tendencies inherent in the concentrated stanzas of the minor form to such a large extent that laghukāvya and mahākāvya come to resemble each other. This convergence, which became fashionable scarcely three hundred years after Aśvaghoṣa, gradually eliminated the differences in technique that originally distinguished epic from lyrical poetry until finally there remained only a few criteria, mainly of a formal nature, to differentiate between the two forms.

As far as we are able to say at present, the history of classical poetry begins with kāvya of the minor form, above all with muktaka, the one-stanza poem. It seems very probable that for a long time lyrical poetry and the epic recited by rhapsodists ran a parallel course. At any rate, true mahākāvya did not appear until the criteria valid for short poems had been accepted as valid also for long poems in the kāvya style. This automatically set the seal of approval on the muktaka poet, who was thereby shown to be a true artist. Numerous works which, if judged by their length, belong to Indian classical poetry, are classified in technical literature under the somewhat misleading heading "Kunstepos". It is only by courtesy that they can be termed long poems, as in fact they consist of a conglomeration (bandha) of short series of stanzas (sarga); i.e., exactly what older poetic theory called, not mahākāvya but, more appropriately, sargabandha, "the joining together of cantos (or sections, or verse chapters)". Very often the only connecting link between the stanzas that form each canto is the theme, for instance the description of a military expedition, a mountain or a sunset. They are in fact only a loosely connected series of single-stanza poems (muktaka) interspersed here and there with a two-stanza poem (yugalaka) or, rarely, a poem of several stanzas (kulaka). This change in the originally epic form gave rise to innovations in kāvya of the major form which had been used relatively early in short poems. We should particularly note the emphasis on conjuring up the appropriate sentiment (rasa), probably a result of influence

from the theatre and, not less important, the desire mentioned above to introduce greater subtlety of meaning. A popular device was to bring in an implied meaning (dhvani) which, often closely related to the sentiment, either adds to its first meaning, is its equal or is in fact what the poet intends to be his main theme.

Very little has survived of these early short poems, which were of decisive importance for the beginnings of kāvya. In actual fact, we can do no more than deduce the existence of the earliest works from the Pāli version of the Buddhist canon, which was codified after the death of Buddha.[29] A few centuries later we suddenly find in the Sattasaī[30], Hāla's anthology of poetry, consummate lyrics in Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākrit dialect preferred in later drama for songs and lyrical stanzas. We can hardly escape the thought that the maturity, perfection and artistic unity of the seven hundred muktakas gathered here must be the fruit of a considerable period of development and refinement. These Pāli texts and Hāla's Sattasaī thus seem to indicate that it was primarily in the eastern provinces and in the Deccan that lyrical poetry developed. However, neither the few texts that have come down to us nor the very considerable geographical spread of Middle Indian languages, the clearest proof of which are the inscriptions of the Emperor Aśoka (about 268–232 B.C), can confirm that the origins of laghukāvya are to be sought exclusively in the Deccan[31] or the eastern provinces, i.e., the Magadhan Empire.[32] Even at the time there were poets who composed their single-stanza poems in Sanskrit despite the general preference for Prākrit. Furthermore, as we have already seen, certain categories of short poems, for instance songs to awaken the king, religious and courtly songs of praise, etc., have no connection with lyrical poetry at all. They derive from the bardic repertoire and are closely related to epic poetry.

[29] For examples, see pp. 76 ff.

[30] See pp. 80 ff.

[31] See G.L. HART, The Relation between Tamil and Classical Sanskrit Literature, Wiesbaden 1976 (HIL X, 2).

[32] Cf. A.K. WARDER, Indian Kāvya Literature, II, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1974: "From the founding of the Magadhan Empire, *kavis* from all parts of India gathered in the capital, Pāṭaliputra, seeking favour and fame. It was here that *kāvya* seems first to have developed, drawing probably on Magadhan folk song for new rhythms, and it was here that it acquired its main characteristics as the literature of an imperial court and a sophisticated metropolis (p. 102)... As the imperial power of Magadha weakened, the temporary cultural hegemony of Pāṭaliputra was challenged successfully by other cities. Though the Māgadhī language lost its prestige, and its literature almost vanished ..., the forms of *kāvya* which we have found established in the Empire, and which seem to have originated from Māgadhī lyric poetry, continued to be cultivated vigorously in a variety of languages in the different provinces formerly under Magadhan rule" (p. 115).

CHAPTER III

POETRY OF THE MINOR FORM – *LAGHUKĀVYA*

1. Introductory Remarks

The starting point for any discussion on metrical poetry in Sanskrit and Prākrit must be its division into the two categories recognized by Indian kavis and older literary critics: poetry of the minor form, laghukāvya, and poetry of the major form, mahākāvya. The distinction is important since the history of classical poetry did not begin with epic works of considerable length, as has been long thought, but, on the contrary, with short poems which exercised a strong influence on long poems even in later eras. The division was maintained even when the differences between the two categories gradually began to disappear, as we saw in the previous chapter, due to the fact that isolated stanzas from mahākāvya could sometimes be enjoyed equally well as short independent poems. Apart from the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra, which deals mainly with drama, even the oldest existing works on the theory of poetry are of a relatively late date. It is therefore not surprising that Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, the first authorities on Indian poetics, give no detailed descriptions of laghukāvya whatsoever. They take the view that although short poems do in fact exist, they require no separate explanation as they can all appear in the form of parts (aṅga) of mahākāvya or sargabandha[1]. However, we must not forget that although mahākāvya is the centre of poetic interest, Indian critics have seldom been able to regard a long poem as a single, unified whole due to the prominent position they accord to single stanzas and the often exaggerated attention they devote to poetic figures. This attention, however, does not extend either to whole sections (sarga) or to a number of verses linked together by a common theme. The unit on which they base their rigorously applied criticism is always the stanza which, even when it is part of a long poem, has a unity of its own and is actually more important than the whole[2]. Older works on poetics have perhaps given greater emphasis to the importance of short poems than do the oldest extant texts, indeed it is not impossible that lost works even regarded laghukāvya as the only true origin of kāvya.

[1] Cf. *Kāvyād.* 1, 13:

muktakaṃ kulakaṃ koṣaḥ saṅghāta iti tādṛśaḥ /
sargabandhāṅgarūpatvād anuktaḥ padyavistaraḥ //

"(We) give no detailed description of verse-compositions such as ***muktaka, kulaka, koṣa*** or *saṅghāta,* since they are part of the great poem (*sargabandha*)".

[2] Cf. *Kāvyād.* 1, 20.

The major and minor forms of poetry are generally called mahākāvya and laghukāvya respectively, but some critics use other terms. It is important to note that Bhāmaha[3] and Vāmana[4] describe these two forms as nibaddha, "cohesive (poetry)", and anibaddha, "non-cohesive (poetry)". Whereas nibaddha, which can be equated with mahākāvya, includes both "long poems" (in verse, prose or a mixture of the two)[5] and drama, anibaddha, which is identical with the term laghukāvya, covers all kinds of metrical short poems, i.e., all poems consisting of one or only a few stanzas. The term mahākāvya has a double meaning insofar as it is used of a) any long poem or b) the long poem par excellence, i.e., a verse poem consisting of a series of cantos (sarga). Although sargabandha, used in older poetic theory, is a singularly appropriate name, I sometimes use the term mahākāvya, partly because this is the word most commonly used and partly because of the sharp contrast we thereby get between mahā- and laghukāvya.

The number of classifications and their nomenclature vary from theorist to theorist but the following are the terms generally used:

muktaka – single-stanza poem
yugmaka (also yugma, yugala or yugalaka) – two-stanza poem
sandānitaka (or viśeṣaka) – three-stanza poem
kapālaka – four-stanza poem } several-stanza poem
kulaka – five-to-fifteen-stanza poem
saṃghāta – series of stanzas
kośa (or koṣa) – collection of stanzas
khaṇḍakāvya – short poetry.

In a yugmaka, literally "pair", the two stanzas are closely linked by both syntax and content. Both the muktaka and the yugmaka show a clear tendency to be constructed on the one-sentence-one-stanza principle, a characteristic we also find in the oldest Tamil poetry. If the number of stanzas exceeds two, sandānitaka, "the chain", kapālaka, "the group", or kulaka, "the multitude", are the terms used which, if employed in a narrow sense, are the names given the poems of three, four or five to fifteen stanzas respectively. More controversial is the term saṃghāta, "junction". This sort of poetry, longer than the kulaka and written all in the same metre, deals with one single theme through the whole series of stanzas: a mountain, a season, the pleasures experienced by a prince when bathing (jalavihāra) with the ladies of the court, a wedding, a battle, etc. The kośa, "treasure", on the other hand is longer and exceedingly heterogeneous. These are anthologies, which are an extremely important category in Sanskrit and Prākrit literature. They are collections of muktakas that have either all been written and arranged by one single hand or have been selected by an anthologist from the works of different poets. Collections either arrange the stanzas in an arbitrary order or on some definite principle such as

[3] See *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 1, 30.
[4] See *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti* 1, 3, 27.
[5] I.e., *sargabandha* (= *mahākāvya*), *ākhyāyikā, kathā* and *campū;* cf. p. 47.

the metre, alphabetically according to the first word in the stanza, the theme, etc. If poems are grouped by theme (for instance, the good man, the evil man, poets and poetry, the moon, the sun, the lion, the elephant, the camel, the peacock, etc., spring, summer, the monsoon, etc., love in union, the sulky beloved, the abandoned beloved, etc.) each theme is generally put into a special section (vrajyā). Connoisseurs regard such kośas as delightful (manorama) as the unity of the verse spares the reader the distraction of having to readjust to different themes and allows him to enjoy undisturbed a whole section of poetry written in the same sentiment (rasa).

We can trace yugmakas, sandānitakas, kapālakas, kulakas, saṃghātas and kośas back to the muktaka since the origin of all these poems is simply the multiplication of stanzas. The individual verses are generally loosely connected to each other, mainly by metre and content, thus giving rise to minor forms whose classification is determined by the number of stanzas, as we have seen. The yugmaka is a slightly more complex form as the two stanzas often dovetail closely into each other. Yugmakas are frequently to be found in mahākāvyas, where they stand out from the remainder of the verse by reason of the intimate relationship between the two stanzas.

A more sharply defined category of laghukāvya is khaṇḍakāvya, which has an independent position between laghu- and mahākāvya. The name means literally "kāvya consisting of (only) one section[6] (khaṇḍa)". It is frequently confused with saṃghāta, but in fact there are two quite clear differences between the two: khaṇḍakāvya can employ themes much more freely and, even more important, it contains some kind of a story which, however limited or cursory and even when it is only intended to provide a background for the narrative, nevertheless acts as a vehicle that can bear up the descriptive writing in the stanzas. The classic examples of this category are Kālidāsa's "Cloud Messenger" (Meghadūta) and Bilhaṇa's "Fifty Stanzas concerning the Secret Enjoyment of Love" (Caurīsuratapañcāśikā). As the title indicates, the latter consists of fifty stanzas whereas Kālidāsa's poem has just over a hundred[7].

2. The Single-Stanza Poem (muktaka). Introduction

It is clear that the single-stanza poem, the muktaka, is the beginning of kāvya. Towards the close of the Late Vedic period Vedic norms gradually became obsolete and were replaced by new structures. These new approaches did not become canalized into one large, all-dominating poetic movement but developed into

[6] Or "fragment".

[7] Some authors regard the "Cloud Messenger" as being *mahākāvya,* but this classification will not stand close examination. Even further from the mark is the view held by Nṛsiṃhadeva, one of the commentators on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa,* who regards the "Cloud Messenger" as a *saṃghāta.* Like all other "messenger poems" (*dūtakāvya, sandeśakāvya*) the "Cloud Messenger" must of course be included among the *khaṇḍakāvyas.*

different schools which, contrary to what one might suppose, did not employ dramatic, epic and lyrical forms all at the same time but tended arbitrarily to concentrate on one specific sort of text at a time. The very oldest school of true kāvya arose in circles that devoted themselves to the short poem: it was in accord with their aesthetic ideals that the self-sufficient one-stanza poem should become the norm of poetry. However, their single stanzas were quite different from those of the rhapsodist, which were closely integrated into a larger context from which they could seldom be separated. The single stanza of muktaka poetry is without context and, as it is a complete poem, an artistically rounded whole, each part of it shows far greater elaboration than is found in epic stanzas.

When judging a muktaka most early critics did not pay much attention to the various poetic figures (alaṃkāras) used by the poet. The enjoyment of poetry was much more dependent on verbal brilliance, subtlety of meaning and, particularly important, on the sentiment (rasa) prevailing in any given stanza or, in the opinion of many older theorists, the rasābhāsa, the "appearance of sentiment" (which corresponds closely to personification). These latter consider it to be rasābhāsa when a poet attributes human qualities to inanimate objects and describes, for instance, a river, a region, a cloud, etc. in terms applicable to a beloved woman or a mountain, a tree, etc. in the terms used for a lover in spite of the fact that the laws governing rasa decree that only man is truly sentient. Sentiment, and particularly the "appearance of sentiment", soon led to the feeling that behind the first meaning of a poem there lay something hidden, something implied: the dhvani. Although it was not until much later that schools of criticism (beginning with Ānandavardhana, 9th century A.D.) gave dhvani pride of place as the criterion par excellence of consummate poetry, it seems clear that the art of allusion, the practice of rasābhāsa and dhvani first came into use in the technique of early muktaka poetry. Even later, when it was employed in mahākāvya, this art was necessarily limited exclusively to the single stanza and, in Sanskrit prose novels, to the complex sentence.

This is not the place in which to trace the history of sentiment, the implied, or related techniques, nor to discuss in detail the attitudes adopted by various literary schools to the aesthetic effect of muktaka. Moreover, Indian critics look at the question from a much later point in time: several hundred years elapsed between early muktaka poetry and the oldest preserved critical works and, as we have already seen, later poetic theory no longer considered single stanzas from their own point of view but mostly from that of the long poem. Let us, however, since it is useful, quote the definition of muktaka given by the eclectic compiler of the alaṃkāra portion of the Agnipurāṇa (sections 337–347): muktakaṃ śloka ekaikaś camatkārakṣamaḥ, "the muktaka is only a single stanza, (but) can (evoke) aesthetic astonishment in a connoisseur.[8]" According to S.K. De, the author of this quotation cannot have written it earlier than the middle of the 9th century.[9] It may be only a coincidence that his definition does not also mention sentiment, as the sections of

[8] *Agnip.* 337, 36.

[9] S.K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetics, Calcutta 1960 [2], I, p. 99.

the Agnipurāṇa that seem to stress the supreme importance of versatility in verbal expression clearly attempt to synthetize the rules of rasa and alaṃkāra. On the other hand Ānandavardhana, the great master of dhvani, unhesitatingly accepts the saturation of single stanzas both with the implied and with sentiment. This was a little before the author of the alaṃkāra sections of the Agnipurāṇa. Ānandavardhana wrote (Dhvanyāloka III, 7–8) that muktakas from the pen of the poet Amaru[10] positively dripped with erotic sentiment.[11]

Also worth noting is the opinion of the famous and learned Abhinavagupta (end of 10th century) who further developed Ānandavardhana's theories concerning dhvani but made sentiment, not the implied, the central point of his poetics. In his Dhvanyālokalocana – a commentary to the above-mentioned section of the Dhvanyāloka – Abhinavagupta, quite consistently, looks at the single stanza from the point of view of the enjoyment of rasa. However, he does not neglect the fact that the appreciation of the sentiment in a stanza has nothing to do with either the preceding or the following context. "A muktaka", he says, "is a (poem) which permits the enjoyment of rasa without regard to what has gone before or what comes after."

As far as the implied is concerned, its immense importance in single-stanza poetry is well illustrated by the numerous stanzas we find used as examples in the works of dhvani theorists. Ānandavardhana and the critics of those schools that adopted his principles quote not only contemporary poems but, what is even more interesting, also poems by older authors, particularly Hāla, whose anthology of short poems, the Hālasattasaī, precedes Ānandavardhana's discovery of dhvani by about eight hundred years. In actual fact it would probably be more correct to describe Ānandavardhana's theories as a rediscovery, the sudden awareness of what has long been unconscious poetic practice. The Kāvyaprakāśa, a much respected summary of critical theory by the Kashmiri writer Mammaṭa (11th century), is of the opinion that the highest form of literature is poetry of implication, i.e., poetry that hints at the inner meaning of a poem which, however, is not openly expressed in words. As an example of one kind of implied meaning he quotes the following very famous stanza by Hāla[12]:

ua ṇiccalaṇippaṃdā bhisiṇīpattammi rehaï valāā /
ṇimmalamaragaabhāaṇapariṭṭhiā saṃkhasutti vva //

"Behold, how silent and motionless the hen-heron sits on the lotus leaf. (It is) as if a pearloyster had settled on an emerald-green bowl."

Anyone reading the poem for the first time (particularly an uninitiated Western mind) will naturally come to the conclusion that the picture the poet is presenting –

[10] See p. 91 ff.

[11] Skt. *rasa* means both "juice" and, in the figurative sense, "sentiment". According to Ānandvardhana, saturation with sentiment is not limited to single stanzas; *rasa* is to be found both in long works (*prabandha*) and in *muktaka;* see *Dhvanyāloka,* loc. cit. (the previous sentence).

[12] *Sattasaī* 1, 4; *Kāvyaprakāśa* 2, 1–2.

a charming miniature – is a lovingly-described little scene from nature. A hen-heron, whose shimmering greyish-white plumage is the same hue as mother-of-pearl, has peacefully alighted on a lotus leaf which has the rounded shape and colour of an emerald-green bowl. The reader will be partially right: the poet is certainly describing a nature scene. Both the poet's presentation and his language are fully in accord with the special demands that a pampered reading public makes on short poems. However, in the eyes of the true connoisseur the two lines have by no means yielded all the pleasure it is in their power to give so far. The reader's appreciation of the poem will not be complete until he has grasped the implied, the dhvani. Read correctly, the stanza contains a message from a young lady to her lover. What the girl has to say is confidential, an arrangement between her and her lover, and should not be comprehensible to anyone else. When she says that the hen-heron sits there silent and motionless she is hinting that there is a place which is quite undisturbed, where there is no danger of her mother, her relatives or neighbours intruding. Read this way,[13] the poem is therefore to be understood as a proposal from a beloved (nāyikā) to her lover (nāyaka):

> "See, lover. Let us meet over there where the hen-heron sits on the lotus leaf so peacefully. The fact that she remains there so quietly is a sure sign that the place is undisturbed by people. There we can enjoy a tête-à-tête unseen."

Another interpretation of the muktaka is also possible. Instead of being a proposal, the lines can be read as a reproach. In this case the girl is bitterly disappointed. Her lover has not turned up as agreed, and when she later meets the faithless fellow she discreetly lets him know what she thinks of him. "See how silent and motionless the hen-heron still sits on the lotus leaf." That is to say:

> "You have lied to me! You did not come to our rendez-vous, for how otherwise could the hen-heron have remained sitting on the lotus leaf so silent and motionless."

Short poems in classical Indian literature can be compared with Indian miniatures. Both present selected fields of animate and inanimate reality typical of the art in question, for example landscapes, gods, people, animals and plants, and, as critics have correctly recognized, portray feelings and sentiments by reproducing situations and conditions. An important prerequisite for the proper understanding of single-stanza poems is therefore that the reader should grasp the scene presented by the poet right from the beginning and then, on the basis of the mental picture he has acquired, gradually arrive at comprehension of the message contained in muktaka. This is true not only of dhvani poetry but of all kinds of muktaka, particularly those in which sentiment develops.[14] We can take as an example the following stanza by Amaru[15], which is saturated with erotic sentiment (śṛṅgāra-rasa)[16]:

śūnyaṃ vāsagṛhaṃ vilokya śayanād utthāya kiñcic chanair
nidrāvyājam upāgatasya suciraṃ nirvarṇya patyur mukham /
visrabdhaṃ paricumbya jātapulakām ālokya gaṇḍasthalīṃ
lajjānamramukhī priyeṇa hasatā bālā ciraṃ cumbitā //

"When she saw that the bedroom was empty[17] she rose quietly from the couch and looked for a long time, a very long time, at the face of her (resting) husband who was (then) only pretending to sleep. When she threw her arms ardently around him and looked at the skin of his cheeks his (sudden) excitement was betrayed by the rising of his little hairs; her lover gave her a long kiss: but the girl hung her head in shame."

This poem by Amaru is a description of happy love (sambhogaśṛṅgāra) between a lover (nāyaka) and his beloved (nāyikā), to use the words favoured by poets and critics. The theme of other short poems is unhappy love (vipralambhaśṛṅgāra), generally illustrated by a beloved who has been abandoned, or by the enforced separation (viraha) of the lovers. A great many critics consider that tragic love is poetically more effective than happy, requited love.

Muktaka poetry generally paints miniature pictures and scenes, or else it carefully builds up a description of a single theme.[18] The poet manages to find new, surprising variations, but prefers to use certain definite themes, as is shown by the fact that anthologies (kośa) are often arranged into sections (vrajyā) according to the subject matter.[19] Both in Sanskrit and in Prākrit (later also in certain literary forms in Neo-Indo-Aryan languages)[20] Indian lyrical poetry begins with single-stanza poems. Although we can point to a considerable number of differences between this, the smallest form of kāvya, and Western lyrical poetry, it is true of both that they compress the maximum of poetic message into a limited space and that, despite their brevity, they are highly polysemous and are written on several different levels.

It is possible to classify muktaka poetry by content, the most important categories being lyrical nature poems, lyrical love poems, religious poetry and, lastly, reflective didactic poetry, although this cannot always be reckoned as true kāvya. As

13 Regarding the necessity of re-reading poetry in order to come to a full understanding see p. 37.

14 Of course the majority of short poems have two different functions as both a sentiment and something implied are developed. Notice, too, that those critics who push their theories of *rasa* to the extreme consider only the combination of *rasa* and *dhvani* to be the source of true poetry. Of the three kinds of the implied that are generally postulated – the implied on the basis of content (*vastudhvani*), the implied on the basis of figures (*alaṃkāradhvani*) and the implied on the basis of sentiment (*rasadhvani*) – these strict critics accept only the last.

15 *Amaruśataka* 82.

16 Besides the erotic sentiment, which is by far the commonest and the most important, theorists mention the following kinds of *rasa: raudrarasa,* the furious sentiment, *vīrarasa,* the heroic sentiment, *bībhatsarasa,* the repulsive sentiment, *hāsyarasa,* the comic sentiment, *karuṇarasa,* the pathetic sentiment, *adbhutarasa,* the miraculous sentiment, *bhayānakarasa,* the terrifying sentiment and *śāntarasa,* the sentiment of peace of mind, though this is not universally accepted.

17 I.e., that no one (other than her husband) was in the room.

18 As regards the construction of a stanza on several different levels, see p. 22 ff.

19 Cf. p. 67.

20 In the oldest literature in the Dravidian languages, Tamil, poetry commenced with short poems, which were highly accomplished from the very beginning and have remained the supreme form of creative literary writing in Tamil ever since.

in other literatures, a count would certainly show that love poetry was numerically by far the largest of the four categories. Very early love poetry seems to have become the most fully developed and the most highly polished of the lyrical poems, probably due to its immense popularity. Either they took the form of a portrayal of the beloved (nāyikā), the lover (nāyaka) or of the loving couple (as in the poem by Amaru quoted above), or else in the form of indirect speech (as in the stanza by Hāla on p. 69, where it is put into the mouth of the beloved) or even in the form of a short dialogue, as in the following stanza by Amaru[21]:

kva prasthitāsi karabhoru ghane niśīthe
prāṇeśvaro vasati yatra manaḥpriyo me /
ekākinī vada katham na bibheṣi bāle
nanv asti puṅkhitaśaro madanaḥ sahāyaḥ //

"Where are you going in the depths of the night, you who have thighs (rounded) like the trunk of an elephant?" – "(I am going to) where my lover lives, the lord of my life." – "(But) tell (me), oh girl, are you not afraid (of being) alone?" – "Am I not accompanied by love (armed) with feathered arrows?"

The poem is a dialogue between an abhisārikā, a girl setting out a night on her love-promenade[22], and another woman, perhaps a confidante or a friend of the beloved's. I have already shown that in muktaka poetry popular practice liked to make the length of the stanza coincide with a complete sentence, which then formed the whole stanza. This one-sentence-one-stanza structure is in fact accomplished in a masterly way in the two poems quoted above, Amaru 82 and Hāla I, 4. This structure not only gives the poem elegance; the technique also intensifies the density of the poetry as it links the different parts closely together syntactically as well as rounding off the stanza in a harmonious manner. For obvious reasons the construction cannot be used in dialogue poems such as the example quoted above, but the poem is nevertheless strictly constructed and well articulated in accordance with the rigorous demands of muktaka: the questions the friend asks in lines one and three are answered by the girl herself in lines two and four.

It is also characteristic of love poetry in muktaka form that the personae nearly always come from the same somewhat limited circle of definite types. The lead is of course always played by the nāyaka and the nāyikā, though their roles are not those of hero and heroine proper. The other carminis personae are: the woman who acts as messenger (dūtī) for one of the loving couple, the beloved's female friend (sakhī, sahacarī), her mother, the co-wife or rival (sapatnī), the courtesan (gaṇikā) and lastly, the lover's friend or companion (sahacara).[23] Poets never grow weary of these few characters. They are particularly fond of describing the behaviour of loving couples when special characteristics make the types even more distinct, for example the beloved who is shy and inexperienced (mugdhā), moderately experienced (madhyā) or the girl who is passionate and most experienced (pragalbhā). Other poems may describe the lover, his beloved and the female messenger in various

21 *Amaruśataka* 71.
22 Cf. p. 23.

situations, usually typical ones, which likewise become fixed as the kāvya develops.[24] In love poetry the same persons frequently reappear in different constellations which furnish the basic material for the lyrical action that the poet works out. Usually not more than two people are involved at a time: the loving couple themselves, the beloved and her confidante, the lover talking to his female messenger, being advised, exhorted or admonished by her, etc. Furthermore, the reader's first task is to recognize the situation the poet is creating, as this is a prerequisite for the proper understanding of the world portrayed in the poem. In the case of many poems this initial process of understanding is facilitated by the existence of a commentary, often written much later, which tells the reader in a few words who is speaking to whom, under what circumstances, etc., or gives him information about what type of lovers are to be found in the stanza. Examples of the sort of indications provided are: sapatnīcaraṇalākṣāṅkitaṃ nāyakaṃ khaṇḍitā seṛṣyam āha, "the deceived (woman) speaks with jealousy to the lover who is stained with the foot-paint of her rival";[25] proṣitapatikā tatsakhī vā lekhamukhena nāyakam āha, "a girl in love whose lover has gone away, or her femal friend, says in a letter to the lover";[26] sandhyāsamayavyājena dūtī kācid abhisārikāṃ tvarayitum āha, "referring to (the fact that) dusk (has already fallen), a female messenger exhorts an abhisārikā to hasten";[27] kācit praṇayakalahāntaritā sahacarīṃ pratyāha, "a (girl) separated (from her lover) because of a lovers' quarrel says to her (female) friend";[28] or kācin manasvinī dayitam upālabhate, "a sulky girl scolds her lover".[29]

Even if the central subject of single-stanza poetry is love, it is generally not connubial. The love celebrated in this poetry treats woman as an erotic object, and

[23] It is interesting to note that we meet the same circle of stereotyped persons in classical love poetry (*akam*) in Tamil. This latter and Indo-Aryan *muktaka* have other features in common, too, above all the short form and a number of themes. In this connection, see S. LIENHARD, Tamil Literary Conventions and Sanskrit Muktaka Poetry, WZKS 20 (1976), p. 101 ff.; S. LIENHARD, Bauern, Berge, Nacht und Winter, Festschrift for E. Sluszkiewicz, Warsaw 1974, p. 137 ff.; G.L. HART, The Monsoon in Ancient Tamil and Indo-Aryan Poetry, Proceedings of the II Intern. Conf. Seminar of Tamil Studies, II, Madras 1971, p. 162 ff.; G.L. HART, Common Elements between Early Tamil and Indo-Aryan Literature, ibid., p. 168 ff. The correspondences are often so clear that one cannot reject entirely the possibility of Dravidian influence on early Prākrit and Sanskrit short poems. On the other hand it seems improbable that *muktaka* poetry can have influenced classical Tamil lyrical poems as *Caṅkam* poetry is not only older than the earliest preserved *muktaka* stanzas; it had also risen to far greater heights. It is not possible to prove the theory put forward by G.L. HART in The Relation between Tamil and Classical Sanskrit Literature, Wiesbaden 1976 (HIL X, 2), that the numerous correspondences can be explained by an unknown quantity; he postulates a third literary school which spread from the Deccan and influenced both classical Tamil poetry and the oldest *muktaka* poems.

[24] See S. LIENHARD, Typen der nāyikā im indischen kāvya, WZKM 52 (1955), p. 393 ff.

[25] Gaṅgādhara on Hāla 464.

[26] Gaṅgādhara on Hāla 485.

[27] Gaṅgādhara on Hāla 662.

[28] Arjunavarmadeva on Amaru 15.

[29] Arjunavarmadeva on Amaru 69. Regarding the types *khaṇḍitā, proṣitapatikā, abhisārikā* and *kalahāntaritā*, see S. LIENHARD, Typen der nāyikā im indischen kāvya, p. 393 ff.

illusion and enchantment for men, and it is in the majority of cases an illicit and forbidden love. Poets observe woman's every mien and gesture with acuteness and expert knowledge: they note every word, the slightest movement, the least change of tone and interpret even the most insignificant sign as an indication of inclination, invitation or refusal. In contrast to the Vedic period, later ages regarded marriage from a purely utilitarian point of view, at any rate Brahmans and other upper classes, who only married in order to ensure that there were progeny. It was therefore quite natural that the idealization of eroticism should lead to the glorification of illicit love. With reference to the science of love (kāmaśāstra), late theorists call the three categories of nāyikā:

1. The subject's own wife (svastrī, svīyā),
2. Another man's wife (parakīyā, anyastrī, anyā),
3. The common wife, i.e. a courtesan (sādhāraṇastrī, sādhāraṇā, sādhāraṇī, sāmānyanāyikā).[30]

Classical poets generally illustrate connubial love, i.e., love of the svastrī, only with the shy, newly-married girl, navoḍhā. The great majority of love poems, however, do not deal with love between husband and wife but with a relationship either with the wife of another man or with a hetaera (veśyā, gaṇikā). The structure of society being what it was then, there were in fact hardly any really free, unattached young women with the exception of courtesans, so that extra-marital relations with another woman were only possible under two circumstances; the woman was either married to another man or already promised in marriage to someone (kanyakā).[31] It is necessary to have some knowledge of the factual background in order to be able fully to understand erotic poetry in Sanskrit and Prākrit.

As we have remarked, a single-stanza poem can be one element in a series of stanzas (saṃghāta), in a poem in one section (khaṇḍakāvya) or in a long poem (mahākāvya) inasfar as the single stanza is often only related to the whole poem by the fact that they have a common theme. The examples chosen by critics to illustrate their theories are predominantly single stanzas, either per se or from kāvyas, and they show that stanzas can be excerpted from their context without difficulty. The word muktaka is derived from the Skt. root muc, "to release", "to

[30] Cf. *inter alia* Viśvanātha, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 96 and the further classification in 97–123. See also S. LIENHARD, Typen der nāyikā, p. 388.

[31] For the subdivision of *parakīyā* into *paroḍhā* and *kanyakā* see *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 108 and S. LIENHARD, Typen der nāyikā, p. 392 ff.

[32] *Vajjāl.* 14–16. Translation after M.V. PATWARDHAN.

[33] Ed.: H. OLDENBERG and R. PISCHEL, PTS 1883, 2nd edn. with appendices by K.R. NORMAN and L. ALSDORF, PTS 1966. – Lit.: S. LIENHARD, Sur la structure poétique des Theratherīgāthā, JA 263 (1975), p. 375 ff. – Translations: (MRS.) RHYS DAVIDS, Psalms of the Early Buddhists, PTS 1964 (reprint); K.R. NORMAN, The Elders' Verses, I: Theragāthā, PTS 1969; II: Therīgāthā, PTS 1971; K.E. NEUMANN, Die Lieder der Mönche und Nonnen Gotamo Buddhos, Berlin 1899, reprint: Zürich-Vienna 1957, in vol. III of the Gesamtausgabe (not reliable). For fragments of the Sarvāstivādin Sthaviragāthās discovered in Turkestan see H. BECHERT, Bruchstücke buddhistischer Versammlungen: 1. Die Anavataptagāthā und die Sthaviragāthā, Berlin 1961 (STT 6).

free". It should not be understood, as it sometimes is, in the sense of "pearl", i.e., "pearl of a poem"; it means quite simply "that which is detached", "a detached stanza". This clearly does not reflect the old designation of short poems; it is rather a product of the later, mistaken conception of a short poem as being really only a stanza "freed" from its context and of single-stanza poetry on the whole as being a secondary form derived from long poems, if it is to be regarded as a separate form at all. In reality, exactly the reverse is true. Long before the rise of kāvya, a category of single-stanza poetry, muktaka, reached maturity and held a key position right from the very beginning in Old and Middle Indian literature (and, to some extent, in Neo-Indian literature, too). Not only did short poetry influence other genres to a degree that has hardly been realized so far, it also became a living part of the way of life and outlook of those classes who handed down the traditions of poetry, a highly cultivated, largely urban society. Moreover, the finest works of the classical poets have been written in the poetic miniature-painting that is the muktaka genre.

An older, authentic and factually correct name for independent stanzas is gāthā. We find it in titles such as Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Gāthāsaptaśatī, etc., and, as it is derived from the Skt. verb gā(y), it means that the Indian public did not read short poems, but that these single-stanzas were intended to be heard in the form of song or recitation. As we have already seen, poetry was mostly recited in poets' associations, at court, in the houses of courtesans, by Paṇḍits and other educated and usually wealthy people. Like composition, recitation required knowledge, skill and practice: "All people confidently recite gāthās in all the literary meetings. But their real sense is understood only by the great literary connoisseurs". "The poor gāthā weeps when it is being learned by uneducated rustics. It is tortured like a cow (being milked) by unpractised milkmen." "Oh gāthā: you will be mutilated and spoiled like a piece of sugar-cane being nibbled hard and forcefully by the teeth of a rustic."[32]

A third name for single-stanza poems that is often used is subhāṣita, "that which is beautifully (or strikingly) expressed". Whereas the term gāthā is applied to a stanza that is predominantly lyrical and is constructed according to the rules of kāvya, subhāṣita is used for any sort of well-formulated poetic utterance, even epigrammatic and didactic verse.

3. Single-Stanza Poetry

The major part of early muktaka poetry is unfortunately lost. The existence of lyrical poetry prior to the beginning of the Christian era is proved, significantly enough, by works whose main aim is neither literary nor concerned with the aesthetic aspects of language, namely various texts of the Buddhist canon in Pāli. Although a few stanzas with literary pretensions can be found in parts of both the Vinaya- and Suttapiṭaka, only the fifth and last collection of the latter, the Khuddakanikāya, whose Sanskrit and Prākrit versions are lost, is of any particular importance. In this group of fifteen, frequently very dry texts there are the verse anthologies Theragāthā, the "songs of the monks", and Therīgāthā[33], the "songs of

the nuns", and the Suttanipāta[34], the "little Collection of Sermons". All three texts are of a considerable age, at least in part, and this mainly religious and didactic material is interspersed with passages of genuine literary value, whereas a fourth anthology, the Dhammapada, the "Words of Instruction", is almost entirely didactic and epigrammatic. Even where this anthology has literary pretentions, they are far removed from the poetic manner of kāvya.

Unlike the Suttanipāta, which is in verse with occasional prose passages, the Thera- and Therīgāthā contain numerous single-stanza poems: 120 in the former and 18 in the latter. Both are arranged in a way that is typical of the Buddhist canon, i.e., they begin with the shortest texts and proceed with ever-longer units: a section (nipāta) consisting only of single-stanza poems (ekanipāta) is followed by one with only two-stanza poems (dukanipāta), after which come three-stanza poems (tikanipāta), four-stanza poems (catukkanipāta), etc. In content, most of the poems are enunciations of the Buddhist conceptions of truth and release: the poets praise the happiness given by redeeming insight, relate their religious experiences or contrast their previous worldly existence with their new spiritual life.

These two ekanipātas are quite possibly the very oldest parts of the Thera- and Therīgāthā. Most of the short poems have little or no poetic value, but a number of the gāthās show that their authors were very familiar with contemporary profane poetry. We can see that they were well acquainted with the aesthetic effects of various stylistic means because they used them in their religious poems, which sometimes hover on the threshold of true poetry. In the Theragāthā it is particularly noticeable, as M. Winternitz suspected, that many monks were more poet than monk. He writes: "More poet than monk, they delighted to linger on descriptions of woodland and mountain scenery in which wanders the sage, sunk in meditation. When thunder rolls and rain patters down from dark clouds, the liberated monk sits, blissful, in his cave."[35] The first half of Theragāthā 110, reputedly written by a monk named Usabha, is unmistakably poetic:

nagā nagaggesu susaṃvirūḷhā udaggameghena navena sittā,

"The trees on the mountain-tops have shot up, well watered by the fresh rain-cloud on high".[36]

The elaborate manner in which the euphonic ornamentation (śabdālaṃkāra) has been employed shows that Usabha composed the stanza with the care and sensitivity of a poet. The first word, nagā, corresponds with the naga° of the following word, °agge(su) with (ud)agga°, the °su of nagaggesu with the su° of susaṃvirūḷhā, and the rhyming pair °meghena navena, placed almost at the end of

[34] Ed.: D. ANDERSEN and H. SMITH, PTS 1965[3] (reprint). – Translations: E.M. HARE, Woven Cadences, PTS 1948[2]; NYANAPONIKA, Sutta-Nipāta, Konstanz 1955 (in German); K.E. NEUMANN, Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos aus der Sammlung der Bruchstücke Suttanipāto des Pāli-Kanons, Leipzig 1905, 1911[2], reprint: Zürich-Vienna 1957, in vol. III of the Gesamtausgabe (not reliable).

[35] M. WINTERNITZ, GIL II, p. 84.

[36] Translation after K.R. NORMAN, *op. cit.*, I, p. 14.

the line, corresponds with the nagā nagga° at the beginning, giving the two quarters (pāda) of the stanza harmonic balance. The aesthetic quality of the rhythm and, above all, of the sound give the text a structural pattern that makes it genuinely poetic.[37]

Many such stanzas must have been composed by monks during the monsoon, their period of residence (vassāvāsa), as they must then have had an excellent opportunity of writing gāthās. A great many poems not only took over the conventions and imagery of contemporary kāvya; they also quite clearly imitated the existent literary forms of secular poetry. There was, however, one difference in that the gāthā poet endeavoured to raise the language of his religious poetry above that of his profane model. Buddhist writers deliberately shifted the emphasis of their poems away from the happy and unhappy love (sambhogaśṛṅgāra and vipralambhaśṛṅgāra respectively) of the secular poets to the achievement of release, the only true joy which, according to early Buddhist theory, was granted alone to the solitary monk or nun meditating in a world of his or her own. The lives of both are concentrated, prudent and serene:

channā me kuṭikā sukhā nivātā vassa deva yathāsukhaṃ /
cittaṃ me susamāhitaṃ vimuttaṃ ātāpī viharāmi vassa deva // (Subhūti)[38]

"My small hut is roofed, pleasant, draught-free; rain sky, as you please; my mind is well-concentrated, released; I remain zealous; rain, sky."[39]

nīlā sugīvā sikhino morā kāraṃviyaṃ abhinandanti /
te sītavātakalitā suttaṃ jhāyaṃ nibodhenti // (Cittaka)[40]

"Blue, with beautiful necks, the crested peacocks call in Karaṃvī; urged on by the cool breeze they awaken the sleeper to meditation."[41]

nīlabbhavaṇṇā rucirā sītavārī sucindharā /
indagopakasañchannā te selā ramayanti maṃ // (Vanavaccha)[42]

"Those rocks delight me, the colour of the blue clouds, beautiful, with cool waters and pure streams, covered with Indagopaka mites."[43]

acchodikā puthusilā gonaṅgulamigāyutā /
ambusevālasañchannā te selā ramayanti maṃ // (Vanavaccha)[44]

"With clear water and wide crags, haunted by monkeys and deer, covered with oozing moss, those rocks delight me."[45]

[37] Cf. S. LIENHARD, Sur la structure poétique des Theratherīgāthā, p. 379.
[38] *Therag.* 1.
[39] Translation after K.R. NORMAN, *op. cit.*, I, p. 1.
[40] *Therag.* 22.
[41] K.R. NORMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
[42] *Therag.* 13.
[43] K.R. NORMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 2. "Indagopaka insects" (Norman) corrected to "Indagopaka mites". See p. 23 above.
[44] *Therag.* 113.
[45] K.R. NORMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

sukhaṃ tvaṃ vuḍḍhike sehi katvā coḷena pārutā /
upasanto hi te rāgo sītibhūtā si nibbutā // (Sumanā)[46]

"Lie down happily, old lady, clad in the garment (which you) have made; for your desire is stilled; you have become cool, quenched."[47]

The majority of the monk and nun poems have thus few poetic qualities but convey rather the impression of being rhythmic prose which is made more striking and easier to remember because it is cast in verse form. It is therefore surprising to discover the literary merits of the poems quoted above, generally in the first half of the stanza. This first half, which describes the situation and the surroundings, often contains a great deal of imagery and linguistic embellishment, whereas the second half is mostly factual and intellectual, indeed downright monkish. It is the immediacy and the purity of tone of the stanzas that gives them their attraction; their apparent simplicity is, however, an illusion. Although the complex sentence construction, elaborate similes and other artistic devices of classical poetry are lacking here, the literary value of some of the gāthās presupposes the existence of a well-developed system of rules governing contemporary kāvya, at any rate as far as the basic elements were concerned. Where the first of the two poems by Vanavaccha (Therag. 13) describes the beginning of the monsoon using the well-known attributes associated with the rainy season (rocks, clouds, indragopas), Subhūti's stanza (Therag. 1) imitates one type of erotic short poem: the well-roofed hut, comfortable and protected from rain and storm. Here, of course, the hut is not being extolled as the scene of the lovers' erotic games, as it would have been in secular kāvya. In the religious poetry of the monks the picture is transformed: the pleasant hut is described as the dwelling in which the monk lives happily during his period of retreat (vassāvāsa), the place in which he can devote himself to meditation and other spiritual exercises safe and without fear of rainstorms.[48]

The poetic parts of the Pāli version of the Buddhist canon date from about 500–100 B.C.[49] As we can see from the above and other characteristic examples, poetic form is clearly already moving along the same lines as kāvya. It is not only the choice of certain definite (literary) imagery and attributes that is typical; the language is searching for new means of expression, using for instance special words from the vocabulary of poetry, experimenting with new metres or fitting into the stanza long compound words which are chosen mainly for their euphonic qualities. The break with the Vedic-Sanskrit tradition seems therefore to have taken place much earlier than has generally been supposed. It is probable that the factors which triggered off this shift in the system of poetic rules did not come from Sanskrit sources, which for some time remained strictly Brahmanical and conservative. The

[46] *Therīg.* 16.

[47] K.R. NORMAN, *op. cit.*, II, p. 3. The compiler and commentator Dhammapāla (probably 5th century A.D.) ascribes the poem to the nun Sumanā, who is characterized as a *vuddhapabbajitā:* "Sumanā, who went forth when old".

[48] These questions are discussed in greater detail in S. LIENHARD, Sur la structure poétique, etc., p. 384 ff.

[49] Cf. A.K. WARDER, Indian Kāvya Literature, II, p. 22.

majority of the new impulses came rather from those sections of society that employed Middle Indian languages as a cultural medium, sections which, even in the first century after the death of Gautama Buddha (about 480 B.C.), were the bearers of a mainly secular poetic art that was partly urban, partly courtly.

It is a great pity that no samples have come down to us of what is therefore the earliest secular poetry to exist during the second half of the first millennium B.C. and that we possess only a few stanzas of the Buddhist canon with which to study the development of the earliest kāvya. Even if these stanzas are a species of religious poetry, they do show that we may assume the existence of secular poetry which flourished at the same time. Although the oldest category of kāvya, short poems, probably grew up and developed in Prākrit circles, the new methods of writing poetry soon spread to writers of Sanskrit poetry. Tradition ascribes the oldest kāvyas in Sanskrit to the poets Pāṇini and Patañjali. The two greatest authorities on Sanskrit grammar are closely connected to the names of these two poets: Pāṇini, the author of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the oldest existing grammar of Sanskrit (5th or 4th century B.C.), and Patañjali, who wrote the Mahābhāṣya (2nd century B.C.), the "Great Commentary" on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. Although Pāṇini at least is credited with the authorship of one or two other (lost) mahākāvyas, only a few stanzas have been preserved of either poet's work and, unless they are parts of longer poems, these stanzas belong to the minor form of muktaka poetry. Stanzas by Pāṇini are to be found in anthologies as are others by Patañjali's some of whose stanzas are also referred to, together with other poems, in his own grammatical work, the Mahābhāṣya.[50] So far it has proved exceedingly difficult to form any judgement of their authenticity: not only do Pāṇini's stanzas approach the perfection of kāvya although they are rather simply constructed in parts; we have no definite proof that the two poets can in fact be identified as the grammarians Pāṇini and Patañjali and therefore really did live in the 5th or 4th and the 2nd centuries respectively. The question also arises as to what extent the quotations in the Mahābhāṣya can be regarded as authentic. We may take as an example a quite typical love-poem which is given in Patañjali's commentary only as a fragment (the last quarter of a stanza):

varatanu sampravadanti kukkuṭāḥ,

"O fair-limbed one, the cocks are (already) crowing".

It seems that this was the final line of an ancient samasyāpūraṇa, i.e., an unfinished verse to be completed by another poet, for the same line reappears in some later works such as, for example, Halāyudha's commentary on Piṅgala's Chandaḥsūtras and the Aucityavicāracarcā, a work on literary criticism by the poet Kṣemendra who incorrectly characterizes this erotic muktaka as a stanza by Kumāradāsa:

[50] F. KIELHORN, Quotations in the Mahabhashya and the Kasika-Vritti, IA 14 (1885), p. 326 ff.; G. BÜHLER, Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie, SAWW, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 122 (1890), p. 72; K.G. SUBRAHMANYAM, Patañjali and Kāvya Literature Presumed by Him, AIOC 1924, pp. 96–99.

ayi vijahīhi dṛḍhopagūhanaṃ
tyaja navasaṃgamabhīru vallabham /
aruṇakarodgama eṣa vartate
varatanu sampravadanti kukkuṭāḥ //

"O fair-limbed one, timid of the first union, loosen your close embrace, leave your beloved! See: the rays of the sun are rising and the cocks are (already) crowing!"

We come up against the same uncertainty as there is about the poetic oeuvre of Pāṇini and Patañjali in the case of Vararuci as we definitely know that several authors with the same name must have existed. Two lost poems entitled Cārumatī and Kaṇṭhābharaṇa were possibly the work of the earliest Vararuci, to whom we may perhaps ascribe a few of the approximately twenty poems under his name in various anthologies of verse. The temptation is great to identify this Vararuci as the third important grammarian and the author of the Vārttikasūtras on the Aṣṭādhyāyī, Vararuci (Kātyāyana). We can say with a fair degree of certainty that the latter lived somewhere between Pāṇini and Patañjali, i.e., about the 3rd century B.C.[51] Be that as it may, the fact remains that Vararuci is one of the names to be conjured with in Sanskrit and Prākrit literature; it is used of the legendary learned man and poet whom tradition associates with King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī at whose court Vararuci, Kālidāsa and the other great Indian poets known as 'The Nine Jewels' are said to have lived and worked.

It is quite conceivable that some authors whose stanzas have been included in anthologies may be reckoned among the early muktaka poets. What we must unfortunately assume is, however, that it is in the very nature of short poetry for the vast majority of the poems to be forgotten. Short poems were handed down to posterity either orally, in which case only the most important of the ever increasing number of stanzas escaped oblivion, or else, by being anthologized, they achieved written form which, as the choice was an arbitrary one, gives us only a sample of the poet's creative work.

The oldest anthology that has been preserved is the Sattasaī, or Gāhāsattasaī (Skt. Saptaśatī, Gāthāsaptaśatī)[52], compiled by Hāla, which also marks one of the highest

[51] Cf. A.K. WARDER, Indian Kāvya Literature, II, p. 106 ff.

[52] Ed.: A. WEBER, I, AKM 5,3 (Leipzig 1870); reprinted: Nendeln 1966 (with translation into German); A. WEBER, II, AKM 7,4 (Leipzig 1881), reprinted: Nendeln 1966 (with transl. into German); PARAMANAND ŚASTRI, Ānandapurī, Merath 1965; A.N. UPADHYE, Kolhapur 1970 (Shivaji University Sanskrit and Prakrit Series 3); R. BASAK, (Calcutta) 1971 (Bibliotheca Indica; with English translation); M.V. PATWARDHAN, Ahmedabad 1980 (with the commentary by Bhavanapāla), Part I: Text, Part II: Introduction, transl., index and glossery (in print); H. TIEKEN, Hāla's Sattasaī: Stemma and Edition (Gāthās 1–50), with Transl. and Notes, Leiden 1983. – Literature: V.V. MIRASHI, The Original Name of the Gāthāsaptaśatī, AIOC, Nagpur (1946), p. 370 ff.; V.V. MIRASHI, The Date of the Gāthāsaptaśatī, IHQ 23 (1947), p. 300 ff.; O. RAMACHANDRAIYA, Salivahana-hala, JIH 38 (1960), p. 365 ff.; S.V. SOHONI, First five verses of Gāhā Sattasaī, JBORS 50 (1964), p. 1 ff. – Translations: A. WEBER, Leipzig 1870 and 1881; R. BASAK, Calcutta 1971; H. TIEKEN (Gāthās 1–50 only), Leiden.

points reached by short poems. As its name implies, the volume contains about seven hundred poems by various authors in Māhārāṣṭrī, the lyrical Prākrit par excellence. Forty of them are by Hāla himself. The genealogies in the Purāṇas mention Hāla as the seventeenth successor to the throne of an important reigning house. This is the powerful Sātavāhana or Āndhra (Āndhrabhṛtya) dynasty, which replaced the house of Maurya in the Deccan area about 230 B.C., reigning until the end of the 3rd century A.D. At the height of its power, this dynasty succeeded in extending its rule far to the north, possibly right up to Magadha.[53] According to the purāṇic list, which only gives him five brief years on the throne, Hāla reigned about the year 50 A.D.[54] As the material from which he compiled the Sattasaī cannot therefore be later than the 1st century A.D., the six existing versions of his anthology certainly represent later revisions of an earlier work. This conclusion is supported by the linguistic evidence, which indicates that some time between 200 and 450 A.D. is the date of the existing versions.[55] Also important is the fact that there are only 430 stanzas that are to be found in all six versions of the Sattasaī, while the majority of the Hāla quotations referred to elsewhere by critics are to be found in none of them.

Although some researchers have given a much later date for the composition of these works on the basis of linguistic, historic or religious evidence (e.g., A. Weber, from the 3rd to the 7th century A.D.[56], or R.G. Bhandarkar, 6th century A.D.)[57], there can be little doubt that King Hāla, often called simply Sātavāhana after the family and dynastic name, did in fact compile the original version of the Sattasaī, and that this did contain the nucleus of the still extant latter versions. The Prākrit anthology of verse entitled Vajjālagga mentions Hāla as king of the city of Pratiṣṭhāna on the banks of the river Godāvarī.[58] On the other hand the poet Bāṇa, master of difficult Sanskrit prose, includes Sātavāhana (variant form Sālivāhana) among the eight poets he admires most (in one of the introductory stanzas to his Harṣacarita, the "Life and Deeds of Harṣa"): he has "created an (artistically) immortal, polished collection (kośa) of single-stanza poems (subhāṣita)".[59] R.G. Bhandarkar subscribed to the opinion that the (Gāhā)sattasaī and Sātavāhana's Kośa were two entirely different texts, but closer examination has shown that the two titles refer to one and the same anthology.[60] The final stanza of some versions of Hāla unequivocally call

[53] See K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India from Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar, OUP: Madras, etc. 1976⁴, p. 92 ff.

[54] Cf. R.M. Smith, Dates and Dynasties in Earliest India, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi 1973, pp. 382, 384; F.E. Pargiter, The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, Oxford 1913, pp. 36, 71.

[55] Cf. A.B. Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, London 1920¹, 1941², 1948³ p. 224.

[56] A. Weber, II, p. XXIII.

[57] R.G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 189.

[58] *Vajjāl.* 468.

[59] *Harṣac.*, stanza 14 (Introduction).

[60] V.V. Mirashi, The Original Name of the Gāthāsaptaśatī, p. 370 ff. See also V.S. Agrawala, The Deeds of Harsha (Being a cultural study of Bāṇa's Harshacarita), Varanasi 1969, p. 7.

the anthology Kośa. The older name of the work, also used by Bāṇa, was clearly Kosa or Gāhākosa (Skt. Kośa, Gāthākośa) and it was not until the 9th century that the new name, Sattasaī or Gāhāsattasaī, came into use. In the 8th century Hāla's anthology is still defined as the Kośa in the Jaina poet Uddyotana Sūri's Kuvalaya-mālā.[61] The link between the Sattasaī, the Sātavāhana dynasty and the south of India, Mahārāṣṭra in particular, is clearly confirmed by the fact that a number of stanzas mention the Vindhya mountains and the rivers Tāpī, Revā and Godāvarī, all of which lie in the heart of the Sātavāhana realm, whereas mountains, rivers or areas to the north are not mentioned in a single stanza.

The centre of the Sātavāhana state was the city mentioned in the Vajjālagga, Pratiṣṭhāna (the modern Paithan), the seat of the court. The fact that points of similarity can be found between the Prākrit poetry of the Sattasaī and the oldest Tamil poetry[62] can perhaps be explained by the southerly situation of this culturally very advanced kingdom and by its contact with the Dravidian language and literary traditions on its southern and eastern borders. Hāla's reign coincided with the flowering of Tamil Caṅkam lyrical poetry which, having already reached perfection in form and content, quite possibly exercised an influence on creative writing in Mahārāṣṭra. A Sātavāhana coin dated 168 or 170 A.D. bears a short inscription in both Prākrit and Tamil: a certain indication that during the second half of the 2nd century Tamil was spoken in the Sātavāhana kingdom as well as Prākrit, then the lingua franca of Southern India.[63]

The reputation of the Sattasaī as a model of refined lyrical poetry remained untarnished throughout the ages. Not only were a multitude of examples chosen just from Hāla by a number of famous critics and theorists, particularly of the dhvani and rasa schools; the great fame of the work is also attested to by the rich crop of books of comment that has sprung up round Hāla's anthology in the course of time, books which have so far been too little exploited. It is difficult to be certain today how many poets contributed to the Sattasaī. Bhuvanapāla, one of the first commentators, mentions the figure 384. Originally the author of each muktaka was named, individual poets contributing with up to forty stanzas. The publisher may, of course, have made a few alterations to some of the poems in order to adapt them to his taste. Unfortunately the existing versions omit a considerable number of the authors' names and, in other cases, substitute incorrect names for the original ones, probably due to carelessness on the part of the scribes.

It is perfectly in accord with the spirit of the selection that most of the authors included in the original version seem to have come from the south of India. Some of the poets included in the anthology were undoubtedly active at the court in Pratiṣṭhāna, for instance Pādalipta (in Prākrit: Pālitta), traditionally the most famous of King Hāla's court poets. The commentaries also mention several women

[61] See V.V. Mirashi, The Date of the Gāthāsaptaśatī, p. 302 f.

[62] Cf. p. 73, note 23 and the bibliography given there.

[63] See K. Zvelebil, The Smile of Murugan. On Tamil Literature of South India, Leiden 1973, p. 39.

poets: Anulakṣmī, Mādhavī, Āndhralakṣmī, Revā and others who must also have come from the south of India, as the names of the last two show. A number of stanzas were demonstrably composed after the death of Hāla. Perhaps the particular fame that the Sattasaī enjoyed resulted in samples of the work of later poets also being included; at any rate, interpolations were made from time to time right up to the middle of the 8th century. As far as we can judge today, the last addition was poetry by Vākpatirāja (about 715 to 750 A.D.), King Yaśovarman's court poet and the author of a well-known Prākrit poem, the Gaüḍavaha.[64] Pītāmbara's commentary on Hāla ascribes four muktakas in all to Vākpatirāja. According to Bhuvanapāla four poems came from the hand of the once-famous Āḍhyarāja, whose major work, a prose poem in Prākrit, has been lost. While almost the only thing we know about Āḍhyarāja is that Bāṇa accounted him one of the truly great poets[65], we can discover more about some later poets because, like Hāla, they were of princely blood. To this group belong: Karṇa (or Karṇarāja), about 229–238, like Hāla, a member of house of Sātavāhana and possibly identical with Śāntikarṇa; Sarvasena, about 330–355, the founder of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty and the author of the lost Harivijaya, a mahākāvya in Prākrit; Māna (or Mānāṅka), about 375–400, the founder of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānapura; Māna's son Devarāja, about 400–425, and, lastly, Pravarasena (or Pravararāja), ca. 6th century, who wrote the Prākrit mahākāvya, Setubandha.[66] Most of the poetry included in the Sattasaī was probably composed in the four hundred years from the lst to 4th centuries A.D. when Prākrit was the most privileged language in Āndhra and other places.

The poems in Hāla's Sattasaī are not arranged on any definite principle.[67] The whole anthology is divided into seven śatakas, i.e., seven sections of approximately one hundred gāthās each, but the order of the sections appears to be arbitrary. Every stanza is written in Āryā, a particularly common metre in Prākrit poetry. The first, penultimate and last poems contain the usual stanzas of homage (namaskāragāthā), in this case both addressed to Śiva[68]; in the opening poem dawn is referred to, in the last, dusk. The highly erotic note is unmistakable: in both poems, which were almost certainly composed as a pair and are probably by Hāla himself, the figure of Śiva's beautiful young beloved, Umā, stands by the side of Śiva himself, who is making a sacrifice at dawn and dusk respectively.

Although we have our very earliest evidence of secular poetry in Hāla's Sattasaī, the majority of the stanzas show a very high degree of poetic skill. We can therefore not subscribe to the opinion held by A.B. Keith and other researchers that this Prākrit poetry shows a "spirit of closeness to life and common realities"[69] that we

[64] See p. 199 f. below.

[65] *Harṣac.* stanza 19 (Introduction).

[66] Cf. p. 197 below.

[67] With the exception of a number of modern editions, which have been divided into *vrajyās.*

[68] Called *Paśupati* (Prākrit: *Pasuvaï*) in the first stanza and *Hara* in the last.

[69] A.B. KEITH, A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 224.

seldom meet with in Sanskrit poetry, and that the stanzas in Hāla give a simple description of the feelings, way of life and everyday circumstances of the rural population. Even if several kinds of poetry originated in oral tradition and must once have been of a popular nature, the majority of the poems in Hāla are far removed from folksongs and popular presentation.[70] It is true that in the Sattasaī we constantly come across the village headman (gāmaṇī), his beautiful daughter (gāmaṇīdhūā), the huntsman (vāha), his seductive wife (vāhavahū), the farmer (halia), the woman who makes garlands (mālārī), the (female) cowherd (govī) and others. Nevertheless it would be an error to suppose that because the background and the themes are of village life the poetry is of a rural nature. These poems, the majority of which are about love, are by no means simple and unconventional; on the contrary, they are frequently examples of exceedingly sophisticated verbal art: they follow set patterns, obey strict literary rules which are the product of a long period of development, and show a sure sense of taste. Moreover, like all kāvya, they were written by poets (in some cases by court poets and even princes) whose audiences were not the broad mass of people but an educated, mainly urban, often aristocratic public. Significantly, many stanzas are put into the mouth of the nāgara (or nāgaraka), that is to say the artistically minded, spoilt, town-dwelling dandy[71], or deal with a cultured urban style of life.

A few stanzas contain sententious utterances and generalizations about the wrongs of the world, good and evil people, death, etc., or descriptions of nature, but the erotic sentiment (śṛṅgārarasa) in many different situations and aspects and in continually changing scenes is by far the commonest theme. In these scenes the same limited circle of personae constantly appear in the manner typical of muktaka.[72] The main parts are played by the beloved (nāyikā), the lover (nāyaka), the female messenger (dūtī) and the beloved's girl-friend (sakhī). The most important of these is, however, the nāyikā, who can appear in any of several female roles: she is generally the wife of another man (parakīyā), a visitor to the lover (abhisārikā), a hetaera (gaṇikā), a newly-married woman (navoḍhā), a sulky woman (māninī), someone experienced in love (prauḍhā), etc., but she may also appear as the lover's own wife (svakīyā). The poems collected in the Sattasaī also make conscious use of the two forms of love: sambhogaśṛṅgāra and vipralambhaśṛṅgāra, happy and unhappy love respectively.

Poetic figures (alaṃkāra) do appear in Hāla, but decoration seems to be of less importance than connotations which, superimposed either on part of the text or on the whole poem, render the denotative sense totally unimportant. Quite a few stanzas are incomprehensible until the secondary meaning, the dhvani, has been unravelled and grasped. The numerous commentaries on Hāla may be of assistance

[70] See, however, A.B. KEITH, *loc. cit.*

[71] Cf. p. 42 above.

[72] Cf. p. 72 above. In the oldest stanzas in Hāla the number of different types of *nāyikā* and *nāyaka* certainly seems to be limited. It is not until the time of Kālidāsa and later that they become really numerous and can be divided into various classes.

here, although their interpretations are by no means unanimous; indeed, they are sometimes exceedingly forced and far-fetched. This way of composing a text, so that it has to be decoded in order to become comprehensible, which is typical of muktaka in particular, is almost completely lacking in bardic-rhapsodic poetry and is only used sparingly in isolated gāthās in the Thera- and Therīgāthās. Dhvani seems often to have been used by Prākrit poets, who either developed the technique of the unexpressed themselves or borrowed it from classical poetry in Tamil.[73] Even though the term dhvani was only introduced into the Sanskrit critical vocabulary by Ānandavardhana in the second half of the 9th century, it is a significant fact that he and later critics like to illustrate their theories of dhvani and rasa with stanzas from Hāla.

A considerable number of the stereotyped phrases and similes that we constantly meet in kāvya are already well-established in Hāla: the beloved's face is compared to the moon or a pink lotus flower (kamala), her tresses to a peacock's tail, her eyes to the blue night lotus (kuvalaya), her breasts to well-filled pitchers, her delicate hands to twigs. Firmly rooted in poetic language are frequent references to the slimness of a woman's waist; the firmness of her breasts; the sweetness of her breath, which attracts bees; the wounds of love on her lips, cheeks and other parts of her body inflicted on her by her lover during their love-games; or, also significant, the three folds of flesh round the navel of a beautiful woman are compared to a flight of steps. Some words and compounds are deliberately used in an ambiguous manner; paohara (Skt. payodhara) in V, 578 means both "clouds" and "breasts"[74] and goraa in I, 89 both "cowdust" (Skt. gorajas) and "pride" (Skt. gaurava).

Let us take a few examples from the Sattasaī:

gharinīa mahāṇasakammalaggamasimaïlieṇa hattheṇa /
chittaṃ muhaṃ hasijjaï caṃdāvatthaṃ gaaṃ païṇā // (I, 14)[75]

"The husband laughs at the face of the mistress of the house as her hand, dirtied with kitchen soot, goes (to her face); (it) resembles the moon (with a stain on the moon)."

In this poem the beloved is the man's own wife. Her face is as beautiful as the moon, but it lacks the thing that will make its beauty perfect: the stain on the moon. The loving husband is therefore filled with delight when suddenly his wife unwittingly smudges her face with soot: her face now surpasses the moon in beauty.

aha sarasadaṃtamaṃḍalakavolapaḍimāgao maacchīe /
aṃtosiṃdūriasaṃkhavattakaraṇiṃ vahaï caṃdo // (III, 300)

"This moon, which is reflected on the gazelle-eyed one's cheek with its (still) moist toothmarks, resembles a mussel shell the inside of which is scarlet."

[73] Later Tamil literary criticism has the term *eccavakai,* literally "(various) kinds of remainder", i.e., various deductions from semantic elements which are not directly expressed in the text.

[74] Cf. the example from the *Subh.* on p. 24 above.

[75] The numbering of this and the following quotations is that used by A. Weber.

The lover has given his beloved the kiss known as maṇimālā (the garland of jewels). This kiss has made marks on her cheek which stand out scarlet against the shimmering greyish-white of her love-polished cheek in the light of the moon.

vahalatamāhaarāī ajja paüttho paī gharaṃ suṇṇaṃ /
taha jaggesu saajjia ṇa jahā amhe musijjāmo // (III, 335)

"The night is filled with the deepest darkness. My husband is away, the house is empty. Beware, o neighbour over there, lest (someone) steal from us."

These words, spoken by the wife of another man, a parakīyā, are not intended to be taken at their denotative value but as an invitation to her lover, the neighbour: 'My husband is away and the night is so dark that no one will see you coming and going. My empty house offers the opportunity to make love undisturbed. Do not spend the night sleeping, but keep awake and see that this chance is not wasted, and that we two are not cheated out of the happiness of our love.'

uddhaccho piaï jalaṃ jaha jaha viralaṃgulī ciraṃ pahio
pāvāliā vi taha taha dhāraṃ taṇuaṃ pi taṇuei // (II, 161)

"As the traveller, his eyes turned upwards and his fingers parting from each other, quaffs the water, the (female) guardian of the well lets the flow of water become smaller and smaller."

This short poem makes use of a very popular erotic theme: the first stirrings of love (anurāga). The guardian of the well gives a traveller water to drink, but he is besotted with love when he looks up at the wondrously beautiful maiden and his cupped hands glide apart. The girl is also confused and stirred by love and allows the stream of water to flow slower and slower. The traveller drinks less and less water, but drinks in more and more of the girl's beauty.

There can be no doubt that Hāla's Sattasaī marks one of the highest points of lyrical poetry. It is also an unusually rich source of information on cultural history. The short poems in the anthology give a wealth of detail not only about village life in Hāla's day and later, rice growing, domestic animals, the organization of the village, the relationships of various members of the family to each other, etc. It also contains many allusions to customs and habits, urban life, religion and different forms of cult, personal ornaments and clothing. We can mention here the following interesting details: the sacrifice made to the crows by the proṣitabhartṛkā[76] to ensure the speedy return of the loved one; the custom of washing one's feet before going to bed; the practice of beginning a letter with the auspicious word svasti (good luck, success); the various ways of carrying out punishment on lawbreakers such as hanging thieves from a tree in a burial ground, the impalement of those found guilty of serious crimes; how parades of drummers were arranged at executions, as is clearly shown in Śūdraka's drama Mṛcchakaṭika.

After Hāla muktaka continues to flourish in more or less the same form. An increasing number of short poems are now being written in Sanskrit, but the only

[76] *I.e.*, the beloved (or wife) whose lover (or husband) is away.

innovations worth recording are that it became possible to write muktakas in an ever-greater variety of metres and that numerous poets began to turn their attention to the theories of alaṃkāra, which gradually became firmly established and normative. Embellishment with poetic figures is now used to a far greater extent in short poems than in the earliest stanzas in the Sattasaī. At the same time the endeavour to make stanza and sentence coincide becomes more and more noticeable; where content permits, a muktaka tends to consist of one single artistically constructed sentence.[77]

As the survival of a short poem was entirely dependent on whether it was anthologized or not, the kośas are our main source of classical lyrical poetry apart from quotations in critical works and lyrical stanzas in drama. As we have already remarked, these anthologies either contain poems by a great variety of poets like the Sattasaī or else consist of muktakas by one single poet, often selected and arranged by himself. This is not the place in which to discuss even the most famous collections of different poets, but we must nevertheless mention the two most important Prākrit anthologies after Hāla, both of Jaina origin. They are the anonymous Chappaṇṇayagāhā[78], the "Songs of the Connoisseurs" (or "Songs of the Connoisseur"?)[79], containing mostly didactic poems, sententious generalizations and nineteen stanzas in Apabhraṃśa, and the previously mentioned Vajjālagga by the Śvetāmbara Jaina Jayavallabha[80], compiled somewhere between about 750 and 1340 A.D. It contains mainly erotic poetry in Māhārāṣṭrī, but there are a number of stanzas which are also to be found in the Sattasaī and the Chappaṇṇayagāhā.

Sanskrit anthologies, which contain poems by different authors, are all later than the end of the tenth century A.D. Worth mentioning are Vidyākara's Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa, the "Anthology of Poem-Jewels", second half of the 11th century; Śrīdharadāsa's Saduktikarṇāmṛta (or Sūktikarṇāmṛta), the "Nectar of Beautiful Sayings for the Ear", 1205 A.D.; Jalhaṇa's Subhāṣitamuktāvalī (or °vali), the "Pearly Chain of Beautiful Words", second half of the 13th century; the Śārṅgadharapaddhati, "Śārṅgadhara's Guide (to short poetry)", 1363, and finally, like Śārṅgadhara one of the most important anthologies, Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī (or °vali), the "Chain of Beautiful Sayings", probably 16th century.[81] Like the various versions of Hāla's Sattasaī, all these anthologies contain samples of the work of poets who have lived at different times. For instance the poets that Vidyākara favours most are Bhartṛhari (about 400 A.D.), Bāṇa (about 600–650), Dharmakīrti (about 700), Bhavabhūti (about 725), Acala(siṃha) (about 700–800), Yo-

[77] In this connection see the example from the *Amaruśataka*, p. 70 above.

[78] Ed.: A.N. UPADHYE, Saptaśatīsāra with Bhāvadīpikā of Vema Bhūpāla along with the Chappaṇṇaya-Gāhāo, Kolhapur 1970 (see p. 80 above, note 52. Cf. also C. CAILLAT, Notes de bibliographie jaina et moyen-indienne, JA 260 (1972), p. 430 ff.

[79] Skt. *Ṣaṭprajñagāthāḥ*, which has the same meaning as *Vidagdhagāthāḥ*.

[80] Ed.: M.V. PATWARDHAN, Ahmedabad 1969 (Prakrit Text Society Series 14; with English translation).

[81] For this and the other anthologies as well as for biographical data see L. STERNBACH, Subhāṣita, Gnomic and Didactic Literature, Wiesbaden 1974 (HIL IV, 1).

geśvara (about 800–900), Murāri (about 800–900), Abhinanda (about 850–900), Rājaśekhara (last quarter of the 9th and first quarter of the 10th centuries), Vasukalpa (about 950), Vallaṇa (between 900 and 1100), Manovinoda (900–1100), Vīryamitra (900–1100) and Lakṣmīdhara (about 1000–1050).[82]

As the borderline between poems that were conceived as complete single-stanza works and stanzas that are part of a larger whole has been eroded, and as single stanzas taken from drama and mahākāvya may also be regarded as short poems, a great many of the verses collected in anthologies are in fact excerpts from longer poems and strictly speaking therefore not real muktakas at all. It is thus exceedingly difficult to write a history of short poems in the present state of research. Not only do we lack sufficient information to be able to determine whether some works in the anthologies were composed as single-stanza poems[83]; many of the poems are either anonymous or, where a name is given, are attributed to a poet about whom we frequently know nothing whatsoever.[84] Unfortunately we must therefore abstain from discussing authors who are known to us solely through a few verses preserved in anthologies. Only those poets will be dealt with in the following pages who have incontrovertibly written genuine muktakas or who have produced a separate lyrical œuvre in addition to poems anthologized in works containing verses by other authors. The number of poems to be in an anthology is not laid down, but the lower limit appears to be eight and the upper, seven hundred, which is the maximum in Hāla. Anthologies containing about one hundred stanzas were very popular. Very often the number of stanzas is reflected in the title of the anthology: an aṣṭaka contains eight poems, a pañcāśikā about fifty, a śataka about one hundred and a saptaśatī about seven hundred. Other names of anthologies make use of words such as "wave" (kallola), "billow" (laharī), "river" (taraṅginī), "bouquet of flowers" (mañjarī), "garland" (mālā) or simply "row" (āvalī).

Genuine single-stanza poems were written by Bhartṛhari, whom we can cautiously date to about 400 A.D. His Śatakatraya (or Śatakatrayī), "Three Times One Hundred Stanzas", is divided into the Nītiśataka, the Śṛṅgāraśataka and the Vairāgyaśataka[85], in that order, which, as their titles indicate, deal with the themes of wise living, love and renunciation respectively. It is difficult to determine whether it was the intention of the poet himself to arrange his œuvre under these three headings, but recent research has conclusively shown that by no means all the stanzas in the Śatakatraya were composed by Bhartṛhari. Some stanzas are simply not up to the high standard set by kāvya and also differ sharply in imagery and style from those we believe to be by Bhartṛhari himself. Others are demonstrably taken

[82] See D.H.H. INGALLS, An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry, Vidyādhara's "Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa", Cambridge, Mass. 1965 (HOS 44), p. 32.

[83] The early dramatist Bhāsa is thus represented in anthologies with poems that cannot be found in his plays. We do not know whether they are part of lost works or genuine *muktakas*.

[84] L. STERNBACH, Poésie sanskrite conservée dans les anthologies et les inscriptions, 2 vols., Paris 1980 and 1982 (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Série in-8°, Fascicule 46 and 49) will be important to future research in this field.

from other sources such as Kālidāsa's Abhijñānaśākuntala, Viśākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa, the Tantrākhyāyika and anthologies. The copious manuscript material allows us to differentiate between two main versions, a northern and a southern archetype, which can in their turn each be subdivided into several groups of manuscripts. Although only two hundred stanzas are common to all the versions of the Śatakatraya, there are eight hundred and twenty-five poems in all by Bhartṛhari if we take all the groups of manuscripts into account. The poet was probably a native of the north.

Hardly any of the largely mythical statements about Bhartṛhari are of much use to us. The narrative of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing confuses him with the grammarian Bhartṛhari, who, according to I-tsing, died in 651 A.D. (This Bhartṛhari may have been the author of the Vākyapadīya and a commentary on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya.) The historian Tāranātha would like to see in Bhartṛhari a king of Central India, though he does not go into further detail. Some sources think the poet was a prince whom the Yoga saint Gorakṣanātha had converted to asceticism, others think he was the brother of the legendary King Vikramāditya, while others again identify him either with Bhaṭṭi, one of the most important writers of metrical mahākāvya, or with Bhaṭṭi's son or half-brother, Bhaṭṭi being the Prākrit form of the Sanskrit Bhartṛ. The identification with Bhaṭṭi, who was also a grammarian, would seem to indicate that the poet Bhartṛhari and the grammarian Bhartṛhari were one and the same. However, most of these assumptions are impossible from the chronological point of view alone, since hardly any of the people mentioned in connection with

[85] D.D. KOSAMBI, Śatakatrayādisubhāṣitasaṃgraha: The Epigrams Attributed to Bhartṛhari Including the Three Centuries. For the first time collected and critically edited, etc., Bombay 1948 (SJS 23); D.D. KOSAMBI, Śatakatrayam of Bhartṛhari (The Southern Archetype of the Three Centuries of Epigrams Ascribed to Bhartṛhari). For the first time critically edited, etc., Bombay 1946 (Bharatiya Vidya Series); D.D. KOSAMBI, Bhartṛhari's Śatakatrayam. With the oldest commentary of Jain scholar Dhanasāragaṇi. With principal variants, etc., Bombay 1959 (SJS 29); D.D. KOSAMBI, The Bhartṛhari Śatakatrayam with a ṭīkā of Rāmarṣi, in ĀnSS 27; D.D. KOSAMBI, Subhāṣitatriśatī, Bombay 1957 (NSP); V.L. Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR, Subhāṣita-Triśatī of Bhartrihari. With the commentary of Rāmachandra Budhendra, Bombay 1925[7] (NSP).

A survey of the various versions and questions of authorship are to be found in D.D. KOSAMBI, Some Extant Versions of Bhartṛhari's Śatakas, JBRAS 21 (1945), p. 17 ff. and D.D. KOSAMBI, On the Authorship of the Śatakatrayī, JORM 15 (1945/46), p. 64 ff.

New editions with translations: M.R. KĀLE, The Nīti and Vairāgya Śatakas of Bhartṛhari. Edited with a Com., etc., Delhi-Patna-Varanasi 1971[7]; B. STOLER MILLER, Bhartrihari: Poems. With the transliterated Sanskrit text of the Śatakatrayam, etc., New York 1967.

Literature: J. FILLIOZAT, A propos de la religion de Bhartṛhari, in: Silver Jub. Vol. of the Z.K. Kenkyusyo, Kyoto University, Kyoto 1954; H.R. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR, Bhartṛhari and Diṅnāga, JASBo 26 (1951), p. 147 ff.; P. THIEME, Bhartṛharis Allegorie vom Schicksalswürfelspiel, in: Beiträge zur Indienforschung (= Festschrift E. Waldschmidt), Berlin 1977, p. 511 ff. (Interpretation of one stanza).

Further literature in L. STERNBACH, Subhāṣita. Gnomic and Didactic Literature, Wiesbaden 1974 (HIL IV, 1), p. 51, note 258.

Bhartṛhari can have lived at the same time as he did so far as we can tell. Bhartṛhari's awkward personality fits very well with the vacillation I-tsing describes between a worldly and a religious life: all seven attempts made by the poet to live as a monk in a Buddhist monastery were followed by a return to secular life. The same source maintains that the poet always had a horse waiting for him at the gate of the monastery. Unfortunately the credibility of the story is somewhat impaired by the fact that Bhartṛhari was not a Buddhist: as his poems make abundantly clear, he was a practising Hindu with particular devotion to Śiva, his philosophical inclinations being determined by the Śaiva-Vedānta. It is true that the description of age in Bhartṛhari reveals certain Buddhist traits, but on the other hand those stanzas that deal with the themes of renunciation and the poet's longing for peace are strongly influenced by Śivaism.

Bhartṛhari's personality appears much more clearly in his works than is the case with the majority of classical Indian poets. Individual characteristics are probably most apparent in the Śṛṅgāraśataka, which is worth particular attention since the original order of the stanzas is perhaps best preserved here. Stanzas describing the joys of love and feminine beauty are followed by others that portray almost the reverse and, transcending all sensuality, strike a note of renunciation of the world, transience, the futility of all love and the poet's growing longing for deliverance. Intentionally or not, they form a natural bridge between the Nītiśataka and the Vairāgyaśataka, the dominant theme of which is precisely the rejection of the material world and the endeavour to lead an unengaged, passionless way of life (vairāgya). Here, too, we find some stanzas which are deeply moving because of their power of expression and immediacy. They give us a picture of an artist whose nature is earnest, even tragic. It is characteristic of Bhartṛhari's lyrical poetry, particularly the love poems, that they do not generally contain the usual lyrical scenes or make use of the standard conventions (the nāyikā, dūtī, etc.); neither do they describe merely charming details and situations in the customary manner. The poet's pronounced intellectual leanings are unmistakable; he is less interested in once again describing the forms of love-games and the various constellations of personae who take part in them than in expressing observations – often somewhat bitter – on love per se, on women, sensuality, etc. Although he often uses the special techniques of kāvya when making these reflections, they always reveal a markedly personal touch. All three śatakas are undoubtedly built on qualities to be found in Bhartṛhari himself; they are most noticeable in the Śṛṅgāra- and Vairāgyaśataka, in which personal features are clearest, and least noticeable in the Nītiśataka, which, on account of its subject, must have attracted to itself a number of extraneous non-literary gnomic-didactic verses.

Two poems from the Nītiśataka, one genuine, one spurious, have already been discussed (p. 8f.). Let us look at the following examples from the remaining two Śatakas:

kāminīkāyakāntāre kucaparvatadurgame /
mā saṃcara manaḥpāntha tatrāste smarataskaraḥ // (Śṛṅgāraś. 54)

"If the forest of her hair
Calls you to explore the land,
And her breasts, those mountains fair,
Tempt that mountaineer, your hand –
Stop! before it is too late:
Love, that brigand, lies in wait."[86]

nāmṛtaṃ na viṣaṃ kiṃcid ekāṃ muktvā nitambinīm /
saivāmṛtalatā raktā viraktā viṣavallarī // (Śṛṅgāraś. 44)

"No single plant in this world's garden-plot
Bears such sweet fruit, such bitter fruit as she:
Ambrosial are the apples on her tree
When she's in love, and poison when she's not."[87]

kṣaṇaṃ bālo bhūtvā kṣaṇam api yuvā kāmarasikaḥ
kṣaṇaṃ vittair hīnaḥ kṣaṇam api ca saṃpūrṇavibhavaḥ /
jarājīrṇair aṅgair naṭa iva valīmaṇḍitatanur
naraḥ saṃsārānte viśati yamadhānīyavanikām // (Vairāgyaś. 50)

"For one short act, a child; next act, a boy
In love; then poor; a short act to enjoy
Status and wealth: till in the last act, Man,
Painted with wrinkles, body bent with age,
Ending the comedy which birth began,
Withdraws behind the curtain of life's stage."[88]

mātar medini tāta māruta sakhe tejaḥ subandho jala
bhrātar vyoma nibaddha eṣa bhavatām antyaḥ praṇāmāñjaliḥ /
yuṣmatsaṅgavaśopajātasukṛtasphārasphurannirmala-
jñānāpāstasamastamohamahimā līye parabrahmaṇi // (Vairāgyaś. 100)

"Earth, my own mother; father Air; and Fire,
My friend; and Water, well-beloved cousin;
And Ether, brother mine: to all of you
This is my last farewell. I give you thanks
For all the benefits you have conferred
During my sojourn with you. Now my soul
Has won clear, certain knowledge, and returns
To the great Absolute from whence it came."[89]

The series of one hundred poems of Amaru (or Amarū, Amaruka, Amarūka) which, like a number of other works[90], has no real title of its own but is simply

[86] Free translation by J. BROUGH, Poems from the Sanskrit, Harmondsworth 1968 (Penguin Classics L 198), No. 14.
[87] *Ibid.*, No. 8.
[88] *Ibid.*, No. 257.
[89] *Ibid.*, No. 235.
[90] For example the *Bhaṭṭikāvya.*

known as the Amaruśataka[91], consists exclusively of erotic lyrical poetry. Technique and stylistic peculiarities suggest that Amaru, one of the most celebrated poets after Kālidāsa, lived later than Bhartṛhari. As he is quoted by Ānandavardhana (about the middle of the 9th century) and Vāmana (about 800) 750 A.D. is about the latest we can place him. He probably lived about the middle of the 7th century. Several anthologies contain stanzas from his Śataka, though the ascriptions are sometimes doubtful, only some of the poems quoted being given under his name, the remainder being ascribed to other authors.[92]

Like Bhartṛhari's śatakas, the Amaruśataka is an anthology containing poems that are unmistakably the work of one single person. Some years ago, S.K.De[93] made an attempt to produce a definitive text, well aware of the fact that it is scarcely possible today to differentiate with certainty between genuine and spurious stanzas. There are four main versions of the anthology: a Bengali, a southern Indian, a western Indian and a mixed version. They are of varying length, containing between 96 and 115 stanzas, only about half of which are common to all versions.[94] The poems in these versions are in different metres, although there is a clear preference for the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre. However, it is within the bounds of possibility that all the stanzas in the lost original version were written in the same metre, like Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka and Mayūra's Sūryaśataka, in this case, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. This assumption[95], however, does not seem fully justified as the number of stanzas written in this metre is not anywhere near one hundred; in three of the versions the number is between 54 and 61, in the fourth only 33. The fact that Arjunavarman, the first commentator on the Amaruśataka (the beginning of the 13th century), gives explanations of a total of not less than 102 stanzas also tends to refute the assumption, even though he was writing several hundred years later.

[91] Ed.: in J. HAEBERLIN, KS; in: G. VIDYĀRATNA, Śatakāvalī, Calcutta 1850; PT. DURGĀPRASĀD and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1889 (KM 18), revised by V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR, Bombay 1929 (KM 18); R. SIMON, Kiel 1893; S.K. DE, in: Our Heritage (Calc. Sanskrit College Journ.) 2 (1954), pp. 9–75, 265–315 (with the commentary by Rudramadeva-Kumāra); S.K. DE, ISPP 3 (1961/62), pp. 87–102 (in part); N. RĀMA ĀCĀRYA, Bombay 1954[3] (NSP; with the commentary by Arjunavarmadeva); C.R. DEVADHAR, ABORI 39 (1959), pp. 227–265 and 40 (1960), pp. 16–55 (with the commentary by Kokasambhava). – Literature: R. SIMON, Nachträge zu "Amaruśataka", ZDMG 49 (1895), p. 577 ff.; L. v. SCHROEDER, Reden und Aufsätze, Leipzig 1913, p. 158 ff.; S.N. TADPATRIKAR, A Note on Amaruśataka, ABORI 33 (1952), p. 251 ff.; V.A. RAMASVAMI SASTRI, Jagannātha Paṇḍita, JAU 5,1 (1935), p. 89 ff. and 5,2 (1936), p. 233 ff. (on two different interpretations of two verses from the *Amaruśataka* by Jagannātha and Appayya Dīkṣita, pp. 90–94); O. FRIŠ, The Recensions of the Amaruśataka, AO 19 (1951), p. 125 ff. – Translations: R. RÜCKERT, Die hundert Strophen des Amaru, etc., Hannover 1925; C.R. DEVADHAR, Poona 1959. See also L. SIEGEL, Fires of Love/Waters of Peace: Passion and Renunciation in Indian Culture, Honolulu 1983.

[92] See F.W. THOMAS, Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, a Sanskrit anthology of verses, edited, etc., Calcutta 1912, p. 12 f.

[93] S.K. DE, ISPP 3 (1961/62), p. 87 ff.

[94] In ISPP 3 S.K. DE prints 72 poems, of which 25 are stated to be "doubtful".

[95] Cf. TH. AUFRECHT, ZDMG 27, p. 7 f.

Amaru's fame is reflected in the multitude of commentaries that have sprung up round the Amaruśataka. The southern Indian version has been commented on by Vemabhūpāla, Rāmānandanātha and others, the Bengali version by Ravicandra, the western Indian by Arjunavarman (or Arjunavarmadeva) and Kokasambhava, and the mixed version by Rāmarudra and Rudramadeva. It was clearly Vemabhūpāla who took the greatest pains to put the various kinds of beloved (nāyikā) into different categories.[96] While there are highly imaginative legends about Amaru, as there are about Bhartṛhari, we have in fact no reliable information about his life and work in spite of the fact that he is one of the most important writers of love poetry in Sanskrit kāvya. There is, for instance, the wide-spread story that he had relationships with one hundred women and transmuted the resulting experience into art in his one hundred poems. More interesting is another generally accepted legend according to which Amaru was raised to royal rank: thanks to his powers of yoga, the great master of Advaita-Vedānta, Śaṅkarācārya, once entered his body and, by virtue of this trick, was able to answer certain questions on the science of love asked him by the wife of the Mīmāṃsā-teacher Mandanamiśra.[97] The belief that it was Śaṅkara in King Amaru's body who wrote the one hundred love poems is expressed in a number of manuscript colophons, all giving Śaṅkara, not Amaru, as the author of the Śataka.[98] The commentator Ravicandra gave enough credence to the legend in his Kāmadā to attempt a bold second interpretation of Amaru's erotic stanzas in philosophical and theological terms. In later periods we shall frequently meet similar endeavours to interpret erotic lyrical poetry in Sanskrit in a second, religous, mystical or philosophic sense.

As far as structure, imagery and themes are concerned, Amaru's stanzas are very close to the examples of muktaka poetry found in the Sattasaī. Although much more intimate in character, Amaru's poetry is far more conventional than Bhartṛhari's. He renews the traditional situations and personae in a masterly way, describing both happy and unhappy love (sambhoga- and vipralambhaśṛṅgāra). We find the newly-married woman (navoḍhā), reticent and shy, her eyes downcast because she does not know how to behave to her husband and female friends; the girl who has turned away from her lover after a violent quarrel (kalahāntaritā) although he now speaks gently to her; the sulky girl (māninī); the girl who is bitterly disappointed (vipralabdhā) because her lover has not turned up at their rendez-vous; the wronged woman (khaṇḍitā) who sees her lover approaching but notices that his body and face bear marks of love that has been satisfied by another beauty, a rival; the girl yearningly awaiting her lover (virahotkaṇṭhitā); and, finally, to choose one of the numerous categories of beloveds not yet mentioned, the woman experienced in love (pragalbhā) who, unlike the newly-married woman, conceals her feelings from her lover, gives him hints, uses sugared words to him, signals with her eyebrows, shoots looks at him from the corner of her eye or

[96] See S. LIENHARD, Typen der nāyikā, p. 386 ff.
[97] Cf. H. v. GLASENAPP, Die Philosophie der Inder, Stuttgart 1949, p. 113 f.
[98] See S.N. TADPATRIKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

threatens him with her delicate, twig-like finger. Seen from his point of view, it is quite understandable that several commentators, Vemabhūpāla among them, have sought to establish an exact identification for each of the women (and sometimes men too) Amaru describes. At the same time it cannot be denied that Amaru's lyrical verses, for all their faithfulness to tradition and poetic usage, are real living poems and, for this reason, cannot simply be regarded as docile material for such over-subtle interpretations. The language in which they are written is comparatively uncomplicated, balanced, and free from the pompous use of long compounds and difficult words, while the scenes portrayed reveal great powers of observation and sensitivity. Amaru's Śataka is really a continuation in Sanskrit of the Prākrit tradition of love poetry begun in Hāla's Sattasaī; with the exception of a few interpolated poems by other authors, it is the first anthology of short erotic poems in Sanskrit.

In view of the roots this poetry has in a long tradition and the practice of erotic muktaka poetry, it is quite natural that a number of critics and commentators should have found, no doubt quite correctly, that there are excellent examples of the implied in Amaru's stanzas: the second meaning that it is the task of the reader to discover, as it then supplants the first as the real interpretation of the poem. Significantly enough, Vemabhūpāla, an expert on dhvani, wrote a commentary on the Sattasaī as well as on the Amaruśataka. Some of Amaru's poems are in dialogue form.[99] In addition to the poems already given on pages 70 and 72 we will quote the following three stanzas, the first of which is about a newly-married woman and a scene of happy love (sambhogaśṛṅgāra), the second about a beautiful girl on her way to her lover (abhisārikā), and the third about a solitary traveller (panthin), unhappy love (vipralambhaśṛṅgāra) and separation (viraha) from the beloved:

dampatyor niśi jalpator gṛhaśukenākarṇitaṃ yad vacas
tat prātar gurusaṃnidhau nigadataḥ śrutvaiva tāraṃ vadhūḥ /
karṇālambitapadmarāgaśakalaṃ vinyasya cañcvāḥ puro
vrīḍārtā prakaroti dāḍimaphalavyājena vāgbandhanam // (Amaruś. 16)

"When the pet parrot in the morning starts
To chatter rather much of what he heard
Of last night's talk between the young sweethearts,
The young wife does her best to check the bird,
Embarrassed that the older folk should hear,
And quickly stops his beak, trying to feed
The creature with a ruby from her ear,
Pretending it's a pomegranate seed."[100]

urasi nihitas tāro hāraḥ kṛtā jaghane ghane
kalakalavatī kāñcī pādau raṇanmaṇinūpurau /
priyam abhisarasy evaṃ mugdhe tvam āhataḍiṇḍimā
yadi kim adhikatrāsotkampaṃ diśaḥ samudīkṣase // (Amaruś. 31)

99 Cf. p. 72.
100 Free translation by J. BROUGH, *op. cit.*, No. 144.

"You're off to meet your lover in some haste,
With tinkling necklaces and bangles,
A merry girdle clinking at your waist,
While at each step an anklet jangles.
(You glance around in constant trepidation,
Fearful of coming under observation.)"[101]

dhīraṃ vāridharasya vāri kiratah śrutvā niśīthe dhvaniṃ
dīrghocchvāsam udaśruṇā virahiṇīṃ bālāṃ ciraṃ dhyāyatā /
adhvanyena vimuktakaṇṭham akhilāṃ rātriṃ tathā kranditaṃ
grāmīṇaih punar adhvagasya vasatir grāme niṣiddhā yathā // (Amaruś. 13)

"At night the rain came, and the thunder deep
Rolled in the distance; and he could not sleep,
But tossed and turned, with long and frequent sighs,
And as he listened, tears came to his eyes;
And thinking of his young wife left alone,
He sobbed and wept aloud until the dawn.
And from that time on
The villagers made it a strict rule that no traveller
should be allowed to take a room for the night
in the village."[102]

An anthology of erotic muktakas that is unique of its kind is the Caurasuratapañcāśikā (or Caurapañcāśikā, Caurīsuratapañcāśikā, Corapañcāśat)[103], the "Fifty Stanzas of Secret Love Enjoyment", probably composed by Bilhaṇa, a poet from Kashmir. The theme running through all fifty love poems is beauty and the behaviour of the beloved in love-games and other amorous situations. The poet has put the poems together in an unconstrained manner as well as given them particular charm and apparently linked them together by the device of repeating in each stanza the same nuclear phrase: adyāpi smarāmi (or paśyāmi, anucintayāmi) tām ... "Even now I remember her ..." (or "see her" or "think of her"). The length of the sentence and the length of the stanza coincide in all fifty poems. The metre is the popular Vasantatilakā throughout, consisting of four lines each of fourteen syllables:

101 J. BROUGH, *op. cit.*, No. 37.

102 J. BROUGH, *op. cit.*, No. 92.

103 Ed.: in J. HAEBERLIN, KS; P. von BOHLEN, Berlin 1833 (Central-Indian recension); J. ARIEL, JA 11 (1848), pp. 469–534 (with French translation); W. SOLF, Halle 1886 (Kashmir recension, with German translation); S.N. TADPATRIKAR, Poona 1946, 1966[2] (Northern recension, with English translation); B. STOLER MILLER, New York 1971 (Northern and Western-Southern recension, with English translation). – Translations: J. ARIEL, Paris 1848; W. SOLF, Halle 1886; E. ARNOLD, The Chaurapanchāsika... translated and illustrated, London 1896; E. POWYS MATHERS, Black Marigolds, being a rendering into English of the "Panchasika of Chauras", Oxford 1919; S.N. TADPATRIKAR, Poona 1966[2]; B. STOLER MILLER, New York 1971 (with sixteenth-century illustrations of the text).

adyāpi tāṃ nidhuvanaklamanihsahāṅgīm
āpāṇḍuganḍapatitālakakuntalālim /
pracchannapāpakṛtamantharam āvahantīṃ
kaṇṭhāvasaktamṛdubāhulatāṃ smarāmi //

"Even now I remember her, her limbs being unable to bear the fatigue of our love enjoyment, her profuse hair falling on her pale cheeks, herself trembling on account of the secret sin and her tender arms clinging unto my neck."

adyāpi kopavimukhīkṛtagantukāmā
noktaṃ vacaḥ pratidadāti yadaiva vaktram /
cumbāmi roditi bhṛśaṃ patito 'smi pāde
dāsas tava priyatame bhaja māṃ smarāmi //

"Even now I remember her, when she, turning her face aside in anger and wishing to go away, did not respond to my words, nor offer her face for a kiss; when I kissed her, but she wept bitterly; when I fell at her feet and I said: 'Dearest, I am your slave! Do love me (again)!'"

There are three extant versions of the Caurasuratapañcāśikā, one Central Indian, one Southern Indian and one Kashmiri. While there are only seven stanzas common to all three versions, the Kashmiri and the Southern versions, in which the original anthology is best preserved, have 34 verses in common. In the Southern version, the Caurasuratapañcāśikā is embedded in a longer poem entitled Bilhaṇakāvya or Bilhaṇacarita, the mythical story of which was elaborated in later Sanskrit and Bengali versions. According to this legend the stanzas, written in the first person singular and celebrating secret pleasures of love enjoyed in the past, were recited by the poet on the execution ground, whither he had been taken, condemned for an illicit relationship with a princess. The sentence was not carried out, however, as the king, moved by the poem he had just heard, not only pardoned the poet but even gave him the hand of the princess in marriage. The names given to the king, his daughter and the poet differ greatly from version to version. In one manuscript from Gujarat the girl appears in the form of a Caura[104] princess, whereas in the Bengali variant she is called Vidyā, identified with the great goddess Kālī, and the poet Sundara or Cora(kavi). The title Caurasuratapañcāśikā might therefore be taken to mean "Fifty Stanzas from the Love Enjoyment of a Thief" or "Fifty Stanzas of Love Enjoyment (written) by Caura." A poet named Cora (= Caura), i.e., "Thief", is mentioned in Jayadeva's play Prasannarāghava (about the 13th century).

It is not yet possible to wring enough concrete information out of all this mythical material to be able to state definitely who wrote the Pañcāśikā. There is one important conclusion that we can draw from the fact that so rich a flora of legends has grown up round the Caurasuratapañcāśikā and the Amaruśataka: they have undeniably been two of the best-loved works of classical Sanskrit lyrical poetry. However, the existence of a Kashmiri and a Southern Indian version in which more than two thirds of the texts correspond tends to confirm that Bilhaṇa was in fact the

104 More correct would be Cauḍa, from Skt. Capotkaṭa.

author of those parts of the anthology that are authentic. A short autobiography with which Bilhaṇa prefaced his work Vikramāṅkadevacarita tells us that he was born in the 11th century and came from a learned Brahman family living in Khonamukha in Kashmir. After grammatical and literary studies in his home town he led a somewhat nomadic existence; his search for fame and an established position took him to Mathurā, Kānyakubja (Kanauj), Prayāga (Allahabad), Vārāṇasī (Benares) and other important places. For some time he was court poet to Karṇadeva Trailokyamalla (1064–1094), who was then King of Anhilvad. Finally he arrived in the distant south where he came under the patronage of the Cālukya ruler Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (1076–1127 A.D.) who, too, gave him the post of court poet and the title vidyāpati. Bilhaṇa's literary works were thus most probably written in the second half of the 11th century.

Govardhana (or Govardhanācārya) is closely related to the tradition of erotic muktaka poetry, particularly to Hāla. He flourished as court poet to King Lakṣmaṇasena (1179–1205 A.D.), a ruler of the Sena dynasty from Bengal, and is mentioned together with some of his colleagues[105] by Jayadeva, also poet laureate at Lakṣmaṇasena's court and author of the famous Gītagovinda. Govardhana's attitude to Hāla's Sattasaī is made quite clear by the title he chose for his own collection of short poems: he called it Āryāsaptaśatī, "Fifty (poems) in the Āryā (metre)".[106] In the 51st stanza Govardhana characterizes his poems as Āryā stanzas which "walk on soft feet (or: use soft-sounding words and various styles); touch the hearts of good people (or: can only be understood by connoisseurs); express the beautiful voice (of love) (or: are full of devotedness); the Upaniṣads as an explanation of love, the primordial substance;[107] and are pellucid (or: have the stylistic merit of clarity, prasāda)." The following stanza, No. 52, contains a reference to Hāla and the tradition of short poems in Middle Indian languages; the poet plumes himself on the fact that he is the first to use lyrical language in Sanskrit to create sentiment, which up to then had only been done in Prākrit. We need not pay too much attention to this claim as we have already seen that muktakas had been written in Sanskrit before Govardhana's time, but he is right insofar as we must recognize the Āryāsaptaśatī as being the finest counterpart in Sanskrit to Hāla's Sattasaī. There is no other Sanskrit kāvya that satisfies all the particular requirements of short poetry so completely, not only metrically and thematically, but also from the point of view of configuration and lyrical scenes. Govardhana's great contemporary, Jayadeva, says in his praise that no one can measure up to him in poetic composition, in which the degree of sentiment present is all-important.

105 *Gītag.* I, 4.

106 Ed.: in PT. J. VIDYASAGARA, Kavyasangraha, Calcutta 1888; PT. DURGĀPRASĀD and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1886, 1895[2] (NSP = KM 1); PT. RAMĀKĀNTA TRIPĀṬHĪ, Varanasi 1965 (VBhSG 127). – Literature: R. PISCHEL, Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena, Göttingen 1893; P. K. DASGUPTA, Jayadava and some of his contemporaries, Calcutta 1982.

107 The poet means that whereas the Upaniṣads declare that the *brahman* is the supreme principle, his poetry presents love as the origin of the Cosmos.

The Āryāsaptaśatī is arranged in vrajyās. The stanzas of the introductory chapter (granthārambhavrajyā) first invoke Śiva, Viṣṇu, Caṇḍī, Pārvatī, Lakṣmī, Gaṇeśa and other gods[108], then praise the poets Vālmīki, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Bāṇa and finally give a short account of the author himself. The remaining thirty-three vrajyās constitute Govardhanācārya's work proper. They vary in length and are arranged alphabetically.[109] A brief epilogue concludes the anthology, which consists of 702 stanzas in all.[110] We may safely assume that they were arranged in their present order by the poet himself.

Although we do find stanzas about the philosophy of life (nīti) in Govardhana's work, the greater part of the Āryāsaptaśatī consists of love poetry. It is not always easy reading for, as we saw in the example above, he loves paronomasia and makes frequent use of dhvani in accordance with the tradition of erotic muktaka poetry. Govardhana uses a far more advanced poetic technique than the oldest of the poets in Hāla, from whom he is separated by almost a thousand years. The large number of nāyikā types, the care with which they are portrayed, the wealth of different scenes which are either directly described or revealed to the reader in dialogue form, the profusion of studied details, all show the degree of refinement attained by Sanskrit poetry, which was fully developed long before the 11th century. The poet is master of the most subtle nuances; he makes use of all the different styles that are now generally accepted in kāvya in order to give the appropriate onomatopoetic effect to an object, a feeling etc. by choosing suitable alliterative devices; he does not hesitate to use long compounds in one or both halves of a stanza. Let us look at two examples:

jyotsnāgarbhitasaikatamadhyagataḥ sphurati yāmunaḥ pūraḥ /
dugdhanidhau nāgādhipatāvapatale supta iva kṛṣṇaḥ //

"The waters of the (river) Yamunā sparkle in the middle of the sandbank illuminated by the moon: like the sleeping Kṛṣṇa on his resting place, the snake-god (Śeṣa) in the sea of milk."

According to Ananta Paṇḍita's commentary, these words are addressed to a woman, telling her the place her lover has chosen for their assignation that night. The poet compares the Yamunā, whose waters are blue, to the dark god Kṛṣṇa, the shimmering light of the moon to the ocean of milk and the long white sandbank to the snake-god Śeṣa.[111]

ullasitabhrūdhanuṣā tava pṛthunā locanena rucirāṅgi /
acalā api na mahāntaḥ ke cañcalabhāvam ānītāḥ //

108 The final stanza and other clues indicate that Govardhana was a Viṣṇuite.

109 The *vrajyās* bear the names *akāravrajyā, ākāravrajyā, ikāravrajyā,* etc. The following letters of the Devanāgarī alphabet form chapters: a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, e, k, kh, g, gh, c, ch, j, jh, ḍh, t, d, dh, n, p, b, bh, m, y, r, l, v, ś, ṣ, s, h and kṣ. The order of the poems within each *vrajyā* is arbitrary.

110 In the KM edition and the VBhSG.

111 After each period in the history of the world Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa rests on the snake swimming in the ocean, Śeṣa, whose body is a bed and whose head is a canopy.

"Oh beautiful-limbed one! what great (and otherwise) inflexible men have your large eyes with the shining (or: quivering) arches of your eyebrows caused to tremble."

The commentator says this is spoken by a woman friend (sakhī) in praise of the beloved (nāyikā). The stanza is full of ambiguities. Pṛthu, "great, wide", can also be taken as a reference to the mythical King Pṛthu, the compound ullasitabhrūdhanus to the king's "bow, quivering like an eyebrow" and acalā ... mahāṅtaḥ can also mean "great mountains". If we omit the words tava ... locanena rucirāṅgi we get a second meaning: "What great mountains has Pṛthu caused to tremble with his bow, quivering like an eyebrow!"

The masters of muktaka we have discussed above stand out by reason of their excellence from the other writers of this much loved genre of poetry. As we have already seen, a large part, probably the largest part of muktaka literature is lost to us for ever since it could not easily be handed down to posterity. A relatively small number of outstanding examples by various authors have survived in anthologies, though often mixed up with stanzas of little poetic value.[112] In the following paragraphs we shall mention a selection of less important works, some composed before Bilhaṇa and Govardhana, but will exclude those anthologies which do not meet the requirements of kāvya proper because they are predominantly didactic and (or) gnomic, pure entertainment or philosophical in character. It will be obvious that lyrical works by lesser poets, if they consist of single stanzas, will be presented to us in cyclical form, i.e., as śatakas, pañcāśikās, aṣṭakas. The fact that anthologies frequently have the same or similar titles, for instance Śṛṅgāraśataka, Vairāgyaśataka, Śāntiśataka (which were not necessarily bestowed on them by their authors), need not, however, be taken to mean that they are intended to be imitations of some definite poet such as Bhartṛhari, Amaru or others. The title and contents are more likely to reflect the tendency of muktaka poetry seldom to deal with other fields than love, a practical knowledge of life and, if we turn to short religious poetry, calm renunciation.[113]

The Śṛṅgāratilaka[114], "Brow Decoration of Love", falsely ascribed to Kālidāsa, is by some author whom it is impossible to date with any certainty. It is a short cycle of love poems, 21 in some editions and 31 in others, addressed either to one or to

[112] This mixture of literary and sub-literary material is the result of the aims set by compilers, who wished to include in their anthologies not only *kāvya* in the narrow sense of the word but also samples of other well-formulated metrical sayings (*subhāṣita*). Their works therefore contain a large number of stanzas on politics and other worldly affairs (*nīti*), quotations from books of fables, narrative works or *śāstras*, for example the *kāmaśāstra*.

[113] The three main groups of themes, *śṛṅgāra, nīti* and *vairāgya*, correspond more or less to the three aims of human life (*puruṣārtha*) that were valid in the centuries just before and after the beginning of the Christian era: *kāma*, "love", *artha*, "the acquisition of worldly property", and *dharma*, "life conducted on religious or moral principles".

[114] Ed.: J. GILDEMEISTER, (with the *Meghadūta*) Bonn 1841; in J. HAEBERLIN, KS; V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR, (with the *Ṛtusaṃhāra*) Bombay 1917, 1922[6] (NSP, 31 stanzas); N.R. ĀCĀRYA 'Kāvyatīrtha', Bombay 1952[8] (NSP, 31 stanzas). – Translation: H. FAUCHE, Oeuvres complètes de Kalidasa, vol. 1, Paris 1859. – Cf. also Book Notices, No. 4765, Sanskrit Collection, Śṛṅgāratilaka by Ramakrishna Kavi, AVOI 5,1 (1944), pp. 39 and 66.

several nāyikās. Also attributed to Kālidāsa is the anonymous Śṛṅgārarasāṣṭaka[115], the "Eight Stanzas of Erotic Sentiment" which, as the seventh stanza is to be found in Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava, may be a very small anthology of poems by different authors rather than the work of a single poet.

In the 5th century A.D. at the earliest, probably later, the Buddhist poet Vairocana wrote, in Prākrit, the Rasiapaāsaṇa[116] which, like Bhartṛhari's work, consists of several śatakas. Bhallaṭa, a court poet in the service of the Kashmiri king, Śaṅkaravarman (884–902), wrote a śataka known simply as the Bhallaṭaśataka.[117] The poems are in serveral different metres and deal with the themes of worldly wisdom and experience of life. The fact that quotations from his śataka are to be found in works by Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa and the poet-critic Kṣemendra, all Kashmiris, and that other poems by him are in anthologies shows that he enjoyed a certain measure of fame. His verses are of the type known as anyāpadeśa, which were very popular in later times. Classical poets understand by this term stanzas that delight in expressing thoughts about the world, life and people, giving them covert praise or criticism, not directly, but by eulogizing or censuring other creatures instead (animals, birds, etc.).

Śilhaṇa (or Śihlaṇa, Silhaṇa, Sihlaṇa or even Bilhaṇa, who is not identical with the author of the Caurasuratapañcāśikā) probably also came from Kashmir, which was one of the focal points of Sanskrit poetry and criticism about the end of the first millennium. His Śāntiśataka[118], written in a variety of metres, deals with the themes of peace of mind (śānti), calmness and renunciation. It is unfortunately impossible to arrive at more than an approximate dating for him. He cannot have lived earlier than the 5th century A.D., for 28 stanzas of his are demonstrably borrowings from Bhartṛhari's Vairāgyaśataka. Another stanza has been taken from King Harṣa's drama Nāgānanda. It is equally certain that he did not live later than the beginning of the 12th century, for his Śāntiśataka is included in Śrīdharadāsa's anthology Saduktikarṇāmṛta (1205). Śilhaṇa's renunciation poetry seems to have been quite popular. Other anthologies and a number of critics quote poems by him.

Śambhu, court poet to King Harṣadeva of Kashmir (1089–1101), wrote a śataka called the Anyoktimuktālatā[119], the "Pearl Necklace of Allegories (anyokti)"[120] and, in the somewhat unusual number of 75 stanzas, the Rājendrakarṇapūra[121], the "Earring of the Best of Kings", a eulogy of King Harṣadeva. Strictly speaking, the latter work must be regarded as a multiple-stanza poem[122] as by their

115 Ed.: in J. HAEBERLIN, KS.

116 Ed.: S.P.V. RANGANATHASVAMI ARYAVARAGURU, JASB 6 (1910), p. 167 ff.

117 Ed.: in KM 4, Bombay 1887. Cf. also V. RAGHAVAN, The Bhallaṭaśataka, Annals of the Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara Oriental Institute 1, p. 37 f.

118 Ed.: in M.R.K. KRISHEN BAHADUR, The Neeti Sunkhulun or collection of the Sanskrit slokas of enlightened moonies, etc., with a translation in English, Serampore 1831; in J. HAEBERLIN, KS; in G. VIDYĀRATNA, Śatakāvalī, Calcutta 1850; K. SCHÖNFELD, Leipzig 1910 (with German translation). – Translations: M.R.K. KRISHEN BAHADUR, Serampore 1831; K. SCHÖNFELD, Leipzig 1910 (German).

119 In: KM 2, Bombay 1886.

very nature panegyrics tend to be lengthy and no single-stanza songs of praise exist. Gokula, better-known by his pen-name Utprekṣāvallabha[123], wrote in the 14th century. The poems he composed at the request of a certain King Madanadeva and collected in the Sundarīśataka[124] are erotic and describe feminine beauty, as the title indicates. The princely Dhanada (or Dhanadarāja, Dhanadadeva) is probably the author of a śataka trilogy (Śatakatraya) consisting of a Nīti-, a Śṛṅgāra- and a Vairāgyaśataka[125] completed in 1434. In Ayodhyā, less than a hundred years later (in 1524), Rāmacandra wrote the Rasikarañjana[126], the "Arousing of the Connoisseur's Joy", a śataka in a variety of metres in which the poet makes so much use of paronomasia (śleṣa) that educated readers can interpret it either as a śṛṅgāraśataka or a vairāgyaśataka, i.e., they can read it at will as an erotic or an ascetic work. An earlier work into which a similar double meaning can be read is the famous Jaina poet Somaprabha's Śṛṅgāravairāgyataraṅgiṇī[127], written in 1276. It is the poet's intention that the erotic impression given by a first reading of these 46 skilfully constructed stanzas shall only be temporary and that the lasting value will be found in the deeper, second meaning, which is concerned with renunciation of the world. Appayya Dīkṣita, the famous teacher of Vedānta, composed a Vairāgyaśataka[128] in Āryā stanzas (about 1600). The poet Mādhava, who lived between 1525 and about 1600 A.D., wrote a Saptaśatī[129] consisting of religious and (or) erotic stanzas describing the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Also erotic in character is the śataka called Śṛṅgārakallola[130] by Rāyabhaṭṭa, who became famous as a mahākavi and a Paṇḍit. His poems, composed about the middle of the 16th century or earlier, make use of fifteen different metres and deal with various love situations and types of lovers.

120 "*anyokti,* 'saying something else': a figure in which the real subject of comparison is suggested by explicit description of the object, where, nevertheless, the two compared terms have no common property, but only a mode of action in common. 'Abandoning this pleasant lake with its swans and lotus blooms, you long for the forest pool rough from the flight of herons; yet, friend, you are no swan'. The girl and the swan (as the lover and the lake) share no common property (*guṇa*) in the eyes of the Indian aestheticians, which is only to say that the basis of the comparison is to be sought in a verb, in an action (*kriyā*), rather than in a qualification." (E. GEROW, A Glossary of Indian Figures of Speech, The Hague-Paris 1971). Gerow translates the world *baka* ("heron") as "crane".

121 In: KM 1, Bombay 1886.

122 See p. 104 ff. below.

123 "Lover of the poetic figure *utprekṣā*", i.e., various kinds of attribution of one or more qualities so that indirect comparisons arise.

124 In: KM 9, Bombay 1893.

125 In: KM 13, Bombay 1903.

126 In: KM 4, Bombay 1887; R. SCHMIDT, Śrī-rāmacandra-kṛtaṃ rasikarañjanam (Rāmacandra's Ergötzen der Kenner). Sanskrit und Deutsch, etc., Stuttgart 1896 (edition of fifty copies only, privately circulated).

127 In: KM 5, Bombay 1888; Translation in: R. SCHMIDT, Liebe und Ehe in Indien, p. 36 ff. See also V. DEVASTHALI, Somaprabhācārya-viracita-śṛṅgāra-vairāgya-taraṅgiṇī, Oriental Thought 5, 1, Nasik.

128 In KM 1, Bombay 1886.

129 K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, Saptasati of Madhava, TSML 6 (1948), p. 7 ff.

130 N.A. GORE, Śṛṅgārakallola of Rāyabhaṭṭa, edited, etc., ABORI 27 (1945), p. 345 ff.

Lyrical poetry was written by the renowned musician Somanātha, best known as the author of the Rāgavibodha, a work on the theory of music and an authoritative handbook on Karnatak musical tradition. We cannot be certain how many lyrical works he wrote but he is definitely the author of an Anyoktimuktāvali, a Vairāgyaśata(ka) and, on the borderline between poetry and the theory of poetry, a Jātimālā.[131] Somanātha came from a learned Śivaite family in Andhra Pradesh and, as his Rāgavibodha is dated 1609, was probably active during the last quarter of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th. His Jātimālā is worth particular attention. As the ambiguous title indicates, it is a "Row of Jātis". The poet wishes to present examples not only of svabhāvokti, the figure which tells the nature of a thing, also called jāti, but various types of nāyikā (jāti here having the sense "class", "sort"). The collection, which consists of fifty-three poems, is really a pañcāśikā. To take just a few examples, stanzas 4–8 describe the inexperienced, shy beloved (mugdhā), 10–14 the woman with some experience (madhyamā) and stanzas 15–18 the passionate, experienced woman (pragalbhā). Stanzas 47–49, on the other hand, contain descriptions of the khaṇḍitā, the kalahāntaritā and the vipralabdhā.[132] Apart from the first poem, which is in Āryā metre, all the poems are in Pṛthvī metre.[133] The Śṛṅgāradarpaṇa is a similar collection of muktakas, the work of the Jaina poet Padmasundara whose patron was the Mogul Emperor Akbar (1605–1627). In four sections called ullāsas it portrays happy and unhappy love and various categories of lovers. A much older collection is the Kāmasamūha[134], 1457, by Ananta, a Nāgara Brahman. It is a volume of erotic poems influenced, as is frequently the case, much more by the science of love (kāmaśāstra) than by poetic theory.

The contents of the Bhāminīvilāsa[135], "The Sport of (the Beautiful) Bhāminī" or "The Sport of the Beautiful Lady", are mixed. The author is the poet and famous

131 See V. RAGHAVAN, The non-musical works of some leading music writers, Journal of the Music Academy, 20 (1949), p. 152 ff.; P.K. GODE, Poetical works of Somanātha Sakalakala of Yamalagrāma – before A.D. 1750, JUG 4 (1953), p. 365 ff.; P.K. GODE, The Poetical Works of Somanātha, the author of the Rāgavibodha, The Journal of Prācyavāṇi 11 (Calcutta 1954), p. 22 ff.; N.A. GORE, The Jātimālā of Somanātha, edited, etc., JASBo 30 (1955), pp. 38 ff. and 87 ff.

132 See pp. 72 and 93 above.

133 A concealed hint that this is so is given by the use of the word *āryā* at the beginning of the first poem and the word *pṛthvī* in the third *pāda* of the second poem.

134 P.K. GODE, The Kāmasamūha of Ananta, a Nāgara Brahmin, composed in A.D. 1457, JORM 14,1 (1940), p. 74 ff. (= Studies in Indian Literary History I, Bombay 1953, p. 494 ff.).

135 Ed.: P.A. BOHLEN, Ritusanhāra, etc., Leipzig 1840 (contains the *karuṇa* part of the *Bhāminīvilāsa* also); PT.J.N. TARKARATNA, Calcutta 1862; T. Tarkavachaspati, Calcutta 1872; L.R. VAIDYA, Bombay 1887; K.P. PARAB and M.R. TELANG, Bombay 1894 (NSP). Text with translation: V. HENRY, Trente stances du Bhāminī-vilāsa accompagnées de fragments du commentaire inédit de Maṇirāma. Publiés et traduits, Paris 1885; SESHADRI IYAR, Bhamniwilas of Jagannath Pandit... text with commentary in Sanskrit, translation, etc., Bombay (no date); A. BERGAIGNE, Le Bhāminīvilāsa...du Pandit Djagannātha. Texte sanscrit...avec une traduction, etc., Paris 1872. – Literature in L. STERNBACH, Subhāṣita, Gnomic and Didactic Literature, Wiesbaden 1974 (HIL IV, 1), p. 1 ff.

critic Jagannātha (Paṇḍita), also renowned as the writer of the Rasagaṅgādhara, a work on poetic theory. The Bhāminīvilāsa, written in the second or third quarter of the 17th century, is a work of elegance and imagination; it is, however, as with most works in the short-poem genre, impossible to say with certainty how much of the text is Jagannātha's since the number of stanzas varies greatly from manuscript to manuscript. There are four chapters (vilāsa), the first of which (anyoktivilāsa) is devoted to allegorical stanzas (anyokti) concerning life (100 to 130 stanzas, depending on the manuscript). The second chapter (śṛṅgāravilāsa) contains erotic poems (101 to 184 stanzas), the third (karuṇavilāsa), elegies on the death of Bhāminī and the last (śāntavilāsa), poems of renunciation (31 to 46 stanzas). As we can see, the poems have been arranged in the manner typical of muktaka poetry: into the three categories nīti, śṛṅgāra and vairāgya (śānti), in this case with the addition of a fourth group written in a mournful sentiment (karuṇa = sympathy, lamentation, sorrow). At the beginning of the 17th century the southern Indian Śivaite poet Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita composed an Anyāpadeśaśataka[136], a Vairāgyaśataka (also called Āryāśataka)[137] in Āryā metre and a Śāntivilāsa[138] of fifty-one stanzas in Mandākrāntā metre, the last of which is a description of the ageing poet's search for peace of mind as death approaches.

The poems of Janārdanabhaṭṭi (or Janārdana Gosvāmin) and Narahari are worth mentioning. Both wrote Śṛṅgāraśatakas[139] and Janārdana composed a Vairāgyaśataka[140] as well. They cannot, however, be dated with any certainty. Viśveśvara from Almora, one of the last authors to write an Āryāsaptaśatī[141], lived at the beginning of the 18th century. To the same century belongs Kṛṣṇarāja Dīkṣita, the author of the Śṛṅgārakalikātriśatī[142], a śataka trilogy arranged according to the initial letter of each stanza. Of uncertain date and by unknown authors are two small collections of poetry called Pūrvacātakāṣṭaka and Uttaracātakāṣṭaka[143], or simply Cātakāṣṭaka. Both are about the cātaka-bird which, according to folk tales, never drinks earthly water, but nourishes itself only on raindrops from the clouds. This remarkable bird, which always flies very high, will often be found in kāvya.[144]

136 Text and translation in P.-S. FILLIOZAT, Oeuvres poétiques de Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, I, Pondichéry 1967 (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 36), pp. 47 ff and (for further references) 354.

137 *Ibid.*, pp. 231 and (for further references) 357.

138 *Ibid.*, pp. 193 and (for further references) 357.

139 In KM 11, Bombay 1895 and KM 12, Bombay 1897, respectively.

140 In KM 13, Bombay 1903.

141 V.P. BHANDARI of Nepal, Āryāsaptaśatī by Parvatiya Sri Visvesvara Pandit with a commentary by the author, Benares (Cowkhamba) 1925. – A. NĀHAṬA gives information on other authors of (*Āryā*)*saptaśatīs* in Saṃskṛt kī saptaśatī saptak, PJ 4, 1 (1966), p. 172 and Saptasindhu 13, 2 (Patiala 1966), p. 1 ff.

142 In KM 14, Bombay 1938[2].

143 Both in J. HAEBERLIN, KS.

Translations: H. EWALD, ZDMG 4 (1842), p. 366 ff. (German); A. HOEFER, Indische Gedichte II, p. 161 ff. (German); (E.B.) Cowell, The Cātaka, JRAS 1891, p. 599 ff.

144 S. STASIAK, Le Cātaka (Etude comparative), RO 2 (1919–24), p. 33 ff. gives a valuable list of the stanzas that describe or mention the Cātaka.

The poems describe either the bird itself or the noble, lofty-minded man whose model is the cātaka.

It should not be forgotten that the majority of the stanzas woven into classical drama must be regarded as muktakas from the poetic point of view. Their relationship to the dramatic action of the play is usually very slight, and they are really lyrical poetry of the minor form which, although incorporated into a longer form of poem, should be interpreted not by the criteria applicable to drama but by those appropriate to poetry (alaṃkāraśāstra). Numerous stanzas in mahākāvya, too, can easily serve as independent single-stanza poems since, as we have seen, the definition of the term muktaka must be related to the detachability of a stanza from the main body of the poem: note that Indian critics do not illustrate their theories only with stanzas taken from writers like Hāla and Amaru, who are lyrical poets in the strict sense of the word, but also with stanzas from dramas and mahākāvyas.

4. Multiple-Stanza Poems. Introduction

In between the shortest and the long poems in classical metric poetry, i.e., between muktaka and mahākāvya, comes the multiple-stanza poem, which in principle is limited to the shorter forms known as the series of stanzas (saṃghāta) and khaṇḍakāvya.[145] We will deal with all these intermediary forms together in the following pages as in practice poets do not appear to differentiate so strictly between the two main genres. The few critics who give definitions of this intermediary field are vague and their accounts do not tally.

We came to the conclusion in an earlier chapter[146] that a saṃghāta can be defined as a poem built up in stanzas, using one metre only and dealing with a single theme. On the other hand we found that a khaṇḍakāvya is a form of short poem with considerably greater freedom in the choice of theme and that the import of its lyrical stanzas is based on a sort of 'story' which, however, generally provides only a framework and background and is not worked out in detail. In theory, yugmakas, sandānitakas, kapālakas and kulakas, consisting of two, three, four and five stanzas respectively, are also multiple-stanza poems, but this is not so in practice. A number of two-stanza and longer sections are to be found in the Thera- and Therī-gāthās in the Pāli canon, but they do not belong to the sort of lyrical short poem favoured. The dominant genre is always the single-stanza poem. Independent yugmakas, sandānitakas, etc., are rare in secular poetry although we frequently find them in mahākāvya[147] and sometimes in saṃghāta and khaṇḍakāvya, too. We can

[145] Cf. the table on p. 47.

[146] P. 66 f.

[147] Māgha's *Śiśup.*, for example, contains all four forms: *yugmakas* (7, 12–13; 14, 63–64; 16, 80–81; 83–84; 19, 43–44; 88–89), *viśeṣakas* (6, 11–13; 17–19; 7, 16–18; 9, 58–60; 80–82; 16, 76–78; 17, 37–39), *kapālakas* (7, 53–56; 12, 67–70; 16, 72–75) and *kulakas* (of 5 stanzas: 7, 7–11; of 6 stanzas: 7, 33–38; of 7 stanzas: 7, 62–68; of 8 stanzas: 2, 14–21; of 9 stanzas: 4, 1–9).

regard the yugmaka as the first expansion of the muktaka, the second stanza being added when the poet required more space for what he had to say (while frequently making the two stanzas fit into one and the same sentence). This development took place at a time when muktaka technique had already been perfected. By replacing the structure of the single-stanza poem with a more complex one the poet was able to create an impression of novelty and also show greater skill. The same applies to structures built up of from five to fifteen stanzas.

In extent, saṃghātas and khaṇḍakāvyas correspond very well to individual anthologies of muktakas. Both genres have between eight and one hundred stanzas as a general rule, whereas a mahākāvya consists of at least two to three hundred stanzas, although in theory there is no upper limit. Here we will call khaṇḍakāvya, saṃghāta and other intermediary forms "multiple-stanza poems" in order to distinguish between them and single-stanza muktaka poetry on one hand and poetry consisting of many stanzas, mahākāvya, on the other. Although this poetry took the form of śatakas, pañcāśikās, aṣṭakas, etc., as did collections of short poetry, there is nevertheless an important difference in that the order of the stanzas seems to be far less arbitrary than it is in muktaka anthologies. There are also clear differences between multiple-stanza poetry and the poetry of the major form; several characteristic features of mahākāvya, apart from its greater length, are not normally to be found in the former. They are the division into chapters (sarga), the changes in metre, especially at the end of a chapter and, even more important, the alternation between rhetorical and descriptive passages. Multiple-stanza poetry is predominantly descriptive; it is probably a pre-stage of kāvya, as, like two- to five-stanza poems, it is a development of muktaka. There can be little doubt that the process began with the simple multiplication of independent single stanzas into longer formations. The only limiting factor on the proliferation of the number of stanzas seems to have been the stipulation that they should all either be on the same theme (saṃghāta) or on the series of themes (khaṇḍakāvya) necessary to provide a background story. In both cases, but particularly in khaṇḍakāvya, the influence of mahākāvya is clearly noticeable.

We find series of poems dealing with the same theme such as summer, the abandoned beloved, etc., both in anthologies arranged in vrajyās and in collections of muktakas by one poet. We know too little today to be able to say to what extent these collections were arranged on definite principles, but most multiple-stanza poems, at any rate, reveal fairly clear attempts by the poet to ensure that there was some sort of connection in content between the successive stanzas. "This linking-process, as this artistic device may be called for lack of an Indian term, frees the single stanza from the isolation we are accustomed to consider as one of the characteristics of Old Indian poetry by connecting it to its sister. It is just as obvious to the trained ear as anuprāsa[148] or yamaka[149], both of which, it should be noted,

148 Alliteration.

149 The repetition in one stanza of part of the verse whose identical sounds do not have the same meaning as they did the first time they occurred in the stanza.

can only occur in one and the same stanza."[150] The opening stanzas of the anonymous Ṛtusaṃhāra, for example, are linked to each other in the following fashion:

stanza 1 to 2	by °kṣata° (1[151], 2),
stanza 2 to 3	by śucau (2, 3),
stanza 3 to 4	by kāminaḥ (3), kāmināṃ (4) and by (su)vāsitam (3), °vāsitaiḥ (4),
stanzas 4 and 5 to 6	by nitamba° (4), nitambinīnāṃ (5), nitamba° (6).

Similarly, in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta each stanza is linked either to the next stanza or to the next but one:

stanza 2 to 3	by megham (2), megha° (3), and by °āśliṣṭa° (2), °āśleṣa° (3),
stanza 3 to 4	by °vṛtti (3), °vṛttim (4),
stanza 4 to 6	by °arthī (4), °arthi(tvam) (6).

As far as content is concerned, there is only partial agreement between multiple-stanza poetry and muktaka. This can be explained, at least in part, by the fact that the former developed later and was easily influenced by other forms of poetry. Although religious poems are occasionally to be found, single-stanza poetry is almost entirely secular, whereas multiple-stanza can mostly be divided into two categories: secular and religious. These sometimes overlap, it is true, as we have already seen when we dealt with muktaka, where some poems can be interpreted in either a religious or a secular sense. The predominant themes in the secular category are eroticism, the seasons, nature and the countryside. By using the customary poetic devices and linking stanza to stanza, the imagination and the powers of imagination of the poets again and again enabled them to discover new attractions and hitherto unconsidered aspects in these well-worn themes and to fit them into new contexts. Significantly enough, one field that has not established itself in multiple-stanza poetry is that of worldly wisdom and experience of life, whose tendency towards epigrammatic brevity has always made the short poem, subhāṣita, the most suitable vessel for its expression. On the other hand two related genres of poetry are not represented in muktaka: the secular panegyric in praise of a ruler, generally the poet's patron, and its religious counterpart, the stotra in praise of some godhead. Both require a larger frame than short poetry can provide.

It is not always easy to draw a hard and fast line between single- and multiple-stanza poetry. Whereas purely external criteria such as length and arrangement distinguish intermediate forms clearly from mahākāvya, they put khaṇḍakāvya and saṃghāta into the same category as muktaka anthologies. Judged purely by form, a series of stanzas, irrespective of theme, may appear as a collection of muktakas or as a multiple-stanza poem. The main difference between the two genres lies in the

[150] W. SCHUBRING, Jinasena, Mallinātha, Kālidāsa, ZDMG 105 (1955), p. 331 ff.
[151] A variant is *kṣama*.

manner in which the stanzas are linked together. If the poems have simply been anthologized without any special regard to the surrounding verses we may reasonably speak of muktaka poetry. If, however, conscious efforts have clearly been made to arrange them in some definite order, it would be proper to call it multiple-stanza poetry. There are a great many borderline cases. A typical example is Bilhaṇa's Caurasuratapañcāśikā, which, in view of its background story[152], could easily be classed as a khaṇḍakāvya. It would perhaps be more correct, however, to regard it as muktaka poetry as it is by no means certain that all the stanzas are addressed to the same nāyikā.

Regarding the two categories of multiple-stanza poetry, saṃghāta and khaṇḍakāvya, it should finally be mentioned that the latter, "little poetry", which in certain respects is mahākāvya in miniature, can never form part of a longer work, whereas saṃghāta was constantly incorporated in longer poems, even at an early date. Many descriptive passages in mahākāvyas are in reality typical saṃghātas adapted in part to the major form: the whole passage is on the same theme, describing, with the exception of the first introductory stanza(s), a military expedition, a city, a mountain, a sunrise or sunset, the rising or setting of the moon, the pleasures of the monarch bathing together with the ladies of the court, etc. Furthermore, except for the concluding stanzas, they are generally all in the same metre.

5. Multiple-Stanza Poetry

a) Secular Lyrical Poetry

As is the case with muktaka literature, a large part of the secular multiple-stanza poetry in Sanskrit and Middle Indian languages is lost to us. If we do not take into account panegyrics to princes, some splendid examples of which are preserved in inscriptions, two themes in particular are preferred: love, which poets like to illustrate by describing its various phases and the behaviour and gestures of young women, and the seasons. The latter, which often have an erotic strain, present us with a wealth of subtle descriptions of nature and may contain elements taken over from Indian folksongs.

Although descriptions of some seasons, early winter for instance, have been woven into most mahākāvyas ever since the Rāmāyaṇa, there are, strangely enough, no descriptions of a single season as a genre of their own. Those multiple-stanza poems which are not parts of longer works delight in ṣaḍṛtuvarṇana, i.e., the description of all the six seasons in the Indian year. There is no reason why there should not be poems in praise of one single season, at any rate by some early writer of kāvya, yet no such poem has come down to us. Relatively simple prototypes

152 See p. 95 f. above.

must lie behind the Ṛtusaṃhāra[153], the "Circle of the Seasons", which, although it has a complex structure and has been influenced by the techniques of mahākāvya, can hardly be considered as one of Kālidāsa's youthful works as has frequently been done. The Ṛtusaṃhāra is almost certainly the work of some poet whose name has not come down to us and was probably written sometime between Aśvaghoṣa (about 100 A.D.) and Kālidāsa (4th to 5th century). Critics indirectly confirm that Kālidāsa can hardly be the author, as excerpts from this short poem are never quoted by them. An indication that the poem might have been written before the middle of the 5th century is the fact that the poet Vatsabhaṭṭi imitates two stanzas and some expressions from the Ṛtusaṃhāra in his Mandasore inscription (473 A.D.). Four stanzas are also quoted in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali; two[154] of them are ascribed to Kālidāsa ("by Kālidāsa"), while the other two are unsigned.[155]

The Ṛtusaṃhāra is not all of one piece but falls into six clearly defined sections in praise of summer (grīṣma), the monsoon season (varṣa), autumn (śarad), early winter (hemanta), winter (śiśira) and spring (vasanta) respectively. This does not agree at all with the usual poetic practice in ṣaḍṛtuvarṇana, in which the cycle generally begins with spring. However, it may have been the unknown poet's intention to allow the poem to finish in a particularly happy atmosphere by placing spring last, as this is the most festive season in the Indian year. A great deal of artistic care was devoted to the construction of the sixteen to twenty-eight stanzas in each section[156]: while the same metre has been used in the first ten to twenty stanzas in each section, the remainder are written in one or several different metres, in accordance with the

[153] Ed.: W. JONES, Calcutta 1792, facsimile reprint by H. KREYENBORG, Hannover 1924; P. v. BOHLEN, Leipzig 1840 (with metrical translation into German); C.S. SITARAM AYYAR, Bombay 1897 (with English translation); V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR, Bombay 1922[6] (NSP); N. RĀMA ĀCĀRYA 'KĀVYATĪRTHA', Bombay 1952[8] (NSP); A. SCHARPÉ, Kālidāsa-Lexicon, III, Brugge 1958; M.R. KĀLE, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1967 (with English translation). – Literature: F. KIELHORN, Die Mandasor-Inschrift vom Mālava-Jahre 529 (= 472 n. Chr.) und Kālidāsas Ṛitusaṃhāra, NGWG 1890, p. 251 ff.; R.B. KULSHRESHTHA, Source of Kālidāsa's Ṛtu-Saṃhāra, JGJh 22 (1965/66), p. 97 ff.; R.B. KULSHRESHTHA, Return to Kālidāsa's Ṛtu-Saṃhāra, JGJh 25 (1969), p. 411 ff.; K.R PISHAROTI, Kālidāsa's treatment of nature in Ṛtusaṃhāra, IHQ 24 (1948), p. 134 ff.; M.M. SHARMA, Some observations on the Authorship of Ṛtusaṃhāra, JUG 14 (1963), p. 21 ff. (regards, as do others, the *Ṛtus.* as being by Kālidāsa). See also L. RENOU, Sanskrit et culture, Paris 1950, p. 145 ff.: Un thème littéraire en sanskrit: les saisons (in particular p. 145). – Translations: P. v. BOHLEN, Leipzig 1840; H. FAUCHE, Oeuvres complètes de Kalidasa, II, Paris 1860; A.W. RYDER, Kalidasa. Translations of Shakuntala and other works, London-New York 1912, reprinted 1920, 1928; H. KREYENBORG, Der Kreislauf der Jahreszeiten, Leipzig 1919; E. POWYS MATHERS, A Circle of the Seasons, Waltham Saint Lawrence, Berkshire 1929; M.R. KĀLE, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1967; M. NANDY, The Ritusamhara of Kalidasa, Calcutta 1970.

[154] *Subh.* 1674 = *Ṛtus.* 6, 17 and *Subh.* 1678 = *Ṛtus.* 6, 19.

[155] Although the *Ṛtusaṃhāra* is easily understood and hardly needs a commentary, the fact that Mallinātha, who wrote commentaries to Kālidāsa's three lyrical (epic) works (*Meghadūta, Kumārasambhava* and *Raghuvaṃśa*), did not write one on the *Ṛtusaṃhāra* supports the contention that Kālidāsa was not the author.

[156] Cantos I, II and VI have 28 stanzas, Canto III has 26, Canto IV 18 and Canto V 16.

conventions of mahākāvya. One peculiarity of the Ṛtusaṃhāra is that the final stanza in each section is in Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, whereas it is common practice in mahākāvya (and drama) for the final stanza to express a hope of blessing. The initial stanza in each section announces which season is to be described ("Now, oh beloved, summer, winter, etc. has come").[157] We should notice that similar, highly formalized statements also preface the descriptions of winter and the rainy season in Rām. III, 16[158] and IV, 28.[159] It is conceivable that these descriptions in the Rāmāyaṇa were originally separate poems which were later incorporated into the epic, or that their authors were inspired by similar, independent poems. We can be certain, however, that the Ṛtusaṃhāra, although the oldest preserved example of this genre, was preceded by a long period of development and has a long tradition behind it. It seems that the title Ṛtusaṃhāra was first bestowed on the work by Maṇirāma, the author of the commentary Candrikā. An older, Jaina commentator by the name of Amarakīrti[160] calls the cycle Viśeṣakāvya, "poetry about the characteristics (of the different seasons)", or simply Ṛtuvarṇanakāvya, "poetry describing the seasons".

The author of the Ṛtusaṃhāra was undoubtedly a considerable poet. The charm of his verses lies in the clarity of expression and the elegant, easy-flowing rhythm, so seldom achieved in Sanskrit poetry, as well as in the fine details of his imagery and the happy mixture of accord with nature and sensitivity in love he created without departing from the poetic conventions of his day. The excellence of the Ṛtusaṃhāra may explain why no other early poems about the cycle of the seasons have survived. It is not until the middle of the 16th century that another poem on the same theme appears: Durlabha's Ṛtuvarṇana[161], which, however, begins with autumn and ends with the rainy season. Two other works, both entitled Ṣaḍṛtuvarṇana, come even later. One was written by Vararāja (mid 17th century), who came from a learned artistic family where both his father and grandfather had been authors. The other was by Viśveśvara from Almora, whom we have already met.[162] He was a versatile and prolific writer, the author of numerous other poems (lyrical, dramatic and in prose), two commentaries and a theoretical work on poetry (beginning of the 18th

[157] Canto I: *nidāghakālo 'yam upāgataḥ priye,* "Now, oh beloved, summer has come!"; II: *samāgato ... ghanāgamaḥ ... priye,* "The rainy season, oh beloved, has come!"; III: *prāptā śarad ...,* "Autumn has come"; IV: *hemantakālaḥ samupāgato 'yam,* "The early winter has come"; VI: *vasantayoddhā samupāgataḥ priye,* "Now, oh beloved, spring, a warrior, has come". Only V is different: *varoru kālaṃ śiśirāhvayaṃ śṛṇu,* "Hearken (now), oh you with the lovely thighs, to (the description of) winter!".

[158] *ayaṃ sa kālaḥ saṃprāptaḥ priyo yas te,* "Now the time has come that is (so) dear to you".

[159] *ayaṃ sa kālaḥ samprāptaḥ samayo 'dya jalāgamaḥ,* "Now this time has come: it is now the monsoon time".

[160] See C. VOGEL, Amarakīrtis Vyākhyāleśa, ein Jaina-Kommentar zum Ṛtusaṃhāra aus dem Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts, ZDMG, Supplement II (1974), p. 430.

[161] K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, The Ṛtuvarṇana of Durlabha with a commentary edited, etc., BV 33 (1969), p. 305 ff.

[162] See p. 103 above.

century). All the poems dealt with above are saṃghātas according to the definition we have given.

The monsoon season occupies an important place in multiple-stanza erotic poetry. As many trades and agriculture come to a standstill during these months and the heavy rainfall makes travelling unattractive, the season is congenial to indoor life and the pleasures of love. The day the monsoon breaks is the last day on which the beautiful beloved can expect the return of her lover from his long journey. Poets make the most of the opportunities offered by this situation. Fine poetic material is provided by the first clouds in the month of Āṣāḍha accompanied by herons, by the showers, storms, the beauty of lightning and the greenness of fields after rain. Love is of two sorts. It is happy when the lovers are safely united under a thick roof. Sometimes, however the situation is quite different: the girl's lover has not returned by the beginning of the rainy season and she grieves lest her passion be cooled by dreams, chess and other games while the clouds pile up outside and the lightning flashes, or lest, unconsolable, she should slowly pine away on her couch. This unfulfilled, unhappy love as described in the texts of the kāmaśāstra is portrayed more often than happy love. Poets like to dwell on the various phases – interrupted sleep, loss of weight, revulsion from worldly matters leading to mental confusion, fainting fits and even death. We can assume that here, as in so many other cases, early authors were stimulated by folksongs, perhaps sung by women in Apabhraṃśa, telling of the approaching rains and the joys and sorrows of love. It is a striking fact that in Sanskrit and Middle Indian kāvya it is only the rainy season that is the object of such attention; spring and summer, which play an equally important part in secular single-stanza poetry and in some sections of mahākāvya, are of less account in multiple-stanza poetry. However, to make a comparison with another major Indian literature, classical Tamil poetry has a sub-category of prabandha known as vēṉiṉmalai, "Garlands of Summer (Stanzas)". The subject is the hot season, and it is subdivided into two phases: iḷavēṉil, "the young heat", and mutuvēṉil, "the mature heat".[163]

A comparatively early poem on the monsoon season theme which contains a great deal of erotic sentiment is the Ghaṭakarpara(kāvya)[164], the "Poem of the Broken Jug" (or "Poem by Ghaṭakarpara"). Like the Ṛtusaṃhāra, this poem, which has up to twenty-four stanzas[165], is often attributed to Kālidāsa. The poem is otherwise supposed to have been written by Ghaṭakarpara(kavi), whose name, and

163 K.V. Zvelebil, Tamil Literature, p. 219.

164 Ed.: G.M. Dursch, Berlin 1828 (with German translation); in J. Haeberlin, KS; M. Kaul Shastri, Śrīnagar 1945 (Kashmir Sanskrit Series 67, with Abhinavagupta's commentary); B. Parlier, La Ghaṭakarparavivṛti d'Abhinavagupta, Paris 1975 (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne 39; with Abhinavagupta's commentary and translation of original and commentary). – Literature: S.L. Katre, The Ghaṭakarpara problem, Vikrama Vol., Ujjain 1948; S.K. Ramachandra Rao, A forgotten Sanskrit poet, AP 31 (1960), p. 115 ff.; Ch. Vaudeville, A note on the Ghaṭakarpara and the Meghadūta, AIOC 2 (1959), p. 37 ff and JOIB 9 (1959/60), p. 125 ff.

165 The Kashmir version, also commented on by Abhinavagupta, has 21 stanzas.

the title of the work, are traditionally said to be found in the last stanza: the author boldly promises to proffer water in a broken jug (ghaṭa-karpara) to the man who is a greater master of rhyme than he is. Legend makes Ghaṭakarpara a contemporary of Kālidāsa's and one of the poets who were the Nine Jewels at the court of King Vikramāditya. Unfortunately this can no more be proved than the fact that a poet by the name of Ghaṭakarpara ever lived. It may, however, be taken as certain that this little poem cannot be by Kālidāsa, even if it does bear certain resemblances to his Meghadūta. Quite apart from the fact that the Ghaṭakarparakāvya in no way reaches the heights attained by Kālidāsa, it can hardly have been the great master of kāvya's intention to write two poems so close to each other in kind.

The Ghaṭakarpara is presented by Abhinavagupta as a kulaka[166], by which, however, this important critic of classical poetry does not mean the syntactically connected series of from five to fifteen stanzas we have already mentioned.[167] He is referring to a particular category of sung poetry, gītakāvya, which, like all multiple-stanza poetry, deals with a single homogeneous theme, preferably in musical form, i.e., interpreted with the aid of song, dance and instrumental accompaniment. The Ghaṭakarpara is written in five different metres and, as the final stanza shows, the poet was particularly proud of the artistic yamaka rhymes[168] he has placed in the middle and at the end of each stanza. The poem describes the onset of the rainy season and portrays a youthful beauty whose lover, a traveller, has not yet returned. While the first and last stanzas are spoken by the poet himself, the majority of the stanzas (perhaps all of them) are placed in the mouth of the beloved (nāyikā) who, overwhelmed by longing and the pangs of separation, at one moment addresses her confidante, at another the clouds piling up outside (stanzas 2 and 3), her absent lover (stanza 4) or some of the trees normally associated with the monsoon such as the sarja- (stanza 11), the kuṭaja- (stanza 12) or the nīpa-tree (stanza 13). Unfortunately the structure of the poem is very loose and it is not always clear who is speaking. According to Abhinavagupta, who regards the Ghaṭakarpara as being by Kālidāsa and a masterpiece of the implied, the speakers in the various stanzas are not only the poet and the nāyikā, the latter in stanzas 2–5 and 8–14: the speaker in stanzas 6–7 is, in his opinion, the woman (dūtī) who has brought a message to the nāyaka. It is simpler to divide the poem into two parts and consider them. In the first, and longer (stanzas 2–14), we hear the nāyikā's complaint, and in the second (stanzas 15–18), the confidante's reply, whose description of the rainy season gives the reason why the nāyaka has not returned. Closer examination of the text shows that the third quarter of the poem (stanzas 10–14) is a sort of interlude. Judging by the context, these stanzas, together with nos. 2–9, should be spoken by the nāyikā, but the construction of the stanzas leads us to think of the speaker as being a quite definite type of woman: the abandoned beloved, out of her mind with worry (unmattā), wandering aimlessly through the countryside speaking to plants and

166 *Vivṛti* ad *Ghaṭak.* 1.
167 See p. 66 above.
168 See p. 105, note 149.

animals[169] (stanza 10, a description of the ketana-tree, 11–13, address to the sarja-, kuṭaja- and nīpa-trees):

tat sādhu yat tvāṃ sutaruṃ *sasarja*
prajāpatiḥ kāmanivāsa *sarja* /
tvaṃ mañjarībhiḥ pravaro *vanānāṃ*
netrotsavaś cāsi sayau*vanānām*[170] // (11)

"Prajāpati did good to create you, (oh) beautiful tree, oh sarja (-tree), (you) seat of love.[171] With your clusters of blossom you are the most beautiful (of the trees) in the forest, a feast for the eyes of young (women)."

navakadamba śiro 'vanatā*smi te*
vasati vo madanaḥ kusuma*smite* /
kuṭaja kiṃ kusumair ava*hasyate*
praṇipatāmi ca duṣprasa*hasya te* // (12)

"Young kadamba(-tree), I bow down before you. Love[172] dwells in your blossoms. Why, kuṭaja (-tree), do you deride me with your blossoms? Before you, (too, who are) difficult to endure, I bow down."

In Act IV of the drama Vikramorvaśīya we find similar, though artistically more mature stanzas. There, however, they are not spoken by the beloved, but by her distraught lover. The act is highly lyrical and consists mainly of a long monologue spoken by Purūravas who, deeply in love, is searching everywhere for his missing Urvaśī, questions various plants and animals, and thinks he finds traces of his beloved here and there. It seems probable that stanzas 10–14 of the Ghaṭakarpara are an imitation of such descriptions of the half-demented lover, who is almost certainly a type that developed early in Indian poetry, probably under the influence of folksongs. Among other incongruencies in this poem we will only mention that although it is about the monsoon season, stanza 14 not only mentions rain, but also spring (madhunaḥ kāla) and bees seeking honey. These and similar characteristics indicate that the stanzas do not always follow each other naturally; indeed, at times they even give the impression of being an anthology. Did the poet perhaps merely wish to present a skilfully selected series of rhymed love poems about the monsoon? It is also conceivable that some of the stanzas were originally composed as independent muktakas and only later incorporated in the Ghaṭakarpara.

We have intentionally dwelt at some length on the Ghaṭakarparakāvya as most histories of kāvya literature obstinately defend the viewpoint that this little poem is the forerunner of the "messenger poem" (dūtakāvya) or "message poem" (sandeśa-kāvya) which flourished in Sanskrit and other Indian languages. I think we have shown that this theory is untenable. The nāyikā in the Ghaṭakarpara does not address her lamentation to one person alone, but to the monsoon clouds and, as we

169 Abhinavagupta's commentary also visualizes the beloved wandering from tree to tree.
170 The *yamaka* rhymes are underlined.
171 Or: dwelling of the god of love.
172 Or: the god of love.

have seen, also to her confidante, her distant lover and some trees. None of these is entrusted with the task of carrying a message (sandeśa) to her nāyaka, nor are the various stanzas of the Ghaṭakarparakāvya linked to each other by a background story, however insubstantial.

In genuine sandeśakāvya, which belongs to the category khaṇḍakāvya, the following elements are always present: at the beginning of the poem the poet presents two young people, very much in love, who, due to misfortune, a curse (as in the Meghadūta), the abduction of the beloved, etc. undergo a painful separation. In order to ease the pain of exile and to give the other partner news, the lover sends the beloved (or vice versa) a long message, the contents of which are generally given in the poem. The task of delivering the message may be given to almost anything: in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta the messenger is a rain-cloud, in Dhoyī's Pavanadūta the wind, in Udaya's Mayūrasandeśa a peacock, in other dūta poems the moon, a parrot, a cakravāka-duck, a bee, etc. The poem generally falls into two clearly definable parts: the first section (pūrvabhāga), in which the lover or beloved tells the messenger what way he must take (often a long road). The second part contains a description of the arrival of the messenger, the person who receives the message, his (her) dwelling, occupation, etc. and usually a brief summary of the message itself.

The most famous and also the oldest messenger poem extant is Kālidāsa's Meghadūta[173], the poem about the "Cloud as Messenger", which served as a model for countless later dūta poems. However, it is not the work that first introduced this kind of poem into kāvya literature, as many people like to think. There can be no

[173] Ed.: E. HULTZSCH, London 1911 (with the commentary of Vallabhadeva); PT.N.S. KHISTE, Benares 1931 (KSS 88, with three commentaries); R.D. KARMARKAR, Poona 1938 (with English translation); J.B. CHAUDHURI, Calcutta 1951 (K.N. Katju Series 2, with the commentary of Bharatamallika); PT.B. SHANKAR SHASTRI, Banaras 1953 (KSS 88, with four commentaries); A. SCHARPÉ, Kālidāsa-Lexicon, III, Brugge 1958; W.H. MAURER, Sugamānvayā Vṛtti, A late commentary in Jaina Sanskrit on Kālidāsa's Meghadūta by the Jaina Muni Sumativijaya, etc., Poona 1965 (Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series 5), 2 vols.; S.K. DE, Delhi 1970 (2nd revised ed. by V. RAGHAVAN); M.R. KALE, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1974 (with English translation); G.R. NANDARGIKAR, Delhi 1979 (with the commentary of Mallinātha and English translation).

Lit.: H. BECKH, Ein Beitrag zur Textkritik von Kālidāsas 'Meghaduta', Berlin 1907 (diss.); L.D. GREENE, Nature Study in the Sanskrit Poem Meghaduta, IA 59 (1930), p. 114 ff. and 131 ff.; S.K. DE, Some Commentators on the Meghadūta, in: Our Heritage 3, 1 (1955), p. 15 ff.; S.V. SOHONI, Two Peacocks in the Cloud Messenger of Kālidāsa, JBORS 42 (1956), p. 164 ff.; S.K. DE, Some Commentators on the Meghadūta, AORM 13 (1957), p. 49 ff.; B. BHATTACHARYA, A Text-Critical Study of Some Readings of the Meghadūta, in: Our Heritage, 6, 1 (1958), p. 25 ff.; S.K. DE, A Select Bibliography for the textual study of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, S.K. Belvalkar Felic. Vol., Benares 1957; A.N. MOORTHY RAO, A Note on Poetic Imagery in the Meghadūta, P.K. Gode Commemoration Vol., Poona 1960 (Poona Oriental Series 93), p. 121 ff. (III); J.A.B. VAN BUITENEN, The Gajāsurasaṃhāramūrti in Meghadūta 36, BhV 20–21 (1963, Munshi Indol. Felic. Vol.), p. 64 ff.; G.V. DAVANE, Influence of the Meghadūta on Sanskrit Literature, JUB 33 (1964), p. 96 ff.; S.V. SOHONI, Meghadūta: Choice of Route, JBORS 52 (1966), p. 1 ff.; V.V. MIRASHI, Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa, in: Studies in Indology, 4, Varanasi 1966, pp. 42 ff.; A.V. SUBRAMANIAM, A suggested source for Meghasandeśa, Summaries of papers, AIOC (Silver Jubilee Session 1969), p. 65.; B. CHATTERJI, A Note on Alaṃkāra in a Verse of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, JGJh 27 (1971), p.

doubt that dūtakāvya, like other forms of seasonal poetry with deep roots in folksongs, was practised long before Kālidāsa's day, probably in Prākrit. As all older works must have been lost, the first time we meet this genre is in Kālidāsa's lyrical masterpiece. We must assume the messenger poem to be a well-established category of kāvya even before Kālidāsa's time, that it was connected right from the very beginning with descriptions of nature (the journey), of a season and the pangs of love, and that it was the usual practice in the earliest poetry to choose a monsoon cloud as a messenger since the rainy season provides the most productive background from the artistic point of view. The aspect of love described in a messenger poem is not "love in union" (sambhogaśṛṅgāra) but "love in separation" (viraha). It therefore seems hardly likely to think, as the commentator Mallinātha does, that Kālidāsa took the inspiration for his poem from a quite differently structured part of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa when he must have had older examples of dūtakāvya before his eyes. It is true that in the Yuddhakāṇḍa (112 f.) of the Rāmāyaṇa Rāma sends his faithful Hanumat as a messenger to Sītā in distant Ceylon (Laṅkā), whither she has been abducted and is oppressed, not only by sorrow, but most grievously by Rāvaṇa, her abductor and the lord of this island. The parallel is only of a fortuitous nature, however. Only with difficulty can the passage from the Yuddhakāṇḍa be taken as the model upon which Kālidāsa built his own dūta poem[174], although the Meghadūta contains numerous references to Vālmīki. Kālidāsa was certainly not the originator of this specific literary category.

23 ff.; A. SCHARPÉ, Topographica du Meghadūta, Mélanges R. Fohalle, Gembloux 1970, p. 259 ff.

Translations: H.H. WILSON, Megha Dūta or Cloud Messenger. A poem in the Sanskrit language. (Ed. and) transl. into English verse, etc., Varanasi 1973[4] (CSS, Studies 8, reprint of the 2nd. ed., London 1843); M. MÜLLER, Meghadūta, oder Der Wolkenbote. Eine altindische Elegie, Königsberg 1847; L. FRITZE, Meghaduta, das ist der Wolkenbote, Chemnitz 1879; R.H.A. DE POMPIGNAN, Meghadūta (Le nuage messager), Paris 1938; F. and E. EDGERTON, Kalidasa, The Cloud Messenger. Translated etc. A bilingual edition, Ann Arbor 1964; M.R. KALE, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1974; L. NATHAN, Meghadūta: the transport of love, Berkeley 1976 (with Sanskrit text); G.R. NANDARGIKAR, Delhi 1979.

General about Kālidāsa: HARI CHAND ŚĀSTRĪ, Kālidāsa et l'art poétique de l'Inde, Paris 1917; A. HILLEBRANDT, Kālidāsa. Ein Versuch zu seiner literarischen Würdigung, Breslau 1921; 1978; English transl., Calcutta 1971; G.C. JHALA, Kālidāsa. A Study, Bombay 1949; W. RUBEN, Kālidāsa. Die menschliche Bedeutung seiner Werke, Berlin 1956; T.G. MAINKAR, Kālidāsa. His art and thought, Poona 1962; S.A. SABNIS, Kālidāsa. His style and times, Bombay 1966; S.CH. BANERJI, Kālidāsa-Kośa, Varanasi 1968 (CSS 61); M. MISHRA, Metres of Kālidāsa, Delhi 1977; G. VERMA, Humour in Kālidāsa, Delhi-Lucknow 1981; K. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Kālidāsa, New York 1972, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1982. See also S.P. NARANG, Kālidāsa Bibliography, New Delhi 1976 (far from complete) and p. , note 51.

[174] The theme of dispatching a messenger is also to be found in the saga of Nala and Damayantī in the *Mahābhārata* (the dispatch of a goose) and in Jātaka No. 297, the *Kāṃavilāpa-Jātaka* (the dispatch of a crow). Kālidāsa refers to Hanumat's delivery of Rāma's message to Sītā in a simile in *Meghad.* 2, 37.

The history of the genre is unfortunately lost in obscurity, but the earliest message poems, though they have not come down to us, were undoubtedly based on other sources than the epic or rhapsodic.[175] Bringers of news, especially female messengers (dūtī) play an important part in single-stanza love poetry, as we have seen. The beginnings of messenger poetry are certainly to be sought here, and in the enlargement of older lyrical poetry which, judged by length, belonged to the minor form.

We know little about the life and times even of Kālidāsa, the greatest of the Sanskrit poets. Tradition has surrounded him with a forest of fantastic legends, but they contain few details of biographical value.[176] We know with certainty only that Kālidāsa, a Śivaite Brahman, must have lived some considerable time later than Aśvaghoṣa (about 100 A.D.) as his art manifests a polish, balance and artistic maturity that the works of this earlier, Buddhist author foreshadowed but never really attained. It seems most probable that he was born about 400 A.D. in the city of Ujjayinī (the modern Ujjain), a city he describes lovingly in the Meghadūta. Legend makes him a contemporary of King Kumāradāsa (6th century) and also one of the Nine Jewels at the court of King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī. The allusions in Kālidāsa's works to a ruler of the Gupta dynasty could easily be taken to indicate a link between him and Candragupta II (375–413 A.D.) who, like other rulers of this house, bore the title Vikramāditya, "Sun of Victory", and whose capital was Ujjayinī. The inscription at Aihole, dated 634 A.D., whose author mentions the already famous poets Kālidāsa, Subandhu, Bhāravi, Pravarasena and Hāla, proves that he must have lived before this time. We also know that the dramatist Bhavabhūti, whose works can be dated to about 700–730 A.D., has borrowed a considerable number of ideas and wordings from Kālidāsa's poetry.[177] One passage in Mallinātha's commentary on the Meghadūta allows us to date the poet, at any rate in theory: Mallinātha sees in stanza I, 14 an allusion to the great Buddhist philosopher Dignāga, who, however, did not live until the beginning of the 6th century. It seems hardly probable that Kālidāsa lived as late as that.

While internal criteria irrevocably link Kālidāsa to the intellectual climate of the early Gupta era, thus giving us an approximate dating, we know nothing about the conditions under which he lived. His fame being so great, legend credits him with being the genius who could successfully solve any poetic task with the greatest ease. Anecdotes relate fantastic stories of how the poet, orphaned at a very early age, was brought up by a cowherd. His name has been interpreted as meaning that his poetic gift came direct from Kālī (Kālidāsa = "Servant of Kālī"). He is later supposed to have married a princess and led an illustrious life as a famous court poet. He is

175 It should be observed that in classical Tamil literature the messenger genre (*tūtu*, Skt. *dūta*) existed in embryonic form as early as the time of the III Caṅkam; see K.V. Zvelebil, Tamil Literature, p. 205.

176 The majority of the anecdotes are collected in Ballāla's *Bhojaprabandha:* see L.H. Gray, The Narrative of Bhoja (Bhojaprabandha), etc., New Haven 1950 (AOS 34).

177 Cf. V.V. Mirashi, Bhavabhūti, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1974, p. 7 f.

presumed not to have died a natural death: while on a visit to King Kumāradāsa of Ceylon he is said to have been murdered by a wicked hetaera.

Kālidāsa, a versatile poet, composed a number of works in different genres. The Meghadūta, to which we shall return in the following paragraphs, is khaṇḍakāvya, the Kumārasambhava and the Raghuvaṃśa are both lyrical and epic mahākāvya, and finally there are three dramas whose reputation stands very high: the Mālavikāgnimitra, the Vikramorvaśīya and, the most famous of the three, the Abhijñānaśākuntala. A large number of long and short poems have incorrectly been attributed to Kālidāsa, for instance the Bhramarāṣṭaka[178], the Ghaṭakarpara (already discussed), the Maṅgalāṣṭaka, the Nalodaya (a work by Ravideva), the Puṣpabāṇavilāsa, which is sometimes also ascribed to Vararuci or Ravideva, the Rākṣasakāvya, the Ṛtusaṃhāra (already discussed), the Sarasvatīstotra, the Śṛṅgārarasāṣṭaka, the Śṛṅgāratilaka, the Śyāmalādaṇḍaka and the short, didactic text on prosody, the Śrutabodha, otherwise thought to be by Vararuci or the Jaina Ajitasena. In addition to the non-authentic works, there are also some "false" Kālidāsas. Immensely proud of their poetic achievement, several later poets have either been barefaced enough to call themselves Kālidāsa or have invented pseudonyms such as Nava-Kālidāsa, "New Kālidāsa", Ākbarīya-Kālidāsa, "Akbar-Kālidāsa", etc.

Like all sandeśa poetry, the approximately 110 stanzas of the Meghadūta form a sort of framework story: a yakṣa, a semi-divine being who is the guardian of the god Kubera's treasure, has committed an offence for which he has been banished from Alakā, the city of the gods in the north, to distant Rāmagiri ("Rāma mountain") in Central India. In the eighth month of his one year's exile, when the yakṣa sees the first signs of the approaching monsoon, he asks a passing cloud to do him the service of acting as his messenger; he is to go to Alakā carrying news to his sorrowing wife from her distant lover. With the exception of a few stanzas (the authenticity of the last verse is highly debatable), Kālidāsa's poem consists only of the detailed description of the route to be followed by the cloud and the message he is to deliver. In the Pūrvamegha it describes the various stops on the long journey the cloud must travel, in the Uttaramegha[179], the glories of Alakā, the city of the gods, and the signs that will enable the cloud to recognize his house; it lies to the north of Kubera's palace and has a gaily coloured arched doorway, a garden and an artificial pond. Finally, the yakṣa gives a touching picture of his wife's suffering. In one of the opening stanzas (I,5) the poet reflects on the odd fact that a sensible being (as a yakṣa entrusted with the care of Kubera's treasure must be) should choose as his messenger such a completely lifeless thing as a cloud:

178 Also called the *Bhṛṅgāṣṭaka.*

179 The Kerala commentators Pūrṇasarasvatī (P) and Ṛṣiputra Parameśvara (RP), both 14th century, call the first part *Pūrvasandeśa* (P) and *Prathamāśvāsa* (RP) respectively instead of *Pūrvamegha,* and the second part *Uttarasandeśa* (P) and *Dvitīyāśvāsa* (RP) instead of *Uttaramegha.*

dhūmajyotiḥsalilamarutāṃ saṃnipātaḥ kva meghaḥ
sandeśārthāḥ kva paṭukaraṇaiḥ prāṇibhiḥ prāpaṇīyāḥ /
ity autsukyād apariganayan guhyakas taṃ yayāce
kāmārtā hi prakṛtikṛpaṇāś cetanācetaneṣu //

"In his intense longing, not reckoning that a cloud – a (mere) conflux of smoke, light, water and wind – is incompatible with (i.e., not capable of conveying) the content of a message (sandeśa) that can only be conveyed by living beings with sound organs of sense, the Guhyaka[180] entrusted the task to this (cloud): lovesick (people) are by nature poor (at telling the difference) between animate and inanimate."

Kālidāsa has not chosen the word 'lovesick' in this stanza by chance, for the nāyaka type in the Meghadūta, indeed both the nāyaka and the nāyikā in mature sandeśa poetry in general, were conceived of as being sorrowing lovers, driven half out of their wits (unmatta). They were lovers who have fallen into despair and are well-nigh incapable of enduring the separation (viraha) imposed upon them. The critic Bhāmaha (about the end of the 7th century), not perhaps one of the great admirers of dūta poetry, mentions in his Kāvyālaṃkāra that, in the kāvya of his day a cloud, the wind, the moon, a bee, a hārīta-bird, a cakravāka-duck, a parrot, etc. could act as a messenger. However, he regarded the practice as a fault (doṣa), even as ayuktimat, "something quite unsuitable". As these beings can neither speak nor bring forth articulate sounds, it is not correct to choose them as messengers. However, Bhāmaha continues, the practice is permissible when the speaker, i.e., the man sending the message, is an unmatta(-nāyaka), a lover unbalanced by intense longing.[181]

This passage by Bhāmaha does not contain the sharp criticism of messenger poetry as a genre that a number of histories of literature profess to find in it. On the contrary, it shows the great popularity of this sort of poetry in Bhāmaha's day and, above all, makes it clear that we must presume a certain period of development, i.e., that sandeśakāvya existed long before Bhāmaha wrote his Kāvyālaṃkāra. It confirms the thesis that Kālidāsa in no way created this form of poetry when he wrote the Meghadūta but took a tradition that was already there, though presumably refining and changing it to suit his own purposes. His artistic sense showed him what could be further developed and, as always in kāvya, that new creative opportunites were offered by this changed viewpoint. It should be noted that Bhāmaha and Kālidāsa use the synonymous words utkaṇṭhā and autsukya, "(intense) longing", and that the two texts characterize the person who sends the messenger as unmatta, "unbalanced", and kāmārta, "lovesick", respectively. Both authors use one of the two terms employed to classify the whole genre – sandeśa- and dūtakāvya: Kālidāsa has the word sandeśa in the above stanza from the Meghadūta while Bhāmaha uses the keyword dūta in Kāvyālaṃkāra I, 42.

Kālidāsa wrote the Meghadūta in the "slow-moving" Mandākrāntā consisting of 4 lines (pāda, literally "quarters") each of seventeen syllables. Each line begins with

180 "The guardian of the treasure", i.e., the yakṣa.

181 *Kāvyāl.* 1, 44: *yadi cotkaṇṭhayā yat tad unmatta iva bhāṣate / tathā bhavatu.*

four long syllables followed by five short, most of the remaining syllables in the line being long. It creates an effect of solemnity with a melodic rhythm.

– – – – U U U U U – – U – – U – U

This metre has formed a school. It was not only other writers of dūta poetry that liked to use it; the dramatist Bhavabhūti employed it in Act IX of his Mālatīmādhava for the sandeśa passage on the theme of the monsoon and the separation of lovers. The abandoned Mādhava, searching for a cloud to take a message to Mālatī, his beloved, also speaks in Mandākrāntā metre (IX, 25–26):

"Gentle cloud, does lightning, thy beloved companion, embrace thee? Do the cātakas, welcome (to thee) by the affection they manifest, wait upon thee? Does the eastern wind gladden thee by its gentle touches? And does the rainbow bearing beauty on all sides become thy prominent mark?" (25)

"If in thy free rambles over the world thou chancest to see my beloved, first cheer her up and then tell her of the sad plight Mādhava is in. In telling it thou shouldst not snap, to any great degree, the thread of hope, for that alone somehow sustains the life of the long-eyed one" (26)[182].

The total number of stanzas in the Meghadūta varies between 110 and 130. It seems probable that the great popularity of the work led to a number of interpolations. This is indicated partly by the fact that there is a Tibetan translation of 117 stanzas, a Sinhalese of 118 stanzas and a work by Jinasena (second half of the 8th century), the Pārśvābhyudaya, 120 stanzas, which is based on the Meghadūta, but also because it can be deduced from about 50 commentators on the Meghadūta, many of them important ones. Among these we must mention first and foremost Vallabhadeva (10th century), Dakṣiṇāvartanātha (about 1200), the great Mallinātha (14th century), Pūrṇasarasvatī (end of 14th century) and Sumativijaya (first half of 17th century). While the version that Vallabhadeva commentated had 111 stanzas, Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's and Pūrṇasarasvatī's had 110, Mallinātha's 121[183] and Sumativijaya's 126.

In the first section, the poet likes to present us with glowing pictures of Indian scenery and life at the various stops on the route to Alakā. This he does in self-contained stanzas[184] resembling muktaka. Descriptions of the countryside, moun-

[182] Translation after M.R. KALE, Bhavabhūti's Mālatīmādhava. With the Commentary of Jagaddhara, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1967³, p. 84 (the translation).

[183] 115 of which are authentic, Mallinātha regarding six stanzas as interpolations. Cf. S.V. IYER, The Meghasandeśa Tradition in Kerala, VIJ 3 (1965), p. 61. On the whole the textual tradition in Kerala, represented by Pūrṇasarasvatī and others, agrees well with the Kashmiri tradition preserved in the commentaries of Vallabhadeva and Sthiradeva.

[184] Stanzas 13–63 in the KSS edition. The information Kālidāsa gives here, like the data in other *dūta* poems, is of considerable importance to historical geography. The route given in the *Meghadūta* runs from Mount Rāmagiri in the Vindhya range over the country of Māla, Mount Āmrakūṭa, the city of Vidiśā (modern Bhilsa) in the land of Daśārṇa, crosses the rivers Nirvindhyā and Sindhu on to Ujjayinī, the city of Daśapura, the holy land between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛśadvatī, to which Kurukṣetra belongs, and finishes up near Lake Mānasa, on Mount Kailāsa, on whose summit lies Alakā, the city of the gods.

tains and rivers alternate with scenes from widely differing countries and cities showing the events and characters of the women living there. As in the Ṛtusaṃhāra, indeed in all kāvya, natural phenomena and human feelings are closely interwoven. The fine rain that falls when the cloud touches Mount Rāmagiri is interpreted as a sign of the joy the mountain feels at meeting his old friend the cloud again. Rivers are nāyikās longing for reunion with their lovers, the clouds. The skilful choice of personae or the use of dhvani transforms some stanzas into veiled love poems which not only describe nature but also the vivid love phantasies of the exiled yakṣa:

vīcikṣobhastanitavihagaśreṇikāñcīguṇāyāḥ
saṃsarpantyāḥ skhalitasubhagaṃ darśitāvartanābheḥ /
nirvindhyāyāḥ pathi bhava rasābhyantaraḥ sannipatya
strīṇām ādyaṃ praṇayavacanaṃ vibhramo hi priyeṣu // (I, 28)

"Having come in contact, on your way, with the (River) Nirvindhyā, having for her waist-band the row of birds noisy on account of the turbulence of her waves, moving on by stumbling gracefully and showing her navel in the shape of eddies; enjoy the flavour of the water (or: of her love)![185] For, with regard to their lovers, confusion is the first love-declaration of women".[186]

We observe that while the cloud (masculine in Sanskrit) is compared to a lover, a series of attributes portrays the Nirvindhyā (feminine) as the beloved: her movements are shy and she wears a jingling girdle which reveals her navel when the nāyaka gently pushes it aside. The words rasa and vibhrama have amorous connotations for the initiated, for rasa can here mean both "water" and "(the pleasures of) love", while vibhrama, "confusion, (in) a flustered state", is also the technical term for one of the many erotic means of enticement (hāva) a nāyikā may employ.[187]

We do not find any implications of this kind in the second part of the poem. The cloud has now reached its destination, the city of Alakā far to the north, and will soon meet the beloved. The descriptions are now more direct and show a great deal of sympathetic understanding, perhaps related to the poet's own personal experiences. The theme of the majority of the stanzas in the Uttaramegha is the suffering in

[185] *rasa.*

[186] Translation after M.R. Kāle.

[187] There is an explanation of the term *vibhrama* in Viśvanātha's work on poetry entitled *Sāhityadarpaṇa.* In its description of twenty-eight *hāvas* it states what has been summarized as: "The application of ornaments, etc. to the wrong places, through hurry arising from delight or eagerness, on such occasions as the arrival of the beloved one, is what we mean by 'Fluster'" (Transl. by J.R. BALLANTYNE and PRAMADA-DASA MITRA, The Mirror of Composition, etc., Banaras 1956 reprint, p. 87). – The *dhvani,* which spans several stanzas, and the fact that there is scarcely one verse in the *Pūrvamegha* in which paronomasia is not present somewhere, are undoubtedly a legacy from *muktaka.* Stanza 1, 29, for example, can hardly be fully understood without realizing the significance of the comparison of the river Nirvindhyā to a wife or a beloved who, thin and languishing, is reunited with her lover after a long separation. According to Kokkoka's *Ratirahasya,* an erotic textbook, loss of weight (*tanutā,* in *Meghad.* 29 called *kārśya*) is the fifth stage of love, the ninth being fainting and the tenth, death.

this "unhappy love" (vipralambhaśṛṅgāra) caused by separation (viraha) and how it has affected the nāyikā, here the type known as proṣitabhartṛkā, the "beloved whose husband is away". She has grown thin and pale, her nights are sleepless and she passes the time by talking to her preacher-crow[188], playing the vīṇā and counting the days till her lover returns:

tanvī śyāmā śikharidaśanā pakvabimbādharoṣṭhī
madhye kṣāmā cakitahariṇīprekṣaṇā nimnanābhiḥ /
śroṇībhārād alasagamanā stokanamrā stanābhyām
yā tatra syād yuvativiṣaye sṛṣṭir ādyeva dhātuḥ // (II, 19)

tām jānīthāḥ parimitakathām jīvitam me dvitīyam ... // (II, 20)

"The slender (lady) whom (you)[189] will find there, beautiful, with pointed teeth and the lower lip resembling a ripe bimba fruit, thin in the waist, possessed of eyes like those of a frightened doe, having a deep navel, of a gait slow on account of the weight of her hips, slightly stooping on account of her breasts, (in short), the first creation, as it were, of the Creator in the department of womankind (II, 19), you should know her, reserved in speech, to be my second life ..." (II, 20).

nūnam tasyām prabalaruditocchūnanetram priyāyā
niḥśvāsānām aśiśiratayā bhinnavarṇādharoṣṭham /
hastanyastam mukham asakalavyakti lambālakatvād
indor dainyam tvadanusaraṇakliṣṭakānter bibharti // (II, 21)

"Surely the face of her, my beloved, resting on her hand, having its eyes swollen by excessive weeping, with its lower lip changed in colour on account of the warmth of her sighs and (only) partially visible, as the curls of her hair are hanging (loosely about it), bears the miserable appearance of the moon, when her light is obscured by your[190] passage".[191]

These stanzas and previously quoted extracts from the Meghadūta come so close to perfection that any attempt to render their elegance, balance, artistic syntax and flowing verse into another language is doomed to failure. When we discuss the Kumārasambhava and the Raghuvaṃśa we shall have further occasion to pay tribute to Kālidāsa's mastery. The judgement of generations of Indian critics is that the freedom from exaggeration, the balance and the clarity (insofar as clarity is possible in kāvya) of Kālidāsa's work makes it the crowning achievement of classical poetry. With this verdict we modern critics must agree.

It will not be necessary to devote the same amount of attention to dūta poetry composed after Kālidāsa. Since the "Cloud Messenger" is the oldest preserved work in this genre, it has been customary to dismiss fairly uncritically all later sandeśakāvyas as pure imitation. This is not always the case, however, as messenger poetry must have existed as a popular form of poetry before Bhāmaha and Kālidāsa, as we have already seen. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly correct that later dūta poets

188 Saraca indica.
189 I.e., the cloud.
190 I.e., the cloud.
191 Translation after **M.R. Kāle.**

could hardly escape being influenced by Kālidāsa's model. These imitations, however, are not primarily of the genre critics suppose Kālidāsa to have originated but mainly of certain elements in the structure of the Meghadūta, its metrical form and, very frequently, its imagery and phrasing. At the same time it is clear that in the course of development some sandeśakāvyas have strayed a long way from the original conception of messenger poems.

The oldest dūta poem after Kālidāsa's Meghadūta is Jambukavi's Candradūta[192] (8th to 10th century) in which the moon (candra) plays the role of messenger. Next comes the important Pavanadūta[193], the "Wind Messenger", by Dhoyī (also Dhoī or Dhoyīka), composed in the 12th century. This short poem of 104 stanzas in Mandākrāntā metre describes the love of the Gandharva girl Kuvalayavatī for King Lakṣmaṇasena, the famous Sena monarch and patron of all the arts at whose court resided the two eminent poets Jayadeva, the author of the Gītagovinda, and Govardhanācārya, who wrote the Āryāsaptaśatī, as well as Dhoyī himself, Śaraṇa and Umāpati, whose works are lost.[194] Kuvalayavatī had only seen the king once when he was on one of his campaigns to the south. She fell in love with him at first sight and when she could bear her loneliness and the pangs of love no longer, she sent the Malaya wind to Vijayapura, the royal residence in Gauḍa, to tell the king of her love. Although it is very unusual to glorify an actual historical character in dūta poetry, Dhoyī chose to allot the part of the nāyaka in the background story of his poem to King Lakṣmaṇasena, who is presented as the ideal sovereign, possessed of all the virtues. We may assume that his patron was not unappreciative of the honour done him as he awarded the poet with the title and office of kavirāja.[195] In addition to the Wind Messenger there are in some anthologies a number of stanzas which are ascribed to Dhoyī, Dhoī or Dhoyīka.[196] The extent to which the personae and construction of the Meghadūta and the Pavanadūta correspond may be judged from the following table:

[192] Ed. J.B. CHAUDHURI, Calcutta 1941.

[193] M. CHAKRAVARTI, Pavana-dūtam, or Wind-Messenger, by Dhoyīka, etc., JPASB 1 (1904), p. 41 ff.; CH. CHAKRAVARTI, Pavanadūtam of Dhoyī, edited, etc., Calcutta 1926; U.C. SHARMA and G.C. SHARMA, Aligarh 1978.
Translation: S. LIENHARD, Der Pavanadūta des Dhoyī, OS 7 (1958), p. 137 ff.

[194] Jayadeva mentions these colleagues in *Gītagov.* I, 4. Dhoyī is referred to by his title, *kavirāja,* "Prince of Poets". Cf. also R. PISCHEL, Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena, Göttingen 1893.

[195] Both *Pavanad.* 101 and *Gītag.* I, 4 confirm that Dhoyī was granted the high rank of *kavirāja.* See also p. 18 above.

[196] Collected by CH. CHAKRAVARTI, *loc. cit.,* pp. 27–32.

Pavanadūta	*Meghadūta*
Personae	
nāyikā: Kuvalayavatī, the sender of the message	*nāyaka*: a yakṣa, the sender of the message
nāyaka: King Lakṣmaṇasena, the recipient	*nāyikā*: the wife of a yakṣa, the recipient
dūta: the wind	*dūta*: the cloud

Structure

Introduction,	stanzas 1– 3	Introduction,	I, stanzas 1–5
Appeal to the wind	4	Appeal to the cloud	I, 6
The destination is given	5– 6	Ditto	I, 7
Description of the route	7–36	Ditto	I, 13–63
Description of the city of Vijayapura and the royal palace	37–54	Description of the city of Alakā and the yakṣa's house	II, 1–18
Description of the beloved king	55–61	Description of the yakṣa's beloved wife	II, 19–37
The message carried by the wind and the description of the lonely Kuvalayavatī	62 ff.	The message carried by the cloud and the description of the lonely yakṣa	II, 38 ff.

The main difference between the two poems is that the Meghadūta gives a far more detailed description of the state the recipient of the message is in, while the Pavanadūta, which shows us the recipient as a powerful ruler and mighty warrior, limits the description to a few stanzas. On the other hand, the message carried by the cloud contains only a brief account of the sender, the yakṣa who is almost demented by love and longing, whereas the wind in the Pavanadūta has a great deal to relate about the sufferings of Kuvalayavatī, the lovesick girl who sent the message. As we can see, Dhoyī has abandoned the inverted parallelism of the personae inasfar as, like Kālidāsa and others, he describes the separation (viraha) of the lovers solely from the nāyikā's point of view. It is not difficult to see why he has done so since, in contrast to the Meghadūta, the nāyikā's emotions are here purely platonic and, what is even more important, older poetic tradition is rich in ready-made material and conventions suitable for the nāyikā rather than the nāyaka:

vinyasyāgraṃ bhuvi caraṇayoḥ kautukottambhitākṣī
tvatsamparkaprakṛtisubhagām unnatagrīvam āśām /
utpaśyantī kim api sutanur lakṣyate saudhaśṛṅgād
udbhinnāśrusthagitam asakṛt tvatsamīpaṃ yiyāsuḥ // (64)

"One sees the beautiful slim (one) standing on tiptoe, stretching out her neck, looking with longing eyes from the highest point of the palace towards that part of the sky which has become (so) precious (to her) because of you.[197] She longs to be near you while tears keep breaking forth and cover (her face)."

kīdṛk kāntaḥ kathaya tarale vartate yas tavāntar
yatnād itthaṃ subhaga bahuśaḥ pṛṣṭayālījanena /
niḥśvasyoccaiḥ katham api tayā stambhitāśrupravāhā
nyastā dṛṣṭir likhitamadane bhittibhāge gṛhasya // (67)

"When her confidantes, o best of men, time and again ask (her) eagerly: 'Say, o trembling one, who is the lover you have locked up in your heart?' she lets her eyes rest on the wall on which the god of love[198] is painted, sighing and only with difficulty able to hold back her tears."

There are about fifty or sixty messenger poems in classical poetry.[199] The majority of them are sandeśakāvyas of the same type as the Megha- and Pavanadūta, but a few are rather poor continuations of the Meghadūta, and some others, so-called samasyāpūraṇas, in which the poet gives himself a task to perform: he takes one, sometimes two quarters of a stanza (pāda) from the Meghadūta, usually the last, and then builds up his own stanza to fit the borrowed material.

Additions to the Meghadūta all belong to recent times. Kṛṣṇabhūti, who called himself Abhinava-Kālidāsa, wrote his Yakṣollāsa in the 17th century, and in the 19th we have the Meghapratisandeśa, the "Message Returned by the Cloud", by Mandikai Rāmaśāstrin, which, as its title indicates, contains the reply sent by the yakṣa's wife. There is also Trailokyamohana's Meghadautya, in which the yakṣa's wife sends the cloud to her husband's master, the god Kubera, whom she begs to quash the sentence of exile. Finally we have the Yakṣamilanakāvya by Mahā-

197 "you" being King Lakṣmaṇasena.

198 An implied comparison with King Lakṣmaṇasena, who is as beautiful as Kāma, the god of love. Classical poetry and even early Middle Indian inscriptions like to compare a king with the god Kāma.

199 Surveys in the following publications: CH. CHAKRAVARTI, Origin and Development of Dūtakāvya Literature in Sanskrit, IHQ 3 (1927), p. 273 ff.; E.P. RADHAKRISHNAN, Meghadūta and Its Imitations, JORM 10 (1936), p. 269 ff.; E.P. RADHAKRISHNAN, Some More Dūtakāvyas in Sanskrit, JORM 13 (1939), p. 23 ff.; R. KUMĀR ĀCĀRYA, Saṃskṛt ke sandeśakāvya: Meghadūt aur uskī paramparā kā ek adhyayan, Ajmer 1963; SATYAVRAT ŚĀSTRĪ, A Critical Survey of Dūtakāvyas, in: Essays on Indology, Delhi 1963, Section III, p. 82 ff.; G.V. DAVANE, Influence of the Meghadūta in Sanskrit Literature, JUB 33 (1964), p. 96 ff.
Information on messenger poetry in Kerala, which has a particularly flourishing tradition of this genre not only in Sanskrit but also in the mixed style of Maṇipravāla, is to be found in: C. KUNHAN RAJA, Some Sandeśa Kāvyas and Malabar Geography, B.C. Law Volume I, Poona 1945, p. 293 ff.; K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature, Madras 1958, p. 225 ff.; S.V. IYER, The Meghasandeśa Tradition in Kerala, VIJ (1965), p. 61 ff.

mahopādhyāya Parameśvara Jhā, which describes the happy reunion of the yakṣa couple. The same theme is to be found in a modern work, the Alakāmilana[200] by Dvijendralāla Śarman, first published in 1954. It is divided into two cantos. The first, called Virahāvaśeṣa, contains 41 stanzas describing the remaining period (avaśeṣa) of separation (vihara). The second Canto, Milanollāsa, deals with the reunion of the lovers.

The samasyāpūraṇas based on the Meghadūta are not always true messenger poems. We mention them here because of the close connection they have with Kālidāsa's poem, but in theory they could equally well have borrowed from some other work. Jainas took great pleasure in the samasyāpūraṇa technique, which was greatly furthered by poets' societies where, as we have seen, members were trained to undertake literary tasks such as composing samasyāpūraṇas, impromptu poems or riddles. Like the Vaiṣṇava poets we shall meet later, some Jaina writers utilized a form of messenger poem for their own, non-literary purposes. Dūta poetry frequently served them as an instrument for religious instruction, propaganda, information about the progress of the faith in distant parts or for teaching religious and philosophical questions. Thus two of the best-known samasyāpūraṇas, Jinasena's famous Pārśvābhyudaya[201], the "Triumph of Pārśva" (8th century), and Cāritrasundaragaṇi's Śīladūta[202] (1420 A.D.), were not written as messenger poems at all. They are a mixture of poetic and didactic biography. The former relates the life of Mahāvīra's predecessor, Pārśva, which bears a certain likeness to the tale about the yakṣa, and the latter is the story of Sthūlabhadra, the eighth head of the Jaina community after Mahāvīra. Vikrama's Nemidūta[203], on the other hand, is a Jaina dūtakāvya as well as a samasyāpūraṇa. In 123 stanzas it describes how Rājamātī, the wife of Neminātha, the twenty-first Tīrthaṃkara, asks Mount Abu to act as messenger to her husband who is practising ascetic exercises on this mountain. The last line of each stanza is identical with the last line of the corresponding stanza in the Meghadūta. The Jaina poet Merutuṅga's Meghadūta (15th century), a samasyāpūraṇa, also relates events from the life of Neminātha. The Meghadūtasamasyālekha[204] (1669) by Meghavijaya is a poem of the same sort, both messenger poem and samasyāpūraṇa, in which the author himself sends a cloud-messenger to his spiritual leader, Vijayaprabha Sūri.

Vaiṣṇava poets, too, employ the dūta form mainly for spiritual and educational purposes. The person who sends the message in Viṣṇuite works is generally Lalitā, one of Rādhā's friends. In the name of all the cowherds, it is addressed to Kṛṣṇa, far away in distant Mathurā, imploring the god to return soon in order to preserve their

200 Śrī-Dvijendralāla Śarma-Purukāyastha, *Alakā-milanam*, Jaypur 1954[1], 1973[2].

201 K.P. Pathak, The Meghadūta as embodied in the Pārśvābhyudaya with the Commentary of Mallinātha, with a lit. English transl., etc., Poona 1894; ed. Yogiraj Panditacharya, Bombay 1909 (NSP).

202 Cāritrasundaragaṇi-viracitaṃ Śīladūtam. Ed by Pts. Haragovindadasa and Becaradasa, Benares 1913[2].

203 In: KM 2, Bombay 1886.

204 Jaina Ātmānanda Granthamālā, Bhavnagar 1914.

love. Separation, which in secular poems is the physical separation of two lovers, can here be interpreted either as erotic or as the remoteness of man from god, the longing of the lonely woman as the yearning of the soul for reunion with the source of its being. Typical poems of this sort are the Haṃsadūta by Rūpa Gosvāmin (16th century), the great contemporary of Caitanya, the prophet of the Kṛṣṇaite movement in Bengal, and the work with a synonymous title, the Haṃsasandeśa, whose author was Raghunāthadāsa, also one of the six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana. We have only a Bengali translation (17th century) of the latter, the original Sanskrit version being lost.

A wide variety of animals, natural phenomena, etc. appear as messengers both in secular and in religious and (or) didactic dūtakāvya. We may assume that the oldest of these poems chose the rainy season as their setting as this gave a background that was very suitable for conjuring up an atmosphere of unhappy love and separation if the lover failed to return. It would therefore seem quite natural for poets to choose a monsoon cloud as the most fitting messenger. We may surmise that this was the favourite dūta figure in early messenger poetry and that in this respect Kālidāsa and others were merely following their predecessors. In the Haṃsasandeśa by Veṅkaṭanātha (or Vedāntadeśika, 14th century), the Haṃsadūtas by Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa (first half of the 15th century) and Pūrṇasarasvatī[205] as well as in the two poems already mentioned, Rūpa Gosvāmin's Haṃsadūta and Raghunāthadāsa's Haṃsasandeśa, the messenger is a goose (haṃsa) which, as the Nala saga contained in the Mahābhārata shows, was the earliest and most popular messenger after the cloud. A goose also figures in the anonymous Haṃsadūta in which the author, a pious Śaiva poet, sends his own soul in the shape of a goose to his beloved. A parrot does duty as messenger in the Śukasandeśa by Lakṣmīdāsa,[205a] the Kīradūta by Rāmagopāla and the Śukasandeśas by Kariṅgapalli, Nambūdri, Pūrṇasarasvatī and Raṅgācārya. A peacock appears in the Mayūrasandeśa[206] by Udaya (or Udayottuṅga, 14th century), a cuckoo in the Kokilasandeśas[207] by Uddaṇḍa Kavi (beginning of 15th century), Nṛsiṃha and Veṅkaṭācārya, a crow in the Kākadūta, a parody written in our century by Cintamanarāo Sahasrabudhe, a bee in Vāsudeva's Bhṛṅgasandeśa, Rudra Nyāyapañcānana's Bhramaradūta[208], Satābudhāna Kṛṣṇadeva's Bhṛṅgadūta[209] and the modern Bhramarasandeśa[210] by Mahāliṅga Śāstrin (1954) and Kāma, the god of love, in the Kāmasandeśa by Mātṛdatta (end of 16th century).[210a] Dhoyī

205 As regards Pūrṇasarasvatī, see S. VENKITASUBRAMONIA IYER, Pūrṇasarasvatī and his Kamalanīrājahaṃsanāṭaka, AIOC 1946, 2, p. 197 ff.

205a Ed.: G. PATTABIRAMAN, Madras 1984 (with English translation).

206 K.R. PISHAROTI, Udayottuṅga, JGJh 1, 4 (1944), p. 445 ff.

207 N.P. UNNI, Kokilasandeśa of Uddaṇḍa, Trivandrum 1972.

208 J.B. CHAUDHURI, The Bhramara-dūta-kāvya of Rudra Nyāyapañcānana, etc., Calcutta 1940.

209 S.P. CHATURVEDI, Bhṛṅgadūtam – a New Khaṇḍa-kāvya, AIOC 1930, p. 623 ff.

210 Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI, Bhramarasaṃdeśa ..., published by the author, Sāhitya Candraśālā, Tiruvalangadu, Tanjore District 1954.

210a See C. SUNESON, The Kāmasandeśa: A Contribution to the Religious Geography of South India, IT 10 (1982), p. 229 ff.

was not the only poet to write a dūta poem in which the wind is the messenger: there is a Pavanadūta by Vādicandra Sūri (17th century) and a Vātadūta by Kṛṣṇanātha Nyāyapañcānana (end of 19th century). The messenger is the moon in the Indudūta[211] by the Jaina Vinaya Vijayagaṇi (1653), didactic and religious in theme, in Jambukavi's erotic Candradūta, already mentioned, in the religious Candradūta by the Jaina author Vimalakīrti[212] and in the Candradūta by Kṛṣṇacandra Tarkālaṅkāra, the subject of which is the separation of Rāma and Sītā. A popular messenger in later Viṣṇuite and Jaina poetry was the spirit (manas), as in the Viṣṇuite Manodūtas by Viṣṇudāsa (15th century), Tailaṅga Vrajanātha[213] (1757) and Rājarāma as well as the Manodūta and Cetodūta, two anonymous Jaina works, the second of which is a samasyāpūraṇa. In the Pānthadūta[214] by the Bengali Vaiṣṇava poet Bholanātha the messenger is a wanderer whom the Gopīs have begged to go to Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā while the messenger in the Uddhavadūtas (or Uddhavasandeśas) by Rūpa Gosvāmin[215], Mādhava Śarman[215] and Rājavallabha Miśra[216] (1889) is Uddhava, one of Kṛṣṇa's confidants, also on his way to Mathurā at the behest of the Gopīs. Raghunandanadāsa's Uddhavacarita is a sandeśakāvya of 163 stanzas in Mandākrāntā metre. Here, too, we meet Uddhava, "bearing messages backward and forward between the god and his female companions, who are rendered desolate by his disappearance".[217] The choice of messenger in another Kṛṣṇaite dūtakāvya, the Padāṅkadūta[218] (1723) by Kṛṣṇaśarman Sārvabhauma, strikes Western readers as very strange: here the Gopīs entrust the message to the footprints (padāṅka) of Kṛṣṇa, requesting them to convey it to their god-lover in Mathurā.

Mandākrāntā, perhaps introduced by Kālidāsa, is the metre most commonly used in Sanskrit messenger poetry although other metres such as Vasantatilakā, Śikhariṇī, Mālinī and Śārdūlavikrīḍita are to be found.

It is only a short step to the assumption that early dūta poetry drew inspiration, to some extent at least, from Indian folksongs which, being composed in non-literary Apabhraṃśas, were seldom written down. However, important elements live on in various New Indian languages in the rich treasure-house of folksongs. In many of them we meet the same themes as in dūta poetry, including the monsoon season, which is here too associated with the separation of loving couples, the main emphasis being once more on the pangs of longing suffered by the nāyikā. We have

211 SATYAVRAT ŚĀSTRĪ, Indudūta of Vinaya Vijayagaṇi – A textual study, in: Essays on Indology, Delhi 1963, p. 45 ff.

212 K.M.K. SARMA, Candradūta of Vimalakīrti, BV 11 (1947), p. 182 ff.

213 Analysis and translation in S. PIANO, Il Manodūta di Tailaṅga Vrajanātha, Rome 1974 (Atti della Accad. Nazionale dei Lincei, Series 8, 28,7–12, p. 953 f.).

214 See J.B. CHAUDHARI, The History of the dūta-kāvya of Bengal. Historical Reference to the Pāntha-dūta, 26th ICO, Delhi 1964, III, p. 207 ff.

215 In J. HAEBERLIN, KS.

216 B. UPADHYAYA, A New Uddhavadūta, IHQ 12 (1936), p. 104 ff.

217 J. EGGELING, Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, VII, London 1904, No. 3894.

218 In J. HAEBERLIN, KS.

seen that there is in Sanskrit a whole sandeśa literature, which urgently calls for research and presentation. On the other hand, only isolated examples of this genre are known today in the Prākrit languages and in literary Apabhraṃśa.

In Prākrit we have a messenger poem called Bhṛṅgasandeśa[219] and in Apabhraṃśa the Saṃneharāsaya (Skt. Sandeśarāsaka)[220] by Addahamāṇa, i.e. Abdul Rahmān, a Moslim poet who cannot have lived earlier than the 12th to 13th century. The latest date possible, the beginning of the 15th century, is fixed by the existence of a commentary on the Sandeśarāsaka written in 1465 by Lakṣmīcandra, an author who seems not to have known Addahamāṇa personally. The poem belongs to the erotic category of dūtakāvyas and has as messenger a wanderer (pahiu, skt. pathika) like one of the poems mentioned above. As in the majority of messenger poems, he is acting on behalf of the nāyikā. Both the title of the poem and the introduction refer to the poem, which in H. Dvivedī and V. Tripāṭhī's edition consists of 223 stanzas, as a rāsaka, a most productive genre[221] in older Hindī and Rājasthānī literature, especially in the latter. Abdul Rahmān's preface makes it clear that sandeśa poetry has a fairly long history in literary Apabhraṃśa for he names a number of Apabhraṃśa poets as his predecessors. The first, introductory section (prakrama), in which the poet presents himself and eulogizes poetry, is followed by a second which vaguely corresponds to the pūrva- and uttarabhāga of Sanskrit poetry, a sandeśakāvya proper. The first part builds up the background story, starting from the meeting of the nāyikā and the wanderer; the second contains a very detailed description of the seasons, beginning with summer, as in the Ṛtusaṃhāra. The final stanza briefly hints that the last season, spring, will see the reunion of the lovers. As in most erotic dūta poems, the main theme of the Sandeśarāsaka is the separation (viraha) and the pangs of love suffered by the beautiful beloved.

Also devoted to the theme of separation, although it is not a dūtakāvya, is the Koṭiviraha, a Sanskrit poem of 107 stanzas by the well-known Kerala author Nārāyaṇa (end of 16th century).[222]

As we have seen, the greater part of multiple-stanza poetry is either erotic in character or has as its subject the closely related theme of the seasons. A wide variety of themes is, however, dealt with in other poems, most of which were composed after Kālidāsa's time. Poems of a philosophic or didactic nature are generally of little poetic value. On the other hand, poetry in praise of the prince and

[219] A.N. UPADHYE, Bhṛṅga-Saṃdeśa: A Prākrit Kāvya, in: Principal Karmarkar Comm. Vol., Poona 1948, p. 217 ff.

[220] Ed.: JINA VIJAYA MUNI and H. BHAYANI, Bombay 1945 (SJS 22); H. DVIVEDĪ and V. TRIPĀṬHĪ, Bombay 1960. See also H.C. BHAYANI, Abdala Rahamāna's Saṃdeśarāsaka and Jāyasī's Padumāvatī, BhV 9 (1948), p. 81 ff.

[221] *Hindī Sāhitya Koś*, publ. by DH. VARMĀ and others, I, Varanasi (saṃvat) 2020[2], distinguishes between two types of the *rāsa* genre: those consisting predominantly of song and dance and those written in a variety of different metres. The former belong mainly to West Rajasthan, the latter to East Rajasthan and Hindī-speaking areas.

[222] In KM 5, Bombay 1888.

similar verse, best documented in inscriptions, can rise far above the level of merely competent occasional poetry; in the hands of an experienced court poet it sometimes becomes true art. We have already mentioned the Rājendrakarṇapūra, a eulogy to Harṣadeva (1089–1101) by the poet Śambhu.[223] The Vāgmaṇḍanaguṇadūta[224] by Vīreśvara occupies an intermediary place between sandeśakāvya and panegyric poetry. It is in praise of Rāja Bhīmasena and the men who are closest to him: the poem is sent as a message to Bhīmasena and, in imitation of the Meghadūta, describes the route from Vradhnapura to Mayapura, where Bhīmasena is staying. All the authors mentioned in the work lived before the 12th century. The undatable and anonymous Śṛṅgārajñānanirṇaya[225], the "Judgement between Love and Knowledge", a dialogue poem spoken by the loving couple Śuka and Rambhā, is interesting in that Rambhā's words have an erotic meaning while Śuka's are purely philosophic and religious.

We saw above that multiple-stanza poetry and collections of muktakas have several points in common and that it is not always easy to decide to which category a given poem belongs. Furthermore, as soon as a number of verses from a multiple-stanza poem are taken out of their context, most Indian critics were accustomed to read them as some sort of muktaka. As we have said, the main difference between the two categories is that whereas a collection of muktakas has the character of an anthology, the verses in a multiple-stanza poem show greater coherence. We found that devices tending to increase this cohesion were basing the contents on some sort of background story, linking together stanzas into yugmakas, etc. and other similar means.

b) Religious Poetry

We shall find that an uncommonly rich development has taken place in religious multiple-stanza poetry, too. It is in fact here that we have the largest number of poems, the maximum of imitation and an even clearer tendency to paronomasia than we find in secular kāvya. It is not only when gods are presented in human form – loving and suffering – that religious and secular poetry overlap; the paronomasia is often deliberately introduced by the poet, who wishes to write a work which can equally well be interpreted as secular, erotic or spiritual.

The majority of religious multiple-stanza poems are songs of praise, mainly stotras, stutis or stavas. Structurally, they are closely allied to panegyrics in praise of princes and are addressed to gods, spiritual leaders, rivers, localities or other revered phenomena. Among the most frequently glorified gods and divine manifestations are Gautama Buddha, Durgā-Kālī (or Devī), Gaṇeśa, Kṛṣṇa (Govinda), Lakṣmī,

223 P. 100.

224 See M. HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, VII, Calcutta 1934, No. 5174.

225 J.-M. GRANDJEAN, Dialogue de Çuka et de Rambhā sur l'amour et la science suprème, Annales du Musée Guimet X (1887), p. 477 ff. (with French translation).

Nṛsiṃha, Rādhā, Rāma, Sarasvatī, Śiva, Sūrya, the Tathāgatas, the Tīrthaṃkaras or Jinas, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra and Viṣṇu. Of the rivers and holy places, the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā and Kāśī (Benares) are the ones most commonly mentioned. It should be observed, however, that not all stotras are panegyric in nature; stanzas often have a more concrete aim in that they pray to higher powers for favours, blessings, relief from sickness or for aid in some difficult situation. Sometimes these stotras are addressed to important gods, sometimes to local divinities or local manifestations of important gods and therefore reflect both the major and minor traditions of India.[226]

One of the typical features of stotra literature is revealed in the fact that poets here use in fairly rapid succession a whole range of different names for the characters in their poems. These names may either be based on Indian religious traditions, be derived from poetic language or even be invented by the poet himself on the pattern of existing names. Instead of Gaṇeśa, for instance, the stotra poet may avail himself of any of the other traditional names such as Cintāmaṇi, Gaṇapati, Jyeṣṭha, Mayūreśa, Pārśvaputra, Śeṣaputra, Vighnarāja, Vighnāntaka, Vināyaka, etc. For Śiva, he could say Hara, Mahādeva, Mahākāla, Paśupati, Rudra, Śaṅkara, Śūlapāṇi, Sthāṇu, Vīreśvara, etc. The Sūryaśataka, composed according to tradition by Mayūra in order to be cured of leprosy, refers to the sun god by a number of appellations of which the following are taken from poetic language: kharāṃśu and tīkṣṇatviṣ (in stanzas 8 and 26 respectively, "possessing hot rays"), dinakara and divasakṛt (in stanzas 10 and 36 respectively, "creator of the day"), timiraripu (16, "enemy of darkness"), and aharpati (25, "lord of the day"). However, other names for the sun god in the poem such as daśaśatin (15, "having ten hundred rays") and its synonyms caṇḍarocis and uṣṇatviṣ (12 and 23 respectively, "having hot radiance") are neologisms invented by the poet on the model of caṇḍadīdhiti, caṇḍadhāman, uṣṇadīdhiti, uṣṇabhās, etc. In this, as in other cases, the author has taken care to preserve a harmonious balance between the sound of the names and their phonetic context.[227]

There is another type of name that is often artistically constructed: those descriptive and narrative epithets and appositions which describe outward appearance or the deeds and experiences in the legend of a godhead. When used repeatedly, these names present us with a good deal of the history, character and iconography of the god or saint in question. In a stotra woven into his Gītagovinda, Jayadeva addresses Kṛṣṇa using the following descriptive-narrative epithets: Kalita-lalitavanamāla, "you who wear a charming wreath of forest (flowers)" (2,1), Yadukulanalinadineśa, "you – a sun for the lotus of the Yadu family" (3), Madhumuranarakavināśana, "you who defeated (the demons) Naraka, Mura and

226 Cf. T. GOUDRIAAN, ZDMG 122 (1972), p. 415.

227 Compare the three words given above with their contexts, for instance:

preṅkhantaḥ khe kharāṃśoḥ khacitadinamukhās te mayūkhāḥ sukhaṃ ca (8);
kalpantāṃ nirvikalpaṃ dinakarakiranāḥ ketevaḥ kalmaṣasya (10);
śmaśruśreṇīva bhāsāṃ diśatu daśaśatī śarma gharmatviṣo vaḥ (15).

Madhu" (4), Janakasutākṛtabhūṣaṇa, Jitadūṣaṇa "you who bestowed jewels on Janaka's daughter (Sītā) (and) defeated (the demon) Dūṣaṇa" (6). It is typical of the narrative element of these epithets that they cannot be tied down to a definite time. As K.V. Zvelebil has correctly recognized[228], the names of past events and deeds can equally well be applied to the present, so that the verbs in the above examples could be rendered either in the past or – preferably – in the present tense: "you who wear (wore) a charming wreath of forest (flowers)", "you who defeated (defeats) the demon Dūṣaṇa", etc. This double view of time may be compared to the way in which the effect of some religious experience can be recovered by an individual or a group of people through a rite or through spiritual exercises, or the way in which a legend or the story of some god can be reconstructed in the theatre, by dancing or in meditation.

The riches of Indian hymnal literature have as yet been only partially explored. In contrast to the majority of kāvya genres, however, it is possible to detect in stotra literature certain parallels, religious, linguistic and literary, with comparable forms such as incantations and litanies in the Vedas.[229] A very large number of hymns have been incorporated into the epics, i.e., the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas and, in classical poetry, into the mahākāvyas. The artistic value of the hymns varies considerably. It will be practical to divide the material into a few characteristic groups. This will enable us to differentiate between mainly Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina works on one hand and, more important from the literary point of view, allow us to sort the vast storehouse of stotra poetry into its most important categories, which are as follows: (1) hymns found in epic, purāṇic and tantric literature, (2) separate and independent hymns whether anonymous, written by a named author or merely ascribed to him and, (3), the category most relevant to this work, literary stotras conforming to the rules of kāvya, some of which are independent multiple-stanza poems while others are hymns incorporated into longer texts, mostly mahākāvyas. Unfortunately little research has been done on Indian hymnology.[230] This is mainly because, as we have seen, their quality varies immensely. Between the two extremes of a monotonous piling-on of mechanical epithets and artistic stotras there is a vast field containing hymns of all conceivable kinds. A large numer of stotras, mostly those of little poetic value, are only available in popular editions in which the texts are presented quite uncritically.

A comparative study of the hymns shows clearly that some stereotyped themes are used over and over again: in submission to the Almighty, the diadems of other

228 We find the same use of narrative epithets in old devotional literature in Tamil, too: "Thus ... we observe one of the basic properties of all *bhakti* hymnody: the synchronic projection of the diachronic event – of the story of the god; in other words, the personal story of the god is telescoped into characteristic epithets" (K.V. Zvelebil, Tamil Literature, p. 90).

229 Cf. W. Ruben, Die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung im alten Indien, V. Die Entwicklung der Dichtung, Berlin 1973, p. 82; J. Gonda, Hymns of the Ṛgveda not employed in the solemn ritual, Amsterdam 1978.

230 For a survey see, however, J. Gonda, Medieval Religious Literature in Sanskrit, ch. XIV, HIL II, 1, Wiesbaden 1977.

gods touch the feet of mighty Śiva, or are compared to bees that swarm humming around Śiva's lotus-feet. The hearts of the pious are likened to cātaka-birds[231] ardently longing for the black cloud of Śiva's gracious countenance. Particularly common is the image of the goose (haṃsa): the great goddess (Devī) is a goose in the lotus-pool of the Upaniṣads, the guru is a gander in the Mānasa-pool of his disciples.[232] In some cases, the author does not even address the god himself but lauds him more indirectly. Thus Parameśvara Yogin[233], composer of the little-known devotional poem Kṣamāstotra, does not speak to Śiva personally, but directs his praise and his requests to the god's clemency (kṣamā) which, being feminine in Sanskrit, the poet treats as his mother and intercessor.

Hymnodists use a large variety of metres, being particularly fond of Āryā, Śārdūlavikrīḍita or Bhujaṃgaprayāta, which is rare except in stotras, where it is more common. They either keep to one metre for the whole poem or switch over from one to another in quick succession, which, for example, gives a heightened linguistic effect to a stotra named Mukundamālā written by Kulaśekhara Āḻvār (ca. 800 A.D.), a mystic from the south of India. The fact that works on poetic theory tend to ignore hymns and quote from stotras relatively seldom is probably because so many are of poor literary quality. The language and style of a large number of them is unnecessarily artificial. Poets not only overload their stanzas with rhyme and alliteration, they frequently insert series of holy syllables or mantras into the text or repeat sections of the stotra or the refrain far too often.

In the following paragraphs we shall concern ourselves with the various stotras in multiple-stanza poetry. As already mentioned, there are hymns of literary worth incorporated in mahākāvyas. There are, for instance, two stotras in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa and Kumārasambhava in which gods address the All Highest. In the last song in Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya, Arjuna praises Śiva, the supreme god, and in the XIVth Canto of Māgha's Śiśupālavadha Bhīṣma sings Kṛṣṇa's praises. There is a very long song in the XLVIIth sarga of Rājānaka Ratnākara's Haravijaya in which the gods praise Caṇḍī (Mahādevī) in more than 160 stanzas. Like so many other works in classical poetry, literary stotras, both detached and when part of a long kāvya, have a clear double function: they have both a religious or philosophic content and literary value. It is up to each reader either to interpret the hymn in both senses, or to take either the religious or the aesthetic sense as the dominant one. When it comes to establishing authorship or datings of many hymns[234], however, considerable difficulties arise. Traditionally, a great many works are ascribed to Śaṅkara, the great teacher of Advaita-Vedānta, but the majority of these and similar ascriptions are almost certainly incorrect.[235]

231 According to tradition, the cātaka-bird feeds only on the drops the raincloud gives it.

232 See T. GOUDRIAAN, ZDMG 122 (1972), p. 416.

233 See K. PARAMESWARA AITHAL, Stotrasamuccaya. A collection of rare and unpublished stotras, edit., I, Madras 1969 (Adyar Library Series No. 99), No. 28.

234 Cf. SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA, The Stotra Literature of Old India, IHQ 1 (1925), p. 340 ff.

235 *Ibid.*

In spite of the large numbers of stotras we meet in the Purāṇas, epic poetry and the Buddhist canon, the majority of literary stotras are of relatively late date. The Buddhist hymns are the oldest, dating back to the 1st century B.C. Unfortunately we no longer have the hymns that are supposed to have been written by Aśvaghoṣa (about 100 A.D.), the author of the long poems Buddhacarita and Saundarananda.[236] Very similar to him in style and often confused with him in Buddhist tradition is Mātṛceṭa (approx. 70 to 150 A.D.), who possibly belonged to Aśvaghoṣa's school. His most important works are two stotras of 386 and 153 stanzas respectively. The longer of the poems is named the Varṇārhavarṇa or Catuḥśataka, the shorter, the Prasādapratibhāstotra, Śatapañcāśatka or Adhyardhaśataka.[237] Both have been preserved in Sanskrit and they are probably the finest examples we have of Buddhist songs of praise. Mātṛceṭa's short Anaparāddhastotra of only 26 Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanzas has come down to us only in fragments.[238] For centuries his hymns enjoyed popularity in the Saṅgha.[239] According to the account of his journeys written by the 7th century pilgrim I-tsing, who also translated the Prasādapratibhāstotra into Chinese, every monk who had been grounded in the principles of Buddhism was familiar with the Varṇārhavarṇastotra.[240] Mātṛceṭa's style is masterly but simple and clear. Since his works were written in the early kāvya period, they are free from artificiality and overloading of any kind. Stanzas 72 to 74 of the Prasādapratibhāstotra, the "(Stotra) on the Splendour of Graciousness (of the Buddha)", his most beautiful song of praise, are given here as an example:

asmād dhi [ne] netrasubhagād idaṃ śrutimanoharaṃ /
mukhāt kṣarati te vākyañ candrād dravam ivāmṛtaṃ // (72)

236 Ascribed to Aśvaghosa, although probably written in Kashmir at a later date, is the *Gaṇḍīstotragāthā*, a song in praise of Buddha and the monastery gong (*gaṇḍī*). The *stotra*, reconstructed in Sanskrit from the Chinese transliteration, consists of 29 stanzas in Sragdharā metre. See A. VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN, Bibliotheca Buddhica 15, St. Petersburg 1913 and E. JOHNSTON, IA 1931, p. 61 ff.

237 D.R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, The Śatapañcāśatka of Mātṛceṭa. Sanskrit Text, Tibetan Translation and Commentary and Chinese Translation with an Introduction, English Translation, etc. Cambridge 1951; K.P. JAYASWAL and R. SĀṄKṚITYĀYANA (ed.), Adhyardhaśataka "Hymn of One Hundred-fifty Verses". By Mātṛceṭa, Appendix to JBORS 23 (1937); D.R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, The Varṇārhavarṇa Stotra of Mātṛceṭa (I), BSOAS 13 (1949–51), p. 671 ff., (II), *ibid.*, p. 947 ff. D. SCHLINGLOFF, Die Buddhastotras des Mātṛceṭa, Faksimilewiedergabe der Handschriften, Berlin 1968; F.W. THOMAS, IA 44 (1905), p. 145 ff. (Transl. into English of the Tibetan version of the *Varṇārhavarṇa*).

238 Cf. D. SCHLINGLOFF, Buddhistische Stotras (STT I), Berlin 1955, p. 116; B. PAULY, Fragments sanskrits de Haute Asie (Mission Pelliot), JA 248 (1960), p. 529 ff.; and Fragments sanskrits de Haute Asie, XVIII. Matériaux pour une édition définitive du Varṇārhavarṇastotra de Mātṛceṭa, JA 252 (1964), p. 197 ff.
For further information concerning works by Mātṛceṭa in the Tibetan tradition see D.R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, The Śatapañcāśatka, p. 1. There are about ten valuable hymns listed under Mātṛceṭa. There are translations into Tibetan or Chinese of the majority. P. PYTHON, Vinaya-Viniścaya-Upāli-Paripṛcchā, Paris 1973, has an appendix: Mātṛceṭa's Sugatapañcatrimśatstotra (i.e., "Hymn to Sugata in 35 stanzas").

239 I.e., the Buddhist community.

240 *Varṇārhavarṇa(stotra)* means "(Hymn) praising what is worthy of praise".

rāgareṇuṃ praśamayad vākyan te jaladāyate /
vainateyāyate dveṣabhujaṅgoddharaṇaṃ prati // (73)

divākarāyate bhūyo 'py ajñānatimiran nudat /
śakrāyudhāyate mānagirīn abhividārayat // (74)

"From this mouth, which is charming to the eye, flows they speech, so ravishing to the ear, like nectar from the moon. (72) Your words are like a raincloud which lays the dust of passion, they are like a Garuḍa-bird which destroys the snake of hate. (73) Like the sun, they are forever putting the darkness of ignorance to flight anew, and like the weapon of the god Indra, they cleave the mountains of arrogance." (74)

There are four Buddhist hymns traditionally ascribed under the collective title Catuḥstava (or Catustava) to Mahāyāna's first teacher, the great Nāgārjuna (middle of 2nd century A.D.).[241] A large number of stotras derive from the Buddhist poet and grammarian Candragomin, well known as the author of the literary letter Śiṣyalekha and the Lokānanda. We may assume that he lived in the 5th century A.D. since it is clear that his work was written after Kālidāsa's and before Harṣadeva's[242] even though we only have Tibetan translations of the works he wrote in Sanskrit. His sixteen hymns are of little literary importance although four are worth mentioning: the Bhagavadāryamañjuśrīsādhiṣṭhānastuti, a song of praise to Mañjuśrī consisting of 14 nineteen-syllable stanzas, the Deśanāstava, a confession of sins in 52 nine-syllable stanzas, the Manoharakalpanāmalokanāthastotra (?), a hymn of 25 eleven-syllable stanzas addressed to Lokanātha and the Śrīmahātārāstotra, a song in praise of Tārā in 26 mainly seventeen-syllable stanzas.[243]

The Miśrakastotra, the "Mixed Stotra", also known as the Prasādapratibhodbhava(stotra), the "(Stotra) on the Rise of Splendour of Graciousness (of the Buddha)", was written by the most important master of Buddhist logic, Diṅnāga (or Dignāga). He was obviously inspired by Mātṛceṭa's Prasādapratibhā(stotra).[244] The short Buddha(pari)nirvāṇastotra is associated with the name of another logician, Dharmakīrti (7th century A.D.), the man who carried on Diṅnāga's work.[245] It is fairly safe to assume that Dharmakīrti was perfectly familiar with the theory and practice of kāvya, for he also wrote a work on alaṃkāra[246] as well as some

241 See G. TUCCI, Two Hymns of the Catuḥstava of Nāgārjuna, JRAS 1932, p. 309 ff.

242 The question of the dating of Candragomin is dealt with exhaustively in M. HAHN, Candragomins Lokānandanāṭaka. Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben, etc., Wiesbaden 1974 (Asiatische Forschungen 39), pp. 1–13: Der Autor des Lokānanda und seine Zeit.

243 Cf. M. HAHN, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–12.

244 See D.R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, A Note on the Titles of the Three Buddhist Stotras, JRAS 1948, p. 55 ff.

245 Cf. E. STEINKELLNER, Buddhaparinirvāṇastotram, WZKS 17 (1973), p. 43 ff. (Translation of the Tibetan version).

246 For the influence of Dharmakīrti on the poet Bhāmaha see H.R. DIWEKAR, Bhāmaha, Bhaṭṭi and Dharmakīrti, JARS 1929, p. 825 ff.; cf. also H. JACOBI, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, ihr Alter und ihre Stellung in der indischen Poetik, in: Schriften zur indischen Poetik und Ästhetik, publ. by H. LOSCH, Darmstadt 1969, p. 339 f.

artistically very select verses which are reproduced under his name in anthologies.[247]

We are indebted to king Harṣa (or Harṣavardhana, Harṣadeva, 606–647 A.D.) for two Buddhist hymns: the Suprabhātastotra, the "Morning Hymn", and the Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityavandanāstava, the "Hymn Offering Homage to the Eight Great (Buddhist) Sacred Places". The latter, which contains stotras addressed to Buddha, has come down to us via a phonetic transcription in Chinese characters made by Fa-hsien (Skt. Dharmabhadra, 10th century). Mahāyāna literature in Sanskrit is very rich in hymns paying homage to Avalokiteśvara (Lokeśvara, Lokanātha, Karuṇāmaya), Mañjuśrī, the great deliverer Tārā as well as to other Bodhisattvas and Buddhas. There also a great many praising the ten perfections (pāramitā), the holy texts and places of pilgrimage. Worth a particular mention are the Sragdharāstotra[248] (about 700) by Sarvajñamitra and Vajradatta's Lokeśvaraśataka[249] (9th century). The latter, influenced by Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka and Mayūra's Sūryaśataka, is written in very elaborate language in Sragdharā stanzas and praises Lokeśvara's beauty and goodness. Further, there is the Mañjuśrījñānasattvasya Paramārthanāmasaṅgīti, a late-Buddhist Tantric text which Buddhist compilers of devotional volumes like to place at the beginning of their books. The Paramārthanāmasaṅgīti consists of groups of songs (gāthā) which, placed in the mouth of the Buddha, guide a believer up the various levels of knowledge to the highest understanding (jñāna). However, it is not possible to determine with any certainty either the date or the author of this work, one Nāmasaṅgīti among many. The Bhaktiśataka[250], written about the middle of the 15th century, is Buddhist devotional lyrical poetry that has been influenced by the Hindu ideal of bhakti. Its author, Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī from Bengal, originally a Hindu, was converted to Buddhism in Ceylon during the reign of King Parākramabāhu (1412–1467). His poem, also known as the Bauddhaśataka, clearly demonstrates the influence on Buddhism of bhakti thought.

Multiple-stanza poems were also written in Pāli, the language of the Theravādins. The majority are didactic works dealing with the faith, but few of them, or only parts of them, attain the standard of kāvya. The intricate, affected Pajjamadhu[251], the "Honey of Verse", is worth noting, however. A śataka written about 1100 by Buddhappiya, it consists of 104 stanzas in praise of Buddha; the first 69 describe his beauty and the remainder his wisdom. The Telakaṭāhagāthā[252] of 98 stanzas is by

247 Dharmakīrti is sometimes called Bhadanta. Stanzas by his hand are also to be found in Amaru's and Bhartṛhari's *Śatakas*.

248 In: S.C. VIYABHUSAN, Bauddhastotrasaṃgraha I, Calcutta 1908 (Bibl. Ind.) (with commentary and two translations into Tibetan). Further *stotras* by the same author were published in G. DE BLONAY, Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la déesse Bouddhique Tārā, Paris 1895 (text and translation).

249 S. KARPELÈS, JA 14 (1919), p. 357 ff. (Text in Sanskrit and Tibetan with a French translation); cf. also F.W. THOMAS, JRAS 1921, p. 281 ff.

250 Ed. HARAPRASAD SASTRI, JBTS 1, 2 (1893), p. 21 ff.

251 Ed. GOONARATNE, JPTS 1887, p. 1 ff.

252 Ed. GOONARATNE, JPTS 1884.

an unknown author who discusses the vanity of life and certain basic doctrines of Buddhism such as the chain of dependent origination (pratītyasamutpāda). It is a śataka. Somewhat longer is the Pañcagatidāpana[253], consisting of 114 stanzas written in a rather simple style. It "illuminates" (dāpana) the five different fates that await man in after-life according to whether his deeds were good or bad. Another longer poem is the Anāgatavaṃsa[254], attributed to Kassapa, which describes the life and works of the future Buddha, Maitreya (Pāli Metteyya), in 142 stanzas.

The Jaina community also has a rich stotra literature of its own.[255] The hymns are frequently dedicated to the great teachers of Jainism, the Tīrthaṅkaras. They are written either in Sanskrit or in Prākrit or even – one of the peculiarities of Jaina stotra literature – in a mixture of two or more languages at the same time. While many hymns are filled with a genuine feeling of religious devotion, others are didactic, philosophic or speculative in nature. The oldest Prākrit stotra is that ascribed to Bhadrabāhu, the five-stanza Uvasaggaharastotra[256] in honour of Pārśvanātha. Mātaṅga Divākara[257], also known as Caṇḍāla, lived in the 7th century, the same time as Bāṇa and Mayūra. Unfortunately all that remains of his work are the four stanzas to be found in the Subhāṣitāvali, although it seems highly probably that Mātaṅga, who wrote a panegyric poem to King Harṣa, also wrote multiple-stanza religious poetry. Research has often confused Mātaṅga with Mānatuṅga, probably because their names are so similar. Jaina monastery tradition dates the latter, a religious teacher and poet, to the 3rd century A.D. However, the contents of his works make it clear that he must have lived somewhere between the 5th and 9th centuries, which agrees well with other Jaina traditions. Two of his stotras are famous: the Bhayahara (the "[stotra] protecting from fear"), written in Prākrit and addressed to Pārśvanātha, and the Bhaktacāmarastotra[258] (named after the first word in the poem)[259], a Sanskrit hymn dedicated to the Jaina saint Ṛṣabha. It is constructed and planned in the same way as Mayūra's Sūryaśataka and Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka. A third panegyric work by Mānatuṅga is the Parameṣṭhistavana in 35 stanzas. Nandiṣeṇa probably flourished in the 8th or 9th century, too, but certainly

253 Ed. L. FEER, JPTS 1884, pp. 152 ff.

254 Ed. MINAYEFF, PTS 1886.

255 Brief surveys will be found in A.M. GHATAGE, Hymns in Prākrit, JUB 3, 3 (1934), p. 45 ff. and W. SCHUBRING, Aus der jinistischen Stotra-Literatur, Festschrift J. Nobel, p. 194 ff. See also CH. KRAUSE, Ancient Jaina Hymns, Ujjain 1952 (Scindia Oriental Series 2; selection. Note the use of *mantrabījas* in hymn No. 4 and of the *samasyāpūraṇa* technique in No. 3). Collections of Jaina *stotras* are to be found in KM 7, Bombay 1890; Jaina Stotra Saṃgraha, Bombay 1912 (NSP); and in Stotraratnākara, 2 vols., Bombay 1913/14 (NSP).

256 H. JACOBI, The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu ed. with an introduction, etc., Leipzig 1879 (AKM 7,1), Reprinted Nendeln 1966.

257 A connection between Mātaṅga and both Bāṇa and Mayūra is indicated by a stanza ascribed to Rājaśekhara, namely 4, 70 in the *muktaka* anthology *Sūktimuktāvali.*

258 In PT. J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Kavyasangraha, Calcutta 1888. The *Kalyāṇamandirastotra* is a skilful imitation of the *Bhaktacāmarastotra* as regards metre and it has the same number of stanzas. It was written by Siddhasena Divākara (or Kumudacandra) in praise of Pārśvanātha.

259 Jaina authors like to use the first word of a *stotra* as its title.

before Jinaprabha (14th century). He is the author of the Ajitaśāntistava, 40 stanzas long in its extant form, which pays homage to two of the Tīrthaṅkaras, Śānti and Ajita. Dhanapāla (end of 10th century) enjoyed great renown as a stotra writer. He is said to have been of Brahmin family but was converted by Śobhana, his own brother. The best-known of his hymns is the Ṛṣabhapañcāśikā, written in Prākrit (Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī). As the title indicates, its fifty stanzas are in praise of Ṛṣabha, but, like other texts in this genre, it is not solely a song of praise, for the first twenty stanzas recount the life of the great Jaina teacher. Of less worth from the literary point of view but nevertheless interesting because it is in two languages is Dhanapāla's Vīrastava, 30 stanzas in which the first half of each is in Sanskrit, the second in Prākrit. Śobhana wrote his very artificial Caturviṃśatijinastuti (or Śobhanastuta), a hymn of 24 stanzas in a variety of metres using many figures, some of which, such as the śleṣa, are very complex. The second and fourth lines of each stanza, for instance, are phonetically identical but should be given different meanings. A Caturviṃśatistotra and a Caturviṃśatistavana were also written by Samantabhadra (first half of 8th century) and Bappabhaṭṭi (middle of 8th and beginning of 9th centuries) respectively, as well as by Jinaprabha, who is dealt with below.

Another hymn to Mahāvīra, the Mahāvīrastava in 22 Anuṣṭubh stanzas, was written by Abhayadeva (mid 11th century), famous for his Sanskrit commentary on nine of the twelve Aṅgas of the Jaina canon. He also composed the Juyatihuyana, a stotra in Apabhraṃśa. Hemacandra (born in 1088 in Gujarat) was undoubtedly the most learned and prolific of the Jaina authors. He has given us the Vītarāgastotra, a short account of Jainism dedicated to Mahāvīra, and two Mahāvīrasvāmistotras.[260] The learned Jinavallabha (end of 11th century) produced, besides other works, several hymns to the Tīrthaṃkaras. Worth mentioning are his Pārśvanāthastava (22 stanzas), a stotra in simple but elegant language praising Pārśvanatha, probably the most popular figure in Jaina hymnology, the Pañcakalyāṇajinastotra or Caturviṃśatijinastava (26 stanzas) giving the characteristic features of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, the Vīrastava (44 stanzas in Mālinī metre) and finally the Ullāsikammastava which, like other hymns, praises the saviours Śānti and Ajita. A pupil of Hemacandra's, the productive dramatist[261] and author of dramatic theory, Rāmacandra (12th century) wrote, besides stotras in Sanskrit, the Ādidevastava (8 stanzas), a short song of praise in mixed Sanskrit and Prākrit. We owe many hymns to Dharmaghoṣa (end of 13th century), who frequently calls himself Dharmakīrti at the end of his stotras. His most famous hymn is the Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra, the aim, theme and disposition of which are on a scale far in excess of what is normal in the stotra genre. In fact, it resembles a chronicle (paṭṭāvali) more than a poem for the author not only describes a number of saints (ṛṣi) who have achieved liberation

260 In: KM 7, Bombay 1890. See also HEMACANDRACARYA, Hymn to Vitaraga, JJ 2 (1968), p. 158 ff. (Sanskrit text with English translation).

261 Among Rāmacandra's best-known plays are his *Satyahariścandra* and *Nirbhayabhīmavyāyoga.* In collaboration with Gaṇacandra, Rāmacandra wrote a commentary to the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa,* a handbook on drama.

through monastic life and asceticism, he also throws light on their lives and gives detailed biographies of the popular patriarchs Sthūlabhadra and Vajrasvāmin. A collection of hymns called the Jinastotrāṇi, probably compiled at a later date, contains hymns to Ṛṣabha, Candraprabha, Śānti(nātha), Munisuvrata, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. Other hymns from Dharmaghoṣa's pen are a panegyric entitled the Pañcaviṃśatiguṇastavana, the "twenty-five merits", praising the merits of one of the Tīrthaṅkaras, and an Ajitaśāntistava.

The learned Jinaprabha lived at the beginning of the 14th century. He wrote the Ṛṣabhadevājñāstava (11 stanzas) in praise of Ṛṣabha and the rules he established. Then there are the elaborate and ambiguous Pārśvanāthalaghustava in which the frequent use of panonomasia (śleṣa) makes the poem a hymn addressed either to Pārśvanātha or to the nine planets, the Gautamastotra, praising the first Gaṇadhara and, finally, the Pañcaparameṣṭhistava, honouring the five supreme divinities of Jainism. Devendra, the author of an Ādidevastava to Ṛṣabha and a panegyric called Śāśvatacaityastava, probably lived in the same century, as did Dharmanidhāna, who wrote the Caturviṃśatikāstavana, 27 stanzas in Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, to the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. It is not, however, of much literary worth. Not to be confused with the earlier Jinabhadra is another poet of the same name who lived at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries. He wrote the Dvādaśāṅgīpadaprāmāṇakulaka, a kulaka[262] describing the twelve Aṅgas of the Jaina canon in 21 stanzas. Remarkable for its use of a number of metres and several languages (Sanskrit, various Prākrit dialects and Apabhraṃśa) are the five stotras written to Ṛṣabha, Neminātha, Śāntinātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra respectively by the prolific Jaina author Somasundara (15th century). The Caturviṃśatijinastavana, by one of his pupils, Ratnaśekhara, is similar in some respects. The first twenty-four stanzas are in Mālinī metre, the last stanza in Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The technique used by the poet is called bhāṣāśleṣa, "linguistic ambiguity" (literally, "language embracing"), which means that the poem is so constructed that the reader can take it either as a Sanskrit or a Prākrit text. Another of Somasundara's pupils, Jinakīrti (mid 15th century), composed the Namaskārastavana, to which he wrote his own commentary.

Hindu hymnody is an inexhaustable treasure-house.[263] Although a number of independent stotras have been ascribed to Vyāsa, Vālmīki or Kālidāsa, we have no evidence of any literary works in the genre until after Kālidāsa's time. The earliest work of any importance is the Caṇḍīśataka[264] by Bāṇa (or Bāṇabhaṭṭa), the famous poet at the court of King Harṣa (606–647 A.D.). We shall return to this poet, whose

262 For a definition of *kulaka,* see p. 66 f. above.

263 Representative collections are, for example, the Bṛhatstotraratnākara (Ed. by) NĀRĀYAṆA RĀMA ACĀRYA "KĀVYATĪRTHA", 2 vols., Bombay 1952–53[14] (NSP); and Stotrasamuccaya. A collection of rare and unpublished stotras. Ed. by K. PARAMESWARA AITHAL, 2 vols., Madras 1969 (Adyar Library Series 99).

264 In: KM 4, Bombay 1887; G.P. QUACKENBOS, The Sanskrit poems of Mayūra edited ... with the text and translation of Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka, New York 1917 (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series 9).

mastery of elegant prose and whose two mahākāvyas in prose, the Harṣacarita and Kādambarī, make him one of the greatest artists of Indian literature.[265] His Caṇḍīśataka is a highly polished hymn of 102 stanzas in Sragdharā metre conforming to all the rules of kāvya. He praises Śiva's consort, here called Caṇḍī, the "furious", the "wild", and glorifies the overwhelming victory the goddess gains over the demon (asura) Mahiṣa, the personification of evil. The religious background may be the result of influence from the Devīmāhātmya (also called the Caṇḍīmāhātmya or Durgāmāhātmya), in Śivaite circles one of the most highly esteemed hymns glorifying Durgā-Caṇḍī. Although originally a separate poem, it later became incorporated in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa. Bāṇa's devotional poem was not conceived as a dialogue, but Caṇḍī herself and Mahiṣa speak in no fewer than forty-eight of the stanzas and Śiva, Kārtikeya, other gods and demons also make their voices heard. It is written in the Gauḍa style that is typical of Bāṇa's work; it loves difficult words and compounds and deliberately makes use of paronomasia to a far greater extent than the simple and translucid style preferred, for instance, by Kālidāsa. Numerous stanzas and parts of stanzas are written so that if the Sanskrit wording is divided up in two different ways, it will yield two different meanings, either of which is equally correct.

The Sūryaśataka[266] bears a strong resemblance to Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka. Its author, Mayūra (or Mayūrabhaṭṭa), was probably a contemporary of Bāṇa's. Jaina sources and later commentators do not regard him just as a rival at King Harṣa's court. According to their accounts, Mayūra was either Bāṇa's brother- or father-in-law.[267] Legend has is that after being cursed by Bāṇa's wife for praising the charms of his own daughter or sister in a short poem, he was afflicted with leprosy. The offending poem seems to have been the erotic eight-stanza work known as the Mayūrāṣṭaka;[268] three verses in Sragdharā metre and five in Śārdūlavikrīḍita describing the return of a youthful beauty from an assignation with her lover. The poet is said to have been cured when he wrote the Sūryaśataka, his hymn to the sun. In this linguistically rather difficult stotra the poet successfully entreats for the sun's

265 See p. 247 ff. below.

266 G.P. QUACKENBOS, *op. cit.*; cf. note 264 above; PT. DURGĀPRASĀD and K.P. PARAB, The Sūryaśataka of Mayūra with the commentary of Tribhuvanapāla, Bombay 1889, 1927 (NSP, KM 19); C. BERNHEIMER, Il Sūryaçatakam di Mayūra, Introduzione, traduzione e note, Livorno 1905; R. TRIPĀṬHĪ, Sūryaśataka of Śrī Mayūra Bhaṭṭa. Edited with the Kalā Hindi Commentary, etc., Varanasi 1964 (VBhSG 106).

267 "Mayūra war bekanntlich nach der Tradition der Jaina der Schwiegervater Bāṇas und somit etwas älter als dieser. Wenn auch die von ihm erzählten Geschichten keinen Werth besitzen, so ist es doch nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass seine Zeit richtig angegeben ist. Dafür spricht der Umstand, dass schon Rājaśekhara um 900 n. Ch. Mayūra und Bāṇa als zeitgenössische Dichter am Hofe Harṣas erwähnt. Der von Bāṇa selbst als ein Jugendfreund genannte "Schlangengiftbeschwörer" (*jāṅgulika*) Mayūra (Harṣac. p. 95, Kaś. Ausgabe) wird schwerlich mit dem Dichter identifiziert werden können" (G. BÜHLER, Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie, SAWW 122 (1890), p. 14, note 1).

268 G.P. QUACKENBOS, *op. cit.*, p. 72 ff. and The Mayūrāṣṭaka, an unedited Sanskrit poem by Mayūra, JAOS 31 (1911), p. 343 ff.

blessing, and in stanza six mentions its power to heal infirmity and disease. Some of the one hundred stanzas appeal to the god himself, others to his various aspects and attributes: his rays, disc, the youthful lustre of the rising sun, the horses, the chariot, the charioteer Aruṇa, etc. are boldly described. The whole hymn is in Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, obviously the poet's favourite, and is in the artistically complex Gauḍa style, like Bāṇa's stotra. Another similarity with Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka is that every stanza of the Sūryaśataka expresses the desire for a blessing, each time differently worded. The popularity as well as the difficulty of the poem is attested by the multitude of commentaries that exist[269], the most important being those by Tribhuvanapāla and Yajñeśvara Śāstrin. Similar works, also entitled Sūryaśataka, have been written by Gopāla Śarman, Śrīśvara Vidyālaṃkāra, Rāghavendra Sarasvatī and others.[270]

Even in the light of the latest research, it is difficult to decide which of the approximately one hundred hymns traditionally ascribed to Śaṅkara (or Śaṅkarācārya, 788 to 820 A.D.[271]) really were composed by the supreme master of the Vedānta system of the non-duality doctrine. The need for care is indicated by the fact that ardent devotion (bhakti) is not automatically in accord with Śaṅkara's concept of brahman which, due to māyā, appears manifold. Śaṅkara, like Gauḍapāda before him, expounds the theory of a higher, absolute truth and a lower, relative truth. According to Śaṅkara, hymns to gods and goddesses should belong to the latter category, and we may therefore wonder whether this great teacher is in fact the author of any of these stotras at all. There can be no doubt that the majority of them were composed after Śaṅkara's death, some, indeed, by later exponents of the illusionist school of Vedānta who had been invested with the office and privileges of a Śaṅkarācārya either in the order founded by him or at some other monastery (maṭha). Opinions about which of Śaṅkara's stotras are authentic vary greatly: Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya[272] considers the following to be poems which "may be safely ascribed to the great Vedantist himself": the hymn to the Gaṅgā (bhagavati tava tīre nīramātrāśano 'ham etc.) and to Annapūrṇā (nityānandakarī etc., still sung in Benares during āratī in services to the goddess), the Vedasāraśivastuti in Bhujaṃgaprayāta metre, the Carpaṭapañjarikā in Āryā stanzas, the Kāśīpañcaka and, the most widely used of all the hymns, the Ānandalaharī (or Saundaryalaharī). S.K. Belvalkar[273], on the other hand, accepts as genuine works by the master the Ānandalaharī, Govindāṣṭaka, Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra, Daśaślokī, Dvādaśapañjarikā (also known as the Mohamudgara), the Bhaja-govindam-stotra, Ṣaṭpadī, Viṣṇuṣaṭpadī and Harim-īḍe-stotra respectively. There are stotras entitled Ānandala-

269 See TH. AUFRECHT, Catalogus Catalogorum, I, p. 432 f.

270 Cf. R. TRIPĀṬHĪ, *Sūryaśataka,* etc., p. 26 f.

271 These dates are the most generous estimate of his life. However, in view of the quantity of his writings, it seems hardly likely that he should only have lived to the age of thirty-two.

272 S. BHATTACHARYYA, The Stotra Literature of Old India, IHQ I (1925), p. 349, note 1.

273 S.K. BELVALKAR, Sri Gopal Mallik Lectures on Vedanta Philosophy, Poona 1929, p. 220 ff.

harī[274] by several authors, but only two are credited to the philosopher Śaṅkara: a short poem of twenty stanzas and a longer one of about a hundred. The latter, the "Wave of Bliss", also called the Saundaryalaharī, the "Wave of Beauty", is in honour of Tripurasundarī, one manifestation of Kālī-Durgā, and is markedly Tantric-Śāktistic in character. It contains numerous mantras and formulae which can be visualized as diagrams. The author was probably another Śaṅkara, a 15th century Tantric writer from Bengal whom posterity has erroneously taken to be the great Vedāntist. About twenty-five works of exegesis dealing with this difficult poem have been written. Basically, the so-called Śaṅkara stotras fall into two main groups: a) the religious or philosophical poems and b) hymns of praise to the Devī (Kālī-Durgā). It is plain that some of these works are not without religious inspiration, but it is equally plain that the majority of them have few literary pretentions.

One of the most important Hindu hymns is the Mahimnastava[275], the "Praise of Greatness", which is highly esteemed all over India. In its oldest form it is a song of only 31 stanzas in praise of Śiva, "though it is sometimes by a tour de force thought to be addressed to Viṣṇu as well".[276] Its author is supposed to be a poet called Puṣpadanta, but he is a very shadowy figure. Nowhere in Hindu literature in Sanskrit do we meet a poet of this name (Skt. Puṣpadanta, Prākrit Pupphayanta). There is, however, a well-known Jaina of this name who lived in the 10th century and wrote in Apabhraṃśa. Certain manuscript versions of the Mahimnastava call Puṣpadanta a Gandharva, while some commentaries regard him as a servant of Śiva in agreement with the framework story in the story-book known as the Kathāsaritsāgara. As another tradition connects Puṣpadanta with the grammarian Vararuci – Kātyāyana, there is reason to suppose that the Mahimnastava was not written by Puṣpadanta at all but by one of the several Vararucis whose verses are to be found in various Sanskrit anthologies. It is conceivable that the real author attributed the stotra to Puṣpadanta, the Gandharva and servant of Śiva, "either to document it and give it verisimilitude or merely because he thought Puṣpadanta an appropriate literary character for composing and reciting it".[277] Some manuscripts name as the author of the work a certain Grahila or Kumārilabhaṭṭa, the latter possibly identical with the famous Kumārila (8th century A.D.) who founded a well-known system of

[274] A. TROYER, JA 1841, pp. 273 ff. and 401 ff. (with French translation); in: J. HAEBERLIN, KS; Sir JOHN and Lady WOODROFFE, Hymns to the Goddess, Madras 1952², p. 62 ff. (translation into English); W.N. BROWN, The Saundaryalaharī or Flood of Beauty, ed., transl., etc., Cambridge, Mass. 1948 (HOS 43). Selections of "Śaṅkara" hymns are also to be found in J. HERBERT, Shankara: Hymnes à Shiva, Traduits et commentés, Lyon 1944, and T.M. P. MAHADEVAN, The Hymns of Śaṅkara, Delhi 1980² (Text and translation into English).

[275] W.N. BROWN, The Mahimnastava or Praise of Shiva's Greatness, Edited, translated and presented in illustrations, etc., Poona 1965 (American Institute of Indian Studies, Publication No. 1); P. KRISHNAMOORTY, Śiva-Mahimnaḥ Stotram, Sanskrit Text with English Translation, etc., Secunderabad 1967.

[276] W.N. BROWN, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[277] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Mīmāṃsā. The hymn is difficult to date but was almost certainly written before the 9th century: stanza 18 is quoted in Somadeva's campū Yaśastilaka (959 A.D.), stanza 5 in Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāṃsā.[278] The stotra is also mentioned in Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's 9th century Nyāyamañjarī, a work of logic. As in the Saundaryalaharī and the Ānandalaharī, the first twenty-nine stanzas are in Śikhariṇī metre while the penultimate and last stanzas, which may have been added later, are in Hariṇī and Mālinī metre respectively. Like the Saundaryalaharī, the Mahimnastava has given rise to numerous commentaries. Here follow three stanzas from the second half of the work:

śmaśāneṣv ākrīḍā smarahara piśācāḥ sahacarāś
  citābhasmālepaḥ srag api nṛkaroṭīparikaraḥ /
amāṅgalyaṃ śīlaṃ tava bhavatu nāmaivam akhilaṃ
  tathāpi smartṛṇāṃ varada paramaṃ maṅgalam asi // (24)

"Your sport is in burning grounds, O destroyer of Smara; Piśācas (who eat the flesh of human beings) are your companions; / ashes from a funeral pyre are ointment for your body; and your garland is a string of human skulls – / though your character and your name as well may be wholly inauspicious, / yet, O gift-bestower, to those who call you to mind you are the supreme symbol of fortune."[279]

bhavaḥ śarvo rudraḥ paśupatir athograḥ sahamahāṃs
  tathā bhīmeśānāv iti yad abhidhānāṣṭakam idam /
amuṣmin pratyekaṃ pravicarati deva śrutir api
  priyāyāsmai dhāmne praṇihitanamasyo 'smi bhavate // (28)

"Bhava, Śarva, Rudra, Paśupati, and then Ugra along with Mahant, / similarly Bhīma and Īśāna, this octad of your names – / in it severally (that is, in each name), O god, resides śruti. / To this (octad), the dear lofty seat of truth and the gods, to you, the lord, do I offer my worship."[280]

namo neḍiṣṭhāya priyadava daviṣṭhāya ca namo
  namaḥ kṣoḍiṣṭhāya smarahara mahiṣṭhāya ca namaḥ /
namo varṣiṣṭhāya trinayana yaviṣṭhāya ca namo
  namaḥ sarvasmai te tad idam iti sarvāya ca namaḥ // (29)

"Reverence to you as him who is nearest, O you who love the forest waste (as a saṃnyāsin), and reverence to you as him who is farthest! Reverence to you as him who is most minute, O destroyer of Smara, and reverence to you as him who is greatest! / Reverence to you as the eldest, O three-eyed one, and reverence to you as the most youthful! / Reverence to you as being everything, and reverence to you as Sarva the whole, being this universe!"[280]

Only the most important works from later eras can be mentioned here. Basically, Hindu hymnody is easy to classify under the different conceptions of god that have clearly differentiated the various sects from each other since the end of the 10th

278 *Kāvyam.* 8, 16 (GOS, p. 37).
279 Translation W.N. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
280 Translation *ibid.*, p. 17.

century. The two main categories are Śivaite, addressed to Śiva himself or to aspects of Śiva's consort, the Devī, and, in opposition to Śiva (and Durgā), works of a purely Viṣṇuite character praising the other almighty gods, Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, who are milder, and good by nature. We must also note that it is only in certain areas, predominantly in Kashmir, Bengal and Kerala, that the art of writing stotras is seriously practised.

One of the Śaṅkarācāryas, Mūka (or Mūkakavi), composed the Pañcaśatī[281], a collection of five hundred stanzas to Kāmākṣī,[282] one of the manifestations of the great Śivaite goddess. Some of the stanzas can be given a religious interpretation, others are erotic. The work has been assigned widely differing dates, but was probably written in the 14th century. Tradition relates that Mūka, born dumb, gained the power of speech as a result of his inspiration. In Kashmir, where the theory and practice of poetry as well as the Śivaite faith flourished, we find the following poets: Ānandavardhana (9th century), who wrote the Devīśataka[282], his pupil, the great polyhistor, commentator and Śaiva philosopher Abhinavagupta (end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries), whose Śivaite stotras[283] are mostly of a philosophical or theological nature; and the Śaiva thinker Utpaladeva (first half of 10th century), another of Abhinavagupta's teachers and the author of a Stotrāvalī (also called the Parameśvarastotrāvalī)[284] containing twenty rather short hymns. Also from Kashmir are Loṣṭaka (or Loṣṭadeva, 12th–13th century), author of the Dīnākrandanastotra (54 Vasantatilakā stanzas);[285] Jagaddhara Paṇḍita (14th century), whose thirty-eight hymns to Śiva have been collected in the Stutikusumāñjali;[286] and Avatāra (like the following poets, difficult to date with any certainty), who wrote the highly artificial Īśvaraśataka[287], which contains some citrabandhas. Then there is Ratnākara's Vakroktipañcāśikā[288] and Kalhaṇa's short Ardhanārīśvarastotra[289] (18 Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanzas). To the mythical Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa and Jāmbavatī, is ascribed the Sāmbapañcāśikā[290], probably also from Kashmir, a hymn of praise to the sun commented on at the beginning of the 13th century by Kṣemarāja. The Kashmiri author Sāhiba Kaula's lengthy poem Devīnāmavilāsa[291] belongs to a later period, however, and its form and scale, sixteen linked

281 Also called the *Mūkapañcāśatī;* KM 5, Bombay 1888.

282 In KM 9, Bombay 1893.

283 L. SILBURN, Hymnes de Abhinavagupta, Traduits et commentés, etc., Paris 1970 (Public. de l'Inst. de Civil. Indienne 31). About the author, K.C. PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, A Historical and Philosophical Study, Benares 1963 ^{2}.

284 Ed. V. BHANDARI, Benares 1902 (Chowkhamba Series 15; with Kṣemarāja's commentary). On the author, see S.K. DE, History of Sanskrit Poetics, Calcutta 1960^{2}, I, p. 33.

285 In KM 6, Bombay 1890.

286 Ed. PT. DURGĀPRASĀD and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1891 (NSP).

287 In KM 9, Bombay 1893.

288 In KM 1, Bombay 1886.

289 In KM 14, Bombay 1938^{2}.

290 Ed.: PT. DURGĀPRASĀD and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1889, 1910 (NSP, with the commentary of Kṣemarāja); K. SĀMBAŚIVA SĀSTRĪ, Trivandrum (Government Press) 1930 (with commentary).

291 Ed. M. KAUL, Lahore 1942.

songs, far exceed what is normal for a stotra. This is also true of the Śivaite Bhikṣāṭana(kāvya)[292], the "(Poem about) Śiva's Pilgrimage (while living) on alms", considered by some critics to be genuine mahākāvya, by others devotional poetry. The author, Gokula, better known as Utprekṣāvallabha or Śivadāsa, presents Śiva as an ascetic wandering beggar and describes the feelings generated by the god in the hearts of his devotees. The poem, which is highly charged with eroticism, consists of forty-two sections (paddhati) each containing between 10 and 31 stanzas. It is in Vasantatilakā metre throughout.

The Mukundamālā was most probably written by one of the great saints from the south of India, an Āḻvār (Tamil: "He who has immersed himself in the divine"). The author is supposed to be Kulaśekhara Āḻvār, (about 800 A.D.)[293], the son of the Kerala king Dṛḍhavrata. When he was on the throne himself and at the height of his power after a victorious campaign against the kingdoms of Cola and Pāndya King Kulaśekhara, like the Emperor Aśoka before him, experienced a spiritual transformation: filled with a burning devotion to Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, he retired to Śrīraṅgam where he spent the remainder of his life in the service of god. Kulaśekhara seems to have written in both Tamil and Sanskrit. His Tirumoḻi, which has been incorporated in the Southern Indian Viṣṇuite canon, is in Tamil while his equally famous Mukundamālā[294] is in Sanskrit. The Kerala version of this Viṣṇuite hymn has 31 stanzas, but there are other versions of varying length. Three stanzas were reprinted in the Saduktikarṇāmṛta (compiled in 1205 by the Bengali Śrīdharadāsa) and one, surprisingly enough, is to be found in an inscription at Pagan in Burma. Commentaries on the Mukundamālā were written by Rāghavānanda (or Ānandarāghava) and Veṅkateśa.

The Nārāyaṇīya[295], also by a Kerala author although written much later, is the most important of the works by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa (2nd half of 16th and beginning of 17th centuries).[296] Divided into one hundred ten-line stanzas (daśaka), making a total of 1036 in all, it is a skilful resumé of the main events in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. Two daśakas summarize the Rāmāyaṇa, another outlines the Sāṃkhya system as it is defined in the Vth Skandha of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa while one single stanza gives the essence of the Bhagavadgītā. The poem is in the form of "a colloquy to God Viṣṇu, the presiding deity at the temple of Guruvāyūr. The melody of the metres, the sweet diction, the lucid exposition of sublime philosophical ideas and, above

292 In KM 12, Bombay 1897.

293 Cf. K.V. ZVELEBIL, Tamil Literature, p. 102 and K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature, Madras 1958, p. 1 ff.

294 Editions: in J. HAEBERLIN, KS (22 verses) and KM 1, Bombay 1886 (34 verses). There is also the Vāṇīvilāsam edition, Srirangam; ed. K.R. PISHAROTI, with Rāghavānanda's commentary, Annamalainagar 1933 (31 verses). Translation into English by R.N. AIYANGAR, Madras. Numerous editions also in Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and Grantha scripts.

295 Numerous editions. Worth a particular mention is T. GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRĪ, The Nārāyaṇīya of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa with the commentary, Bhaktapriyā, of Desamangala Varya, Trivandrum (Travancore Government Press) 1912. There is an edition in Devanāgarī with a transl. into English by P.N. MENON, Palghat 1939. There are several Malayalam editions.

296 See K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, *op. cit.*, p. 119 ff.

all, the fervour of intense and sincere faith and devotion pervading throughout, make the poem one of the best devotional lyrics in Sanskrit literature. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is equally at home in the Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī styles of composition, and is able to make the sound seem an echo of the sense. Moreover, even in the selection of metres he is very careful that they should be quite proper to the theme."[297]

Like Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, other scholars in the most varied scientific subjects have written devotional lyrics. The versatile Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita (beginning of 17th century), author of a considerable number of works, wrote the Ānandasāgarastava[298], a hymn to the Devī in her manifestation as the Mīnākṣī, and the Raghuvīrastava[299], or to use its full title, the Rāmāyaṇasārasaṃgraharaghuvīrastava, a song of praise to Rāma and at the same time a summary of the essence of the Rāmāyaṇa. His pupil, Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, also from the south of India, was the author of the Varṇamālāstotra[300], Rāmāṣṭaprāsa[301], Rāmacāpastava[302] and Rāmabāṇastava[302], which praise Rāma in 51 stanzas arranged in alphabetical order, Rāma's eight missiles (aṣṭaprāsa) in 116 Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanzas, his bow (cāpa) in 111 Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanzas and his arrows (bāṇa) in 108 Sragdharā stanzas respectively. The late rhetorician Jagannātha[303] from Tailaṅga, also active in the 17th century, composed five devotional poems the names of which all include the word laharī, "a large wave". They are: the Amṛtalaharī (10 stanzas to the river Yamunā), the Sudhālaharī (30 stanzas to the sun god, Sūrya)[304], the Gaṅgālaharī or Pīyūṣalaharī (53 stanzas in praise of the Ganges)[305], the Karuṇālaharī (60 stanzas to Kṛṣṇa) and the Lakṣmīlaharī (41 stanzas to Lakṣmī).[306]

Those stotras that have distinct literary qualities differ little from love poetry.[307] Just as genuinely erotic lyrical poetry constantly returns to the physical attractions of the body of the youthful beauty, often systematized by using the nakhaśikhā procedure, which dwells on the various parts of the body beginning with the girl's toenails (nakha) and ending with the crown of her head (śikhā), so the stotra poet likes to indulge in elaborate descriptions of the perfect beauty of the gods. The combination of religious and secular perceptions is striking in, for instance, the stanzas by Mūka mentioned above,[308] but the same phenomenon can be observed in countless other stotras, for example in Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka, Vajradatta's Lokeśva-

297 See K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

298 Publ. with French transl. in P.-S. FILLOZAT, Oeuvres poétiques de Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, I, Pondichéry 1967 (Publ. de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 36), p. 255 ff.

299 Publ. with French transl., *ibid.*, p. 177 ff.

300 In KM 13, Bombay 1903.

301 In KM 10, Bombay 1894.

302 In KM 12, Bombay 1897.

303 Jagannātha was granted the title of Paṇḍitarāja by Shāh Jahān (1628–58).

304 In KM 1, Bombay 1886.

305 Ed. Bombay 1924 (NSP) and many other editions. Also in J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Kavyasangraha, Calcutta 1888.

306 In KM 2, Bombay 1886.

307 See p. 128 f. above.

308 See p. 142 above.

raśataka or Līlāśuka's Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta. One quite typical work, Lakṣmaṇa Ācārya's Caṇḍīkucapañcāśikā[309], describes the beauty of (Durgā-) Caṇḍī's breasts, while the author of the Viṣṇupādādikeśāntavarṇanastotra[310] has attempted a genuine nakhaśikha description in this case of Viṣṇu.

The writing of hymns to Viṣṇu and his Avatāras Rāma and Kṛṣṇa received a great impetus when strongly emotional Viṣṇuite and Kṛṣṇaite sects arose about the end of the first millennium A.D. A work of great importance is the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta (or Kṛṣṇalīlāmṛta) by Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala (often called just Līlāśuka, Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka or Bilvamaṅgala for short) which, handed down in various versions (in Bengal and the south of India), consists of between 101 and 112 stanzas in praise of Kṛṣṇa.[311] It is written in the lighter kāvya style, but it is difficult to decide whether Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala, who probably came from the south of India, wrote all the stanzas himself or whether the book is an anthology of poems from different sources. The earliest possible date would be the 9th century, since in a commentary on a work of Śaṅkara, the Śaṅkarahṛdayaṃgamā, Līlāśuka mentions that his teacher was Padmācārya. As the latter is identical with Padmapāda, one of Śaṅkara's pupils, he probably lived in the 9th century.[312] However, the second half of the 14th century seems a more likely first date as in her Madhurāvijaya (I, 12) the poetess Gaṅgādevī, who lived at that time, ranks the author of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta number three after Daṇḍin and Bhavabhūti. Two stanzas quoted in other works also point to this period, i.e., at the latest the beginning of the 13th or 14th century: a verse from the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta is to be found in Śrīdharadāsa's Saduktikarṇāmṛta (compiled in 1205) and another in Śārṅgadhara's Śārṅgadharapaddhati (compiled 1363). A number of other works have been written under the name of Līlāśuka or Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala. However, it is quite possible that they are not all by the same person but by several different authors by the name of (Kṛṣṇa)līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala. As examples we may take the Viṣṇustuti[313], the Kṛṣṇastotra, the Bilvamaṅgalastava[314], the Bilvamaṅgalakośakāvya[315], the Bālagopālastuti[316], the Su-

309 In KM 9, Bombay 1893.

310 In KM 2, Bombay 1886.

311 S.K. De, The Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛta. A Mediaeval Vaiṣṇava Devotional Poem in Sanskrit, with three Sanskrit commentaries, etc., Dacca 1938; F. Wilson, The Love of Kṛṣṇa. The Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta of Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala, Philadelphia 1975; M. Neog, Bilvamaṅgala's Kṛṣṇa-Stotra, Gauhati 1962 (Assamese version). J. Gonda gives a more detailed presentation of the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* in his Medieval Religious Literature in Sanskrit, Wiesbaden 1977 (HIL II, 1), p. 29 ff.

Literature on the work and the author: K. Kunjunni Raja, The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature, Madras 1958, p. 31 ff.; S.K. De, A Note on the Text of the Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛta, ABORI 16 (1935), p. 173 ff.; H.G. Narahari, On the Date of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta of Bilvamaṅgala, IHQ 20 (1944), p. 86 f.; K. Kunjunni Raja, The Text-Problem of the Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛta, IHQ 22 (1946), p. 66 ff.

312 Cf. A.G. Wariyar, IHQ 7 (1931), p. 334 ff.

313 BV 8, p. 43 ff.

314 F. Wilson, Bilvamaṅgalastava. Edited and translated, etc., Leiden 1973.

315 The *Bilvamaṅgalakośakāvya, Kṛṣṇastotra* and *Bilvamaṅgalastava* are three different versions of the same poem.

316 N. Brown, Eastern Art, II, p. 167. (With facsimiles of selected passages).

maṅgalastotra[317] and the Prākrit Siricimḍhakavva (Skt. Śrīcihnakāvya)[318] which describes various events in the Kṛṣṇa legend and also provides an illustration of the rules of Prākrit grammar.

Tradition ascribes a number of hymns to the great Rāmānuja (or Rāmānujācārya, supposedly 1017 to 1137), although not so many as to Śaṅkara. To take just one example, the six-stanza Ṣaṭślokīgītā[319], a song of little literary worth to the glory of Rāma, is considered to be a work by this first, towering teacher of the Viṣṇu faith and founder of a Viṣṇuite system of Vedānta.

It is not unusual to find stotras incorporated into longer works. Jayadeva, the Bengali court-poet to King Lakṣmaṇasena (1179–1205), interpolated a number of rhythmically and aurally delightful hymns into his famous Gītagovinda. This work, a poem about Govinda (= Kṛṣṇa) describing the separation and final reunion in Vṛndāvana of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, will be dealt with later[320], as it is unquestionably mahākāvya although it often swells over the traditionally accepted boundaries of the form. Some sects have naturally developed a number of hymns of their own, special interests. Members of the Śākta sect of the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās regarded Jayadeva as their particular guru (ādiguru) and one of their nine Rasikas. Hymns similar to those in the Gītagovinda were written by Viṭṭhalanātha Giridhara (or Viṭṭhala, Viṭṭhaleśvara), the son of Vallabhācārya (1479–1531), in the spirit of the Viṣṇuite sect of the Vallabhacārins. These hymns, which rhyme and are strongly influenced by Jayadeva, were incorporated by Viṭṭhalanātha in his Śṛṅgārarasa-maṇḍana. Nārāyaṇatīrtha, about the beginning of the 18th century from the south of India, did the same and included a number of mellifluous devotional poems in his Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī[321] which, after Jayadeva's Gītagovinda and Līlāśuka's Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta, is the third most important poem dealing with Kṛṣṇalīlā, the life of Kṛṣṇa.

The great increase in the popularity of Kṛṣṇaite hymnody at various times can be explained not least by the fact that the worship of Kṛṣṇa has always offered plenty of scope for emotional expression and experience. Furthermore, the Kṛṣṇabhakti of Caitanya (1485–1533) and the disciples of the early Gosvāmins, who laid down the dogma of this school, were strongly influenced by poetic theory and conceptions from the very beginning. The teachers of the school founded by Caitanya, who was regarded by his devotees as a reincarnation of Kṛṣṇa, not only took over such important and central concepts as rasa, which they naturally gave a bhakti

317 See J. EGGELING, Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, VII, London 1904, No. 3907. "The work is of essentially the same character as the same author's *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta,* with which it has indeed much of its matter in common... But, besides containing a good deal of new matter, it is arranged in a totally different way, so as virtually to constitute a different work." (J. EGGELING, *ibid.*)

318 A.N. UPADHYE, Siricimḍhakavvaṃ of Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka, BhV 8 (1941), p. 60 ff.

319 See HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, III, Calcutta 1934, No. 5555.

320 See p. 204 ff. below.

321 Cf. J. EGGELING, *op. cit.*, No. 3881.

significance, they also gave a deeper, religious and mystical, sense to the conventions of secular poetry, with close reference to Sanskrit theory. Good works and knowledge pave the way to preman, a passionate and exalted form of love that man must experience if he is to know god. Filled with this love, he experiences Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa's śakti, Rādhā, who, delightful in her beauty, partly is identical in nature with Kṛṣṇa, partly differs from him, and participates in the ecstasies of love of the divine couple. We owe a Padyāvalī, a collection of devotional lyrics, and a Stavamālā[322], i.e., "Garland of Hymns", to the most important exponent of the Caitanya sect, the versatile savant and "poet-devotee" Rūpa Gosvāmin.[323] His Stavamālā is an anthology of shorter works such as the Mukundamuktāvalī[324], Govindabirudāvalī, Svayamutprekṣitalīlā, etc., put together by a nephew of Rūpa Gosvāmin's, the equally famous Jīva Gosvāmin. Raghunāthadāsa, a fellow-pupil and friend of Rūpa Gosvāmin's, wrote a Stavāvalī[325], i.e., a collection of stotras, though they are not of the same quality artistically. Among the successors to Caitanya's hymns to Kṛṣṇa we find the Caitanyacandrāmṛta by Prabodhānanda, also known as the author of a Śṛṅgārasaptaśatikā, and the Kṛṣṇāhnikakaumudī by Paramānanda(dāsasena) Kavikarṇapūra[326], who also wrote a poetic life of Caitanya, the Caitanyacaritāmṛta(kāvya), the drama Caitanyacandrodaya and the Ānandavṛndāvanacampū. Part of this last work, which describes the childhood of Kṛṣṇa in prose and verse, is the Devakīsutastuti, in praise of Kṛṣṇa as the son of Devakī. This section has sometimes been lifted out of the Ānandavṛndāvanacampū and printed separately as an independent collection of stotras.[327] Paramānandadāsasena, who was born in Bengal shortly before the death of Caitanya, was the son of Śivānanda, one of Caitanya's own pupils. Another poet who bears the title of honour "kavikarṇapūra" is supposed to be the author of the Camatkāracandrikā, the "Moonlight of (Great) Surprise."[328] It is divided into four sargas which describe the amorous relationships between Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and her companions. The poem, a devotional mahākāvya generally attributed to a Kavikarṇapūra Gosvāmin, is not by Paramānandadāsasena but by a fellow-countryman, Viśvanātha Cakravartin, whom we know to be the author of the Gaurāṅgalīlāmṛta and the Kṛṣṇabhāvanāmṛta.[329]

322 BHAVADATTA ŚASTRI and K.P. PARAB, The Stava-mālā of Śrī-Rūpadeva with the commentary of Śrījīvadeva, Bombay 1903 (NSP). With Jīva Gosvāmin's commentary.

323 See p. 126 above.

324 The *Mukundamuktāvalī* is also published separately in KM 2, Bombay 1886.

325 Edition in Bengali script by the Radharamana Press, Baharampur (Murshidabad) 1884, 1923.

326 Further bibliographical data about the author and details of other Bengali *stotra* poets will be found in S.K. DE, Early History of Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal, Calcutta 1942.

327 See HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, III, Calcutta 1934, No. 5744.

328 See. J. EGGELING, *op. cit.*, No. 3882 and HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, *op. cit.*, No. 5200.

329 See S.K. DE, Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal, Calcutta 1942.

One of the numerous hymns in honour of Vedāntadeśika is the Abdamālikā[329a], an extremely elaborate stotra in 64 stanzas of varying metres. Its author, Raṅgācārya of Cettalur, is fond of alliteration, hidden words (gūḍha), rhyming and śleṣa.

No history of literature will ever be able to deal with the whole vast treasure-house of religious and panegyric hymnody, representing as it does one of the richest fields of Indian poetry as regards the number of titles and manuscripts. Let us finally look at two works which deserve our attention because the two learned authors have made use of a device that increases both the attractiveness and the difficulty of their poems to a very considerable degree, quite in accord with the aims of late kāvya. Sūryadeva (or Sūrya Paṇḍita), poet and astronomer, wrote his Rāmakṛṣṇakāvya[330] about the year 1540. It has 38 stanzas in all, and is so arranged that alternate passages sing the praises of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa respectively. If one reads any of the pādas backwards, it will be found to be phonetically identical, syllable for syllable, with the same pāda read from beginning to end. As the technical term for this sort of poem is anulomavilomākṣarakāvya, i.e., a poem whose syllables can be read in either direction or, to use the Sanskrit expression, "with or against the nap (loma)", Sūryadeva's work is also called the Rāmakṛṣṇavilomākṣarakāvya.[331] The Rāghavayādavīya[332], a similar poem, was written by the polyhistor and poet from the south of India, Veṅkaṭādhvarin (17th century) who, apart from several essays on Mīmāṃsā, also wrote two works of grammar, one treatise on Nyāya and another on Dharma, a number of plays, works on the theory of poetry and campūs as well as the panegyric poems Lakṣmīsahasra, Śrīnivāsasahasra and Śravaṇānanda. The 32 stanzas of the Rāghavayādavīya, which Veṅkaṭādhvarin himself wrote a commentary to, are in praise of Rāma (= Rāghava) and Kṛṣṇa (= Yādava) and, like Sūryadeva's poem, composed in the anulomavilomākṣarakāvya manner. Let us take as an example the second stanza, in which both narratives commence. When read from beginning to end (anuloma), it describes the city in which Rāma was born; when read backwards (viloma)[333], however, we get a description of Kṛṣṇa's birthplace.

[329a] Ed.: E. TRAPP and M. HAHN, WZKS 22 (1978), p. 67 ff. (with German translation).

[330] Ed.: in J. HAEBERLIN, KS; in KM 11, Bombay 1895. Cf. also J. EGGELING, *op. cit.*, No. 3912 and K.L. JANERT, Indische Handschriften, I, Wiesbaden 1962 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland II, 1), No. 349.

[331] *Rāmakṛṣṇānulomavilomākṣarakāvya* would have been more correct. Sūryadeva himself, however, called his work a *vilomaracanākāvya.*

[332] Rāghavayādavīya par Veṅkaṭādhvarin. Texte sanskrit édité par M.S. Narasimhacharya. Etude et Traduction par M.-CL. PORCHER, Pondichéry 1972 (Publ. de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 46). Detailed information about Veṅkaṭādhvarin and his oeuvre in M.-CL. PORCHER, Un poème satirique sanskrit: La Viśvaguṇādarśacampū de Veṅkaṭādhvarin, etc., Pondichéry 1972 (Publ. de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 46, Introduction, p. 1 ff), and M.-CL. PORCHER, Figures de style en sanskrit, théories des alaṃkāraśāstra: analyse de poèmes de Veṅkaṭādhvarin, Paris 1978 (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Série in-8°, 45).

[333] The lines must be read by *akṣaras*, i.e., by syllables, which are frequently divided up into words differently than when read from beginning to end. For example, the initial word, *sāketākhyā*, when read backwards, becomes *khyātā ke sā* and the last word in the stanza, *sāvāśārāvā*, becomes *vārāśāv ās(ā)*.

anuloma:

sāketākhyā jyāyām āsīd yā viprādīptāryādhārā /
pūr ājītādevādyāviśvāsāgryā sāvāśārāvā //

viloma:

vārāśāv āsāgryā sāśvā vidyāvādetājīrā pūḥ /
rādhāryāptā dīprā vidyāsīmā yā jyākhyātā ke sā //

Read in the normal way, this stanza is part of the Rāma legend and may be translated:

"On earth[334] there was a city (called) Sāketa that was illuminated[335] by wise (Brahmans) and sustained by Vaiśyas.[336] The son of Aja (i.e., King Daśaratha) won[337] it. This distinguished (city) distrusted (only) non-gods and similar (beings)[338] and (was filled with the satisfied) sound of the eaters of sacrifices[339] (i.e., the gods)."

The reverse reading, which deals with the Kṛṣṇa legend, reads as follows:

"By the water[340] near the lake[341] there was a distinguished city (named Dvārakā) equipped with horses, a place of (learned men) who had carried off the victory in the battle for knowledge[342], brilliantly[343], (because) they had received Rādhā's lord[344] (i.e., Kṛṣṇa); (the place was) the remotest frontier of knowledge and its fame (was) widespread on earth."[345]

Modern readers with a sound knowledge of the structure of aesthetic texts are on the whole better equipped to approach this sort of poetry with an unbiased mind than earlier European critics such as A.B. Keith, who, faced with similar or even with less elaborate texts, all too easily resorted to expressions like "grave errors of taste", "mannerisms", or "intellectual exercises of no high value". Whatever opinion some critics may take, or have taken, one can hardly ignore the fact that anulomaviloma poetry, which can be found even in mahākāvya, does show, albeit in an exaggerated form, one characteristic that is integral to all poetry and is particularly strong in India, namely a tendency to aim for a maximum of ambiguity and textual difficulty. At times, of course, this tendency may become an end in itself, used in absurdum, merely as display. Other devices besides ambiguity and textual obscurity were favoured by connoisseurs of kāvya. Veṅkaṭādhvarin's Rāghavayādavīya, for instance, is written in the majestic and solemn-sounding

334 *jyāyām.*
335 *viprādīptā.*
336 *āryādhārā.*
337 *ājītā* < *āji-itā.*
338 *adevādyāviśvāsā* < *a-deva-ādya-aviśvāsā.*
339 *sāvāśārāvā.*
340 *ke.*
341 *vārāśau,* explained in the commentary as identical in meaning with *jalarāśau.*
342 *vidyāvādetājīrā* < *vidyā-vāda-ita-āji-irā.*
343 *dīprā.*
344 *rādhāryāptā* < *rādhā-ārya-āptā.*
345 *jyākhyātā.*

Vidyunmālā metre of four times eight syllables. His virtuosity does not consist merely of mastering this unusual and difficult metre; he also displays astonishing verbal ingenuity, using here only words with long syllables as demanded by the strict requirements of the metre.

6. *Other Species of Short Poetry: Riddles and Carmina Figurata*

As we saw in the introduction[346], riddles in verse were also of great importance. Although not many examples by major poets have been preserved, all writers must have been familiar with them. Not only were riddles used as games in aristocratic society, they also played an important part in the training of poets, in poetic contests and in kāvyagoṣṭhīs. Their immense popularity in cultivated urban circles is illustrated by the fact that riddles, in particular certain sorts, are mentioned even in the Kāmasūtra[347] where, like improvised poems (kāvyaṣamasyāpūraṇa), a knowledge of metrics (chandojñāna) and familiarity with the dictionary (abhidhānakoṣa), they constitute one of the sixty-four auxiliary sciences (aṅgavidyā) to the theory of love, i.e., the special accomplishments, arts and knowledge that were part of the education of the highly skilled hetaera (gaṇikā) and the spoilt town-dweller (nāgara) who devoted his life to the enjoyment of love and art. Some critics treat riddle poetry together with its variants as a particular means of embellishment using sound (śabdālaṃkāra).[348] It is dealt with in most detail by Daṇḍin, who quotes from earlier masters. In his Kāvyādarśa III, 97, he says that riddle poetry was used in games by connoisseurs, in goṣṭhīs, as entertainment, to give secret advice in public situations and for the confusion of outsiders.

The form of riddle known as praśnottarakāvya[349] was especially popular at the courts of princes. At the assemblies of learned men and poets summoned by rulers who patronized literature, a poet could reap a rich reward by reciting enigmatic stanzas which, composed according to definite rules, asked the audience one or more questions. It is typical of these riddles that the answer (uttara) to the question was to be found hidden in the poem itself. Riddle poetry must be regarded above all as a short poem, a muktaka. While a sophisticated, well thought-out choice of words allowed the poet both to pose a question and covertly to hint at the answer in the same verse, the connoisseur's chief pleasure was to educe the question and answer from the poem as well as to enjoy the author's skilful use of language. Although riddle poetry belongs to the short form of kāvya and, frequently being composed on the spur of the moment, has often not been preserved, there can be no

346 See p. 16 above.

347 1, 3, 16.

348 E.g. Bhāmaha, *Kāvyalaṃkāra* 2, 19; Daṇḍin, *Kāvyād.* 3, 96–124; *Agnip.* 343, 22 and 25–26 and Rudraṭa, *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 5, 25 (29).

349 I use the term *praśnottarakāvya,* "question-and-answer-poem", as the terminology is by no means uniform and the name that is often used, *prahelikā,* does not usually refer to the category as such but only to some sorts of riddle poem.

doubt that it was one of the most popular forms of Indian lyrical poetry. In many respects it conformed to the requirements of kāvya: it was written in many different metres, some of them difficult, it made use of an unusual vocabulary comprehensible only to the connoisseur and, like so many other poems, it was two-dimensional in that behind the meaning first perceived, in this case the question, there lay a second, hidden, meaning in the poem; the answer, which the reader or listener had to decipher for himself. As a poetic exercise to gain mastery of different metres, vocabulary and how to suggest meaning, the riddle complemented other forms mentioned in the introductory chapters above such as making changes in the wording used by great poets, completing a poem of which one has been given some lines or improvisation on a given theme. The fact that riddles often either mentioned the king or were addressed to him or one of the poet's rivals confirms that they were in general use at courts and in assemblies of poets. It is much less common for them to be addressed to a lover or a beloved. In stanza after stanza imperatives such as vada, "speak", or brūhi, "say", challenge the king, the poet's opponent or the connoisseur to find the solution to the task. This is the case in the following stanza, an example of śabdārthavibhaktivacanabhinnajāti, i.e., the sort (of riddle) that is ambiguous because of word (śabda), meaning (artha), case (vibhakti) and number (vacana):

samayam iha vadanti kaṃ niśītham
śamayati kān vada vārivāhavṛndam /
vitarati jagatāṃ manaḥsu kīdṛṅ
mudam atimātram ayaṃ sadā taḍāgaḥ //[350]

"What time does one here (on earth) call night? Say, what do the rain-clouds quench? What kind of pool always gives exceedingly great pleasure to the human heart?"

The answers to the first and second questions are aravim, "the sunless (time)" (acc. sing.), and davān, "forest fires" (acc. pl.) respectively. When joined together, these two make a new word with a different meaning which, in a different case (nom. sing.), gives the answer to the third question: aravindavān, "(a pool) filled with lotus flowers". In his great novel Kādambarī, Bāṇa, who as King Harṣa's court poet was quite familiar with the manners of the court, describes the pastimes of King Śūdraka, who filled the idle hours with a great variety of activities, amongst others with just the sort of riddles mentioned above: "Sometimes he was busy with music, himself having begun to play on the mṛdaṅga drum, when his bejewelled bracelets were constantly jerked about; and his jewelled ear-ornaments made a tinkling sound as they were shaken about when he played upon the instrument called ghargharikā. Sometimes he was occupied with hunting, emptying the forest (of beasts of prey) by means of arrows incessantly discharged. Sometimes he composed poetical pieces, having called together a (critical) assembly of learned men. Sometimes he carried on discussions about the (various) śāstras. Sometimes he listened to tales, romances, histories and legends. Sometimes he amused himself with painting. Sometimes he

350 Dharmadāsa, *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana* 1, 53.

played on the lute. Sometimes he waited upon the feet of the holy sages that came to see him. And sometimes he offered (for being solved, the various literary puzzles known as) akṣaracyutaka[351], mātrācyutaka[352], bindumatī[353], gūḍhacaturthapāda[354] and prahelikā."[355] As this passage shows, princes and kings often recited enigmatic stanzas either written by themselves or by others. Indian rulers were not averse to dazzling their listeners with their own works, and always took pleasure in testing and retesting the wisdom and quick-wittedness of the learned men and poets gathered at their courts, even when the stanzas they declaimed were not of their own making.

The ephemeral nature of riddle poetry and the fact that it was often for entertainment, for special occasions or for practice had the result that it only rarely had a purely aesthetic function and, when it did, hardly ever achieved its aims. With the passing of time the rules governing riddle poetry become stricter and more complicated with the result that the first concern of the poet became to ensure that the more or less intricate text was capable of bearing up the word-play intended; for example, that it was possible neatly to combine the answers to the first, second, third and even fourth questions although, as far as content was concerned, the various parts of the poem might have nothing to do with each other. The following stanza from Kālidāsa's drama Vikramorvaśīya shows that the literary riddle was also employed by the great poets. It is taken from the fourth act, which consists mainly of a long monologue by King Purūravas. The poet describes how the king, overwhelmed with the anguish of separation, searches everywhere for Urvaśī, and how he asks various animals and plants whether they have seen his beloved. Eventually he recognizes signs here and there that might lead him to Urvaśī. In IV, 51, he asks the mountain in simple Śloka metre:

sarvakṣitibhṛtāṃ nātha dṛṣṭā sarvāṅgasundarī /
rāmā ramye vanānte 'smin mayā virahitā tvayā //

"Hast thou, O lord of all mountains, seen in this delightful wood the (maiden who has become) separated from me, the delightful (one), the (one) beautiful in every limb?"

The same stanza is then used to allow the mountain to give the reply as an echo:

sarvakṣitibhṛtāṃ nātha dṛṣṭā sarvāṅgasundarī /
rāmā ramye vanānte 'smin mayā virahitā tvayā //

351 In this sort of riddle, the meaning sought is to be found by omitting a syllable (*akṣara*).

352 The kind of riddle in which the new meaning is obtained by omitting a mora (*mātrā*).

353 A riddle poem in which the long and short syllables are expressed by numbers.

354 In a *gūḍhacaturthapāda* the last quarter of the stanza is concealed in the first three quarters of the stanza.

355 The *prahelikā* comprises several forms of question-and-answer riddles. It takes the form of "a phrase, statement or question constructed deliberately so that its meaning shall be misconstrued, but in some way intimating a solution to the difficulty thus created" (E. Gerow, A Glossary of Indian Figures of Speech, The Hague-Paris 1971, p. 210.). Cf. also M.-Cl. Porcher, On prahelikā, L. Sternbach Felicitation Vol., Lucknow 1979, p. 325 ff. Translation of the passage from Bāṇa after M.R. Kale, A Literal English Translation of Bāṇa's Kādambarī, Bombay 1924, p. 8.

"I have, O lord of all lords, seen in this delightful wood the (maiden who has become) separated from you, the delightful (one), the (one) beautiful in every limb."

Kālidāsa creates this effect by giving the stanza the form of praśnottarasamajāti, the sort of riddle in which the question and the answer sound identical. We interpret the stanza as a question if we connect the finite verb dṛṣṭā with tvayā: dṛṣṭā tvayā, "hast thou seen (her)?". However, as soon as we connect dṛṣṭā with mayā the same context will give us the echo that answers Purūravas: dṛṣṭā mayā, "I have seen (her)". As the compound kṣitibhṛt is formed on a model[356] that can be used both for "mountain" and for "king", sarvakṣitibhṛtāṃ nātha can be interpreted either as "lord of all mountains" or "lord of all lords".

As we saw above, certain critics treated some forms of literary riddle as decorative figures. On the other hand, the yamaka, one of the four earliest alaṃkāras[357] that Bharata dealt with, is often considered a riddle; it is described as a play on words "in which a part of a verse, specified either as to length or position or both, is repeated within the confines of the same verse, usually in such a way that the meaning of the two readings is different".[358] All critics since Bharata have insisted that the meaning of the repeated passage shall be different; educated readers must divide up the words on a different pattern on the second reading or take each word as a double-entendre. The result in either case will be paronomasia (śleṣa). As we shall see, these figures were exceedingly popular and, during the course of their development, they were sometimes used not merely for isolated passages but for whole poems. Let us take as an example one stanza from the Śaurikathodaya, a yamaka poem by Vāsudeva, a poet from the south of India:

tulita*kalāpikalāpā* keśakalāpena mada*kalāpikalāpā* /
kṛṣṇaṃ *gopamahelā*tatir anuvavrāja dṛśi mṛ*gopamahelā* // (I, 51)

"A group of cow-herds' wives, whose masses of hair, (because of the colour), resembled peacocks and whose speech was like that of intoxicated cuckoos, followed after Kṛṣṇa with deer-like coquetry in their eyes."[359]

Regarded on the broadest scale, however, the art of riddle-writing was not taught in books on poetics but in specialized works describing in detail a number of different sorts of riddles, including the akṣaracyutaka, mātrācyutaka, gūḍhacaturthapāda and praśnottarasama already mentioned. They adopted the usual method of stating the rules and giving examples to illustrate them. We should particularly

356 "bearing the earth" and "maintaining the earth" respectively, with "earth" as the first element and "bearing/maintaining" as the second.

357 Namely *upamā, rūpaka, dīpaka* and *yamaka.*

358 E. GEROW, *op. cit.*, p. 223 ff.

359 C. SUNESON, Śaurikathodaya. A Yamaka-poem by Vāsudeva. Edited with a translation, notes and an introduction, Stockholm 1969 (Skrifter utgivna av Föreningen för orientaliska studier I), pp. 52 and 116.

notice Dharmadāsa's Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana[360] (composed somewhere between the 6th and the middle of the 11th centuries), Kīka's Budhavaktramaṇḍana[361] and the late Kavīndrakarṇābharaṇa[362] (1st half of 18th century) by Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa. The immense popularity of riddles in Jaina circles is probably connected with the predilection of Jaina scholars for teaching the faith by catechism.[363]

In works on poetics citra poetry (in Skt. citra or citrakāvya, carmen figuratum)[364] is counted as belonging to the same genre as the literary riddle. Characteristic of citra poetry are (a) limiting the number of phonemes (usually consonants) in a stanza to one, two or only a few, and (b) arranging the syllables in a definite, predetermined order. In both cases they frequently stand out visually, too. In the latter sort of citrakāvya the poem can be read in more than one direction. We have already made the acquaintance of "hop-scotch" (anulomaviloma), the syllables of which can be read backwards to give the same sound but a different meaning.[365] Other well-known types that arrange their syllables in a definite order are the "zigzag" (gomūtrika, literally "cow-piss"), the double palindrome (sarvatobhadra), the "elephant-gait" (gajapada) and the "horse-gait" (turagapada). Let us choose as an example a gajapada in which the four quarters of the stanza, if written out in four lines, can either be read in the normal way or, if read vertically, will give pairs of syllables:

360 Ed. with transl. of the 1st and 2nd chapters in: M. KRAATZ, Das Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana des Dharmadāsa (ein Lehrbuch der Rätselkunde), etc., Marburg 1968, 2 vols. (diss.). See also: V. RAGHAVAN, The Vidgadhamukhamaṇḍana of Dharmadāsa, in: P.K. Gode Commemoration Volume, Poona 1960, III, p. 224.

361 Ed. in JGJh 6 (1948/49), p. 289 ff.

362 Ed in KM 8, Bombay 1891. As regards the author, see S.K. DE, Sanskrit Poetics, Calcutta 1960², I, p. 302 ff.

363 Cf. W. SCHUBRING, Die Lehre der Jainas, Berlin-Leipzig 1935, §§ 189, 196 b.

364 Lit.: E. GEROW, *op. cit.*, p. 175 ff.; KALANATH JHA, Figurative Poetry in Sanskrit Literature, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1975; Rev. W. YATES, Essay on Sanskrit Alliteration, Asiatic[k] Researches of the Royal Asiatic[k] Society of Bengal, (Calcutta) 20 (1836), p. 135 ff.; H.R. KAPADIA, Illustrations of Letter-Diagrams, JUB, New Series (1955), 2 (Arts No. 29), p. 60 ff.; N.S. 24 (1956), 2 (Arts No. 30), p. 97 ff.; N.S. 25 (1957), 2 (Arts No. 31), p. 82 ff.; M.B. EMMENEAU, Nāgapāśa, Nāgabandha, Sarpabandha, and Related Words, BDC 20 (1960, S.K. De Felicitation Volume), p. 291 ff.

365 See p. 149 above and the example given there.

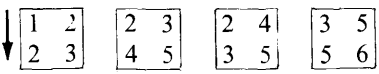
1	2	2	3	2	4	3	5
ye	nā	nā	dhī	nā	vā	dhī	rā
2	3	4	5	3	5	5	6
nā	dhī	vā	rā	dhī	rā	rā	jan
1	2	2	3	2	4	3	5
kiṃ	nā	nā	śaṃ	nā	kaṃ	śaṃ	te
2	3	4	5	3	5	5	6
nā	śaṃ	kan	te	śaṃ	te	te	jaḥ

The normal reading: ⟶

1 2 2 3 2 4 3 5

2 3 4 5 3 5 5 6

Vertical reading:



"Those of your courtiers, O King, who preserve the force of various epithets, are powerful, who eradicate obstacles and who do not preserve non-wisdom, why do they not notice your heavenly grace, replete with many desires? (They do not observe that) your glory is not auspicious."[366]

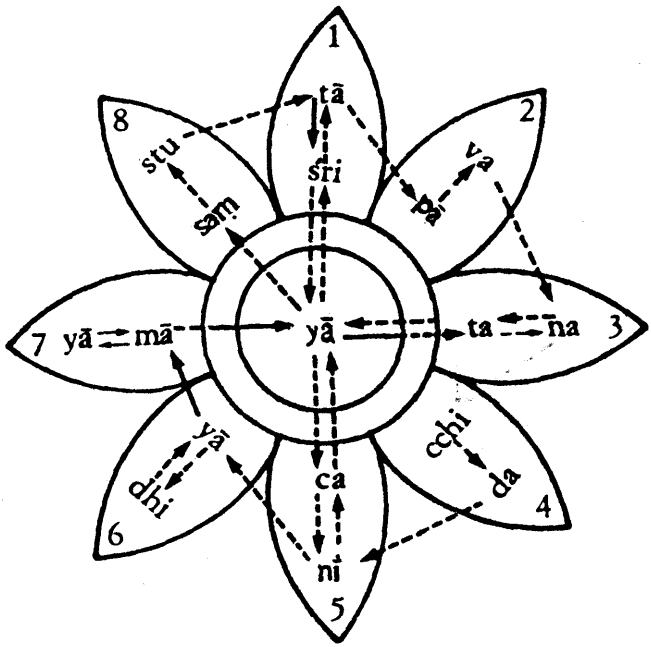
The figure was given the name gajapada because the movement of two syllables at once is like the gait of an elephant, whose two legs move in unison.

Another way of arranging syllables is the carmen figuratum proper (citrabandha, sometimes shortened to bandha). In these poems the syllables produce the visual image of some concrete object such as a sword (khaḍga), a wheel (cakra), a bow (dhanu), a lotus (padma), a snake (nāga), a mortar (musala), a lance (śakti), an arrow (śara) or a plough (hala). They are to be read so that the wording agrees with the shape of the object the poem is named after. In certain cases, a sub-category develops: padma(bandha), for example, may belong to the type with four, eight or twelve petals. The following illustration shows a stanza in the shape of a lotus with eight petals. In the centre is the syllable yā. Not only does the poem begin and end with this syllable, it also recurs after every three petals, as the arrows show:

yāśritā pāvanatayā yātanacchid anīcayā /
yācanīyā dhiyā māyāyāmāyāsaṃ stutā śriyā // [367]

366 Translation by E. GEROW, *op. cit.*, p. 180 f.

367 Bhoja, *Sārasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, ed. Pt. K. ŚARMA and V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR, Bombay 1934, (KM 94), pp. 124 and 272. The figure from *ibid.*, p. 1 (appendix) and KALANATHA JHA, *op.*



"The Goddess, who is resorted to by sacredness and who brings to an end (lit., who is bringer to an end of) (all) torments, (she) should be implored, with an elevated mind, for the diminution (āyāsa) of the extension (āyāma) of māyā; (she is) lauded (even) by Śrī."[368]

Western readers tend to regard this sort of poetry with scepticism. However, if one is to form an accurate conception of the significance of riddle poetry in the narrow sense of the word, i.e., citrabandha, in classical Indian poetry, it is essential to realize its importance to the philosophy and practice of Indian poets. Since it is one of the chief concerns of kāvya to present the reader or hearer with a text rendered difficult in several ways, not the least of which is by the use of rare, sometimes

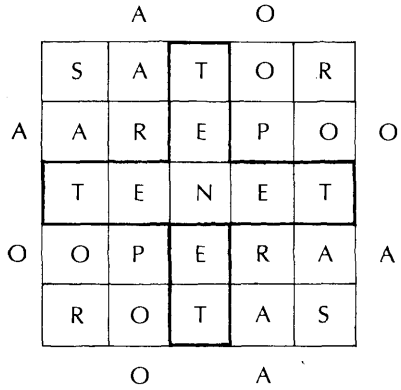
cit., p. 197. The stanza lacks clarity of expression (*prasāda*) and has artistic composition (*citratva*) as its only merit (*guṇa*). It may be construed as follows: *yā* (*devī*) *pāvanatayā āśritā* (*yā ca*) *yātanacchid*, (*sā*) *anīcayā dhiyā māyāyāmāyāsaṃ yācanīyā*. (*sā*) *śriyā* (*api*) *stutā*.

368 Translation by R.N. DANDEKAR, Poona, who, in a letter dated 21.9.1982, kindly sent me the following explanatory notes: "(1) *yātana* is to be understood in the sense of *yātanā*, though Kośas do not usually give 'torment' as the meaning of *yātana*. However, grammatically it is possible to derive that meaning. Moreover, the *padmabandha* reqires *na*. (2) The word *āyāsa* is used here very loosely, and is to be understood in a secondary – or even tertiary – sense. The root *ā yas* (causal) means 'to diminish'. *māyāyāmāyāsam* is the object of *yācanīyā*. The general sense is: 'She should be begged complete annihilation of *māyā*.' (3) *stutā śriyā*: this could be understood either as an independent clause (as shown in the translation) or as a relative clause: *yā pāvanatayā āśritā, yā yātanacchid, yā ca śriyā stutā, sā yācanīyā*... But this latter may constitute a *dūrānvaya*."

artificially made words, it would be natural for poets, who are familiar with complex procedures, to adopt the methods used in citra poetry. Carmina figurata were not composed only by poetasters eager to show off their would-be learning by employing these techniques; a display of linguistic virtuosity is one of the characteristic features of classical poetry and a surprisingly large number of citrabandha stanzas were composed even by great poets such as Bhāravi and Māgha, as we shall see. Major poets admittedly used these flamboyant devices with a certain restraint in that, when writing mahākāvya, they only demonstrated their mastery of citrakāvya in one or two sections of the work. In those sections, however, they did not hesitate to pile figure upon figure.[369] Examples that have been preserved show that this sort of poetry, however brilliant it might be, generally has little of aesthetic value to offer. It should be mentioned that texts of this nature presuppose that this poetry is apprehended in a different manner. Citrabandha stanzas which aim at creating visual or other external effects can no longer be regarded as being poetry designed for recitation, but, even more than other late forms of kāvya, are intended to be read and demand familiarity with the written word.

The second of the two main types of citra poetry is that limiting the number of phonetic classes employed. As already mentioned, in this sort of poem the author uses as many vowels as he wishes, but limits the choice of consonants to one, two or only a few classes. "Two-consonant poems", dvyakṣara, were very popular whereas

[369] It should be noted that attempts are not lacking in various genres of European literature to present the tonal content of a text or poem, etc. in visual form. "Das geheimnisvollste 'Magische Quadrat', Anagramme und Palindrome vereinigend, ist die berühmte Sator-Arepo-Formel. Dazu kurze Erklärungen: Der Bauer (Sämann) Arepo (Eigenname) lenkt mit seiner



Hand (Arbeit) den Pflug (Räder). Religiöse Deutung: Gott (*Sator*) beherrscht (*tenet*) die Schöpfung (*rotas*), die Werke der Menschen (*opera*) und die Erzeugnisse der Erde (*arepo* = Pflug). Die Wörter lassen sich zunächst horizontal und vertikal viermal lesen. Aus den wenigen Buchstaben hat man 13 anagrammatische (lateinische) Sätze gebildet. Die Vereinigung der beiden Wörter '*tenet*' in der Mitte bildet ein Kreuz. Durch Rösselsprung ergeben sich die Wörter '*Pater noster*' und AO = das Monogramm CHRISTI usw. usw. Das Quadrat galt daher als Zauberzeichen" (G.R. HOCKE, Manierismus in der Literatur, Reinbek 1959, p. 24.) In German poetry *carmina figurata* were much in fashion about the time of the Baroque

the ekākṣara, the "one-consonant poem", being very difficult to compose, was much rarer. The following is a famous stanza from the Kirātārjunīya by Bhāravi, the best-known linguistic virtuoso after Māgha. He uses only the consonant "n":

na nonanunno nunnono nānā nānānanā nanu /
nunno 'nunno nanunneno nānenā nunnanunnanut // [370]

"No man is he who is wounded by a low man; no man is the man who wounds a low man, O ye of diverse aspect; the wounded is not wounded if his master is unwounded; not guiltless is he who wounds one sore wounded."[371]

It is interesting to note that some figures of this type have also found their way into long passages of prose mahākāvya. When the lips of Mantragupta, the narrator of the ninth story in the Daśakumāracarita, have been bruised in the game of love, Daṇḍin writes the whole of this chapter without using one single labial so as to spare Mantragupta pain.

period, but scattered examples are to be found in all eras. Among the poems written by the German poet Sigmund von Birken (1626–1681), who lived in the Baroque period, there is one in the form of a cross and another that is heart-shaped ("*Florian bildet seine Gedanken aus in Form eines Hertzens*"), while a poem by one of his contemporaries, Philipp von Zesen (1619–1689) is in the shape of a palm-tree ("*Palmbaum der höchst-löblichen Frucht-bringenden Geselschaft zuehren aufgerichtet*"); see K.O. CONRADY, Das grosse deutsche Gedichtbuch, Königstein/Ts. 1978, pp. 119–121. For *carmina figurata* in European literature, see D. HIGGINS, George Herbert's Pattern Poems: In Their Tradition, West Glover, Vermont and New York 1977 (Bibliography pp. 75 – 79); U. ERNST, Die Entwicklung der optischen Poesie in Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Ein literaturhistorisches Forschungsdesiderat, GRM, N.F. 26 (1976), p. 379 ff.; and U. ERNST, Europäische Figurengedichte in Pyramidenform aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert: Konstruktionsmodelle und Sinnbildfunktionen, Euphorion: Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte 76 (1982), p. 295 ff.

370 *Kirāt.* 15, 14.

371 Translation from A.B. KEITH, A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 114.

CHAPTER IV

POETRY OF THE MAJOR FORM – *SARGABANDHA*

1. Introductory Remarks

Like poetry of the minor form, laghukāvya, which was dealt with in the previous sections of this book, the major form, mahākāvya, consists of an immense number of works the majority of which have been little researched and few translated into other languages. Indeed, many of them exist only in manuscript and have not even been edited. Long poems are written either in (1) a variety of different metres, (2) literary prose or (3), particularly common in the case of mahākāvya[1], in a combination of the two. Although it is called "long poetry", the most important characteristic of the genre is not the length of the work but the way in which it is constructed: poems of the major form are almost invariably divided into chapters. In metrical poems the number of sections, generally called sargas, is usually between five and twenty although no limit is anywhere laid down. There are, however, plenty of works that are longer. As these works consist of sargas, or "cantos" to use the commonest English translation, the word to be used for all metrical mahākāvyas, even older ones, is the probably more ancient term sargabandha, i.e., "chain of sargas". Poetry that is a mixture of prose and verse is called campū in Sanskrit while works written in the heavier prose style are subdivided into two categories, kathā (fictive story) and ākhyāyikā (true story) there being, however, no common word under which they may both be classified. Strictly speaking, it is quite incorrect not merely to call poetry in a metrical form sargabandha but also to use for it the name of its most important member, mahākāvya. It would be more consistent to keep the word mahākāvya as a comprehensive term covering not only mahākāvya in the narrow sense but all three species of major poem, i.e., (1) sargabandha, (2) prose poems (kathā and ākhyāyikā) and (3) campū. Daṇḍin[2], Bhāmaha[3] and Rudraṭa[4] give us rules as to how long poems may be judged.

[1] As shown in the table on p. 47, *laghukāvya* written in a mixture of verse and artistic prose is only to be found in inscriptions (and religious epistles).

[2] *Kāvyād.* 1, 14–19 and 23–31.

[3] *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 1, 19–23.

[4] *Ibid.* 16, 7–19.

favoured and occur in most poems of the major form. Examples are those mentioned in Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa I, 16–17 of a city, the sea, a mountain, a season, the rising of the sun or moon, a park, the games (of the beauties in the women's quarters) in the water, a carousal, the first blossoming of love (pūrvarāga), love in union (sambhogaśṛṅgāra) and love in separation (vipralambhaśṛṅgāra), a wedding, the birth of a prince, a council (of the king) with his ministers, the despatch of a message, a battle, and descriptions of the successes (abhyudaya) achieved by the hero. Descriptions such as these normally require one, two or more stanzas but can on occasions extend over a whole sarga. In the latter case, when the whole canto deals with one single theme, we have what is in fact a saṃghāta, which is one of the most important forms of laghukāvya, as we saw in chapter III.[11] The description is a poem within the poem which can be removed from its context and its aesthetic qualities enjoyed separately, like a muktaka. The only difference between a sarga of this type and a true saṃghāta is that the opening stanza or stanzas of the former usually contain an explanation of why the poet has chosen this particular theme.[12] Another characteristic of every canto in a long poem is that it is written in the same metre except for the last stanzas, which are always in a different metre. As the word sarga is derived from the root sṛj, "release from oneself", "create", the real meaning of the term is "creation". It is quite possible that in older times the essential element in mahākāvya was felt to be the single canto, especially when the stanzas in it dealt with only one theme. According to this conception, mahākāvya would have arisen from the single act of creation the product of which – the sargas – were linked together[13] into a long poem (sargabandha) by the poet. Just as the multiple-stanza type of laghukāvya originated in the muktaka, so the major form of kāvya is built up of smaller units – the sargas.

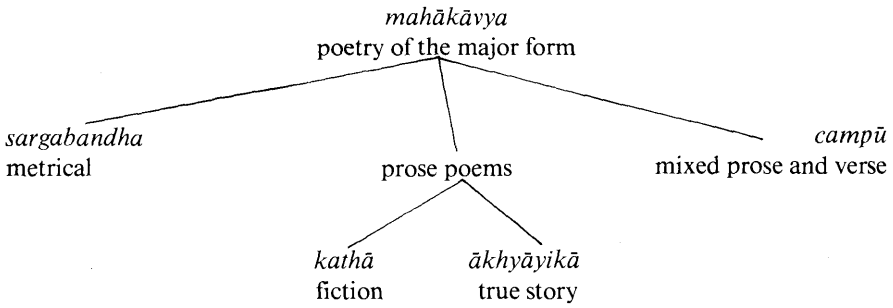
As we have seen, the single stanza is the central point around which poetic technique is built. It is given verbal polish by the addition of figures (alaṃkāra) at the poet's discretion, and it is couched in a suitable sentiment (rasa). Furthermore, since the technique of the implied (dhvani) which was so popular in lyrical poetry had also gained a foothold in mahākāvya, it is not unusual to find a second or even a third meaning hidden behind the plain statement. As in muktaka and yugmaka we can observe a clear tendency to let the length of the sentence and the stanza coincide. It is also noticeable that the inner coherence of a stanza or a canto is maintained not so much by the progress of the action as by the sentiment (rasa) that runs through the sarga or the whole poem. Cantos, which must not be too long[14], usually consist of from thirty to seventy stanzas linked together partly by the fact

[11] See p. 104 ff.

[12] According to the plan: Now the hero beholds the mountain named N.N. Description of the mountain – Now the hero enters the town N.N. Description of the town – Then spring came. Description of spring. There is an introductory stanza at the beginning of each of the six sections in the *Ṛtus*, although such introductions are not customary in *saṃghāta*.

[13] Skt. *bandh*, "bind".

[14] *Kāvyād.* 1, 18.



Modern literary criticism subscribes to the view that poetic language is not uniform in nature but can be divided into three categories; dramatic, epic and lyrical, each with its own characteristics. Drama is dialogic but epic and lyrical poetry are mainly monologic. In epic poetry language bears a very close relationship to the theme that links the various components together, whereas in lyrical poetry, which continually moulds language into definite forms, rhythm is the dominant factor. These views are undoubtedly correct as far as European literature is concerned but they have only a limited validity in kāvya. Although dialogue is naturally the most important component in dramatic language, in India drama was interspersed with so many lyrical stanzas that we cannot just classify it as drama and leave it at that. This is confirmed by the fact that Indian poetic critics, with the exception of those few who are concerned only with dramatic questions, are interested primarily in lyrical poetry and lyrical epics and freely quote stanzas taken from dramas. Their attention is focused mainly on (lyrical) stanzas and it seems to matter not a whit whether they come from a laghukāvya, a sargabandha or a drama. Even more diffuse is the dividing line between poetry of the minor form, most of which may justly be called lyrical, and metrical poetry of the major form, which in European languages is generally given the rather unsatisfactory name of "epic". Although early mahākāvya is a development of the rhapsodic art and has its roots in the epic, i.e., narrative recited to an audience, it has adapted to an ever greater degree to the lyrical minor form. While laghukāvya and mahākāvya were originally two more or less quite separate forms of poetry each with its own rules, the oldest (now lost) sargabandhas probably corresponding in scale to true epic, the epic content became steadily less prominent in classical sargabandha. The action now often provided merely a framework into which various details and descriptions could be fitted. Action was frequently treated with neglect – in some cases not even being brought to a conclusion – without, however, having any deleterious effect on the poetry. As traces of epic characteristics remained, it was still possible to speak of epic-lyrical poetry, but large parts of the long poem were written in complete accord with the precepts of laghukāvya. The centre of interest to poet and reader or listener alike became once more the stanza, which was usually easy to remove from its context.[5] This isolated stanza then acquired the same aesthetic value and was appreciated in the same way as a single-stanza poem, a muktaka.

2. *The Sargabandha*

The demands that must be placed on a long poem in metrical form have only been stated in detail by a few critics.[6] As its name indicates, it consists of sargas, "cantos", and begins either with a benediction (āśis), a respectful greeting (namaskriyā) or an indication of events to come (vastunirdeśa). According to Daṇḍin, Sanskrit is the proper language for a sargabandha[7], but Prākrit, Apabhraṃśa and, in more recent times, even vernaculars have been used. The material, which is either a story (kathā) based on tradition (itihāsa) or taken from real life, deals with one of the four aims of human existence.[8] The hero (nāyaka) is an ideal type incorporating a maximum of goodness, nobility and beauty; his adversary (pratināyaka), a monster of evil and intrigue. Some importance must be attached to the precept that the sequence of events in the sargabandha should follow the plan of the five so-called saṃdhis, literally, "junctures". According to this, every epic or lyrical poem should begin with the "opening" (mukha), against which is set the second saṃdhi, the "counter-opening" (pratimukha). While the third saṃdhi, the "embryo" (garbha), gradually unfolds the plot, the fourth leads to a sudden "test" (vimarśa), i.e., crisis, which is happily resolved in the fifth saṃdhi, the "dénouement" (nirvahaṇa). As we know, these rules which, like the concept of rasa, originate in the relatively early developed Indian dramatic theory, were in fact applied in the theatre.[9] However, they have hardly more than theoretic value for sargabandhas, indeed for mahākāvya as a whole, which paid little attention to plot, as we have already seen. Like drama, mahākāvya could not finish in tragedy. An unhappy ending was unthinkable as the hero, an ideal type, often divine or semidivine, could never go wrong. Poetry was also to teach the lesson that, thanks to divine providence, the good will always triumph in the end in spite of all the vagaries of fortune.[10]

The classical poet was not so much interested in details of the plot as in themes like those treated with such care and feeling in various kinds of laghukāvya, muktaka, saṃghāta and khaṇḍakāvya, in which beauty, richness of expression, sentiment and elegance of execution were the accomplishments aimed at. Although no actual restrictions were laid upon the poet's freedom, the number of themes available seems to have been limited. Certain descriptions were particularly

[5] Significantly enough, Daṇḍin stresses in *Kāvyād.* 1, 13 that he does not differentiate between *muktaka, kulaka, kośa* and *saṃghāta* as he considers these minor forms to be included in the concept *sargabandha.* In *Kāvyād.* 1, 34 he mentions Pravarasena's *Setubandha,* a *sargabandha* in Prākrit, characterizing it as *sāgaraḥ sūktiratnānām,* "a sea of jewel-stanzas".

[6] See p. 159 and notes 2–4.

[7] *Kāvyād.* 1, 37.

[8] *dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa;* see also p. 4, note 12.

[9] For the practice and theory of *saṃdhis* in drama see S. LIENHARD, Plot Development in Classical Indian Drama, IT 2 (1974), p. 135 ff. and M. Ch. BYRSKI, Methodology of the Analysis of Sanskrit Drama, Warsaw 1979, p. 61 ff.

[10] K. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Essays in Sanskrit Criticism, Dharwar 1974, p. 242.

favoured and occur in most poems of the major form. Examples are those mentioned in Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa I, 16–17 of a city, the sea, a mountain, a season, the rising of the sun or moon, a park, the games (of the beauties in the women's quarters) in the water, a carousal, the first blossoming of love (pūrvarāga), love in union (sambhogaśṛṅgāra) and love in separation (vipralambhaśṛṅgāra), a wedding, the birth of a prince, a council (of the king) with his ministers, the despatch of a message, a battle, and descriptions of the successes (abhyudaya) achieved by the hero. Descriptions such as these normally require one, two or more stanzas but can on occasions extend over a whole sarga. In the latter case, when the whole canto deals with one single theme, we have what is in fact a saṃghāta, which is one of the most important forms of laghukāvya, as we saw in chapter III.[11] The description is a poem within the poem which can be removed from its context and its aesthetic qualities enjoyed separately, like a muktaka. The only difference between a sarga of this type and a true saṃghāta is that the opening stanza or stanzas of the former usually contain an explanation of why the poet has chosen this particular theme.[12] Another characteristic of every canto in a long poem is that it is written in the same metre except for the last stanzas, which are always in a different metre. As the word sarga is derived from the root sṛj, "release from oneself", "create", the real meaning of the term is "creation". It is quite possible that in older times the essential element in mahākāvya was felt to be the single canto, especially when the stanzas in it dealt with only one theme. According to this conception, mahākāvya would have arisen from the single act of creation the product of which – the sargas – were linked together[13] into a long poem (sargabandha) by the poet. Just as the multiple-stanza type of laghukāvya originated in the muktaka, so the major form of kāvya is built up of smaller units – the sargas.

As we have seen, the single stanza is the central point around which poetic technique is built. It is given verbal polish by the addition of figures (alaṃkāra) at the poet's discretion, and it is couched in a suitable sentiment (rasa). Furthermore, since the technique of the implied (dhvani) which was so popular in lyrical poetry had also gained a foothold in mahākāvya, it is not unusual to find a second or even a third meaning hidden behind the plain statement. As in muktaka and yugmaka we can observe a clear tendency to let the length of the sentence and the stanza coincide. It is also noticeable that the inner coherence of a stanza or a canto is maintained not so much by the progress of the action as by the sentiment (rasa) that runs through the sarga or the whole poem. Cantos, which must not be too long[14], usually consist of from thirty to seventy stanzas linked together partly by the fact

[11] See p. 104 ff.

[12] According to the plan: Now the hero beholds the mountain named N.N. Description of the mountain – Now the hero enters the town N.N. Description of the town – Then spring came. Description of spring. There is an introductory stanza at the beginning of each of the six sections in the *Ṛtus*, although such introductions are not customary in *saṃghāta*.

[13] Skt. *bandh*, "bind".

[14] *Kāvyād.* 1, 18.

that each canto is written in one metre and partly by the artificial linking devices previously described.[15]

The titles of the mahākāvyas that have come down to us are not always definitive, as a number of works have two or more different names. The title is generally connected with the hero of the work (Gītagovinda, "The [Much-]Sung Govinda"), the hero's beloved (Jānakīharaṇa, "The Abduction of Sītā)" or the main characters (Kirātārjunīya, "[The Poem] about Arjuna and the Kirāta"). It may also take its title from the name of the hero's adversary, the expressed aim of the action (Śiśupālavadha, "The Killing of Śiśupāla"), the theme (Raghuvaṃśa, "The Raghu Clan") or simply the name of the author (Bhaṭṭikāvya, "Bhaṭṭi's Poem").

3. Sargabandhas before Kālidāsa

The early history of the sargabandha is lost in the mists of time. As already noticed, we must assume that this sort of poetry was above all a continuation of the epos which, however, was gradually transformed into the strictly applied form of metrical mahākāvya due to the influence of short poetry. The extensive extemporizations of epic poetry, which obeyed less strict linguistic and aesthetic criteria, were replaced by the more elaborate detail of the consciously poetic long poem whose technique and aesthetic standards were directly derived from those of the short poem. Poetry of the minor form is also older than metrical mahākāvya; indeed, it must be considered the basis of all classical poetry. On the other hand, it was not until later times that developments in kāvya broke through the metrical framework, creating a new and more difficult form of literature – prose mahākāvya. A combination of rhapsodic, epic poetry and kāvya can be discerned in numerous passages of the Rāmāyaṇa and, to a lesser extent, in the Mahābhārata, too. In the Rāmāyaṇa in particular a number of sequences are written in the early kāvya style which abstains from the often spontaneous art of recitation as practised by the rhapsodists. Instead, it is reminiscent in many respects of the descriptions of seasons found in the Ṛtusaṃhāra[16] and the poetry of Aśvaghoṣa. The typically descriptive passages, which make use of the themes employed in kāvya, do not compress them, however, but significantly enough follow the older practice of using them consecutively, one after the other.[17] Although all these cases are later insertions, the fact that they exist in the epics clearly shows the overlap between later epics and early classical poetry in the spirit of kāvya. Indian tradition regards Vālmīki as the ādikavi, "the first (classical) poet", and the Rāmāyaṇa, which is ascribed to him, as the ādikāvya, "the first (great) poem". In reality, however, it is only to a very limited extent that genuine features of kāvya are to be found in the Rāmāyaṇa. There are even fewer in the Mahābhārata which, little changed in form or linguistic dress, is a better representative of the basic epic type than Vālmīki's shorter work.

[15] See p. 105 f.
[16] See p. 108 f.
[17] Cf. p. 26 f.

The Rāmāyaṇa possesses greater unity, yet it must be acknowledged that at least the most recent parts use an advanced metrical technique, phrases, similes, etc. which do not belong to the epics but are unmistakably derived from Sanskrit poetic language.[18] Although the two epics can thus not be termed kāvya, their influence on later poets was very considerable; later generations of writers liked to turn to the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa for material for their dramas and long poems. Epic poetry disappeared entirely in the following eras, but flowered again in a new disguise as narrative literature in Sanskrit and Prākrit. Even if it sometimes approaches the realms of classical poetry, its language is not so elaborately polished as in kāvya, from which it is also distinguishable by the fact that the action is given greater prominence and is presented on an epic scale.

The oldest mahākāvyas we possess are the Buddhacarita, "The Life of the Buddha", and the Saundarananda, "Beautiful Nanda", by the Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa.[19] This poet, who cannot have lived before the 1st or after the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D., was born in Sāketa in the midland country (Madhyadeśa), grew up as a Brahman and was given the education of a learned Brahman based on a broad study of literary and scientific texts, as many passages in his work reveal.[20] Originally perhaps a Śivaite[21], he was later converted to Buddhism, reputedly by a monk named Pārśva. While it is certain that Aśvaghoṣa embraced Hīnayāna, it is a great deal more difficult to discover to what sect he belonged due to the paucity of material available. It seems probable that he adhered to either the Bahuśrutika branch of the Mahāsāṅghikas or to one of their predecessors. Buddhist tradition honours Aśvaghoṣa as one of the supremely important monks, indeed as the patriarch of late Buddhism, but confuses the poet with one or two other Aśvaghoṣas to whom various works of Buddhist doctrine are attributed. Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian, differentiates between three people known by the poet's name. The author of the famous Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra, concerning the "Awakening of the Mahāyāna Faith", lived several centuries later than the great poet, whose literary output includes a number of Buddhist stotras and the drama Śāriputra in addition to the two poems already mentioned. Some stanzas signed Aśvaghoṣa are also to be found in anthologies, but it is doubtful whether these are authentic. The poem Saundarananda and the drama Śāriputra show very clearly that the poet's main preoccupation was with the theme of conversion to the faith, which is in full agreement with the fact that Aśvaghoṣa used the literary form

[18] As examples may be mentioned: Clouds form ladders (*meghasopāna*); women's breasts may be compared to golden pitchers (*kucau suvarṇakalaśopamau*); the cries of peacocks (*mayūrakekā*), velvet-mites (see p. 23, note 66) (*indragopa*) and flocks of herons (*balākapaṅkti*) appear as precursors of the monsoon; cf. also A.B. KEITH, A History of Saṇskrit Literature, p. 44.

[19] See p. 132.

[20] Aśvaghoṣa's use of language and his similes indicate familiarity with the Vedas, the Upaniṣads, ritual literature, the Manusmṛti, both the epics, Nyāya, Sāṃkhya and other philosophical systems.

[21] At any rate, according to the Chinese tradition.

as a means of disseminating religious propaganda. In the last two stanzas of the Saundarananda (XVIII, 63 f.) he expressly declares that he has not written the poem merely for pleasure but to teach salvation. Whereas early Buddhism had up till then eschewed poetic and other arts, Aśvaghoṣa wrote poems in the kāvya genre with which his Brahman upbringing had made him familiar, although he used them solely to further the dissemination of the faith. As we have seen, classical poetry was also used to impart instruction, but, in accordance with the nature of the genre, to impart it in a gentle manner that would prove attractive to the reader or listener:

ity eṣā vyupaśāntaye na rataye mokṣārthagarbhā kṛtiḥ
śrotṝṇāṃ grahaṇārtham anyamanasāṃ kāvyopacārāt kṛtā /
yan mokṣāt kṛtam anyad atra hi mayā tat kāvyadharmāt kṛtaṃ
pātuṃ tiktam ivauṣadhaṃ madhuyutaṃ hṛdyaṃ kathaṃ syād iti //

prāyeṇālokya lokaṃ viṣayaratiparaṃ mokṣāt pratihataṃ
kāvyavyājena tattvaṃ kathitam iha mayā mokṣaḥ param iti /
tad buddhvā śāmikaṃ yat tad avahitam ito grāhyaṃ na lalitaṃ
pāṃsubhyo dhātujebhyo niyatam upakaraṃ cāmīkaram iti //

"This poem, dealing thus with the subject of Salvation, has been written in the Kāvya style, not to give pleasure, but to further the attainment of tranquillity and with the intention of capturing hearers devoted to other things. For, that I have handled other subjects in it besides Salvation is in accordance with the laws of Kāvya poetry to make it palatable, as sweet is put into a bitter medicine to make it drinkable. – Since I saw mankind mainly given over to the pleasures of the objects of the senses and averse from Salvation, I have here told of the ultimate truth under the guise of a Kāvya, considering Salvation to be supreme. Let the reader understand this and study attentively in it that which leads to tranquillity and not that which is merely pleasurable, as only the residue of gold is taken after it has been separated from the metal dust."[22]

The Saundarananda[23], which was probably written before the Buddhacarita, was only discovered in 1908 and there are Tibetan and Chinese translations of it. In it,

[22] Translation from E.H. JOHNSTON, The Saundarananda of Aśvaghosa. Critically edited and translated with notes . . ., Lahore 1928 and Delhi-Patna-Varanasi 1975 (reprint).

[23] Ed.: HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, Calcutta 1910 (Bibl. Ind. 192, N.S. 1251); E.H. JOHNSTON, 2 parts, Lahore 1928 (text) and 1932 (translation), (reprint) Delhi 1975 (text and transl.); S.N. CAUDHARĪ, Bhagalpur 1948 (with transl. into Hindi).
Lit.: E. HULTZSCH, Zu Aśvaghōṣa's Saundarananda, ZDMG 72 (1918), p. 111 ff., 73 (1919), p. 229 ff., 74 (1920), p. 293 ff.; A. GAWRONSKI, Notes on the Saundarananda, RO 6 (1926), p. 219 ff.; G. TUCCI, Note sul Saundarananda Kāvya di Aśvaghoṣa, RSO 10 (1923/25), p. 145 ff.; B. BHATTACHARYA, Aśvaghoṣa's Saundara-Nanda 6, 18, Festschrift Nobel, 1963, p. 42 ff.; D. SCHLINGLOFF, Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda in Ajanta, WZKS 19 (1975), p. 85 ff.
Translations: E.H. JOHNSTON, Lahore 1932, Delhi 1975; S.N. CAUDHARĪ (Hindi).
General studies on Aśvaghoṣa: B.C. LAW, Aśvaghoṣa, Calcutta 1946 (Rocal Asiatic Society of Bengal Monograph Series 1); B. BHATTACHARYA, Aśvaghoṣa: a critical study of his authentic kāvyas, and the apocryphal works. . ., Santiniketan 1976.
Essays: S. LÉVI, Autour d'Aśvaghoṣa, JA 214/15 (1929), p. 255 ff.; C.W. GURNER, The Psychological Simile in Aśvaghoṣa, JASB 26 (1930), p. 175 ff.; B.C. LAW, Aśvaghoṣa the Poet, IC 3 (1936), p. 127 ff.; E.J. THOMAS, Aśvaghoṣa and Alaṃkāra, IC 13 (1947), p. 143 ff.; A.A.G. BENNETT, The Works of Aśvaghoṣa, Mahabodhi 72 (1964), p. 244 ff.

the poet retells a well-known tale from the Jākatas, the Udāna and the commentary to the Dhammapada. It is the story of the conversion of the young Nanda, a half-brother of Buddha, whose senses have long been held in thrall by worldly pleasures and his love for his beautiful wife Sundarī. Finally, however, he is converted by Buddha and becomes a holy man who preaches the faith. There are eighteen sargas in the work. As the titles given in the colophons indicate, the first half describes the city of Kapilavastu (I), King Śuddhodana (II), the Tathāgata (III), Sundarī's bargain (IV), the initiation of Nanda (V), Sundarī's despair (VI), Nanda's lamentations (VII), woman the obstacle (VIII), the denunciation of conceit (IX), the vision of paradise (X) and the drawbacks of paradise (XI). The remainng seven sargas, however, which are mainly devoted to a discourse on the Buddhist path, describe Nanda's discernment (XII), the discipline and conquest of the senses (XIII), the first steps to be taken by Nanda (XIV), the emptying of the mind (XV), the Four Noble Truths (XVI), Nanda's entry into the path of salvation (XVII) and Nanda's declaration of insight (XVIII).

The Buddhacarita[24] was discovered in 1892 and, as the title states, it relates the life of Buddha. The Chinese and Tibetan translations comprise 28 chapters, taking the story up to the final extinction (mahāparinirvāṇa) of the Buddha, but in the Sanskrit original only thirteen sargas and the beginning of a fourteenth have been preserved. The Sanskrit cantos describe: Gautama's birth (I), life in the palace (II), the prince's perturbation on coming across an old, a diseased and a dead man (III), the rejection of women (IV), the flight on horseback (V), the dismissal of the royal groom Chandaka (VI), Gautama's entry into a penance grove (VII), the lamentations in the palace (VIII), the deputation of the minister and the royal family priest to lead the prince back (IX), the visit of King Śreṇya of Magadha to the prince (X), the renunciation of passion (XI), Gautama's visit to the hermitage of the sage Arāḍa (XII), the defeat of Māra (XIII) and the enlightenment of Gautama, now become Buddha (XIV).

[24] Ed.: E.B. COWELL, Oxford 1893 (Anecdota Oxoniensa, Aryan Series 1); G.R. NANDARGIRKAR, Poona 1911; E.H. JOHNSTON, 2 parts, Lahore 1936, (reprint) Delhi 1972 (edited and translated); S.N. CAUDHARĪ, Benares 1955[3] (Cantos 1–14, with transl. into Hindi); F. WELLER, Das Leben des Buddha, I, Leipzig 1926, II, Leipzig 1928 (Tibetan text with German transl.).
Lit.: E. LEUMANN, Some Notes on Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacharita, WZKM 7 (1893), p. 193 f.; A. GAWRONSKI, Gleanings from Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita, RO 1 (1914/15), p. 1 ff.; F. WELLER, Schauplatz und Handlung im Buddhacarita, ZDMG 93 (1939), p. 306 ff.; also J. NOBEL, OLZ 1937, Sp. 451 ff. (review); F. WELLER, Zu Buddhacarita 1, 26 tibetischer Ausgabe, Asia Major 3 (1926), p. 538 ff.; F. WELLER, Zwei zentralasiatische Fragmente des Buddhacarita, ASAW, Phil.-hist. Kl. 46,4 (1953); C. VOGEL, On the First Canto of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita, IIJ 9 (1966), p. 266 ff.
Translations: E.B. COWELL, Oxford 1894 (Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts, Part I); C. CAPPELLER, Buddhas Wandel, Jena 1922; R. SCHMIDT, Buddhas Leben, Hannover 1923; E.H. JOHNSTON, Lahore 1936, Delhi 1972; S.N. CAUDHARĪ, Benares 1955 [3] (Hindi); F. WELLER, Leipzig 1926 (Tibet. version); S. BEAL, Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, Oxford 1883 (Sacred Books of the East 19; Chinese version).

Even though lengthy passages in both works, the Saundarananda in particular, read like sermons, they both contain features typical of kāvya. We find long descriptions of, for instance, the city of Kapilavastu (Saund. I), King Śuddhodana (Saund. II), the journey through Kapilavastu made by the prince, who is admired by the womenfolk (Buddhac. III), and of the grove in which the ascetic sage Arāḍa dwells (Buddhac. XII). The descriptions of women, especially Sundarī, and the love scenes conform to classical standards, too; indeed, quite a number of amorous, lyrical scenes betray the fact that the source of inspiration was that which many writers of erotic poetry later consulted – the science of love, the kāmaśāstra. It is significant that Aśvaghoṣa's writing strikes a mean between the recitative, epic style on one hand and the careful choice of words, the plethora of artistic and learned details of kāvya on the other. The tone is often didactic, the handling of language far from the perfection of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi or Māgha. His lack of distance to epic poetry is also shown by the attention he pays to plot and action. Just as in the Rāmāyaṇa, we find the repetition of words, which later poets regarded as a cardinal fault, although he does endeavour to introduce variation here and there.[25] Parts of Aśvaghoṣa's often very vivid style illustrate another typical feature of epic poetry: the use of the same verb in a series of different tenses, present, perfect and future, as, for example, in yayuś ca yāsyanti ca yānti caiva, "they have gone, will go and (still) go" (Saund. V, 43), or na jayaty antakaṃ kaścin nājayan nāpi jeṣyati, "no one conquers the god of death, no one has (ever) conquered (him), no one will (ever) conquer (him)" (Saund. XV, 60). Later poets hardly ever use the same word twice in one stanza (e.g. paṅkaja, "lotus", in Buddhac. III, 19); the beauty of the expression is, however, enhanced, as in Buddhac. IV, 36, by using five different compounds containing the word padma, which also means "lotus":

kācid padmavanād etya sapadmā padmalocanā /
padmavaktrasya pārśve 'sya padmaśrīr iva tasthuṣī /

"Another lotus-eyed damsel came from a lotus-bed with a lotus and stood by the side of the lotus-faced prince as if she were Padmaśrī."[26]

On the other hand, both poems display a poetic technique that is already advanced, a more highly selective procedure as well as a tendency to use certain stylistic devices and to play on words. One of the forms the latter takes is an often elegant use of rūpaka[27] and yathāsaṃkhya[28], which are two of the favourite figures

[25] Thus in *Saund.* 10, 28–31 a different expression for "bird" has been used in almost every stanza: *vihaṅga(ma)* in 28 and 29, *khaga* in 30 and *patatrin* in 31.

[26] Translation from E.H. JOHNSTON.

[27] Metaphorical identification, for example "liana arms". Instances are to be found in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhac.* 1, 70, *Saund.* 3, 11 and 14.

[28] "A figure consisting of ordered sequences of terms, such as nouns and adjectives or subjects and objects of comparison, so arranged that item one of the first sequence matches item one of the second, ... and so on" (E. GEROW, *op. cit.*, p. 222). Examples from Aśvaghoṣa in *Buddhac.* 5, 26 (*gajameghaṛṣabhabāhunisvanākṣaḥ*, "in arm, voice and eye resembling an elephant, a thunder-cloud and a bull respectively)," and 42; 9, 16 and 19; *Saund.* 7, 13 and 17, 59.

of the poet. Labials and l give tenderness and charm to the expression; srastāṃsakomalālambamṛdubāhulatābalā, "a young woman with tender armcreepers which hung down loosely from her drooping shoulders."[28a] The themes, attributes, similes and phrases typical of classical poetry appear over and over again. The comparison of two lovers to a tree and a liana[29] is a very popular one, and a face is often compared to a lotus.[30] Grammar[31], medicine[32] and abstract concepts[33] are also frequently employed in similes. Aśvaghoṣa shows us clearly how, strongly influenced by contemporary poetry that is now lost as well as by the younger, descriptive passages of the Rāmāyaṇa, poetic technique gradually developed a framework of fixed conventions: cakravāka-ducks adorn the pool; women's breasts are firm and may be likened to golden pitchers; the hands of the young ladies are like lotus-calyces. Gautama Siddhārtha, the later Buddha, is like the re-born god of love; sighing, Nanda looks at the slim priyaṅgu-bush[34] which reminds him of the beloved he has left; on special occasions the heavens lighten, balmy breezes blow and flowers rain down on the earth.[35] We also find frequent use made of word-play, samples of abstruse knowledge, paronomasia, grammatical jests, etc. For example, the poet plays with the words aśoka – śoka, a figure known as virodhābhāsa.[36] In the Buddhacarita, when the name Yaśodharā, the consort of the Śākya prince, appears, it is generally in conjunction with some other compound ending in °dhara. Similarly, in the Saundarananda Nanda's name is frequently coupled with some word or phrase which resembles it in sound: "Nanda was a priyānandakara (giver of joy)"[37]; (na) nananda nandaḥ, "Nanda did (not) enjoy himself"[38]; nandaṃ nirānandam, "the joyless Nanda".[39] In Saund. VII, 25–45, Aśvaghoṣa displays his great familiarity with mythology and the legends by introducing into each stanza a god or ṛṣi who, like Nanda, had been infatuated with feminine charms. Here, too, he manages to connect almost every name with some other expression or compound by assonance, consonance, rhyme, etc.[40] Aśvaghoṣa has a special predilection for the science of grammar. Buddhac. XI, 70, illustrates the unusual number of meanings of one root by using av- in many different senses. Four different roots, each with its own particular meaning, are to be found in the verb mīyate, which is used four

[28a] *Buddhac.* 4, 30; translation from E.H. JOHNSTON, II, p. 48.
[29] *Saund.* 4, 33 and 7, 8.
[30] *Buddhac.* 8, 71; *Saund.* 4, 21 and 23; 5, 52; 6, 11.
[31] *Saund.* 12, 9–10.
[32] *Ibid.* 16, 59–64.
[33] *Ibid.* 2, 60–61.
[34] *Ibid.* 7, 6.
[35] *Buddhac.* 1, 21; 13, 72; *Saund.* 2, 53 f.
[36] Apparent contradiction.
[37] *Saund.* 4, 23.
[38] *Ibid.* 4, 24; 7, 1.
[39] *Ibid.* 10, 1.
[40] In the same manner Vatsabhaṭṭi uses the word *bandhu* three times in his inscription in the Sun Temple of Mandasore (473/74 A.D.) to give a flattering allusion to the name of the king, Bandhuvarman. Kālidāsa uses the same device, alluding to the names of princes mentioned in *Raghuv.* 18 by means of similarities in word or sound.

times in Saund. I, 15. In Saund. II, Aśvaghoṣa gives a lead to many later poets by the way he employs the perfect and aorist tenses of certain roots. In stanzas 7–11 we find the perfect, in 13–23 the s-aorist, in 24–25 the a-aorist, in 27–39 the reduplicated aorist and in stanzas 40–44 examples of the rarely-used passive aorist.[41]

Aśvaghoṣa thereby becomes the predecessor of Bhaṭṭi and Hemacandra, who also illustrated the rules of Sanskrit grammar and enjoyed great reputation both as poets and as learned men. The pains taken to choose words with more than one meaning[42] and to find nominal modifiers that can refer to more than one noun are also in accord with the aims of classical poetry. In spite of the artificial construction of the stanzas in which – as in later kāvya – we can already discern a tendency to make the length of the sentence and the stanza coincide, the reader is surprised by the immediacy of the presentation, which is permeated with deep feeling and often realistic. Aśvaghoṣa's poetry reaches its heights in, for instance, the sixth Canto of the Saundarananda, which describes Sundarī's despair. We quote the following stanzas:

sā bhartur abhyāgamanapratīkṣā gavākṣam ākramya payodharābhyām /
dvāronmukhī harmyatalāl lalambe mukhena tiryaṅnatakuṇḍalena // 2

sā duḥkhitā bhartur adarśanena kāmena kopena ca dahyamānā /
kṛtvā kare vaktram upopaviṣṭā cintānadīm śokajalām tatāra // 10

tasyā mukham padmasapatnabhūtam pāṇau sthitam pallavarāgatāmre /
chāyāmayasyāmbhasi paṅkajasya babhau natam padmam ivopariṣṭāt // 11

"Resting her breasts against the window in expectation of her lord's return, she leant out from the palace roof looking at the gateway, while her earrings dangled across her face (2). Sorrowing at not seeing her lord and inflamed with love and wrath, she sat down with her face resting on one hand and descended into the river of care whose water is grief (10). That rival of the lotus, her face, appeared, as it rested on her hand coloured red as a bud, like a lotus bent over the reflection of a lotus in the water (11)."[43]

The stanzas are in Upajāti metre. The impressive number of metres[44] used by the poet shows that prosody must have remarkably well developed even in his day. As, however, it still contained a number of features which subsequent generations regarded as totally unacceptable, it later underwent further development. The metres that Aśvaghoṣa preferred were, firstly Upajāti (936 stanzas), then Anuṣṭubh (679 stanzas), Vaṃśastha (201 stanzas), Aupacchandasika (78 stanzas) and Viyoginī (or Sundarī) (56 stanzas).

[41] Whereas works on the theory of poetry seldom quote Aśvaghoṣa, some of his stanzas are used as examples in grammatical works. Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyam.* (GOS, p. 18, lines 7–10) quotes Aśvaghoṣa (*Buddhac.* 8, 25) as an example of a 'poet of nouns and verbs', i.e., a grammatical poet.

[42] Thus in *Buddhac.* 8, 40, where *nirvāhayati,* referring to the horse Kaṇṭhaka, literally means "carry away", also has the meaning "leading to release" (*nirvahaṇa = mokṣa*).

[43] Translation from E.H. JOHNSTON, The Saundarananda, etc., II, p. 31 f.

[44] A list of all the metres used by Aśvaghoṣa is to be found in E.H. JOHNSTON, The Buddhacarita, etc., p. LXIII f.

The opinion has long been held that during the 1st century A.D. little or no literature was produced in India and that the flow of classical poetry, particularly Sanskrit kāvya, dried up after Aśvaghoṣa to reappear several centuries later in a great flowering. An important work[45] by G. Bühler (who was unaware of the existence of Aśvaghoṣa's poetry) has, however, demonstrated that Max Müller's thesis of a "Renaissance of Sanskrit literature"[46] is totally lacking in foundation. It is true that we have no examples of kāvya of the major form from the first few centuries after Aśvaghoṣa, but the same era provides us with a considerable number of inscriptions in the kāvya style. We also have numerous examples of the rich muktaka poetry that flowered at the same time – something that was not known in Bühler's day. While we cannot say precisely when many of these short poems were written, the inscriptions, which are wholly or partially in metrical form, can be dated exactly. Both genres – inscriptions and short poems – not only prove that classical kāvya existed during the first four centuries of the Christian era; they also show that the two literary schools which furthered the Vaidarbha and the Gauḍa style respectively were flourishing as early as the 4th century A.D. Particularly famous is Hariṣeṇa's panegyric on the Allahabad column praising King Samudragupta's heroic deeds. It consists of nine stanzas plus a passage in poetic prose. The inscription was probably written in 345 A.D. and it should be noted that it refers to itself as a kāvya. Court poets devoted a great deal of care (prayatna) to these compositions. They used a number of different metres, such as Anuṣṭubh, Āryā, Indravajrā, Upajāti, Mandākrāntā, Mālinī, Vaṃśastha, Vasantatilakā, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Hariṇī, etc. and availed themselves of all the current means of ornamentation. They incorporated descriptions of kings, towns, seasons, etc. into their inscriptions as required by the rules of kāvya and occasionally varied the text by linking up two or more stanzas into yugalakas, viśeṣakas or kulakas.[47] Hāla's Sattasaī, which as we saw[48] consists mainly of poems from the 1st to 4th centuries A.D., undeniably confirms the existence of a wealth of muktaka poetry at this time.

4. The Six Great Sargabandhas

From what has been said in the previous section we may unhesitatingly assume that Aśvaghoṣa was not the only poet of the major form who was active during the 1st century A.D. However, no examples of mahākāvya written between Aśvaghoṣa's death and the end of the 4th century have survived. So much more perfect is the mahākāvya we suddenly meet at the beginning of the 5th century. It is not only that the earliest two sargabandhas to have been preserved, Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava

[45] G. BÜHLER, Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie, SAWW 122 (1890).

[46] MAX. MÜLLER, India, what it can teach us, p. 281 ff.

[47] Cf. p. 66 f.

[48] See p. 80 f.

and Raghuvaṃśa, are masterpieces; after Kālidāsa there welled forth a mighty and never-ceasing flood of kāvya in all genres – laghukāvya, multiple-stanza poems and poetry of the major form.

In this section we shall deal chiefly with those masterpieces known to Indian tradition as the six great mahākāvyas. They are the two sargabandhas already mentioned, Kālidāsa's (1) Kumārasambhava and (2) Raghuvaṃśa plus (3) Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya, (4) Māgha's Śiśupālavadha, (5) Bhaṭṭi's Rāvaṇavadha (also known as the Bhaṭṭikāvya) and (6) Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhacarita (also called the Naiṣadhīya). Tradition also includes Kālidāsa's Meghadūta among these masterpieces of classical poetry, but we must regard it as a multiple-stanza poem rather than a sargabandha. On the other hand, Bhaṭṭi's Rāvaṇavadha is often excluded from these six.

The life and works of Kālidāsa (about 400 A.D.) have already been summarized.[49] We saw that Kālidāsa, who wrote his poetry at a time when Sanskrit was no longer a living language, is generally acknowledged to be the greatest of the Old Indian poets. He is especially praised for the balance of his presentation and its freedom from excesses, for the refinement with which he employs poetic devices and for the unsurpassed clarity and purity of his language, which is a model of the most beautiful and perfect Vaidarbha style.[50] The Kumārasambhava is the earlier of Kālidāsa's two metrical mahākāvyas, the Raghuvaṃśa is a later, possibly his last work.[51] The Kumārasambhava[52] is an account of the diversity of events leading to the birth of Kumāra, the god of war, but ends long before he is born. The matter is of mythological origin: once more the position and power of the gods is being threatened by a demon who is struggling hard to rise up. The gods decide that only Śiva, who is mightier than Brahmā and Viṣṇu themselves, can help them out of their predicament, but he is in the Himālaya practising strict asceticism. Śiva's self-imposed meditation and pious penance must not be disturbed, but, according to the

[49] See p. 115 f.

[50] See p. 18, note 51.

[51] For general studies on Kālidāsa see HARI CHAND, Kālidāsa et l'art poétique de l'Inde, Paris 1917; A. HILLEBRANDT, Kalidasa. Versuch zu seiner literarischen Würdigung, Breslau 1921 (English transl. by S.N. GHOSHAL, Calcutta 1971); S.K. DE, Kālidāsa IHQ 16 (1940), p. 385 ff.; B.S. UPADHYAYA, India in Kālidāsa, Allahabad 1947, 1968²; V.V. MIRASHI and N.R. MAVLEKAR, Kālidāsa: date, life and works, Bombay 1969; and S.P. NARANG, Kālidāsa Bibliography, Delhi 1976. Moreover see the following works, not contained in Narang's bibliography: C.W. GURNER, Psychological Imagery in Kālidāsa, JASB 9 (1943), p. 191 ff.; M. HIRIYANNA, Sanskrit studies, Mysore, no date (contains articles on Kālidāsa the man, Kālidāsa the poet, the vocabulary of the Meghadūta, etc.); T.K. RAMACHANDRA AIYAR, A concordance of Kālidāsa's poems, Madras 1952; R. CHOWDHARY, Bihar in Kālidāsa's works, JBORS 41 (1955), p. 262 ff.; K. RATNAM, Kalidasa and the problems of women of his time, IOC 1960, 4, p. 213 ff.; E.R. SRIKRISHNA SARMA, Kālidāsa-Samīkṣā, Tirupati 1962; D. SARMA, On the nature of the supreme being in Kālidāsa, JUG 14 (1963), p. 29 ff.; P.K. NARAYANA PILLAI, Kālidāsa: An assessment by Ānandavardhana, BDC 25 (Silver Jubilee Vol.), p. 97 ff.; D. SARMA, An interpretative study of Kālidāsa, Varanasi 1968; K. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Kālidāsa, New York 1972, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1982; B.R. YADAV, A critical study of the sources of Kālidāsa, Delhi...1974; M. MISHRA, Metres of Kālidāsa, Delhi 1977; G. VERMA, Humour in Kālidāsa, Delhi-Lucknow 1981. Cf. p. 113 f., note 173.

plan drawn up by Lord Indra, Kāma, the god of love, is to set the almighty god's heart on fire with love for Umā, the beautiful "daughter of the mountain".[53] The union of Śiva and Umā is to result in the birth of the god of war, the saviour of the gods, who will destroy the dangerous demon. A searing glance of wrath from the third eye of Śiva reduces the god of love to a pile of ashes before the latter, who is accompanied by his wife Rati and Spring, is able to shoot the arrow of love at Śiva. Rati breaks into a moving lament, but Umā now succeeds in winning the affection of the crusty, disapproving god by self-renunciation and an asceticism as great as his own. In summer the girl bravely endures the heat that arises from four fiery places, unperturbed, she sits meditating in pouring rain during the monsoon, she spends winter nights in icy-cold water. Their hearts finally unite when Śiva, disguised as a hermit, learns of Umā's burning love for him. He courts her through Arundhatī[54] and the Seven Seers and a magnificent wedding brings this somewhat unusual love story to an end.

There are only eight sargas in the Kumārasambhava.[55] Prudish critics only recognize the first seven as authentic and maintain that the eighth, which is highly

[52] Ed.: A. STENZLER, London 1838 (Cantos I–VIII, with translation into Latin); VITTHALA SĀSTRĪ, Benares 1866/7 (The Pandit 1, CantosVIII–XVII); GANAPATI SĀSTRĪ, Trivandrum 1913/14 (Cantos I–VIII; TSS 27, 32, 36); M.R. KĀLE, Bombay 1917 (Cantos I–VII), 1923 (Cantos I–VIII; both with English translation); V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR, Bombay 1930[11] (NSP); A. SCHARPÉ, Kālidāsa-Lexicon, I: Basic text of the works, Part III: Kumārasambhava, Meghadūta, Ṛtusaṃhāra and incerta, Brugge 1958, and II: References and concordance of quotations, Part I: Ṛtusaṃhāra, Meghadūta, Kumārasambhava, Raghuvaṃśa, Brugge 1975; M.S.N. MURTI, Kalidasa's Kumarasambhava with the commentary of Vallabhadeva, Wiesbaden 1980 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Suppl. Bd. 20,1). Cf. also S.P. NARANG, Kālidāsa Bibliography, Delhi 1976, p. 102 ff. – Lit.: S.P. NARANG, loc. cit.; A. WEBER, Indische Streifen 3 (1879), p. 217 ff. and 241 ff.; P.S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, Some riddles in the Kumārasambhava, M. Hiriyanna Commem. Vol., London 1920; S.P. BHATTĀCHĀRYYA, A note on Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava – Whether Cantos IX–XXII are from his pen? AIOC 1926, 1, p. 43 f.; S. SUNDARACHAR, Humour in the Kumārasambhava unveiled, JORM 6 (1932), p. 1 ff.; K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, Literary note, JORM 11 (1937), p. 66 ff. (discusses Kumāras. 1, 2); P.S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, Kumarāsambhava, A Study, JAU 13 (1944), p. 19 ff.; C.K. RAJA, The political allegory in Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava, R.K. Mookerji Vol. (Bhāratakaumudī) 1945/47; H. HENSGEN , Das Verhältnis des Amarasiṃha zu Kālidāsa, dargestellt an einer Untersuchung des Kumārasambhava 1–8, ZDMG 104 (1954), p. 377 ff.; S.P. BHATTACHARYYA, The authorship of the latter half of the Kumārasambhava, JASB 20 (1954), p. 313 ff.; R.S. BETAI, Matsya Purāṇa and Kumārasambhava, JUB 30 (1961), p. 39 ff.; SŪRYAKANTA, Kālidāsa's vision of Kumārasambhava, Delhi 1963. – Translations: A. STENZLER, London 1838 (Latin); R.T.H. GRIFFITH, The Birth of the War-God, London 1879[2]; A.W. RYDER, Translations of Shakuntala and other works, London-New York 1912, 1920, 1928; O. WALTER, Der Kumarasambhava oder die Geburt des Kriegsgottes, Munich-Leipzig 1913; M.R. KĀLE, Bombay 1917, 1923; B. TUBINI, La Naissance de Kumara, Paris 1958[5] (songs I–VII only).

[53] I.e., the Himālaya.

[54] The wife of the seer Vasiṣṭha; cf. p. 29.

[55] According to Pratihārendurāja, a writer named Udbhaṭa (8th century A.D.) wrote a poem with the same title. Stanzas from this poem are in Udbhaṭa's book on poetry, the *Kāvyālaṃkārasaṃgraha.*

erotic, observes the rules of kāmaśāstra and describes the love-games and union of Śiva and Umā, was written by someone other than Kālidāsa.[56] The first Canto describes the Himālaya as well as the birth and youth of Umā. Stanzas 33–49 give a portrayal of her body beginning with her feet and ending with the crown of her head. Although we have few examples of these detailed descriptions of women in mahākāvyas, the "description from foot to hair-ends" (pādādikeśāntavarṇana) is a popular means of linking muktakas together in love poetry.[57] Canto II describes the council of the gods; Canto III how Śiva burns the love god; Canto IV the pathetic lamentation of Rati; Canton V the strict asceticism practised by Umā, which gradually mollifies the god; Canto VI Śiva's courtship; Canto VII the wedding of Śiva and Umā and Canto VIII the love-games of the newly-wedded couple. As prescribed by the rules of kāvya, the poem contains several long descriptive passages; furthermore, each canto is written in a different metre, though this is varied in the final stanzas. It has been noted that it is often more closely related to the theme than the body of the song.[58] The following two stanzas from the fifth Canto, in which Umā mortifies her flesh, here given with D.H.H. Ingall's translation and commentary[59], are quoted as an illustration of the poet's superb verbal art:

nikāmataptā vividhena vahninā nabhaścareṇendhanasaṃbhṛtena sā /
tapātyaye vāribhir ukṣitā navair bhuvā sahoṣmāṇam amuñcad ūrdhvagam // 23

sthitāḥ kṣaṇaṃ pakṣmasu tāḍitādharāḥ payodharotsedhanipātacūrṇitāḥ /
valīṣu tasyāḥ skhalitāḥ prapedire cireṇa nābhiṃ prathamodabindavaḥ // 24

Still sat Umā though scorched by various flame
  Of solar fire and fires of kindled birth,
Until at summer's end the waters came.
  Steam rose from her body as it rose from earth.

With momentary pause the first drops rest
  Upon her lash then strike her nether lip,
Fracture upon the highland of her breast,
  Across the ladder of her waist then trip
And slowly at her navel come to rest.

"The beauty of the verses in the original derives from the association through suggestion of numerous harmonious ideas. In the first place we have a princess beautiful by the strict conventions of Indian art, meditating in the rain. Her

56 The authenticity of the 8th *Sarga* is shown by the fact that Mallinātha includes it in his commentary and also by the fact that it is qoted in Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti,* Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpaka,* Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* as well as in works of lexicography.

57 The use of these descriptions was continued in classical Hindī poetry and we find *nakhaśikha* descriptions, i.e., "descriptions (of the beloved) from (toe-)nails to the crown of the head" both in long poems and in anthologies.

58 A.B. Keith, A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 92.

59 D.H.H. Ingalls, An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry. Vidyākara's 'Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa', Cambridge, Mass. 1965 (HOS 44), p. 28 f.

eyelashes must be long and curling up at the tips in order to hold the drops of rain for a moment before they fall. Her nether lip must be pouting like a bimba fruit to catch the drops from her lashes. Her breasts must be large, so large as to touch one another; otherwise the rain from her lip would fall between them. And they are high and hard, for the raindrops fracture upon them. In order for the drops to trip across the ladder of her waist it must have the three small folds that are so admired by the erotic poet. And her navel must be deep.

Next, the verses inform us that this is no ordinary princess. She is the perfect yoginī. The Gītā informs us that the yogi must be beyond the duality of pleasure and pain (Gītā 2.38, 2.56, 5.20), of heat and cold (Gītā 6.7). Our princess remains motionless throughout the passage. She is unaffected by the heat of summer or the delicious coolness of the rain. The Gītā also tells us that when in meditation the yogi must hold his head, neck and torso in a perfect line (Gītā 6.13). The geography of the falling raindrops informs us that this must here be the case.

A princess who is a perfect yoginī. But she is more. The 'highland of her breast' hints at the fact that she is a power of nature. She is the daughter of Himālaya not only in name. Or is she more than that? In the popular religion, Umā is the mother-goddess. The very word Umā, despite the fanciful etymology that Kālidāsa gives it, is simply an ancient word for mother. She is the goddess of earth and fertility. And so her appearance is described as a sort of double, an anthropomorph, of the earth. The steam rises from her silent body just as it rises from the parched earth when the monsoon breaks. The rain courses down her just as it courses over the face of the earth we walk on, softening it and making it able to bear our crops.

The poet offers us these suggestions, facilitating our comprehension by words and phrases that one might call signposts. The association or sorting of the suggestions he leaves to our fancy, but we can gain indications of his intention from the context."

The fact that Kālidāsa did not continue the story of the Kumārasambhava up to the birth of the god of war but ended it with the description of Śiva and Umā's marital pleasures has given rise to the faulty conclusion that this kāvya is an unfinished poem, or even that it might be the poet's last, uncompleted, work. However, it was evidently not Kālidāsa's intention to write a work centering round a conflict with the demon Tāraka, describing the anxiety of the gods, the overweening pride of the demon and rising to a climax in Tāraka's overthrow. In that case he would probably have called the poem something like Tārakavadha, "The Killing of Tāraka", or Parājitatāraka, "Tāraka Defeated". As the overall plan of the work reveals, what Kālidāsa set out to write was quite simply a love poem. It is the story of the love of Śiva and Umā into which is woven the motif of the birth of Kumāra as the noble fruit of this love.[60] "In the eighth Sarga the Kumārasambhava

[60] Also worthy of attention is the fact that, as J. FILLIOZAT pointed out in his essay On the Goddess in Śaiva, Śākta and Kaumāra Religions (in print), "the Goddess herself, even when her intercourse with Śiva is described in the literature, never gets a full maternal function. She never becomes pregnant, never bears an embryo in her womb and never really gives birth to the beings who are termed her sons."

comes to a natural conclusion in the description of the marital pleasures of the young couple and their wedding journey after the Gandhamādana. The magnificent description of sunset, nightfall and moonrise is, as it were, a sublime and tranquil final scene in which the poet once again uses all the colours at his disposal to portray its splendour. Śrīharṣa ends his Naiṣadhīya in a similar way, with a description of the evening, the night, moonrise and the moon itself. After regarding these beautiful natural phenomena Pārvatī (Umā) loses the last traces of her timidity and shyness of her husband and gives free rein to her burning love. A love poem about two supreme gods could hardly have a better ending. We must therefore assume that in the eight cantos of the Kumārasambhava we have the contents of Kālidāsa's work complete."[61] Indian editions of the poem nevertheless generally contain a continuation consisting of a further nine cantos which, in H. Jacobi's opinion, were written several centuries later by a poet who probably spoke Marāṭhī.[62] The style in which they are composed bears a close resemblance to Kālidāsa's and they carry the action forward not only to the birth of Kumāra, but right up to the killing of Tāraka, thus far exceeding the scope of the title. However, the poetic value of these nine spurious cantos is not great.

The Raghuvaṃśa[63] was written after the Kumārasambhava and is probably an incomplete work. There are nineteen cantos extant. The last of these, however, has a tragic ending, not the happy one that an important rule requires. H. Jacobi therefore considers that "a small portion of the poem is missing, probably only the final canto. The whole design of the work leads to this conclusion."[64] As the title

[61] H. JACOBI, Die Epen Kālidāsa's, in: Verhandlungen des 5. Internationalen Orientalistenkongresses, 2, II, 2, Berlin 1882, p. 147 f. (Kleine Schriften I, p. 423 f.).

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 144 f (Kleine Schriften I, p. 420 f.).

[63] Ed.: A. STENZLER, London 1832 (with translation into Latin); K.P. PARAB and V.L.Ś PAṆŚĪKAR, Bombay 1916 (NSP); Benares 1953[3] (Kāśī-Saṃskṛta-Granthamālā 51); G.R. NANDARGIKAR, The Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa, Delhi...1982[5] (with English translation); A. SCHARPÉ, Kālidāsa-Lexicon, I: Basic text of the works, Part IV, Brugge 1964, and II, Part I: Ṛtusaṃhāra, Meghadūta, Kumārasambhava, Raghuvaṃśa, Brugge 1975; cf. also S.P. NARANG, Kālidāsa Bibliography, Delhi 1976, p. 70 ff. – Lit.: S.P. NARANG, loc. cit.; A. GAWRONSKI, The digvijaya of Raghu and some connected problems, RO 1 (1914/15), p. 43 ff.; K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER, Literary notes, JORM 5 (1931), p. 125 ff. (analysis of *Raghuvaṃśa* 6, 85); K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, Literary note, JORM 10 (1936), p. 177 ff. (on *Raghuvaṃśa* 7, 3); C.K. RAJA, The genuine part of Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa is only the first nine cantos, IOC 1951, II, p. 470 ff.; S.V. SOHONY, Raghuvaṃśa as a source-book of Gupta history, S.K. Belvalkar Felic. Vol., Benares 1957; V. RAGHAVAN, Raghuvaṃśa 12, 21, AORM 13 (1957), p. 82 ff.; L.G. PARAB, The problem of spurious verses in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa, AIOC 1961, II, Part I, p. 50 ff.; P. RANGANATHAN, Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa: a study, Delhi 1964; R. MISHRA, A critical evaluation of the theory and practice of kingship as revealed in the Raghuvaṃśa, JGJh 23 (1967), p. 113 ff. – Translations: A. STENZLER, London 1832 (Latin); P. DE LACY JOHNSTONE, The Raghuvaṃśa: the story of Raghu's line, London 1902; A.W. RYDER, Translations of Shakuntala and other works, London-New York 1912, 1920, 1928; O. WALTER, Raghuvamscha oder Raghus Stamm, Munich-Leipzig 1914; L. RENOU, Le Raghuvaṃça (La lignée des fils du soleil), Paris 1928; G.R. NANDARGIKAR, Delhi...1971; R. ANTOINE, Raghuvaṃśa: the dynasty of Raghu, Calcutta 1972.

[64] H. JACOBI, *op. cit.*, p. 149 (= Kleine Schriften I, p. 425).

indicates, the poem relates the story of the Raghu dynasty. The poet allows a long series of kings of the Ayodhyā Sun Dynasty to pass in review before our eyes. It is a broad poetic chronicle beginning with King Dilīpa, the father of Raghu, and continuing down to Agnivarṇa, a weak, loose-living, consumptive ruler. In the first two-thirds of the poem the descriptions of kings are fairly detailed, but towards the end of the work, particularly in Sarga XVIII, their careers are only lightly sketched. A great deal of space is devoted to the most important ruler of the Raghu dynasty, King Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. A long section, Cantos X to XV, recounts the complete story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The dynastic succession given by Kālidāsa agrees most closely to those found in the Vāyu- and in the Bengali versions of the Viṣṇupurāṇa. Canto I describes the arrival of the then childless Dilīpa at the hermitage of the sage Vasiṣṭha[65]; Canto II, the granting of Dilīpa's wish by Nandinī; Canto III, the consecration of Raghu; Canto IV, Raghu's campaign to conquer the world; Canto V, the departure of Aja for the ceremony during which the young Indumatī made her choice of husband (svayaṃvara); Canto VI, Indumatī's choice; Canto VII, the marriage of Aja and Indumatī; Canto VIII, Aja's lament on the sudden death of his consort; Canto IX, the hunt of Daśaratha, the father of Rāma; Canto X, Rāma's descent (avatāra) to the earth; Canto XI, the marriage of Rāma and Sītā; Canto XII, the killing of Rāvaṇa, the abductor of Sītā; Canto XIII, Rāma's return to the forest of Daṇḍaka; Canto XIV, Rāma casts off Sītā; Canto XV, the Ascension of Rāma; Canto XVI, the marriage of Kuśa, one of Rāma's sons, and Kumudvatī; Canto XVII, the story of Atithi, one of Rāma's grandsons; Canto XVIII, Rāma's descendants and Canto XIX, the life of the libertine Agnivarṇa, to whom a child was born posthumously.

In order to avoid the monotony which might easily arise in the description of a long series of rulers, Kālidāsa has been careful to vary the themes in the different sargas: the scene in Canto I is set in a peaceful hermitage whereas Canto II is martial in character; other sargas have an amorous tone, or describe match-making, weddings, consecrations, deaths, etc. In Canto XIX there is a short description of the seasons, beginning with the monsoon (stanzas 37–47); Canto IV gives an account of autumn (stanzas 15–24), Canto IX of spring (stanzas 24–48) and Canto VIII of summer (stanzas 43–53). The same canto also contains a description of the pleasures of bathing (jalavihāra) enjoyed by the king and the beautiful ladies of the women's quarters in the waters of the Sarayū (stanzas 54–71). Canto XIII depicts – in the form of a kapālaka[66] – the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā at Prayāga – today's Allahabad –, a famous theme that is dear to kāvya (stanzas 54–57). Many passages reveal the poet's great knowledge of ancient Indian statecraft (arthaśāstra) and in Canto XIX and other places he shows his familiarity with kāmaśāstra. While all the other kings are presented as model rulers, Agnivarṇa, the last of the Raghu dynasty to be portrayed, is described with much humour and concealed criticism as a despot. The reader is left with the impression that

65 In some Indian editions Canto I is omitted as childlessness is not considered auspicious.
66 See p. 66.

after the sargas dealing with the Rāma legend the vigour of the verse is slightly lowered. Kālidāsa has remarkably little to relate about the later monarchs and his knowledge of the characters mentioned in Canto XVIII seems to be limited to their names, with which he plays verbal games. Towards the end of the poem Kālidāsa appears to wish us to concentrate on the masterly portrayal in the XIXth Sarga of Agnivarṇa as a ruler who cares nothing for his kingdom and his subjects but devotes himself to a life of dissipation which rapidly undermines his health. He has a steady stream of new mistresses, even lying with the serving-girls in the royal palace, and when his people demand to see him, deigns to show them one foot out of the window.

As we have seen, it is improbable that Kālidāsa intended the Raghu poem to finish on such an unseemly note. Purāṇic sources mention a number of rulers after Agnivarṇa and the last three stanzas of Kālidāsa's poem state that at Agnivarṇa's early death his legal wife was expecting a child who was to continue the Raghu line. Although the signs of pregnancy were regarded as auspicious (śubha), these last two stanzas (XIX, 55–57) can scarcely be considered to give the poem a sufficiently happy ending. Everything seems to indicate either that Kālidāsa did not finish the poem or that a short concluding section in which the succeeding rulers are mentioned has been lost. It is also possible that he continued the chronicle up to his own day and connected the Raghu dynasty with his own patron, who may have been the Gupta king Samudragupta. Both the campaign of world conquest in Canto IV and the vast and costly horse sacrifice in Canto III, which only a king might perform, are direct references to Samudragupta or whoever his patron might have been. About a hundred years ago it was still generally thought in Indian circles that the poet's descendants in Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain) or Dhārā were in possession of six or seven further cantos which were the conclusion of the poem. Whereas about twenty commentaries to the Kumārasambhava have been written, no less than forty have been devoted to the Raghuvaṃśa, none of which, however, elucidate more than the nineteen cantos known today.

In India the Raghuvaṃśa is assessed not only as the masterpiece of Kālidāsa, who is known as Raghukāra, "the creator of the Raghu (poem)", but also as the crowning achievement of all classical poetry. As we have seen, the poem deals with a vast store of material to which, as Kālidāsa says in his brief foreword (I, 2–10), the portal has already been built by the work of older poets. He is presumably here thinking mainly of older poets, above all Vālmīki, who had related the Rāma legend – a part of the chronicle of the Raghu dynasty – but hardly of those poets who, like himself, may have dealt with the entire dynasty. If we have interpreted his foreword correctly, Kālidāsa regards his own version of the Raghu chronicle as a new, daring, hitherto unheard of project. Where the sheer bulk of the material might have deterred a younger, less experienced poet, the master is actually attracted by the vast panorama of countless men and women, widely varying backgrounds, situations and experiences. He wished to try out his poetic imagination, his powers of invention and verbal skill on some subject (vastu) that was really large and impressive. Although we can discern the hand of the master in both Kā-

lidāsa's mahākāvyas, a comparison between the Raghuvaṃśa and the Kumārasambhava leaves one in no doubt that the former is not only a later but also a more mature and accomplished work. This is particularly clear in certain stanzas from the Raghuvaṃśa which are obviously improved versions of similar stanzas in the Kumārasambhava. Let us take two stanzas as an example: Kumāras. VII, 75 and Raghuv. VII, 23, which is undoubtedly a reworking of the former. These two stanzas are metrically very similar; they are both written in Upajāti, a combination of Indravajrā[67] and Upendravajrā.[68] Both stanzas describe a bridal couple; in the Raghuvaṃśa they are Aja and Indumatī, in the Kumārasambhava, Śiva and Umā.

Kumāras.

tayoḥ samāpattiṣu kātarāṇi kiṃcidvyavasthāpitasaṃhṛtāni /
hrīyantraṇāṃ tatkṣaṇam anvabhūvann anyonyalolāni vilocanāni //

"The glances[69] of both were alarmed every time they encountered each other and withdrew as soon as they met. They[70] yearned for one another but felt at the same time the constraint of (amorous) shyness."

Raghuv.

tayor apāṅgapratisāritāni kriyāsamāpattinivartitāni /
hrīyantraṇām ānaśire manojñām anyonyalolāni vilocanāni //

"The eyes[71] of both were open right up to the corner but withdrew as soon as they met. Though they[72] yearned for each other, they felt the alluring constraint of (amorous) shyness."

It is quite obvious that the second stanza is an improved version of that in the Kumārasambhava. Not only do both begin with tayoḥ, "both of them"; they also have a number of important words in common: anyonyalolāni vilocanāni, "eyes that yearn for each other", is retained as are samāpatti, "meeting (of the eyes)" and hrīyantraṇā, "constraint of (amorous) shyness". Other words have been replaced by synonyms or by words with similar meanings (saṃhṛtāni by nivartitāni, "withdrawn"; anvabhūvan, "experienced", by ānaśire, "attained"). A few words have been omitted: the harsh-sounding tatkṣaṇam, "at the same time", has disappeared but the second version contains the highly appropriate word manojñām, which describes the constraint of amorous shyness as "alluring". The description of the eyes has also been improved in the Raghuvaṃśa. In the Kumārasambhava the stress is less happily placed on two somewhat similar events: (a) the glances of the loving couple are alarmed each time they encounter one another and (b) they withdraw when they meet. In the Raghuvaṃśa two quite different movements are presented: (a) the eyes of the lovers are wide-open, i.e., they cast surreptitious glances at each other and (b) they withdraw their glance as soon as they meet the other person's eye.

[67] Eleven syllables, scanned: – – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑
[68] Eleven syllables, scanned: ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑
[69] Or "eyes".
[70] I.e., their glances or eyes.
[71] Or "glances"
[72] I.e., their glances or eyes.

Even if examples like the above may show that the Raghuvaṃśa is a more consummate poem and has greater depth than the Kumārasambhava, both bear the imprint of Kālidāsa's mastery, although some criticism has been directed at certain passages. Compared with later poems, its language is always simple and clear; it is free from too difficult or far-fetched words and does not contain too lengthy compounds or extreme affectations. As we saw when we looked at the Meghadūta[73], Kālidāsa is a past-master of allusion. Words (śabda) and sense (artha) are closely interwoven as is his depiction of nature and human emotions. The careful choice of sounds and syllables is always in tune with the ideas and images he wishes to convey.[74] Kālidāsa pays great attention to the composition of single stanzas, which are of a much more self-contained character in his works than they are in Aśvaghoṣa's.[75] However, he does not neglect content and action in favour of detailed descriptions extending over one or more stanzas as did poets in later times. Kālidāsa's works steer a harmonious middle course between Aśvaghoṣa and later masters, who no longer observed this perfect balance and were anything but restrictive in their use of poetic devices. However, for the first time in Kālidāsa a new feature appears, which after him becomes an essential element in the metrical style of classical poetry. Whereas in the earliest period the caesura[76] was observed most carefully, the complete coordination of metrical and grammatical units is now gradually loosened. Thus word order is sometimes varied by Kālidāsa and an interruption (by German Latinists called "Sperrung") created in the coordination of substantive and attributive in particular as, for example, in Raghuv. VII, 9 b: (anyā) prasthānabhinnāṃ (x) na babandha nīvīm[77], where the poet introduces tension by this new technique – a sort of enjambement – of placing the attributive (prasthānabhinnā) referring to the noun (nīvī) outside the boundary formed by the caesura (here marked by x).[78] Nevertheless, his metrical patterns are relatively simple. Apart from the continually varying metres at the conclusion of each sarga there are only five different metres in the Kumārasambhava and six in the Raghuvaṃśa. The last part of the ninth Canto in the Raghuvaṃśa is an important exception; it appears to be a show-piece to demonstrate his metrical skill. The first two-thirds (54 stanzas of the total of 82 in the sarga) are written in Drutavilambita metre while the remaining one third is in a motley assortment of different metres. Kālidāsa's rendering of the Rāma legend is particularly worthy of note. Rāma's victory over Rāvaṇa and the rescue of Sītā are narrated in Canto XII. This, in Vālmīki's own metre, the Śloka, brilliantly compresses the whole matter of the Rāmāyaṇa into only 104 stanzas.

73 See p. 119 f.

74 See p. 11 f.

75 Stanza 67 from *Raghuv.* 6, which brought Kālidāsa the honoured title of *dīpaśikhā-Kālidāsa,* "torch-flame Kālidāsa", is commented on above, p. 35 f.

76 Skt. *yati*

77 "Another (woman) did not rebind her girdle which had loosened by her (sudden) movement".

78 These and similar problems are described in detail in S.I. POLLOCK, Aspects of Versification in Sanskrit Lyric Poetry, New Haven, Conn. 1977 (AOS 61).

Bhaṭṭi flourished about one hundred and fifty years later than Kālidāsa. Neither of them is in fact a difficult poet, but Bhaṭṭi differs from his predecessor in that the whole of his poetry is saturated with learned material. As Bhaṭṭi is the Prākrit form of Bhartṛ he has sometimes been confused with the poet or the grammarian Bhartṛhari or taken to be the latter's brother or half-brother. Only one poem by Bhaṭṭi has been preserved, perhaps the only one he wrote: the Rāvaṇavadha, usually known as the Bhaṭṭikāvya.[79] In the final stanza of this work (XXII, 35) he mentions that he wrote the poem in Valabhī during the reign of King Śrīdharasena, who was probably his patron. There were four kings of this name, but as the one Bhaṭṭi refers to can only be the last, who died in 641 A.D., the poet must have lived about the beginning of the 7th century. However, this dating can only be provisional as this last stanza is not mentioned at all in Mallinātha's commentary and therefore may not be authentic. The fact that more or less direct parallels can be found between the last stanza but one (XXII, 34) of Bhaṭṭi's poem and one stanza in Bhāmaha's book on poetics[80] has given rise to a great deal of speculation as this makes it possible to assume either that Bhaṭṭi was familiar with Bhāmaha's works or vice versa.

This, however, is not of much importance to an accurate dating of Bhaṭṭi's work as there is considerable uncertainty as to when Bhāmaha lived.[81] It is quite impossible to identify Bhaṭṭi, as has sometimes been done, with Vatsabhaṭṭi, the author of the metrical inscription in the temple of the Sun at Mandasore dated 473–74 A.D. Bhaṭṭi wrote fluent Sanskrit and was an authority on grammar whereas Vatsabhaṭṭi's praśasti contains a number of errors. The lack of difficulty in Bhaṭṭi's style together with its evenness and the absence of gross exaggeration in expression

[79] Ed.: J.N. TARKARATNA, Calcutta 1871–73 (with the commentaries of Jayamaṅgala and Bharatamallika); G.Ś.Ś. BĀPATA, Bombay 1887 (NSP, with the commentary of Jayamaṅgala); K.P. TRIVEDI, Bombay 1898 (with the commentary of Mallinātha); Pt. Ś.Ś. ŚĀSTRĪ, Benares 1951/52 (Haridāsa-Saṃskṛta-Granthamālā 136); S.S. REGMI, Calcutta 1964 (CSS). – Lit.: J. NOBEL, Studien zum zehnten Buch des Bhaṭṭikāvya, MU 37 (1924), p. 281 ff.; H.R. DIWEKAR, Bhāmaha, Bhaṭṭi and Dharmakīrti, JRAS 1929, p. 825 ff.; C. HOOYKAAS, On some arthālaṅkāras in the Bhaṭṭikāvya X, BSOAS 20 (1957, R. Turner Vol.), p. 351 ff.; S.P. NARANG, Bhaṭṭi-kāvya: a study, Delhi...1969; G.G. LEONARDI, Tre studi sulla struttura e natura del Bhaṭṭikāvyam, Treviso 1974. Cf. also C. HOOYKAAS, Sanskrit kāvya and Old-Javanese kakawin, IOC 1954, p. 219 f. and JOIB 4 (1954/55), p. 143 ff.; C. HOOYKAAS, Love in Lĕṅkā, an episode of the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa compared with the Sanskrit Bhaṭṭikāvya, TLV 113 (1957), p. 274 ff.; C. HOOYKAAS, Four-line yamaka in the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, JRAS 1958, p. 58 ff. – Translation: C. SCHÜTZ, Fünf Gesänge des Bhaṭṭikāvya, Bielefeld 1837 (Cantos 18–22); P. ANDERSON, JBRAS 1850, p. 20 ff.; V.G. PRADHAN, Poona 1897 (Cantos 1–4, with text); G.G. LEONARDI, Bhaṭṭikāvyam: translation and notes, Leiden 1972 (Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina 16; with numerous mistakes and by no means exhaustive); M.A. and S. KARANDIKAR (edition and English transl.), Delhi 1982.

[80] *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 2, 20; in some editions 2, 19.

[81] According to S.K. DE, Bhāmaha worked between the last quarter of the 7th and the middle of the 8th centuries A.D., though possibly closer to the lower than the upper limit (S.K. DE, History of Sanskrit Poetics, Calcutta 1960 [2], I, p. 49 f). See also E. GEROW, Indian Poetics, Wiesbaden 1977 (HIL V, 3), p. 233.

suggest that the poet must have lived comparatively early, possibly before or about the same time as Bhāravi and certainly before Māgha. A reasonable date would be somewhere between the beginning of the 6th century and the middle of the 7th.

Bhaṭṭi's poem consists of twenty-two cantos and deals with the Rāma legend, as the title Rāvaṇavadha, "The Killing of Rāvaṇa", indicates. The story begins with the descent to earth of Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and ends with the return of Rāma and Sītā from Laṅkā. Each canto deals with one or more of the main events of the legend, which, of course, was perfectly familiar to all educated readers. Canto I describes the birth of Rāma, Canto II the marriage of Rāma to Sītā, Canto III the banishment of Rāma and the departure of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, Canto IV the death of the female demon Śūrpaṇakhā, who was in love with Rāma, Canto V the abduction of Sītā, Canto VI deals with the destruction of Vālin, the Monkey King and the brother of Sugrīva, Canto VII the search for Sītā, Canto VIII how Hanumat penetrated to Sītā's prison in Laṅkā and delivered Rāma's message, Canto IX Hanumat's adventures in Laṅkā, Canto X Hanumat's return and his report to Rāma, Canto XI the morning in Laṅkā, Canto XII Vibhīṣaṇa rebukes his brother Rāvaṇa, Canto XIII the building of the bridge to Laṅkā, Canto XIV the crossing to Laṅkā, Canto XV the destruction of Kumbhakarṇa, a brother of Rāvaṇa's, Canto XVI Rāvaṇa's lament, Canto XVII Rāma's battle with Rāvaṇa and Rāvaṇa's death, Canto XVIII Vibhīṣaṇa's lament. In Canto XIX Vibhīṣaṇa ascends the throne, in Canto XX Sītā, who has incurred Rāma's suspicion, is set free and subjected to a test by fire, Canto XXI is about the purification of Sītā, Canto XXII the return of Rāma and Sītā from Laṅkā. For the most part Bhaṭṭi relates this motley assortment of events in an animated manner. It is noticeable that he gives far freer rein in his poem to action than do later poets, and the Bhaṭṭikāvya contains hardly any long descriptive passages. With the exception of Canto XI, describing morning in Laṅkā, there are no purely descriptive sargas, and sections or cantos dealing with, for instance, a walk in the park, picking flowers or the pleasures of bathing are conspicuously absent.

Bhaṭṭi did not compose his work with the sole intention of presenting a new version of the Rāma legend; his poetry was also meant to illustrate important grammatical and poetic rules. He did not limit these tasks to certain passages, as Aśvaghoṣa had done; the whole work, from beginning to end, was to be a collection of grammatical and poetic examples. A look at the way in which this learned material has been disposed will reveal that it is grouped into four large sections (kāṇḍa): Cantos I to V show assorted rules, Canto VI to IX illustrate Pāṇini's main rules. Cantos X to XII show the use of the most important figures in Sanskrit poetry and Cantos XIV to XXII contain examples to illustrate the use of tenses and moods. Thus Canto X, for example (stanzas 2–22), shows the various types of yamaka, Canto XV examples of the normally rare, classical Sanskrit aorist and in the final canto there are examples of the periphrastic future. Particularly noteworthy is Canto XIII containing examples of multilingual paronomasia – a mixture of Prākrit and Sanskrit – which was presumably unknown in earlier poetry. The thirteen known commentaries to Bhaṭṭi's kāvya and other writings suggest that he

was held in high regard as an authority on the theories of both grammar and poetry. The list of the poetic figures (alaṃkāra) he illustrated is not systematic; it is obviously closest to Daṇḍin's work, but is not in entire agreement with either the latter or Bhāmaha.[82]

Bhaṭṭi's poetry is on the whole not particularly difficult, as we have said, although he has included in it so much didactic material and although, in stanzas 33–34 of the final song, he emphatically states that his work will shine like a lamp for grammarians provided that they have a commentary but – like a mirror in a blind man's hand – will be of no use to others. The majority of the stanzas reveal a versatility in style, indeed a lightness and fluency of expression such as we rarely meet in other śāstrakāvyas, i.e., poetry with a scientific content.[82] The short metres preferred by Bhaṭṭi are in part the reason why the poetry flows so well. Cantos IV to IX and XIV to XXII are written in Śloka, I, II, XI and XII in Upajāti, XIII in Āryā (the Gīti form) and the bulk of Canto IX in Puṣpitāgrā. Other metres occur only to a limited extent, some being used only once. It is a logical consequence of the nature of the work that the diction in a number of stanzas is unusual, even strained. Bhaṭṭi's double aim – to write both a Rāma poem and to provide examples of grammatical and poetic usage – limits his linguistic freedom to a considerable extent but also justifies his choice of unusual words and forms. In the introduction we noticed that the predilection of poets for making their texts difficult is a characteristic feature of classical Sanskrit poetry, indeed of poetry on the whole. Poetry employs rare words and expressions instead of the well-worn, colourless vocabulary of everyday speech, thereby concentrating the attention of the reader or listener on the text.[83] Older historians of literature have generally failed to appreciate this important characteristic of kāvya, as well as the long purple patches of linguistic virtuosity so beloved of many poets after Kālidāsa's time. Their judgement on Bhaṭṭi – and on many subsequent poets – is therefore frequently unfavourable, even negative. Their displeasure is, however, excusable. Not only is the modern method of literary criticism that makes the text itself the basis for interpretation little practised in the field of oriental literature, but certain writers on the history of Indian literature, notably A.B. Keith and S.K. De, took the view that they must apply the criteria valid for Graeco-Roman and English literature when judging Indian poetry. The following three stanzas from the second Sarga, which begins with a description of autumn, will illustrate Bhaṭṭi's careful choice of words. The first (II, 2) gives us a finely arranged picture: red lotuses look like fire; the petals, moving in the wind, are the blazing flames and (dark) bees, swarming round the calyx, are the smoke. The second (II, 1) and the third examples (II, 4) surprise us by their effective use of consonance and assonance. In II, 1, nine of the sixteen

[82] See p. 225 ff.

[83] Many words in Bhaṭṭi are archaic, partly taken from Vedic. A highly unusual form is, for instance, the imperative *bhavatāt*, "let there be", in 22, 35. This form is used occasionally in the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras, but in the Sanskrit of the epics is only found once in the *Mahābhārata* and once in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

words end in -āṃ or -aṃ while the phonemes of the third and fourth quarters of II, 4 are determined by the consonants in the verb upāruroda, "(he) lamented". The stanza describes a tree on the bank of a river which the poet sees as lamenting a cluster of night lotuses with tear-drops of morning dew. Bhaṭṭi gives added poignancy to the scene with phonetic means, the consonants of the second half of the stanza being arranged to convey the impression of softly falling tears:

p r r d n d t p t ṅ g k m d v t t r t r r d n d // (II, 4)

taraṅgasaṅgāc capalaiḥ palāśair jvālāśriyaṃ sātiśayāṃ dadhanti
sadhūmadīptāgnirucīni rejus tāmrotpalāny ākulaṣaṭpadāni // (II, 2)

"The red lotuses with their swaying petals touching the waves (of the water) possessed the supreme beauty of flames. They shone out, garnished with (dark) bees with the blaze of a smoky, burning fire."

vanaspatīnāṃ sarasāṃ nadīnāṃ tejasvināṃ kāntibhṛtāṃ diśāṃ ca /
niryāya tasyāṃ sa puraḥ samantāt śriyaṃ dadhānāṃ śaradaṃ dadarśa // (II, 1)

"When he (= Rāma) had come outside this city he perceived everywhere the beauty of the trees, the pools, the rivers, the brilliant stars and the regions of the sky, (all) caused by autumn."

niśātuṣārair nayanāmbukalpaiḥ pattrāntaparyāgaladacchabinduḥ /
upārurodeva nadatpataṅgakumudvatīṃ tīratarur dināḍau // (II, 4)

"At the beginning of day a tree (standing) on a river-bank mourned a group of lotuses with the tear-like dew of night. Birds sang in it and from the tips of its leaves clear drops dripped down."[84]

At the beginning of the tenth Canto Bhaṭṭi describes how Hanumat, Prince Rāma's monkey messenger, destroys King Rāvaṇa's aśoka-grove. As we already know, the poet uses stanzas 2–22 of this sarga to demonstrate various types of yamaka. Here follow stanzas 4 and 10 of the tenth Canto. The first contains a pādādiyamaka (a yamaka at the beginning of a quarter-stanza) and the second an ayugmapādayamaka (a yamaka in the odd quarters of the stanza):

sarasāṃ sarasāṃ parimucya tanuṃ *patatāṃ patatāṃ* kakubho bahuśaḥ /
sakalaiḥ sakalaiḥ paritaḥ karuṇair *uditai ruditair* iva khaṃ nicitam // (X, 4)

"The air was filled all round with all the sweet cries, pitiful like lamentations, of birds flying in all directions, leaving the watery body (mass) of lakes."[85]

na vānaraiḥ parākrāntāṃ mahadbhir bhīmavikramaiḥ /
na vā naraiḥ parākrāntāṃ dadāha nagarīṃ kapiḥ // (X, 10)

"The monkey burnt the city which had not been attacked by other monkeys, (or by) great and valiant (gods), or by men."[86]

[84] It is morning, and the tree on the bank is sad because the glory of the night-lotus has come to an end; its beauty only unfolds in moonlight.

[85] Translation from C. HOOYKAAS, Four-line yamaka in the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, JRAS 1958, p. 59.

[86] Translation from C. HOOYKAAS, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

Like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, the author of the Kirātārjunīya, "(The Poem) about the Kirāta and Arjuna", is also mentioned in the Aihole inscription dated 634 A.D.[87], which even gives the terminus ante quem of Bhāravi's life. Since the Aihole inscription names Bhāravi as an already famous poet and since he has on occasions borrowed from Kālidāsa, he must be dated somewhere between Kālidāsa and the year 634, probably about 500–550 A.D. We know nothing about his life, but legend relates that his youth was full of hardship and that to begin with he found it difficult to make his way as a poet. Tradition connects Bhāravi with Siṃhaviṣṇu from Kāñcī(puram) (Conjivaram) and Viṣṇuvardhana, the founder of the eastern line of the Cālukyas. Although this may be questioned, it does seem certain that the poet was from the south of India and was perhaps born at Kāñcī(puram). His southern origins may also be deduced from his style. Like Māgha and Bhaṭṭi, Bhāravi left only one work; if he did write others, they have been lost.

The Kirātārjunīya[88] describes the bellicose argument between Arjuna, one of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, and the Kirāta, a huntsman from the mountains, who is Śiva in disguise. The theme is a simple episode from the Mahābhārata[89] that the poet has magnified into a long poem. The Pāṇḍavas, deadly enemies of the Kauravas, live in exile in the Kāmyaka forest. Yudhiṣṭhira, the oldest of the five Pāṇḍava princes, receives a report from a spy concerning Duryodhana[90], the leader of the Kauravas, which causes great alarm in the Pāṇḍava camp. Draupadī, the spouse of the Pāṇḍavas, and Bhīmasena persuade Yudhiṣṭhira to declare war on the Kauravas in order to recover the throne by force. The sage Vyāsa then appears and lends Yudhiṣṭhira a charm which, with the aid of Arjuna, will ensure that they obtain divine and invincible weapons. On the instigation of Vyāsa, Arjuna, a strict ascetic dwelling in the Himālaya, gains Indra's favour. In the forest he meets a Kirāta. A

[87] Besides Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, the Aihole inscription also mentions the poets Subandhu and Pravarasena.

[88] Ed.: VIDYĀKARA MIŚRA and BĀBŪ RĀMA, Calcutta 1814; N.B. GODABOLE and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1903[5], 1907[6], 1954 (NSP); T. GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRĪ, Trivandrum 1918 (TSS 63); G. PATHAK, Benares 1931; M.R. KALE, Delhi...1966[1] (only Cantos I–III, with English translation); Varanasi 1970 (KSS 74); K. BAHADUR, Kathmandu 1972/74 (only Cantos 1–12, with English translation). – Lit.: H. JACOBI, On Bhāravi and Māgha, WZKM 3 (1889), p. 121 ff. (= Kleine Schriften I, p. 447 ff.); S.K. DE, Bhāravi and Daṇḍin, IHQ 1 (1925), p. 31 ff.; G. HARIHARA ŚĀSTRĪ; Bhāravi and Daṇḍin, AIOC 1926, 1, p. 44 ff.; IHQ 3 (1927), p. 169 ff.; N.C. CHATTERJEE, The home of Bhāravi, IC 11 (1945), p. 245 ff.; S. BHATTACHARYA, Four passages of the Kirātārjunīya and their interpretation, AIOC 1946, part II, p. 174 ff.; L. RENOU, Sur la structure du kāvya, JA 147 (1959), p. 1 ff.; J.P. THAKAR, Fauna in Bhāravi, JOIB 21 (1971), p. 228 f.; M.S. NAGARAJA RAO, Kiratarjuniyam in Indian Art, with special reference to Karnataka, Delhi 1979. – Translations: F. RÜCKERT, Übersetzungen aus dem Kirātārjunīya, nebst Analyse, Jb. für wiss. Kritik 1 (1831); C. SCHÜTZ, Bhāravis Kirātārjunīya, der Kampf mit dem Kiräten, Gesang 1 und 2, Bielefeld 1845 (incomplete); C. CAPPELLER, Bharavi's poem Kiratarjuniya or Arjuna's combat with the Kirata, Cambridge, Mass. 1912 (HOS 15), (microfilm-xerography) Ann Arbor...1980; M.R. KALE, Delhi...1966[4]; K. BAHADUR, Kathmandu 1972/74.

[89] *Mahābh.* III, 27–41.

[90] Called Suyodhana in the *Kirāt.*

boar, hit by arrows from both Arjuna's and the huntsman's bows, becomes an object of contention which leads up to a violent fight between the two men. Finally the huntsman reveals himself as the great god Śiva. He rewards the amazing courage of his opponent by granting him the divine weapons which are to ensure the defeat of the hostile Kauravas.

Bhāravi keeps to the main lines of the story but frequently strays from the Vanaparvan version.[91] The contents of Sargas IV to XI have been invented by the poet but in Cantos XII to XVII he keeps strictly to the traditional material. Bhāravi's work differs in two important respects from Kālidāsa and the other, earlier, kāvyas, all of which have been lost except for Aśvaghoṣa's work: firstly, action definitely takes second place to description as well as to passages consisting of speeches and counterspeeches; secondly, Sanskrit poetic theories emerge here as dominant. Whereas older authors had devoted a certain amount of care to seeing that the action flowed smoothly, Bhāravi's work marks the turning point. Concentration on the work as a whole gives way to the concentration on elaborate artistic detail[92] that already dominated muktaka poetry. The poetic canon gained a much stronger position in the art of kāvya. Although there are exceptions, from now on poetry becomes a demonstration of how complete a command the author has of poetic means, indeed it is often a brilliant exhibition of the virtuoso use of metre, figures and peculiarities of style. Tendencies in this direction are noticeable in the works of Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa but it is not until we come to Bhāravi that they become strong enough to influence the whole way of writing. Bhāravi's successors often neglect the action entirely; their major poems frequently consist of a series of descriptions for which the "story" is merely a pretext and is not of any real importance to the reader or listener. In Bhāravi the action is much more often interrupted by descriptive passages than in Kālidāsa. The story itself is of less significance; what counts is the constantly changing series of descriptions of, for example, the road into the mountains, autumn and rural life, the Himālaya, forests, bathing in the Ganges, dawn, evening, the rising moon, etc.[93] We should also notice the two different styles in the Kirātārjunīya and – to a lesser extent – in mahākāvyas by later poets. While certain passages are written in the typical descriptive style, others are rhetorical, i.e., written in the form of speeches or discussions the

[91] C. CAPPELLER, *op. cit.*, gives an accurate account of the contents in each *sarga*.

[92] A number of older writers on the history of Sanskrit literature were of the opinion that content yielded in importance to form. This opinion is, however, untenable as content (*artha*) and form (*śabda*) cannot be separated from each other. The shift in emphasis is rather in the relationship of the part to the whole or of the small to the large, both of which have naturally form as well as content.

[93] Seven cantos are almost entirely descriptive: Canto IV (Description of the road, autumnal scenery and the life of the herdsmen); V (A description of the Himālaya); VI (Arjuna climbs Mount Indrakīla); VII (Descriptions of the Gandharvas, the Apsaras and the elephants in the army of the gods); VIII (A walk in the woods, bathing in the Ganges); IX (Evening, the rising moon, the pleasures of love and dawn); and X (The seasons; the attempt made by the Apsaras to disturb Arjuna's ascetic exercises).

particular attraction of which lies in the trenchancy of the argumentation. Good examples are to be found in the first two cantos and in a speech made by Skanda, the god of war, to his troops in the fifteenth Sarga.

Bhāravi, a master of the forceful and exaltedly dignified style, is a difficult writer. He employs a somewhat forced vocabulary, on occasions taking words from Vedic.[94] He avoids long compounds, preferring laconic sentences and rather short metres although his pictures are richly illustrated and contain many descriptions of considerable length. As he succeeds in saying a great deal in a very limited space, critics have praised him for his arthagaurava, his "weightiness of content". At the same time he writes such self-assured and grammatically correct Sanskrit that they have been able to find even fewer errors in his work than in Kālidāsa's. Influence from the south of India can be detected in the force and dignity of style of Bhāravi's work and the same influence is probably also responsible for his love of the figure utpreksā, the "imaginative interpretation" of the situation described.[95] Bhāravi was also very skilful in the use of metre, of which he employs a great number; the twelfth Canto is the only one that is written all in the same metre.[96] He prized the art of citrabandha and appeared to think that a poet must prove his greatness by writing at least one part of his mahākāvya in this style. Bhāravi's pièce de résistance is Canto XV, which begins with Skanda's speech to his troops and continues with the mortal combat between Arjuna and the Kirāta. The sarga is a deliberate demonstration of his verbal virtuosity, roughly every other stanza of the total of fifty-three being or containing a citra figure. Stanzas 1 and 3 contain yamakas, stanza 5 is an ekākṣarapāda (a quarter-stanza using only one consonant), stanza 7 is nirauṣṭhya (without labials), stanzas 8 and 10 also contain yamakas, stanza 12 forms a gomūtrika ("cow piss")[97], stanza 14 is another ekākṣara, stanza 16 is a mahā-yamaka or samudgaka (the same words in each half of the stanza, but a different meaning), stanza 18 contains pratilomānulomapādas (the 1st and 3rd quarters of the stanza when read backwards gives the same sound as the 2nd and 4th quarters), stanzas 22 and 23 together form a pratilomena ślokadvaya (the first stanza read backwards gives the same sound as the second), stanza 25 is a sarvatobhadra (double palindrome), stanza 27 an ardhabhramaka (half-rotation)[98], stanza 29 is another

[94] There are remarkable neologisms such as *ahnaḥ ... avaśeṣa* (3, 43), "day-rest", for "evening", or *rātrer viparyaya* (11, 44), "opposite of night" for "day".

[95] Cf. K. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Essays in Sanskrit Criticism, Dharwar 1974, p. 296. A list of the poetic figures (and metres) remarked upon by Mallinātha in his commentary to the *Kirāt.* will be found in C. CAPPELLER, *op. cit.*, p. 190 ff.

[96] Udgatā except for the conclusion of the canto, which is in Praharṣiṇī. A survey of the metrical construction of the *Kirāt.* can be found in C. CAPPELLER, *op. cit.*, p. 196 f.

[97] "The syllables . . ., when placed on separate lines, can be read either by zig-zagging from one line to the other, or in the regular way" (E. GEROW, A Glossary of Indian Figures of Speech, The Hague – Paris 1971, p. 181).

[98] "A type of word play in which a verse, each of whose four *pādas* is written on a separate line, can be read either in the normal way or as a helix, from outer verticals inwards" (E. GEROW, *op. cit.*, p. 178 f.).

niraus̱thya, stanzas 31 and 35 again contain yamakas, stanza 38 is a dvyakṣara (uses only two consonants), stanza 42 contains yamakas, stanza 45 is arthatrayavācin (having three meanings), stanza 50 is an ardhāvali (the 1st and 2nd quarters of the stanza are identical to the 3rd and 4th in sound but different in meaning) and stanza 52 is another mahāyamaka or samudgaka. We have already quoted a typical stanza from this interesting canto.[99] The aesthetic reward of reading this sort of verse is generally not very great as the rigid laws governing citra figures inhibit the development of the language. As already observed, however, citrabandhas are not distributed evenly throughout the poem but are concentrated in one section, more in some poets. On one hand critics of kāvya seem to have demanded such proofs of linguistic virtuosity from poets, and on the other, poets do not appear to have been unwilling to undertake this difficult task as their skill and technical knowledge were shown to greater advantage in these than in many other stanzas.

Indian critics by no means judge Bhāravi on his citra passages alone, however. Many consider him to be unquestionably the greatest kavi after Kālidāsa, who attained the height of perfection in all details in the art of kāvya. Particularly highly praised is Bhāravi's rich imagination; it is to be seen in his imagery and in his metaphors, which are often built up in several layers. Most famous of all is stanza V, 39, which gave him the title of ātapatra-Bhāravi, "parasol Bhāravi". The poet compares lotus-pollen whirled up into the air by the storm with the beautiful lustre of a golden parasol:

utphullasthalanalinīvanād amuṣmād uddhūtaḥ sarasijasaṃbhavaḥ parāgaḥ /
vātyābhir viyati vivartitaḥ samantād ādhatte kanakamayātapatralakṣmīm //

"The pollen breathed out by a group of blown lotuses (and) whirled up into the air in all directions by the gust of wind takes on the beauty of a golden parasol."

It is worth noting that Bhāravi used the word lakṣmī ("good forture") in the last stanza of each of the eighteen cantos.[100] Due to the esteem in which the Kirātārjunīya is held, theoretical works on poetry often quote stanzas from this poem. There are about forty-two commentaries on this difficult work, the most important of which is the Ghaṇṭāpatha by Mallinātha, the scholar from the south of India (second half of the 14th century and beginning of the 15th), who wrote commentaries to all the six great mahākāvyas (including the Bhaṭṭikāvya).

The next mahākavi, Māgha, author of the Śiśupālavadha, cannot be dated with any certainty either. A short epilogue to the poem tells us that his father was called Dattaka Sarvāśraya and that his grandfather Suprabhadeva was a minister at the

[99] See p. 158.

[100] The constant repetition of a word in the final stanza later becomes quite common. In Māgha's *Śiśup.* the word *śrī* ("good luck") is repeated, in Pravarasena's *Setubandha* the word *anurāga* ("love"), in Rājānaka Ratnākara's *Haravijaya* the word *ratna* ("precious stone", one of the elements in the poet's name), in Trivikramabhatta's *Damayantīkathā,* the composite word *haracaraṇasaroja* ("the foot-lotus of Hara", i.e., Śiva).

court of King Varmala[101], but it is difficult to be sure whether this Varmala can be identified as the King Varmalāta mentioned in an inscription dated 625 A.D. Furthermore, the last five stanzas of the Śiśupālavadha, the poet's epilogue, are interpreted in Vallabhadeva's commentary but not in Mallinātha's. The last possible date for Māgha is fixed by quotations from his poem in Vāmana's Kāvyālaṃkārasutravṛtti and Ānandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka, two important works on poetic theory from the middle of the 9th century. The earliest date can be fixed by his predecessor, Bhāravi, whom Māgha demonstrably imitated and tried to outdo, both in detail and in his whole concept. As Māgha's poem was imitated in the Haravijaya by Rājānaka Ratnākara, court poet to King Bālabṛhaspati or Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (832–844), Māgha must be dated earlier than the beginning of the 9th century. Unlike Bhāravi, Māgha came from the north of India, possibly from Gujarat where, according to Jaina anecdotes, he was the son of a wealthy man and was consequently able to lead a carefree life which he could devote to poetry.

As no other works by Māgha are known, it is possible that the Śiśupālavadha[102], sometimes known as the Māghakāvya, is his only poem. Māgha, too, has taken his material from epic poetry.[103] Unlike Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya, however, it is not dedicated to the greater glory of Śiva but exalts Viṣṇu in his aspect as Kṛṣṇa – a deliberate contrast to Bhāravi. The poem relates the events leading up to the "Killing of Śiśupāla" by Kṛṣṇa. At the consecration of King Yudhiṣṭhira[104], presents are bestowed on the visiting princes and, at Bhīma's suggestion, the gift of honour goes to Kṛṣṇa. Enraged at the proposal, Śiśupāla, King of the Cedis, leaves the hall in a fury and mobilizes his forces for a battle with Kṛṣṇa which commences when the two armies come to close quarters. After a hard-fought duel between the

[101] Variations of this name or other names by which this ruler was known are: Varma, Nirmalānta, Dharmanābha, Dharmadeva and Dharmanātha; see *Śiśupālavadha,* ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and ŚIVADATTA, Preface.

[102] Ed.: TĀRĀNĀTHA TARKAVĀCASPATI, Calcutta 1847; PT. DURGĀPRASĀD and PT. ŚIVADATTA, Bombay 1888 (NSP), revised by V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR, Bombay 1927 (NSP); A.Ś. VETĀL and J.Ś. HOŚING, Benares 1929 (KSS = Haridās Sanskrit Granthamālā 69, Kāvya section 9); M.Ś. THATTE, Benares 1934. – Lit.: H. JACOBI, On Bhāravi and Māgha, WZKM 3 (1889), p. 121 ff. (= Kleine Schriften I, p. 447 ff.); H. JACOBI, Ānandavardhana and the date of Māgha, WZKM 4 (1890), p. 236 ff. (= Kleine Schriften I, p. 438 ff.); C. CAPPELLER, Die Zitate aus Māghas Śiśupālavadha mit ihren Varianten, Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte vornehmlich des Orients (Festschrift E. Kuhn), Munich 1916, p. 294 ff. (= Kleine Schriften, p. 348 ff.); V. PISANI, Appunti sul Çiçupālavadha di Māgha, RSO 14 (1933/34), p. 240 ff.; H.G. NARAHARI, On the Sanskrit poet Māgha, AP 16 (1945), p. 341 ff.; M.M. SHARMA, The three qualities of Magha, Festschrift Barua, Gauhati 1966, p. 238 ff.; B.S. MUKHOPADHYAYA, The Śiśupālavadha and its sources, Bharati 9 (Varanasi 1965/66), p. 58 ff.; S.A. TENKSHE, Contibution of Māgha to Sanskrit literature (with special reference to his vocabulary), Poona 1972. – Translations: J.C.C. SUTHERLAND, Sisupála Bad'ha, or death of Sisupála by Mágha, JASB 8 (1839), p. 16 ff. (song I, vss. 1–20, also text); C. SCHÜTZ, Magha's Tod des Çiçupala, Bielefeld 1843 (songs I–XI only); C. CAPPELLER, Bālamāgha: Māgha's Śiśupālavadha im Auszuge bearbeitet, Stuttgart 1915 (extracts, with text); E. HULTZSCH, Māgha's Śiśupālavadha, Leipzig 1926.

[103] *Mahābh.* II, 41–45.

[104] See p. 184.

two princes in which both arrows and miraculous weapons are employed Kṛṣṇa finally decapitates his adversary.

Māgha skilfully distributes his material over twenty cantos, but abandons the story almost entirely in Sargas IV to XI in favour of pure description. After a fine portrayal of the city of Dvārakā in Canto III the following eight cantos describe – with the wealth of detail so typical of kāvya – Mount Raivataka (Canto IV), Kṛṣṇa's encampment (V), the seasons (VI), a walk in the forest (VII), the pleasures of bathing with the lovely Yādava women (VIII), evening (IX), carousals and love-games (X) and the sunrise, which puts an end to all these joys (XI). The narrative in Māgha's poem is more heavily obscured by description and detailed pictures than it is in Bhāravi's. Whereas the Kirātārjunīya has seven descriptive cantos[105], the Śiśupālavadha has nine. Like Bhāravi, Māgha uses both a descriptive and a rhetorical style. The lengthy speeches made from time to time by the two adversaries are couched in the latter style as are those passages designed to show Māgha's penetrating powers of argument and knowledge of statecraft (nīti). The sixteenth Sarga is an artistically contrived canto presenting an intentionally ambiguous message from Śiśupāla to Kṛṣṇa which the listener or reader can understand either as a challenge to battle or as an apology. Many passages reveal the poet's extensive knowledge of other sciences; Māgha was thoroughly familiar with the art of medicine, logic and, particularly important, with Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra and other didactic texts on the science of love. The presentation of the amorous aspects of the story, which Bhāravi did not neglect in spite of the meagreness of his material, is given considerable space in Māgha's poem. Although the Śiśupāla legend does not exactly invite authors to write erotic passages, it is obvious that erotic themes exercise a certain attraction.

Māgha was not merely influenced by his great predecessor Bhāravi; he modelled his poem directly on the Kirātārjunīya, as a number of corresponding features in the two works show. It seems that Bhāravi was the poet that Māgha – and many of his contemporaries – admired most, and he hoped that his own Śiśupālavadha would bring him even greater fame than Bhāravi's. Like Bhāravi, Kālidāsa and the names of countless other poets, Māgha is probably a pseudonym.[106] "Whatever may have been the original etymology of Bhāravi, that word naturally suggested some such meaning as 'the sun (ravi) of brilliancy' (bhās). And Māgha, which does not occur again as a proper name and may therefore be a nom de plume, looks as if chosen by a rival of Bhāravi in order to proclaim his superiority to him. For Māgha, the month of January, certainly does deprive the sun of his rays."[107]

Points of agreement are to be found in the actual construction of the Kirātārjunīya and the Śiśupālavadha. Kirāt. I, 1–25 and Śiśup. I both describe the enemy; Kirāt. I–III and Śiśup. II a counsel; Kirāt. IV, VII and Śiśup. III a journey; Kirāt. V

[105] See p. 185, note 93.

[106] It should be noted that whereas pseudonyms in Western literature are designed to give anonymity, the names chosen by Indian *kavis* are taken, not to hide their identity, but to refer to the glory, the rank or some particular gift possessed by the poet.

[107] H. Jacobi, On Bhāravi and Māgha, p. 133 f. (= Kleine Schriften, p. 459 f.).

and Śiśup. IV a mountainous landscape; both Kirāt. VIII, 1–26 and Śiśup. VII have a strong erotic flavour – picking flowers in the company of women; Kirāt. VIII, 27–57 and Śiśup. VIII depict a bathing scene; Kirāt. IX, 1–32 and Śiśup. IX evening and night; Kirāt. IX, 34–78 and Śiśup. X the pleasures of love; Kirāt. XIII–XIV and Śiśup. XV–XVI present speeches and counter-speeches; Kirāt. XIV and Śiśup. XVII describe preparations for the battle; Kirāt. XV–XVI and Śiśup. XVIII–XIX the battle and finally Kirāt. XVIII–XIX and Śiśup. XX the mortal combat between the two great rivals. Each poem has a sarga designed to show the poet's virtuosity and in both it is the battle scene, a theme that is eminently suitable for a display of verbal brilliance. One is struck by the fact that the disposition of the figures is very similar, particularly at the beginning and end of the two cantos[108]: stanzas XIX, 1, 5, 7 and 9 contain yamakas in both cases; stanza 3 is an ekākṣarapāda; stanza 11 is nirauṣṭhya; stanzas 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23 and 25 contain yamakas; stanza 27 is a sarvatobhadra; stanza 29 a murajabandha ("drum")[109]; stanza 31 contains a yamaka; stanzas 33 and 34 together make a pratilomena ślokadvaya; stanzas 36 and 38 contain yamakas; stanza 40 is a pratilomānulomapāda, etc. Māgha also excels in the difficult art of yamaka in Canto V. While the final stanza of each canto in Bhāravi's poem contains the word lakṣmī, Māgha has the synonymous word śrī in each of his.[110] In addition to all these similarities in form, we find in Māgha a number of stanzas that are clearly reworkings and improvements of stanzas in the Kirātārjunīya. The first of the following two stanzas is from Bhāravi's poem[111]; the second, from Māgha's[112], is obviously intended to surpass it:

ākīrṇaṃ balarajasā ghanāruṇena prakṣobhaiḥ sapadi taraṅgitaṃ taṭeṣu /
mātaṅgonmathitasarojareṇupiṅgaṃ māñjiṣṭhaṃ vasanam ivāmbu nirbabhāse //

"Covered with the dark brown dust of the marching troops, at once wavy near the banks through being disturbed, coloured red by the pollen of the lotuses shaken by elephants, the water shone like a cloth dyed with madder."[113]

saṃsarpibhiḥ payasi gairikareṇurāgair ambhojagarbharajasāṅganiṣaṅginā ca /
krīḍopabhogam anubhūya sarinmahebhāv anyonyavastraparivartam iva vyadhattām //

"It seemed as if the river and the elephant, having amorously dallied together, had exchanged their clothes; for the water was red with the dissolving minium-paint of the elephant, and the elephant was covered with the pollen of the lotus."[113]

Māgha is not inferior to his predecessor as regards metre either. Both poets display their metrical skill, mainly in the fourth Canto of their poems. Bhāravi uses sixteen, Magha twenty-four different metres in this sarga.

Māgha's endeavour to outdo the great Bhāravi was not without effect. At times his poetry has been of greater influence on his successors than have the Raghuvaṃśa and the Kumārasambhava. Māgha's work has often been imitated, numerous stanzas have been quoted in works of criticism and his difficult poem has been commented by learned men such as Mallinātha and Vallabhadeva. A well-known Sanskrit stanza sums up the Indian estimation of Māgha's worth by saying that while Kālidāsa's excellence lies in the art of simile (upamā), Bhāravi's in weightiness of content (arthagaurava) and Daṇḍin's in the charm of his vocabulary

(padalālitya), Māgha combines the virtues of all three.[114] One of his similes was immensely appreciated by connoisseurs: Śiśup. IV, 20, previously quoted, in which Mount Raivataka is compared to an elephant loaded with two bells. It is so famous that it has given the poet the name by which he is frequently known, ghaṇṭā-Māgha, "bell Māgha". The content of many of his stanzas is difficult, especially in Sargas XV and XVI, which contain penetrating speeches in the rhetorical style. As an example of the extreme care with which he selected words in order to create the exact sound effect he wanted we may take the following stanza. Written in the yamaka style, it is the opening of canto VI, which describes the seasons:

navapalāśapalāśavanaṃ puraḥ sphuṭaparāgaparāgatapaṅkajam /
mṛdulatāntalatāntam alokayat sa surabhiṃ surabhiṃ sumanobharaiḥ //[115]

"He (i.e., Kṛṣṇa) perceived before him spring made fragrant by an abundance of blossom: with forests of freshly budding kiṃśuka-trees, lotuses covered with pollen that had just burst forth, and lianas that delicately stretched our their (fine) tips."

In more recent times poets have followed the example of Bhāravi and particularly Māgha rather than Kālidāsa. A number of anecdotes and tales have grown up round Māgha's person and poetry. Although they are mostly apocryphal and of little biographical value, they do show something of his importance. Māgha's contemporaries and successors regarded his poetry as an inexhaustible treasure-trove, a continual source of new enrichment, a work in which, however often re-read, even the most learned and experienced might make new discoveries. Particularly attractive because it is humorously put is the story of the aged sage who, when asked what had given him so great learning, replied: meghe māghe gataṃ vayaḥ, "I have spent my life with Megha and Māgha." From his youth the Paṇḍit had studied Kālidāsa's Meghadūta and the Māghakāvya (Śiśupālavadha).[116]

108 Cf. p. 186 f. and the translation given there of certain technical terms.

109 "A verse whose syllables can be read either in a criss-cross form similar to the lacing of an Indian drum (*mṛdaṅga*), or in the regular way" (E. GEROW, *op. cit.*, p. 187).

110 I.e., "happiness", "good luck", "beauty", "riches".

111 7, 36.

112 5, 39.

113 Translation after H. JACOBI, On Bhāravi and Māgha, p. 127 (= Kleine Schriften, p. 453).

114 *upamā kālidāsasya bhāraver arthagauravam /*
daṇḍinaḥ padalālityaṃ māghe santi trayo guṇāḥ //

115 6, 2.

116 Although it seems doubtful whether the ordinary reader obtained much religious edification from the *Śiśupālavadha*, there is a well-formulated Sanskrit saying the two halves of which have the same wording but different meanings. It runs:

murāripadacintā cet tadā māghe ratiṃ kuru /
murāripadacintā cet tadā māghe ratiṃ kuru //

"If you like verses (about) Murāri (= Kṛṣṇa), then love Māgha. If you are devoted to the feet of Murāri, then abhor evil."
pada can mean either "verse" or "foot". The first *māghe* is the locative sing. of *māgha* and the second should be read as *mā* plus *aghe*.

The last of the five great poets is Śrīharṣa, the author of the Naiṣadhacarita, the most extensive and most difficult of the six great mahākāvyas. Śrīharṣa lived in the second half of the 12th century in Kānyakubjā (the modern Kanauj) in the upper Ganges valley. He was probably court poet to the princes Vijayacandra and Jayacandra but, judging by the numerous Bengalisms in his poetry, he seems to have been born in Bengal. This profound and well-informed poet wrote a number of works in different genres, only two of which have survived: the Naiṣadhacarita and the Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya, "Titbits of Criticism", one of the most remarkable works in the Advaita-Vedānta. Just as the Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya is mentioned in the Naiṣadhacarita, so is the Naiṣadhacarita mentioned in the Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya.[117] The poet's interest in philosophy is manifest even in his mahākāvya: references to various philosophic theories are to be found in many places in the poem, while philosophy itself is the subject of the seventeenth Canto. In this sarga Śrīharṣa gives a brief survey of Indian thought, allowing various gods to appear as advocates of different systems of philosophy. We cannot be sure whether he is also the author of the Śṛṅgārahārāvalī, a collection of one hundred erotic short poems which, like the Naiṣadhacarita, contain a great many provincialisms.[118] They are not mentioned in the Naiṣadhacarita. There are a number of poets who call themselves Harṣa or Śrīharṣa but only two of them emerge as clearly recognizable personalities: our poet and King Harṣa(vardhana), also known as Śrīharṣa, the author of the dramas Ratnāvalī, Priyadarśikā and Nāgānanda. While a number of stanzas in large anthologies can easily be identified as being from the Naiṣadhacarita, the sources of other stanzas signed (Śrī)harṣa in these anthologies are difficult to ascertain. The Suprabhātastotra has been ascribed to Śrīharṣa or Harṣa(vardhana). Each of the 22 cantos in the Naiṣadhacarita ends with an epilogic stanza in Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre containing information about the poet and his works[119], but it is still rather difficult to determine whether these final stanzas are authentic or not. According to these stanzas, Śrīharṣa is the author of three panegyrics, Śrīvijayaprāśasti, Gauḍorvīśaprāśasti and Chindaprāśasti as well as a campū-work entitled Navasāhasāṅkacarita.

Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhacarita (or Naiṣadhīya)[120] is based on the well-known legend of King Nala (Naiṣadha) and his queen, Damayantī, one of the best-loved stories not only in Sanskrit poetry, but also in other Indian languages, both Aryan and Dravidian. Like much other material, the Nala saga comes from epic sources.[121] However, Śrīharṣa deals only with the first part of the tale. He does not relate the adversities that befall the unhappy young king, who loses his kingdom to his own brother at dice and is only reunited with Damayantī after many adventures and a long, painful separation. Śrīharṣa slows down the pace of the narrative by including

117 *Naiṣadh.* 6, 113.

118 Cf. PRIYABALA SHAH, Srngaraharavali, a new Srngarasataka and its author Sriharsa, AIOC 1955, p. 161 ff.

119 The same is true of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda,* in which the final stanzas regularly contain biographical information.

long descriptions and an almost oppressive wealth of extraneous learned material. He only carries the story as far as the marriage and connubial bliss of the newly-wedded couple, which in the Nala legend takes place long before the main events of the story. The poem ends with a very detailed description of nightfall and the moon in the form of a dialogue between Nala and Damayantī.

As Śrīharṣa has only made use of a fraction of the Nala saga it has often been suggested that the Naiṣadhacarita is either an uncompleted work or that only the first part of the poem has been preserved. Acyutarāya, one of the commentators on Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa, even goes so far as to say that the poem originally had the enormous length of one hundred sargas. According to this reckoning, the twenty-two cantos that have come down to us are only about a fifth of the poem. In reality the fact that Śrīharṣa used only the beginning of the Nala legend can hardly be taken as proof that the Naiṣadhacarita is either an uncompleted work or that only a fragment remains. We have a parallel in Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava which, as we saw, was considered by many critics to be uncompleted.[122] As with Kālidāsa, it was not Śrīharṣa's intention to present the whole of the traditional material to his readers but only that part of the legend which contained the love-story of Nala and Damayantī. Like Kālidāsa's, his poem ends on a happy note, as every kāvya should, in this case with the marriage and wedded happiness of the young couple together with a detailed description of sunset and night. We may therefore assume that the version of the Naiṣadhacarita we possess today is Śrīharṣa's completed poem. We must also remember that the Naiṣadhacarita is a very late poem and that, in post-Kālidāsa kāvya, only a minimum of action is needed to function as a framework on which the poet can hang the detailed descriptions, learned arguments and show-pieces of linguistic brilliance that are the very essence of kāvya.

Stanzas from the Naiṣadhacarita are reprinted in numerous anthologies. As it is one of the most difficult and learned poems and can therefore be truly understood

[120] Ed.: Calcutta 1836; V. KṚTIVARA, Benares 1886; PT. ŚIVADATTA, Bombay 1902[2] (NSP), revised by V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR, Bombay 1928[6] (NSP); J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta 1875/76; Benares 1954 (Haridāsa-Saṃskṛta-Granthamālā 205); S.V. DIXIT, Belgaum 1967[4] (Cantos I to III only, with English translation). – Lit.: K.K. HANDIQUI, The Naiṣadhacarita and Rajput painting, IHQ 12 (1916), p. 526 ff.; R.M. SHASTRI, Was Śrīharṣa a Bengali? AIOC 1926, 1, p. 48; A.C. EASTMAN, The Naiṣadhacarita as the source text of the Nala-Damayantī drawings, JAOS 70 (1950), p. 238 ff.; A.N. JANI, Home of Śrīharṣa, JMSU 3 (1954), p. 91 ff.; A.N. JANI, Extant of the Naiṣadhīyacaritam, JOIB 5 (1956), p. 297 ff.; A.N. JANI, A critical study of Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhīyacaritam, Baroda 1957 (M.S. University of Baroda Research Series 2); M.B. EMMENEAU, Sriharsa's Naisadhacarita and the Mahabharata Critical Edition, Poona 1960, P.K. GODE Commemoration Vol. (Poona Oriental Series 93), p. 106 ff.; S. BHATTACHARYA, The Naiṣadhacarita in its bearing on the alaṃkāra code, ibid., III, p. 19 ff.; H. VEDANTASASTRI, The birth place of Śrīharṣa, the author of Naiṣadha-Caritam, JGJh 18 (1961/62), p. 73 ff.; P. BANDYOPADHYAYA, Observations on similes in the Naiṣadhacarita, Calcutta 1966. – Translation: K.K. HANDIQUI, The Naiṣadhacarita of Śrīharṣa, Lahore 1934, (reprint) 1956; S.V. DIXIT, Belgaum 1967[4] (Cantos 1 to 3 only).

[121] *Mahābh.* III, 50, 1 – III, 55, 2.

[122] See p. 172 f.

and appreciated only by very well-educated readers, it has produced a rich crop of commentaries, there being more than forty-five, those by Mallinātha and Cāritravardhana included. Although the poem is traditionally counted among the six great mahākāvyas, it did not receive universal acclaim from Śrīharṣa's contemporaries or from later critics. While the majority of them probably regarded it as an unsurpassed masterpiece and greatly admired his powers of description, his learning and delighted in his choice of words, others were far less enthusiastic and some directly negative. Thus, according to one anecdote[123], the Kashmiri critic and poet Mammaṭa expressed the unflattering opinion that Śrīharṣa's poem alone would be sufficient to provide him with all the examples of poetic defects (doṣa) he would be likely to need for his own book on the theory of poetry, the Kāvyaprakāśa. The judgement of modern critics, both Western and Indian, is also frequently depreciatory. Nevertheless we must admit that, in the Naiṣadhacarita, Śrīharṣa reaches greater heigths than earlier authors as regards linguistic virtuosity, paronomasia, the display of learned knowledge and the use of figures and metre. Moreover no one would dispute the fact that his poem is a much praised and very important work in the Indian tradition as well as being the last of the great mahākāvyas after Bhāravi's and Māgha's. Every part of the work bears witness to the pains Śrīharṣa took to achieve perfection. He polished every line and he made use of all the poetic techniques and devices that had been invented and refined over the centuries. Fairly early in the history of kāvya there had developed a tendency to give greater breadth to the material by increasing the amount of descriptive writing and dealing with even the smallest details rather than by extending the range of the action. This tendency seems to have reached its peak in the Naiṣadhacarita, which later poets were only able to imitate as they did not themselves possess the imagination or the scholarship to improve on it. As the Naiṣadhacarita is on this high level the descriptions in it are elaborate to a degree, indeed even pedantic. Thus the description of the svayaṃvara, the choice of a husband by Damayantī herself, which in the Mahābhārata occupies only a couple of lines, swells out here to five long cantos (X–XIV). In addition to length and exactitude of description, it is characterized by the use of decorative figures ranging from relatively simple devices like alliteration to yamaka and paronomasia. Śrīharṣa is also a master of sentiment (rasa) and is fond of weaving into his kāvya recondite information from various disciplines such as astronomy, astrology, philosophy, medicine and the science of interpreting omens. When, in Canto XIII (3 ff.), Sarasvatī, the goddess of eloquence, art and learning, presents the five suitors to the young maiden, her speech is so skilfully formulated that it is applicable not only to each of the suitors she is presenting but also to Nala, the bridegroom Damayantī herself has chosen. In Canto VII Śrīharṣa portrays Damayantī's beauty with the greatest possible thoroughness. His description follows the method known as nakhaśikha- (or pādādikeśānta[124] in

123 The same anecdote makes the poet a nephew of Mammaṭa's, which is certainly pure fiction.

124 Cf. p. 144.

which the body is described from toe-nails to the crown of the head or vice versa. He moves systematically from part to part of the body devoting, for example, nine stanzas to the girl's eyes and six to her lips. The description is put into the mouth of the enraptured Nala who, unseen by Damayantī, is watching her. As the following stanza shows, the portrayal is carried down to the smallest detail and often employs daring similes:

amṛtadyutilakṣma pītayā militaṃ yadvalabhīpatākayā
valayāyitaśeṣaśāyinaḥ sakhitām ādita pītavāsasaḥ // (II, 101)

"The spot on the moon touched by the yellow banners (rising above) the turrets of this town attained similarity to (Lord Viṣṇu), when, dressed in his yellow garment, he reclines on the coiled (serpent) Śeṣa."[125]

This stanza, which is part of a long description of the city in which dwells King Bhīma, the father of Damayantī, is written in Upajāti metre. The imagery does more than just compare two objects with each other; the simile is carried one step further in the manner typical of advanced classical poetry. Śrīharṣa compares the blue spot on the moon with the body of Viṣṇu which, when he rests on the world-snake Śeṣa at the end of each period of the earth, is the same shade of blue. Furthermore, the yellow banners flying from the turrets are compared with the god's yellow clothing and the ring round the spot on the moon is compared with the coil into which the snake is rolled.

Our next example, in Viyoginī metre, is also taken from the second Canto. In it, the poet describes Damayantī's perfectly proportioned body and, following an ancient precept, regards the girl's body as having been moulded by the creator himself:

udaraṃ natamadhyapṛṣṭhatāsphuradaṅguṣṭhapadena muṣṭinā /
caturaṅgulimadhyanirgatatrivalibhrāji kṛtaṃ damasvasuḥ // (II, 34)

"The (Creator's) fist, the thumb-mark of which is patent from the fact of Damayantī's being depressed in the middle, made her belly beautiful with three (navel-) folds which issued from inside its four fingers."[126]

We can see that this old cliché gains fresh charm when the imagination and sensitivity of a great poet conjure up the image of a maiden being created by a god whose hand fashions her slim waist and the three folds round her navel.

The following, equally imaginative stanza describing evening and nightfall comes from the last sarga. The description of the sunset is put into Nala's mouth:

uccaistarād ambaraśailamauleś cyuto ravir gairikagaṇḍaśailaḥ
tasyaiva pātena vicūrṇitasya sandhyārajorājir ihojjihīte // (XXII, 4)

"Fallen from the lofty summit of the sky, the sun is like a red rock of chalk, pulverized. A line of evening dust arises from the ruins of its fall."

125 Translation from K.K. Handiqui.
126 Translation from K.K. Handiqui.

The glowing disk of the sun looks like a block of red chalk which the poet visualizes as falling violently; when it strikes the earth it is smashed to pieces, like red dust, becoming the red glow of dusk.

As already mentioned, the educated Indian reader generally approached the Naiṣadhacarita with considerable respect, especially if he considered that none of the other great mahākāvyas possessed such great profundity or such a wealth of brilliant ideas. Śrīharṣa's poem must have been widely read, for the commentators who try to explain it come from all parts of India. The work was given a particularly enthusiastic welcome in Bengal. While older poets tended to follow the poetic norm, partly because they were conventional but mainly because it gave them support and a feeling of security, Śrīharṣa sinned against the most important rules of poetry, grammar and metrics.[127] However, we can safely assume that, being a very learned man, he did so not out of ignorance, but rather with the mischievous waywardness of a master. We find both the great styles, Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī, in his poem, the latter occurring more frequently for natural reasons. The predominating sentiment is the erotic (śṛṅgārarasa), which is to be found in all three variants; Cantos I–III illustrate the first blossoming of love (pūrvarāga), Canto IV love in separation (vipralambhaśṛṅgāra), and Cantos XVIII–XXII love in union (sambhogaśṛṅgāra), the complete perfection of which is prepared for in Cantos V–XVII.

5. Other Sargabandhas

a) Poetry after Kālidāsa

The previous section went into considerably more detail concerning the poets and the structure of their works than it will be possible to give in the following sections. Lack of space will permit only a brief account of poets who flourished between Kālidāsa's day and the 18th century, sometimes no more than their names. As this period covers more than a thousand years and a vast amount of material, we shall be forced to confine ourselves to the most important works and as far as possible deal only with those that do not exist solely in manuscript but have actually been published.

The poets who immediately followed Kālidāsa are Meṇṭha, Pravarasena, Kumāradāsa and Vākpatirāja. Meṇṭha, or Bhartṛmeṇṭha, who must have lived in the

[127] "We leave aside the more recondite ones, e.g. of harping on the same theme (*dīptiḥ punaḥ punaḥ*), of unnecessary swelling of accessory matters (*aṅgasyāpy ativistṛtiḥ*), under the category of *rasadoṣa*, due to a lack in the sense of proportion and of inapt (*apuṣṭa*), farfetched (*kaṣṭa*), repeated (*punarukta*), obscure (*sandigdha*), sense-betraying, flabby and confused thought. The more technical and easily disposed of *doṣas* of words and of concord (*padadoṣa, padāṃśadoṣa, vākyadoṣa*), such as ungrammatical (*cyutasaṃskṛti*), rare, unfamiliar (*apratīta, nihata*), indecorous (*aślīla*), unwarranted predication (*avimṛṣṭavidheyāṃśa*), of dropped and extra words (*nyūnapada, adhikapada*), of break of pause in metre (under *hatavṛtta*), to mention only the prominent ones, here abound." (S. BHATTACHARYA, The Naiṣadhacarita in its bearing on the alaṃkāra-code, p. 23).

second half of the 6th century A.D., wrote the Hayagrīvavadha, the "Killing of Hayagrīva". Both this poem and Meṇṭha's commentary to Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra have unfortunately been lost, but one stanza from the Hayagrīvavadha is quoted in Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa, one in Kṣemendra's Suvṛttatilaka and two more in Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, a chronicle of the history of Kashmir. Other stanzas by Meṇṭha are quoted in various anthologies. His importance as a poet, by some reckoned as equal to that of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Subandhu or Bāṇa, is shown by the praises lavished on him by Maṅkha, Śivasvāmin, Rājaśekhara and others. According to Kalhaṇa, Meṇṭha, who was also a Kashmiri, worked at the court of King Mātṛgupta of Kashmir. King Pravarasena II, probably the successor of King Mātṛgupta, lived a little later than Meṇṭha. He has been credited with the authorship of the Setubandha, the "Building of the Bridge" otherwise known as the Rāvaṇavaha,[128] the "Killing of Rāvaṇa", a fifteen-canto long version of the Rāma legend written in the Prākrit dialect Māhārāṣṭrī. However, it does not differ in other aspects from its model – Sanskrit kāvya. The two recensions of the work that have come down to us begin with the departure of Rāma and, after the description in Sargas XIII and XIV of the battle between Rāma's army of monkeys and their demonic adversaries in Ceylon, end with the death of Rāvaṇa and the rescue of Sītā. The work is written in a difficult style which is fond of the repetition of sounds and long compounds.

Sri Lankan tradition identifies our next poet, Kumāradāsa, with the Ceylonese king of the same name (who reigned from ca. 517–526 A.D.) and connects this king, who was supposed to have been a close friend of Kālidāsa's, with the violent death of the great Indian poet.[129] Paranavitana considers Kumāradāsa to be the son of a Ceylonese prince named Māna and assumes that Kumāradāsa's work, the Jānakīharaṇa,[130] the "Abduction of Sītā", was written during the reign of Mānavamma, a cousin of the poet's. Until fairly recently the work was only known through Rājasundara's reconstruction in Sanskrit of part of the text and a Sinhalese paraphrase. The very close association there has always been between the Jāna-

[128] Ed.: P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen des Setubandha, Göttingen 1873 (text and translation of the first two cantos only, with extracts from Rāmadāsa's commentary); S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaha oder Setubandha, Prākṛt und Deutsch herausgegeben, 2 vols., Strassburg-London 1880 and 1884; PT. ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1895, 1935[2] (KM 47, NSP); R. BASAK, Rāvaṇavaha-Mahākāvyam, Calcutta 1959 (Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series 8, texts 6). – Lit.: K.S. RAMASWAMI SHASTRI, King Pravarasena and Kalidasa, AIOC 1933, p. 99 ff.; E. SLUSZKIEWICZ, Le Rāvaṇavaha et le Rāmāyaṇa, RO 16 (1950), p. 543 ff.; A.D. PUSALKER, Identity and date of Pravarasena, the author of the Setubandha, JASBo 31/32 (1956/57), p. 212 ff. – Translations: P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Göttingen 1873 (Cantos I and II only); S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Strassburg-London 1880 and 1884.

[129] See p. 116.

[130] Ed.: D. STHAVIRA, Colombo 1891 (Cantos I–XV, in Sinhalese characters); HARIDĀSA ŚĀSTRĪ, Calcutta 1893 (Cantos I–XV); G.R. NANDARGIKAR, Bombay 1907 (Cantos I–X); L.D. BARNETT, Jānakīharaṇa XVI, BSOAS 4 (1926/28), p. 285 ff.; S. PARANAVITANA and C.E. GODAKUMBURA, Colombo 1967; V. RAGHAVAN, Delhi 1977. – See also F.W. THOMAS, The Jānakīharaṇa of Kumāradāsa JRAS (1901), p. 253 ff.

kīharaṇa and the fostering of Sanskrit in Ceylon makes it clear that Kumāradāsa must in fact have been a Ceylonese unless he was from the south of India. The style itself and a love of citra figures tend to rule out the possibility that he might have been a contemporary of Kālidāsa. Although it is natural that those who venerated Kumāradāsa's poetry should have wished to associate him as closely as possible with Kālidāsa and were perhaps also encouraged to do so by the similarity in the manner in which their names were constructed ("the servant of Kālī" and "the servant of (the god) Kumāra" respectively), the fact remains that numerous passages in the Jānakīharaṇa clearly show the influence of Kālidāsa's works, especially the Raghuvaṃśa. We must therefore conclude the Kumāradāsa lived some time after Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, whose work he also knew, though before Vāmana and Māgha, as the former censured the use of a word in the Jānakīharaṇa and the latter imitated one stanza from Kumāradāsa's poem. Kumāradāsa fits very well into our relative chronology if we place him in the reign of Mānavamma, i.e. 648–718 A.D. The new Sanskrit movement in Ceylon, which produced several works in that language, began in the 4th century A.D. If Kumāradāsa really was Ceylonese and not from the south of India, the Jānakīharaṇa is the most important product of the movement. Like Pravarasena, Kumāradāsa uses the Rāma legend but, unlike his predecessor, he deals with the entire story, beginning in Ayodhyā before the birth of Rāma and finishing with the return of Rāma and Sītā and Rāma's consecration. The twenty cantos[131] are written partly in the Vaidarbhī style and partly in the difficult Gauḍī style. Kumāradāsa is fond of rare words, elaborate alliteration, long compounds and citra figures. Like Bhāravi and Māgha, he employs these figures in the battle scenes; Canto XVIII, showing the preparations for the battle between Rāma's army of monkeys and the lord of the Rākṣasas, consists mainly of figurative stanzas which are intended to reproduce the sounds of the tumult of battle and the cries of the soldiers. The canto is so difficult, however, that it is hardly possible to decipher it without the aid of a good commentary. In it we find ekākṣara and dvyakṣara stanzas, yamaka, sarvatobhadra and gomūtrika[132] stanzas as well as many others which test the powers of interpretation of even the most skilful connoisseur of subtlety to the utmost. Everywhere in the poem we see proof of the author's endeavour to choose words, synonyms and metres that are in accord with the stanza or the theme of a whole section. Thus the falling rain (Canto XI) is rendered in Drutavilambita metre, the dispatch of Aṅgada to Rāvaṇa's court in Svāgatā (Canto XV) and the erotic passages in Rathoddhatā.[133] Two sources in the 11th and 12th centuries[134] state that Kumāradāsa also wrote a poem in the Buddhist spirit, the Śrīghananandamahākāvya, a "Poem concerning Buddha and Nanda". The anthology called the Subhāṣitāvali contains six stanzas from the Jā-

131 S. PARANAVITANA and C.E. GODAKUMBURA, *op. cit.*, give a detailed account of the contents of each canto, p. XXXIX ff.

132 For the meaning of these terms see p. 154; p. 186, notes 97 and 98.

133 A survey of the metres used by Kumāradāsa is to be found both in S. PARANAVITANA and C.E. GODAKUMBURA, *op. cit.*, p. XXXVII f.

nakīharaṇa, but quotes them under the name of Kumāradatta instead of Kumāradāsa.

An important kavi in Prākrit was Vākpati(rāja). This was not the poet's family name but was either a title[135] chosen by the poet himself or awarded him by King Yaśovarman of Kanauj (1st half of the 8th century) at whose court Vākpatirāja and Bhavabhūti lived as court poets. Only the second of Vākpatirāja's two poems, the Madhumathanavijaya and the Gaüdavaha[136], has been preserved. It is very long and sings the praises of his princely patron. As with Pravarasena's works, isolated stanzas by Vākpatirāja (Pkt. Bappaïrāa), which may be quotations from the Madhumathanavijaya, are to be found in King Hāla's Sattasaī. Also lost, unfortunately, are the Kumārasambhava by the well-known Kashmiri master of alaṃkāra Udbhaṭa (end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th centuries) which makes use of the same material as the poem of that name by Kālidāsa[137], and Śaṅkuka's poem Bhuvanābhyudaya (beginning of the 9th century), which is mentioned by Kalhaṇa. Śaṅkuka, who was another Kashmiri, lived at the time of King Ajitāpīḍa of Kashmir and is probably the same man as the author of an interesting theoretical work on poetry and a commentary on the rasasūtra in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra. Rājānaka Ratnākara's Haravijaya[138], "The Victory of Hara (= Śiva)", is clearly influenced by Māgha. It has no fewer than fifty cantos and describes Śiva's victory over the demon Andhaka. The demon was born blind but had received the use of his eyes thanks to his strict asceticism and was now continually arousing the anger of the gods. This poet, also from Kashmir, bore the titles Vāgīśvara and Vidyāpati and lived during the reigns of King Jayāpīḍa and King Avantivarman of Kashmir, i.e. around the middle of the 9th century, perhaps about 830–880. His long poem is a brilliant display of yamaka and other citra figures and reveals a deep knowledge of both the nīti- and the kāmaśāstra. Canto XLVII contains a

134 They are the Sanskrit texts *Suvarṇapuravaṃśa,* an 11th century chronicle by Suvarṇapura or Śrīvijaya from Eastern Java (mod. Palembang), and the *Paramparāpustaka,* a historical work written in Ceylon during the reign of Vikramabāhu (beginning of the 12th century).

135 *vākpatirāja* means "king of poets" or, to be more exact, "king of the masters of (poetic) speech".

136 Ed.: Ś.P. PANDIT, Bombay 1887 (BSS 34); Ś.P. PANDIT and N.B. UTGIKAR, Bombay 1927; N.G. SURU, Poona 1975 (Prakrit Text Society Series 18; with English translation). – Lit.: G. BÜHLER and P. PANDIT, The Gaüdavaha, a historical poem in Prākrit by Vākpati, WZKM 1 (1887), p. 324 ff., 2 (1888), p. 328 ff.; V.A. SMITH, The history of the city of Kanauj and of king Yasovarman, JRAS (1908), p. 765 ff.; V.V. MIRASHI, Bhavabhūti, Delhi 1974, p. 3 f., 6, 19 f. and 29 f. – Translation: N.G. SURU, Poona 1975.

137 A third poem entitled *Kumārasambhava* appeared in the 14th century. The author was Jayaśekhara.

138 Ed.: PT. DURGĀPRASĀD and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1890 (KM 22, NSP). – Lit.: H. JACOBI, Ānandavardhana and the date of Māgha, WZKM 4 (1890), p. 239 ff. (Kleine Schriften, p. 441 ff.); S.K. SHARMA, Sentiments in the Haravijaya, JGJh 20/21 (1963/65), p. 131 ff.; S.K. SHARMA, Rhetorical Embellishments in the Haravijaya, JGJh 22 (1966), p. 203 ff.; G.U. THITE, Haravijaya Mahākāvya, Navabharata 18, 9 (Bombay 1965), p. 18 ff. (in Marāṭhī).

very long hymn to Caṇḍī written in Vasantatilakā metre. In addition to the Haravijaya Ratnākara wrote two collections of stanzas entitled Vakroktipañcāśikā and Dhvanigāthāpañjikā as well as a commentary to one of Vāsudeva's yamaka-poems, the Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya. The contents of the Vakroktipañcāśikā[139], the "(Collection of) Fifty Stanzas in Ambiguous Speech", are erotic and it takes the form of a dialogue between Śiva and his young consort Umā.

The four cantos of the Nalodaya[140], "Nala's Success", relate the story of Nala and Damayantī[141] and were perhaps written in the 9th century. The authorship of this poem in the yamaka style is in dispute. It is often attributed to Kālidāsa, but according to the manuscript colophon it was written partly by Ravideva, partly by Vāsudeva[142] and partly by a certain Keśavāditya. The Rākṣasakāvya[143], "The Poem by Rākṣasa (?)", is also attributed to Ravideva. It is a short poem of only twenty stanzas in a bombastic style and its meaning is not clear. It is sometimes also called the Kāvyarākṣasa, Buddhivinoda(kāvya) or Vidvadvinoda(kāvya).[144] We find a poet by the name of Rākṣasa in the anthologies entitled Saduktikarṇāmṛta and Śārṅgadharapaddhati, but none of the stanzas in them are quotations from the Rākṣasakāvya. A poet from Kashmir, Abhinanda (or Gauḍābhinanda ?), the son of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (or Bhaṭṭa Jayanta), also belongs to the 9th century, probably the beginning. His Kādambarīkathāsāra[145] is a metrical version of Bāṇa's much-admired prose novel Kādambarī. The material is arranged in eight cantos written for the most part in Śloka measure. As the poem mentions a certain Gauḍa as an ancestor of the author's, Abhinanda may be identical with the Gauḍābhinanda of the anthologies. Another Abhinanda, the son of Śatānanda, wrote the Rāmacari-

139 Ed.: in KM 1, Bombay 1886 – C. BERNHEIMER, Über die vakrokti: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der indischen Poetik, ZDMG 63 (1909), p. 797 ff. (text and translation of the first ten stanzas).

140 Ed.: BĀBŪ RĀMA, Kidderpore 1813; F. BENARY, Berlin 1830; W. YATES, Calcutta 1844 (with metrical English translation); in J. HAEBERLIN, KS; PT.J. ŚUKLA, Calcutta 1870. – Lit.: R. PISCHEL, ZDMG 56 (1902), p. 626 ff. and 58 (1904), p. 244 f.; A.R. RAMANATHA AYYAR, JRAS 1925, p. 263 ff.; K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, The contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit literature, Madras 1958, p. 22 ff. – Translations: H. FAUCHE, Oeuvres complètes de Kalidasa, traduits du sanskrit en français, II, Paris 1860; W. YATES, Calcutta 1844.

141 Cf. p. 192.

142 Possibly identical with the famous *yamaka*-poet Vāsudeva, the author of the *Tripuradahana, Śaurikathodaya* and *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya.* There were, however, several Vāsudevas.

143 Ed.: in A. HOEFER, Sanskrit-Lesebuch, Berlin 1849; K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1900 (NSP), Bombay 1915 (with Hindi translation); SATYARAÑJAN BANDOPĀDHYĀY, Calcutta 1366 (A.D. 1971) (in Bengali characters, with Bengali translation). – Lit.: D.R. MANKAD, Buddhivinodakāvyam, IHQ 12 (1936), p. 692 f.; S.K. DE, On the identity of the Buddhivinodakāvya, IHQ 13 (1937), p. 172 ff.; P.K. GODE, Date of Rākṣasa Kāvya or Kāvyarākṣasa. Before A.D. 1000, JIH 19 (1940), p. 312 ff. and in: Studies in Indian Literary History, I, Bombay 1953, p. 195 ff.

144 I.e., "Poem for the entertainment of the spirit (of the connoisseur)" and "Poem for the entertainment of the connoisseur" respectively.

145 Ed.: PT. DURGĀPRASĀD and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1888, 1899 (KM 11, NSP); A. SARMAN, Lahore 1900; in: The Paṇḍit, 1–3. – G. BORSANI-SCALABRINO, Note comparative sulla Kādambarī e la sua epitome di Abhinanda, IT 1 (1973), p. 141 ff.

ta[146], a Rāma poem in thirty-six cantos beginning with the abduction of Sītā and ending with the death of Kumbha (Nikumbha).

Śivasvāmin, a Buddhist[147] and a Kashmiri, court poet to King Avantivarman of Kashmir, lived in the second half of the 9th century. His poem, the Kapphiṇābhyudaya[148], "The Triumph of Kapphiṇa", consists of twenty cantos and is a version of an early Buddhist legend which we recognize from the Avadānaśataka and the commentary to the Dhammapada. It is the story of the southern Indian ruler Kapphiṇa of Līlāvatī, a contemporary of Gautama Buddha. When the king undertook a campaign to conquer the State of Kośala and captured the capital, Śrāvastī, Prasenajit, the ruler of Kośala, sent for help to Buddha, to whom he was allied by bonds of friendship. Buddha worked a miracle and the invader was defeated. Overwhelmed, Kapphiṇa praised the Enlightened One and was not only converted to Buddhism but begged Gautama to allow him to enter the Buddhist order. The poem, an important literary performance, is rich in citra figures and also contains a number of the conventionally long descriptions of details which fit fairly well with the plot and the edifying Buddhist theme. The author describes the Himālaya, the seasons, sunset, moonrise, the military encampment and the king's enjoyment of the pleasures of bathing and of love. One hymn to Buddha is in Prākrit. Śivasvāmin's models were first and foremost Māgha and Rājānaka Ratnākara, his fellow-countryman and colleague at the cultured court of King Avantivarman. A second work in the Buddhist spirit which may have been written about the same time is Buddhaghoṣa's Padyacūḍāmaṇi[149], ten cantos telling the life-story of Buddha in kāvya form. It is almost certainly not by the great Buddhist teacher and text-commentator, but by someone else of the same name. The Jinacarita[150], written in Pāli, has been ascribed to an author named Medhaṅkara (end of the 13th century). It is a life of Buddha in 470 stanzas written in a number of different metres. The diction in the delightful imagery and the numerous descriptive passages is relatively simple and the poet, who slavishly follows the account given in the Jātakanidānakathā, makes very few additions of his own. The influence of Sanskrit kāvya, above all of Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa, is clearly noticeable.

The tendency to compose poetry that was overloaded with abstruse matter grew stronger at the beginning of the 2nd millennium than it had been in the centuries after Kālidāsa. In fact we can safely say that a display of erudition and bravura passages are the most prominent characteristics of later classical poetry although

[146] Ed.: K.S. RĀMASVĀMĪ ŚĀSTRĪ, Baroda 1930 (GOS 46). – D.C. SIRCAR, Date of Abhinanda, author of the Rāmacarita, IHQ 25 (1949), p. 132 ff.

[147] According to S.N. DASGUPTA and S.K. DE, A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 321, Śivasvāmin, like Rājānaka Ratnākara, was a Kashmiri Śivaite.

[148] Ed.: GAURI SHANKAR, Lahore 1937 (Panjab University Oriental Publication Series). – G. SHANKAR, An unpublished Buddhist epic poem or Kāśmīrabhaṭṭa Śivasvāmin's Kapphiṇābhyudaya Mahākāvya, AIOC 1933, p. 111 ff.

[149] Ed.: M. RANGA ACHARYA and S. KUPPUSVAMI SASTRI, Madras 1921.

[150] Ed.: W.H.D. ROUSE, JPTS 1904/05; ed. and transl. C. DUROISELLE, Rangoon 1906.

there are of course notable exceptions. When the means of poetic expression had become standardized to a very large extent, learning and linguistic versatility could replace the true poet's richness of imagination and elegance of style. The purely mechanical side gained the upper hand and poetry could be manufactured merely by mastering the technical armoury and displaying linguistic brilliance. This development was what one might have expected since the poetic criteria and conventions that had been handed down had long been felt to be binding, but it was not until now that poetry based upon erudition and technical know-how began to dominate the field. For the next nine hundred years kāvya went through a process of ever greater refinement in so far as attention was concentrated less on the poem as a whole than on its microstructure: a series of stanzas, a single stanza, a single sentence. About the beginning of the 2nd millennium A.D. classical poetry seemed to have come to the point where further development along the same lines seemed scarcely possible. It was then that the emphasis was laid almost exclusively on the most skilful possible use of technical means, the use of erudite matter as a decoration and on affectations. A poet would reproduce in a routine manner the same old themes that earlier writers had used over and over again, but generally he no longer knew how to give a phrase that fresh new turn that astonishes and delights the reader. Even when he invented something new, he often only offered unnatural or directly peculiar conceits. The Islamic invasion of India brought few new impulses either, although a number of the Moslem rulers became patrons of classical Indian poetry and Sanskrit scholarship. Those changes that did take place were mostly in form. Poets were very fond of turning a whole poem into a display of grammatical brilliance or of writing not one stanza or canto in the yamaka style, but all of them. The development towards erudite, difficult poetry was greatly furthered by the fact that this was a time of intense activity in almost all branches of science. Scholars wrote handbooks, commentaries to philosophical and other works and frequently acted both as literary critics and as poets. An extensive kāvya literature now grew up in educated Jaina circles, which were far more devoted to the poetic muse than were Buddhists. Quite a few Jaina poems are kāvyas of high quality, but not all works going under the name of kāvya are of a purely literary nature as Jaina writers, like the early Buddhists, used the literary form as a means of spreading religious propaganda. A large number of texts have lower pretentions than are acceptable for kāvya and really belong either to narrative literature or, as they deal with holy places and the legends associated with them, to the category known as māhātmyas, i.e., works describing great men or places of pilgrimage. Numerous works by Hindus and Jainas alike that have as their subject an actual person, usually the poet's patron, are reckoned as "historical kāvya" in older histories of literature. In fact, they are only "historical" in the broadest sense of the word. As it was the poet's intention to say nothing but good of his protector and to prophesy auspicious things for him, as in praśastis, eulogies on kings, ministers, etc., truth and fiction are mingled quite uncritically. It was not in the author's interest to build his work on the basis of historical or geographical material; his main object was rather to compose something that was effective poetically and would earn him the

approval of his master and the critics. In Vākpatirāja's Gaüḍavaha King Yaśovarman defeats the Persians (pārasīka), although at that time the Persian Empire no longer existed, and many other poets continually allow gods and other supernatural beings to intervene in the fate of their heroes. Poems of this sort are therefore really pseudo-historical kāvyas. In order to marshal the large number of texts into at least a few easily distinguishable groups: we shall deal with Jaina poetry, pseudo-historical as well as yamaka-, śleṣa- and śāstrakāvya in later chapters. Meanwhile let us look at other poetry that does not fall into these four categories.

Kavirāja Rājānaka Maṅkha (or Maṅkhaka, Maṅkhuka), a Kashmiri poet, was active in the first half of the 12th century. He was a pupil of the alaṃkāra master Ruyyaka, whom we know of from numerous theoretical works, and a brother of Alaṃkāra (or Laṅkaka), one of the ministers of King Jayasiṃha of Kashmir (1127–1150). In his long poem Śrīkaṇṭhacarita[151], "The Deeds of Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva)", Maṅkha describes how, after completing the poem, he submitted it to a learned gathering of critics and courtiers, including Ruyyaka himself, at his brother's house.[152] The poem was evidently so much to Ruyyaka's taste that he quoted five stanzas from Maṅkha's kāvya in his own Alaṃkārasarvasva, his most important work. The material for the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita is taken from purāṇic sources; it describes the events leading up to Śiva's victory over the demon Tripura and consists of twenty-five cantos. The fourth contains a description of Mount Kailāsa, the fifth of Śiva, lord and master of the mountain, and the sixth of spring. Like so many poets after Kālidāsa, Maṅkha follows in Māgha's footsteps but does not succeed in surpassing his great predecessor although he handles figures and metre with great skill and the language is frequently striking. The poem was written between 1135 and 1145. Another Kashmiri who was a devout follower of Śiva was the poet Jayaratha (or Jayadratha), who also lived in the 12th century. His lengthy Haracaritacintāmaṇi[153], "The Wishing-Stone of the Deeds of (the God) Śiva", contains many Śiva legends and descriptions of Śivaite shrines in Kashmir. Judging by the structure, however, it is more of a māhātmya than a kāvya. Other works that belong more to the category of didactic, moralizing writing rather than true poetry are Kṣemendra's Cārucaryā, Caturvargasaṃgraha, Darpadalana, Kalāvilāsa, Nītikalpadruma and Sevyasevakopadeśa. To narrative literature belong his great collection of stories Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, the Daśāvatāracarita, recounting the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, his Rāmāyaṇamañjarī, Bhāratamañjarī and Padyakādambarī, which relate the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the novel Kādambarī respectively, and also his collection of Buddhist rebirth stories en-

[151] Ed.: Pt. Durgāprasād and K.P. Parab, Bombay 1887, 1900[2] (KM 3, NSP). – E. Kreyenborg, Der 25. Gesang des Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam des Maṅkha: Ein Beitrag zur altindischen Literaturgeschichte, Münster 1929. – Lit.: B.N. Bhatt, Some noteworthy pecularities of Maṅkha's Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam, JOIB 20 (1970), p. 163 ff.; B.N. Bhatt, Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam: a study, Baroda 1973 (M.S. University of Baroda Research Series 14); B.C. Mandal, The date of Maṅkha's Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, JOIB 26 (1977), p. 385 ff.

[152] *Śrīkaṇṭhac.* XXV.

[153] Ed.: Pt. Śivadatta and K.P. Parab, Bombay 1897 (KM 61, NSP).

titled Avadānakalpalatā) Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara, "The Sea of the Stream of Stories", is also narrative literature; like the above-mentioned works by Kṣemendra, it favours plenty of action and presents the reader with entertaining matter and arresting events in rapid succession. Both Somadeva and Kṣemendra were Kashmiris, the latter also having written a number of theoretical books on poetry. As these authors concentrate on plot and the development of events, no commentaries are necessary to their works, which flow well and are easy to read. They are not so compactly structured as kāvya, in which each part is closely related to others, thus producing a density of text that often makes it necessary for the reader to stop and re-study a passage. As authors of both narrative and didactic literature underwent strict training, the aesthetic tone in their works can nevertheless become so much stronger than the narrative element that some texts or parts of them are unquestionably acceptable as kāvya. Didactic and narrative works are not dealt with here, but it is important to bear in mind that many of these texts, like numerous other genres, stand on the threshold of being classical poetry.

Kāvya of a high order was written at the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal (1179– about 1205), who gathered round him such important poets as Govardhana (or Govardhanācārya), Dhoyī (Kavirāja), Jayadeva, Śaraṇa and Umāpatidhara.[154] We have already mentioned Govardhana and Dhoyī, the first of whom wrote muktakas and the second a messenger-poem, the Pavanadūta.[155] No works by Śaraṇa or Umāpatidhara have survived, but their colleague Jayadeva tells us in the Gītagovinda (I, 4) that Śaraṇa was very skilful at composing impromptu poetry that was obscure. Umāpatidhara wrote the lost Candracūḍacarita, a poem in the major form, stanzas from which are quoted in some anthologies if the name they are published under really refers to Lakṣmaṇasena's court poet and not to someone else with the same name.

The greatest of the five, however, was Jayadeva from Kindubilva whose Gītagovindakāvya (Gītagovinda for short)[156] has both aesthetic and religious qualities. Jayadeva was in fact a great innovator in kāvya, one of the most gifted of the Sanskrit poets, and his Kṛṣṇa poem is one of the last great masterpieces of classical poetry. The impact of his Gītagovinda as a Viṣṇuite text on the love of god and on ecstatic Kṛṣṇa worship was immense and he enjoyed a very high reputation not only in the Bengali Sahajiyā sect, which regarded him as their chief teacher, their ādiguru, but also in the Caitanya movement and in the Vallabhacārin sect. Legends about the celebrated master have come down to us in Nābhādāsa's Baktamālā, a collection of hagiography in Hindī (mid 17th century), and in the Sanskrit Bhaktamālā by Candradatta, which is based on Nābhādāsa's book. Jayadeva himself did not, of course, pursue any sectarian aims. He looked upon himself as a poet, indeed

[154] All these poets are mentioned by Jayadeva in *Gītagov.* 1, 4. The well-known stanza *govardhanaś ca śaraṇo jayadeva umāpatiḥ / kavirājaś ca ratnāni samitau lakṣmaṇasya ca* names the same poets as the five "jewels at the court of Lakṣmaṇasena", but Dhoyī, whom Jayadeva calls *Dhoyī Kavikṣmāpati* ("the prince of poets, Dhoyī"), is here simply given the title *Kavirāja* ("king of poets").

[155] P. 97 ff. (Govardhana) and p. 121 ff. (Dhoyī).

as "the king of king-poets" (kavirājarāja), and upon his poetry as kāvya, as many passages in the Gītagovinda make clear. There are several poets called Jayadeva in the history of Sanskrit literature. Another writer of this name wrote the drama Prasannarāghava, a third the Śṛṅgāramādhavīyacampū, a fourth the Ratimañjarī and yet a fifth the Chandraḥsūtra. A sixth Jayadeva is the author of the popular handbook on the theory of poetry called the Candrāloka and a seventh, also known as Pakṣadhara Miśra, was a well-known logician from Mithila. Many of the excerpts in anthologies published under the name are not to be found in the Gītagovinda and are therefore either from other works by Lakṣmaṇasena's Jayadeva or are by other poets of the same name. Two stanzas attributed to Jayadeva appear in western Apabhraṃśa in the Sikhs' holy hymnbook, the Ādigrantha, and one stanza from the Gītagovinda is quoted in an inscription dated 1292.

It is astonishing that while Dhoyī and Govardhana write traditional poetry which, in spite of all its refinements, particularly in the Āryāsaptaśatī, never strays outside

156 Ed.: C. LASSEN, Bonn 1836 (with translation into Latin); in J. HAEBERLIN, KS; M.R. TELANG and V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR, Bombay 1899 (NSP); N.R. ĀCĀRYA, Bombay 1949[9] (NSP); K. ŚARMA, Varanasi 1961 (Haridāsa-Saṃskṛta-Granthamālā 129); V.M. KULKARNI, Ahmedabad 1965; A. SHARMA, K. DESHPANDE and V.S. SHARMA, Hydarabad 1969; H. QUELLET, Hildesheim 1978. – Lit. (including imitations): R. PISCHEL, Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena, Göttingen 1893; D.C. BHATTACHARYYA, Date of Lakshmanasena and his predecessors, IA 51 (1922), p. 145 ff. and 153 ff.; P.G. GOPALAKRISHNA AIYAR, The Gīta-govinda: a prosodic study, JORM 1 (1927), p. 350 ff.; M.R. MAJUMDAR, A 15th century Gītagovinda MS. with Gujarātī paintings, JUB 6 (1938), p. 123 ff.; VALENTINI-DE RIGO, Un antico codice inedito del Gītagovinda, RSO 18 (1940), p. 59 ff.; E.P. RADHAKRISHNAN, Abhinavagītagovinda, PO 4 (1940), p. 16 ff.; S.K. CHATTERJI, Jayadevakavi, in: A.S. Dhruva Memor. Vol. III, Ahmedabad 1944–46; S.K. CHATTERJI, Jayadeva, New Delhi 1973; V.W. KARAMBELKAR, Three more imitations of the Gītagovinda, IHQ 25 (1949), p. 95 ff.; S.N. SARMA, Assamese versions of Jayadeva's Gīta-govinda, JUG 1 (1950), p. 71 ff.; H.G. NARAHARI, A south Indian imitation of the Gītagovinda, BV 15 (1951), p. 199 ff.; S. SEN, The earliest form and perfection of the "Mangala" lyric, JUG 2 (1951), p. 65 ff.; P.K. GODE, Studies in Indian literary history, I, Bombay 1953, p. 138 ff. (on Jayadeva's prosody); S. HOTA, Jayadeva: who is he? AIOC 1955, p. 174 ff.; S.K. DE, Early history of Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal, Calcutta 1961; M.S. RANDHAWA, Kangra paintings of the Gita Govinda, Delhi 1963; E.C. DIMOCK, The Place of the Hidden Moon: erotic mysticism in the Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā cult of Bengal, Chicago 1966; A.D. MUKHERJI, Lyric metres in Jayadeva's Gīta-govinda, JAS 9 (Calcutta 1967); R. SARKAR, Gītagovinda: towards a total understanding, Groningen 1974 (Publikaties van het Instituut voor Indische talen en culturen 2); S. SANDAHL-FORGUE, Le Gītagovinda: tradition et innovation dans le kāvya, Stockholm 1977 (Stockholm Oriental Studies 11; with text); L. SIEGEL, Sacred and profane dimensions of love in Indian traditions as exemplified in the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva, Delhi...1978. Cf. also E. TE NIJENHUIS, Musicological literature, Wiesbaden 1977 (HIL VI, 1), pp. 11 f. and 18 (on *rāgas* and *tālas* in the *Gītag.*); KAPILA VATSYAYAN, Jaur Gita-Govinda. A Dated Sixteenth Century Gita-Govinda from Mewar, New Delhi 1980; KAPILA VATSYAYAN, The Bundi Gita-Govinda, Varanasi 1981. – Translations: C. LASSEN, Bonn 1836 (Latin); H. FAUCHE, Le Gita-govinda et le Ritou-sanhara, traduits du sanscrit en français, Paris 1850; W. JONES, The Gita-govinda, or Songs of Jayadeva, Calcutta 1894; M.G. COURTILLIER, Le Gita-govinda, pastorale de Jayadeva, Paris 1904; F. RÜCKERT, Gita Govinda oder die Liebe des Krischna und der Radha, Berlin 1920; G. KEYT, Shrī Jayadeva's Gīta-govinda, Bombay 1947; B. STOLER MILLER, Love Song of the Dark Lord: Jayadeva's Gītagovinda, New York 1977 (with text).

the accepted bounds of classical writing, their contemporary and colleague Jayadeva becomes a pioneer in kāvya, successfully opening up new paths both in form and in expression. The Gītagovinda is about the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, their estrangement and reunion. Within this framework it deals with all the phases of love that we recognize as the constantly recurring themes of erotic poetry, especially in laghukāvya, and in the miniature painting that was later to develop in India. The lover's grief experienced by Rādhā, the cowgirl (gopī) favoured by the divine cowherd (govinda), when he dances with the gopīs in spring is portrayed by Jayadeva with the greatest sensitivity. He describes Kṛṣṇa's remorse and longing for Rādhā, the messenger-girl's attempts to effect a reconciliation between them, Kṛṣṇa's negligence in failing to go to a rendez-vous with Rādhā, her bitter disappointment, the consolation given her by her friends and the messenger-girl and finally the happy reunion of the lovers. Exuberant vocal effects and stormy, melodiously flowing or plaintive rhythms evoke the appropriate atmosphere in the heterogeneous medley of scenes of glowing passion, wild drunkenness or the infinite sorrow of love. Except when the speaker is the poet himself, the personae and speakers in the various scenes are the nāyaka, here Kṛṣṇa, the nāyikā, Rādhā, the dūtī and the sakhī, the (female) messenger and the nāyikā's confidante, who console her during her time of separation (viraha) and act as her intercessors. This poem of twelve cantos begins as a story of vipralambhaśṛṅgāra, love in separation, but ends happily in sambhogaśṛṅgāra, love in union. In Cantos V to X, as well as in other lines and stanzas, we meet in the person of the beautiful young Rādhā the six types of nāyikā so often dwelt on by older poets: in Canto V the abhisārikā, "she who makes the love-promenade"; in VI the vāsakasajjā, "she who prepares herself to receive her lover"; in VII the vipralabdhā, "she who is disappointed", as her lover did not turn up at their rendez-vous; in VIII the khaṇḍitā, "she who is deceived"; in IX the kalahāntaritā, "she who scorned her lover due to the strength of her anger but now repents it"; and in X the māninī, the "sulky" beauty after the love-quarrel. The seductive backdrop to this love-story is the pastoral landscape of the Vṛndāvana: the cowherd's hut surrounded with flowering scented trees, the cool banks of the Yamunā River and shady groves which are an invitation to erotic pleasures. Jayadeva's poem can be interpreted in two ways; behind the eroticism of the stanzas there lies a mystical purport, as there does in many Sanskrit poems. Some of the many commentators do, in fact, interpret the love-play between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as the yearning of the human soul for God. Like the longing of the nāyikā during the phase of unrequited love, it comes to rest only after overcoming the period of painful separation, the viraha.[157]

The construction of the poem is more complex than that of traditional sargabandhas: as twenty-four so-called prabandhas, generally of eight stanzas each[158], have been worked into the kāvya. In a manuscript version of the Gītagovinda from the south of India these passages are also called aṣṭapadīs, "eight-stanza (passages)". Each canto contains up to four of these prabandhas.[159] The sargas and the prabandhas woven into them differ greatly from each other, for the latter are songs. This is shown by the fact that they have refrains and also by notes

made on the manuscript regarding rhythm (tāla) and melody (rāga). These songs were not to be recited (paṭhanīya) but to be sung and danced to (naṭanīya). Another important difference between these two styles in the Gītagovinda is that the main body of the text is written in varṇas or vṛttas, that is to say in a syllabic metre, while the prabandhas follow another Indian metrical system which is not quantitative but which prescribes a definite number of morae for each quarter-stanza.[160] The mora-system was especially well-developed in Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa poetry, which was also fond of refrains and of grouping together a number of stanzas – often eight – into larger units. An innovation in the Gītagovinda which has a parallel in the poet's signature (bhaṇita) in Old Bengali and Old Hindī poetry is that the author includes his own name in the final stanza of each canto and, in an ambiguous form, in the refrain of the second prabandha: jaya jayadeva hare, "Triumph, God of Triumph (or: Jayadeva), Hari!"

The predilection for rhyme, hitherto sparingly used, also makes its first appearance here in Sanskrit poetry and the fact that both interior rhyme and end rhyme are to be found in the songs shows clearly that Jayadeva was strongly influenced by Apabhraṃśa and popular poetry. R. Pischel and S.K. Chatterji have even supported the idea that Jayadeva's Gītagovinda might be a Sanskrit version of an original in Apabhraṃśa or Old Bengali. This theory must, however, be rejected as the phonetic system of these two languages would demand quite different rhymes and alliterations.[161] For this reason it would prove impossible to produce even an approximately accurate Sanskrit rendering of an Apabhraṃśa poem of this nature.

Earlier researchers were often puzzled by the question of what genre a work containing so many innovations as Jayadeva's should be assigned to. C. Lassen regarded the Gītagovinda as a lyrical drama, S. Lévi as a sort of opera and R. Pischel

[157] Numerous concepts taken from the poetics of love poetry were at this time and later incorporated into the theory and practice of *bhakti*-mysticism. Unfortunately we do not know anything about the extent to which Jayadeva actively participated in the cult of Vaiṣṇavism. B. Stoler Miller correctly remarks, however, that "although the legend of Jayadeva's life has no historical value, it does tell us that in the course of his wanderings Jayadeva visited Puri, where he came under the influence of the Jagannātha cult und formed a special relationship which Padmāvatī. The identification of Padmāvatī is not supported by either of the early commentators of the *Gītag.* Both Mānāṅka and Kumbhakarṇa identify *Padmāvatī* (1, 2; 10, 9; 11, 21), or *Padmā* (1, 25) as the names of Krishna's divine consort *Śrī* (1, 2; 1, 23), or *Lakṣmī* (11, 22), who is also called *Kamalā* (1, 17) in the poem. The "marriage" of Jayadeva and Padmāvatī in the legend may be a veiled allusion to his initiation in the Śrīvaishnava cult that was established in Puri under Rāmānuja's influence" (Love Song of the Dark Lord, p. 5).

[158] *prabandha* 1 contains eleven, *prabandha* 2 nine and *prabandha* 10 five stanzas. All the others have eight stanzas.

[159] They are distributed as follows: I. *prab.*: 1–4; II: 5–6; III: 7; IV: 8–9; V: 10–11; VI: 12; VII: 13–16; VIII: 17; IX: 18; X: 19; XI: 20–22 and XII: 23–24.

[160] On the "distinction between *gīti* and *pāṭha* and further an apportionment of the *mātra* meters to the former, of the *varṇa* meters to the latter, category" see S.I. Pollock, Aspects of Versification in Sanskrit Lyric Poetry, New Haven, Conn. 1977 (AOS 61), p. 112 ff.

[161] Above all due to the qualitative changes in vowels and the disappearance of intervocalic consonants in Apabhraṃśa and Old Bengali.

as a melodrama, while L. von Schroeder considered it to be a finer sort of yātrā, i.e., a popular play in Kṛṣṇa's honour. None of these labels does the character of the work justice. They fail to recognize both the author's intentions and the structure of the work which, despite all its innovations, is nevertheless an example of kāvya of the major form that develops the ancient poetic traditions in, for instance, theme, attribute and phrasing, as I have shown. Whereas the majority of poets writing after the beginning of the second millennium took Māgha and Bhāravi as their models, Jayadeva did not attempt to captivate his public with a display of erudition and citra figures. Instead he surprises us by rejuvenating the form and language of kāvya by using a number of techniques that we must assume he took from Apabhraṃśa literature and from popular poetry. As in other kāvyas, numerous stanzas in the Gītagovinda can be read as muktakas. However, it will strike the reader that, on the whole, the prabandha stanzas in the poem are much more closely related to each other than those in the sargas or stanzas in other kāvyas. This is to a considerable extent because of the rhyme.

The first and second prabandhas are in the form of hymns praising Kṛṣṇa in ecstatic terms as the supreme god and master of the world (jagadīśa). The following stanzas are taken from the second hymn:

śritakamalākucamaṇḍala dhṛtakuṇḍala e /
kalitalalitavanamāla / jaya jayadeva hare // (1)

dinamaṇimaṇḍalamaṇḍana bhavakhaṇḍana e /
munijanamānasahaṃsa / jaya jayadeva hare // (2)

amalakamaladalalocana bhavamocana e /
tribhuvanabhuvananidhāna / jaya jayadeva hare // (5)

śrījayadevakaver idaṃ kurute mudam e /
maṅgalam ujjvalagītaṃ / jaya jayadeva hare // (9)

"You rest on the circle of Śrī's breast
Wearing your earrings,
Fondling wanton forest garlands.
Triumph, God of Triumph, Hari! (1)

The sun's jewel light encircles you
As you break through the bond of existence –
A wild Himalayan goose on lakes in minds of holy men.
Triumph, God of Triumph, Hari! (2)

Watching with long omniscient lotus-petal eyes,
You free us from bonds of existence,
Preserving life in the world's three realms.
Triumph, God of Triumph, Hari! (5)

Poet Jayadeva joyously sings
This song of invocation
In an auspicious prayer.
Triumph, God of Triumph, Hari!" (9)[162]

It was inevitable that such a delightful work should produce a rich crop of imitations. Poems inspired by the Gītagovinda grew up in various Kṛṣṇa and Rāma sects, indeed even in Śivaite circles. Instead of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, devotees of Rāma substituted Rāma and Sīta and Śivaites Śiva and Pārvatī. The most noteworthy of the Rāma works are the Rāmacandrāhṇika[163] by Viśvanātha Siṃha, the Rāmagītagovinda, incorrectly ascribed to Jayadeva, and the Saṃgītaraghunandana[164] by Priyādāsa. The most interesting of the Śivaite works are the Gītagaṅgādhara by Kalyāṇa, the Gītagaurīpati[165] by Bhānudatta, the writer on poetic theory (about 1450–1500), the Gītagirīśa[166] by Rāmabhaṭṭa, the Gītaśaṅkara[167] by Bhīṣma Miśra from Mithila and the Śivagīti by Rāmapāṇivāda (18th century) from Kerala. The Kṛṣṇaite versions are the Gītagopāla by Caturbhuja and the Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī by Nārāyaṇatīrtha (about 1700). A Jaina poem inspired by the Gītagovinda is the Gītavītarāgaprabandha[167a] by the Digambara Paṇḍitācārya. It was composed at Sravana Belgola at the request of King Deva Rāya I (1406–1416) of Vijayanagar. The majority of the imitations were produced in later times and exist only in manuscript. Jayadeva also had a strong influence on stotra literature.

Lolimbarāja (mid 11th century), a recognized authority on medicine and a contemporary of King Bhoja of Dhārā, was a little earlier than Jayadava. His Harivilāsa[168], "Hari's Pleasure", describes the deeds of Kṛṣṇa up to the death of Kaṃsa. The Kṛṣṇa legend is also the subject of the Śrīkṛṣṇavilāsa[169] by Sukumāra, a Kerala poet (later than 10th century), and the Yādavābhyudaya[170], a long and rather circumstantial poem by the Vedānta scholar Veṅkaṭanātha (or Veṅkaṭeśa, Vedāntadeśika, Vedāntācārya), born in 1268 in the south of India, who also wrote the philosophical drama Saṃkalpasūryodaya and the Śrīnivāsavilāsacampū. The Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa[171] by Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita (first half of the 17th century), also from the south, deals with the same material. Interesting, though poetically not of a high order, is the Govindalīlāmṛta[172] by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (15th century), whom

[162] Translation from B. STOLER MILLER, *op. cit.*, p. 72 f.

[163] Cf. M. HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, III, Calcutta 1934, Nos. 5255 and 5256.

[164] *Ibid.*, No. 5259.

[165] Ed.: Bombay 1891.

[166] Cf. HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, *op. cit.*, No. 5215.

[167] *Ibid.*, No. 5235.

[167a] Ed. A.N. UPADHYE, Delhi 1972 (Maṇikachandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā 53). Cf. JA 271 (1983), p. 424 f.

[168] Ed.: in KM 11, Bombay 1895 (NSP); V. ŚARMĀ, in The Paṇḍit, 2 (1867/68), – Lit.: M.M. PATKAR, The exact date of Harivilāsa and its author, IHQ 12 (1936), p. 719 f.; H.G. NARAHARI, A variant version of the Hari-Vilāsa of Lolimbarāja, BV 4 (1940), Manuscripts notes, p. 139 ff.; P.K. GODE, Lolimbarāja and his works, IC 7, 3 (1941), p. 327 ff. and p. 447 ff.; see also P.K. GODE, Studies in Indian Literary History, II, Bombay 1954, p. 79 ff.

[169] Ed.: K. JAYAMMAL, Madras 1982.

[170] Ed.: Srirangam 1907, 1909[3] (Sri Vani Vilas Sanskrit Series 4).

[171] Ed.: T.R. CHINTAMANI and others, Madras 1929 (Adyar Library Series 13). – Lit.: S.K. DE, Sanskrit Poetics, I, Calcutta 1960[2], p. 296 f.

[172] Ed.: S. GOSVAMI, Brindavan 1903. – Lit.: S.K. DE, Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta, Dacca 1938, p. LV ff.

we know best as the author of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta, a biography of Caitanya written in Bengali. The poem recounts the love-play of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā at various times of the day, consists of twenty-three cantos and is divided into three parts: Prātarlīlā, "Morning Pleasures", Madhyāhnalīlā, "Midday Pleasures", and Niśalīlā, "Night Pleasures".

A number of works have material from the rich store of Śiva legends as their subject. In this connection it is interesting to note that it is generally not the god's severe, ascetic form that is shown in these poems but, probably influenced by the highly emotional Vaiṣṇava poetry, his milder, kindlier aspect. Thus the previously mentioned Bhikṣāṭana(kāvya)[173], "(Śiva) Begging for Alms", by Gokula (or Śivadāsa, Utprekṣāvallabha, before the 14th century) is a highly erotic work classified sometimes as true kāvya, sometimes as a collection of devotional poetry. Also famous is the Śivalīlārṇava[174], "The Sea of the Pleasures of Śiva", and the Gaṅgāvataraṇa[175], "The Descent of the Ganges", both of which are by the versatile scholar Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, who lived under Tirumala Nāyaka of Madurai in the first half of the 17th century. In the same century there was at the court of King Raghunātha of Tanjore a woman poet working under the name of Madhuravāṇī whose Rāmāyaṇasāra is a re-working in Sanskrit of the Āndhra-Rāmāyaṇa[176] written by Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore.

A much-loved theme in poetry was the story of Nala and Damayantī, a new version of which is to be found in Kṛṣṇānanda's 13th century Sahṛdayānanda[177], "The Joy of the Connoisseur", and in Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa's[178] Nalābhyudaya[179], "The Triumph of Nala", written two hundred years later. Interesting because it imitates Persian poetry is the Kathākautuka[180], the "Wondrous Tale", written by the Śivaite poet Śrīvara in the 15th century. It consists of fifteen cantos and is an Indian rendering of the story of Joseph from Djāmī's Yusuf u Zuleikha. An exceedingly productive and versatile later poet was Rāmapāṇivāda, whom we have already mentioned. He worked at various courts in his native state Kerala and was a Pāṇivāda, i.e., a member of one branch of the Ampalavāsi community whose task it

[173] See p. 143. – Ed.: in KM 12, Bombay 1897 (NSP). See also R. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, Book notices, No. 4765, Sanskrit collection, Śṛṅgāratilaka, AVOI 5 (1944), pp. 39 and 60 (on Śṛṅgāratilaka and Bhikṣāṭanakāvya).

[174] Ed.: T. GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRĪ, Trivandrum 1909 (TSS 4); T.K. BALASUBRAHMANYAM, Srirangam 1911 (Sri Vani Vilas Sanskrit Series 18). – On the poet see P.-S. FILLIOZAT, Oeuvres poétiques de Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, I, Pondichéry 1967 (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 36), p. 1 ff. (Introduction).

[175] Ed.: Pt. BHAVADATTA ŚĀSTRĪ and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1902, 1916 (KM 76, NSP).

[176] Cf. M.T. NARASIMHIENGER, JRAS 1908, p. 168.

[177] Ed.: Pt. DURGĀPRĀSĀD and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1892 (KM 32, NSP).

[178] Also called Abhinava-(Bhaṭṭa)bāṇa, "New Bāṇa".

[179] Ed.: T. GANAPATI SĀSTRĪ, Trivandrum 1913 (TSS 3).

[180] Ed.: Pt. ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1901 (KM 72, NSP); R. SCHMIDT, Śrīvara's Kathākautukam, die Geschichte von Joseph in persisch-indischem Gewande, Sanskrit und deutsch, Kiel 1898. – Lit.: R. SCHMIDT, Das Kathākautukam des Çrīvara verglichen mit Dschāmīs Yusuf und Zuleikha, nebst Textproben, Kiel 1893 (text of Cantos 2 and 14). – Translation: R. SCHMIDT, Kiel 1898.

was to play the drum known as miḻāvu in Malayālam when plays in Sanskrit and Prākrit were being performed. He wrote kāvyas in many different genres both in Sanskrit and in Prākrit, for example the metrical Rāghavīya, which relates the story of the Rāmāyaṇa (omitting the Uttarakāṇḍa) in twenty cantos and the Viṣṇuvilāsa, a re-working of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, in eight cantos. To the latter there is a commentary, the Viṣṇupriyā, apparently written by Rāmapāṇivāda himself. The Bhāgavatacampū, in which Prākrit passages are included, is about the same material as the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. The Mukundaśataka, which is divided into ten sections of ten stanzas each, the Śivaśataka and the Sūryāṣṭaka contain stotras. Both are ascribed to Rāmapāṇivāda. The two Prākrit poems Kaṃsavaha (1740) and Usāṇiruddha[181] also centre round Kṛṣṇa and characters in the Kṛṣṇa legend. The first of these four-sarga works describes the life of Kṛṣṇa up to the death of Kaṃsa, the second the story of Uṣā, the daughter of the demon Bāṇa, and Aniruddha, a grandson of Kṛṣṇa's. A new and interesting feature is that in the Kaṃsavaha Rāmapāṇivāda uses head-rhyme (prāsa), which was so popular in Dravidian poetry. Rāmapāṇivāda's profound scientific knowledge and interest in theory are revealed in two metrical works and a commentary he wrote to Vararuci's well-known Prākrit grammar. Finally, at the beginning of the 19th century, Rūpanātha Upādhyāya wrote the Rāma poem Rāmavijayakāvya[182], "The Story of Rāma's Victory", and Viśvanātha Devaśarman, a raja from Orissa, the Rukmiṇīpariṇaya[183], "The Marriage of Rukmiṇī", the story of which comes from the Kṛṣṇa legend.

b) Jaina Poetry

In the two preceding sections we have dealt almost exclusively with metrical kāvya of the major form, for the most part containing ideas and material written by Hindus. Only a few of the authors mentioned were Buddhists. From about the 8th century, and particularly about the beginning of the second millenium, a rich literature developed in Jaina circles. Although it was written by men who confessed to the faith of Mahāvīra, it had an importance and an effect that was not limited to those of this faith but made itself felt over the whole sub-continent. Its poets were learned monks and they wrote their works in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa. Like Hindu kavis, Jaina poets often enjoyed the patronage of some mighty prince or high official at court. However, a new type of patron began to appear: well-situated citizens and wealthy merchants who realized that supporting a poet gave the opportunity of showing both their devoutness in religion and their devotion to art and poetry. Jaina poets followed in the footsteps of the old masters but, as their

[181] Ed.: A.N. UPADHYE, Kaṃsavaho, Bombay 1940; A.N. UPADHYE, Usāṇiruddhaṃ, JUB 10 (1941), p. 156 ff. See also A.N. UPADHYE, Kaṃsavaho, a Prākṛt Kāvya, AIOC 1940, p. 213; L.S. RAJAGOPALAN, Śiva Gīti of Rāmapāṇivāda, JMA 36 (1965), p. 76 ff.

[182] Ed.: GAṆAPATIḶĀḶ JHĀ, Benares 1932.

[183] Ed.: Pt. ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1894 (KM 40, NSP).

work was edifying and aimed at spreading the faith, it was frequently not pure classical poetry. A large part of it has unmistakably epic features, and even when the style and manner of presentation strongly resemble those of kāvya, it is nevertheless closely related to narrative writing, epic literature, the Purāṇas and the Māhātmyas. It is worth noting that even those Jaina poets who were monks and whose highest ethical rule was therefore non-violence (ahiṃsā) observed the conventions of kāvya and wrote not only descriptions of the seasons, sunset, moonrise, etc. but also erotic passages and even descriptions of scenes of battle. Numerous texts are hagiography and many works were written in Gujarat, for centuries the main seat of Jaina poetry and learning.

The legend of Varāṅga is related in the Varāṅgacarita[184], a 7th century purāṇic kāvya attributed to a monk from Karṇāṭa named Jaṭāsiṃhanandi (or Jaṭila, Jaṭācārya). Haricandra wrote the Dharmaśarmābhyudaya[185], twenty-one cantos retelling the life of the fifteenth Tīrthaṃkara of Jainism. Māgha's Śiśupālavadha was the model taken by the poet, who also imitates Vākpati[186], the author of the Gaüḍavaha. This means that Haricandra, who cannot be dated with any certainty, must have lived later than the 8th century. The Dravidian poet Kanakasena Vādirāja Sūri from Karṇāṭa, who worked at the court of King Jayasiṃha III of the western Cālukyas (1018–1042), wrote the Yaśodharacarita[187], the legend of King Yaśodhara. It consists of only 296 stanzas divided into four cantos. Both this work and Vādirāja's lost Pārśvanāthacarita, a life of Pārśvanātha, are based on Kālidāsa. The Yaśodharacarita[188] by Māṇikya Sūri, a Gujarati Śvetāmbara-Jaina who probably lived in the 11th century, deals with the same, apparently very popular legend as Vādirāja's poem. The Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi by Vādībhasiṃha Oḍayadeva, beginning of the 11th century, is written mainly in Śloka measure and relates in eleven cantos, here called lambakas, the legend of Jīvandhara, which is also the subject of Haribhadra's Jīvandharacampū and Guṇabhadrācārya's Jīvandharacaritra. Hemacandra[189] (1088–1172) is the most famous of the Jaina monks. A distinguished scholar in many fields of learning such as grammar and lexicography and a great connoisseur of Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa, he wrote the

184 Ed.: A.N. UPADHYE, Bombay 1938 (Māṇikacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā 40). – See also A.N. UPADHYE, A MS. of Varāṅgacarita, ABORI 14 (1933), p. 61 ff.

185 Ed.: Pt. DURGĀPRASĀD and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1888 (KM 8, NSP). – Lit.: V. RAGHAVAN, The date of the Jain poet Haricandra, JGJh 26 (1970), p. 45–46.

186 See H. JACOBI, On Bhāravi and Māgha, WZKM 3 (1889), p. 136 ff. (Kleine Schriften I, p. 462 ff.).

187 Ed.: T.A. GOPINATH RAO, Tanjore 1912 (Sarasvatī Vilās Series); K. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Dharwar 1963. – Lit.: K. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Essays in Sanskrit criticism, Dharwar 1974, p. 261 ff.; A. VENKATASUBBIAH, Vādirāja's Yaśodharacarita, ZII 7 (1929), p. 179 ff.

188 Ed.: HIRALAL HANSARAJ, Jamnagar 1910.

189 General studies on Hemacandra and his time: G. BÜHLER, Über das Leben des Jaina-Mönches Hemacandra, Wien 1889 (English transl. by M. PATEL in: SJS 41a); R.C. PARIKH, The life of Hemacandra, JJ 2 (1968), p. 169 ff.; A.K. MAJUMDAR, Gujarat during the Age of Hemacandra, JJ 2 (1968), pp. 182 ff.

spaciously-planned Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra.[190] Although he himself calls it a mahākāvya, this work, which is written in comparatively simple language, does not really belong to that category at all but to narrative and edifying religious literature like other texts dealing with Jaina hagiography. Its ten long sections recount the lives of sixty-three great men (śalākāpuruṣa) of the Jaina faith: the twenty-four Tīrthaṃkaras, the twelve universal rulers (cakravartin), the nine Vāsudevas, nine Baladevas and nine Viṣṇudviṣas. It was written between 1160 and 1172 at the request of King Kumārapāla of Anhilvad, one of the great Jaina teacher's pupils, a convert to Jainism. The Neminirvāṇa[191] by Vāgbhaṭa, who may be the author of the Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra, a work on the theory of poetry, was also written in the 12th century. Vāgbhaṭa lived in the reign of King Jayasiṃha of Gujarat (1093–1154) and his poem of fifteen cantos describes the life of Neminātha. Abhayadeva Sūri's Jayantavijaya[192], written in 1221, is about the legend of King Jayanta. It has nineteen cantos. The Śālibhadracarita[193] by Dharmakumāra is a mahākāvya in only seven cantos. It was written in 1277 and, as its title suggests, relates the Śālibhadra legend. Maladhārin Devaprabha Sūri lived about the year 1200. His Mṛgavatīcaritra[194] is the story of Vāsavadatta and Padmāvatī from the collection of stories known as the Bṛhatkathā. The Mahīpālacaritra[195] by Cāritrasundara is much later, having been written about the middle of the 15th century. It is a re-working in fourteen cantos of the fabulous tale of Mahīpāla.

Jaina authors did not take their material only from narrative literature and the rich treasure-trove of legends about their saints; they had long shown a predilection for the two Sanskrit epics as well, especially the Rāmāyaṇa. They invested these stories with a quite new lustre and the works they produced based on these sources formed the foundations of a new literary tradition, part epic, part poetic, corresponding more closely to the kāvya style. Very old, as far as we can tell not before the 2nd century, i.e., the period that saw the beginnings of Māhārāṣṭrī poetry, is the first Jaina Rāma epos, the Paümacariya[196], the "Life of Padma (= Rāma)" by the poet later Jaina writers prized so highly, Vimala Sūri. His poem is in Prākrit,

190 Ed.: Pt. JAGANNĀTHA ŚUKLA, Calcutta 1873; Śrījainadharmaprasārakasabhā, 6 vols., Bhavnagar 1905–1909. – Lit.: J.P. THAKER, Cultural gleanings from Hemacandrācārya's Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita, I, 1, AIOC 1959, II, Part I, p. 121 ff.; J.P. THAKER, The importance of Hemacandrācārya's Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita, JOIB 4 (1954/55), p. 261 ff. – Translation: A. VIDYABHUSHANA (revised by B. Das Jain), Jaina Jātakas, or Lord Ṛshabha's Pūrvabhavas, Lahore 1925 (PSS 8; only Book I, Canto I); H.M. JOHNSON, Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra, Baroda (I) 1931, (II) 1937, (III) 1949, (IV) 1954, (V) 1962, (VI) 1962 (GOS 51, 77, 108, 125, 139, 140).

191 Ed.: Pt. ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1896 (KM 56, NSP). See also P.K. GODE, Studies in Indian Literary History, I, Bombay 1953, p. 171 ff.

192 Ed.: Pt. BHAVADATTA ŚĀSTRĪ and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1902 (= KM 75, NSP).

193 Ed.: Benares 1910 (Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā).

194 Ed.: HIRALAL HANSARAJ, Jamnagar 1909.

195 Ed.: HIRALAL HANSARAJ, Jamnagar 1909.

but a Sanskrit version, the Padmapurāṇa[197], was produced by Raviṣeṇa (678 A.D.). It is a long epic, very close to Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa but, like all Jaina Rāmāyaṇas, the background to the action has become Jaina and the characterization is different from Vālmīki's: Rāvaṇa is seen as one of the "great men" (śalākāpuruṣa), an ideal king and Jaina in spite of the fact that he abducts Sītā, and at the end of the story Padma (= Rāma) becomes a devout Jaina monk who finds enlightenment and attains Nirvāṇa. Unfortunately lost, however, is a second work by Vimala Sūri, the Harivaṃśa, which had Kṛṣṇa as its central figure. This poem also is said to have been more epic than poetic. Other Rāma works are the Apabhraṃśa Paümacariu[198] by Svayambhūdeva (mid 8th century ?), the Prākrit Cauppaṇṇamāhapurisacariya[199] by Śīlāṅka (868 A.D.), the Sanskrit Uttarapurāṇa by Guṇabhadra (9th century) and the Apabhraṃśa Mahāpurāṇa by Puṣpadanta (second half of 9th century). A great innovator who put poetic delight back into the often dry purāṇic material was Jinasena. He wrote a Mahāpurāṇa that was later completed by Guṇabhadra as well as a Pārśvābhyudaya, a biography of Pārśvanātha. However, this poet should not be confused with an earlier Jinasena who wrote a Harivaṃśapurāṇa.

[196] Ed.: B.A. CHAUGULE and N.V. VAIDYA, Belgaum 1936 (Chapters I–IV only); R.D. LADDU and N.A. GORE, (Poona) 1941; H. JACOBI (revised by SHRI PUNYAVIJAYAJI), I, Varanasi 1962, II, Ahmedabad 1968 (Prakrit Text Society Series 6 and 12; with transl. into Hindi by S.M. MORA). – Lit.: S.C. UPADHYE, The authorship and date of Paumacariya, the oldest extant epic in the Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī language, AIOC 1933, p. 109; B.A. CHAUGULE, Paumachariya and Padmapurāṇa, JUB 14 (1945), p. 43 f.; V.M. KULKARNI, The Rāmāyaṇa of Bhadreśvara as found in his Kahāvalī, JOIB 2 (1952/53), p. 332 ff.; P.M. UPADHYE, Some glimpses of the society and culture as reflected in the Paumacariya, JUB 30 (1961), p. 81 ff.; P.M. UPADHYE, Relation of Vimalasūri's Paumacariya to Raviṣeṇa's Padmapurāṇa, JUB 31 (1962), p. 88 ff.; P.M. UPADHYE, Maxims and pithy sayings in the Paumacariya, JUB 32 (1963), p. 165 ff.; K.R. CHANDRA, New light on the date of Paümacariyam, JOIB 13 (1963/64), p. 378 ff.; P.M. UPADHYE, Geography known to the Paumacariya, IOC 1964, III, 1, p. 324 ff.; K.R. CHANDRA, Sources of the Rāma-story of Paumacariyaṃ, JOIB 14 (1964/65), p. 134 ff.; K.R. CHANDRA, Literary evaluation of Paümacariyaṃ, Varanasi 1966 (Sanmati Publications 17); K.R. CHANDRA, Intervening stories of Paumacariyaṃ and their sources, JOIB 16 (1966/67), p. 364 ff.; P.M. UPADHYE, Influence of Vimalasūri's Paumacariya and Bāṇa's Kādambarī on Uddyotanasūri's Kuvalayamālā, JOIB 16 (1966/67), p. 371 ff.

[197] Ed.: Pt. DARBĀRĪ LĀLA, Bombay 1928 (Māṇikacandra-Digambara-Jaina-Granthamālā Samiti); Pt. PANNĀLĀL JAIN, Kāśī (I) 1958, (II) 1959, (III) 1959 (with Hindi transl.). – See also R.K. ŚUKLA, Jainācārya-Raviṣeṇa-kṛta-'Padmapurāṇa' aur Tulasī-kṛta-'Rāmacaritamānas', Delhi 1974 (in Hindi).

[198] Ed.: H.C. BHAYANI, Bombay (vol. I–II) 1953, (III) 1960 (SJS 34–36); Kāśī 1957–1970, 5 vols. (Jñānapīṭha-Mūrtidevī-Jaina-Granthamālā, Apabhraṃśagrantha, Nos. 1–3, 8–9; with Hindi transl.).

[199] Regarding this and Jaina Rāma-literature in general, see K. BRUHN, Śīlāṅkas Cauppaṇṇamāhapurisacariya: ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Jaina-Universalgeschichte, Hamburg 1954 (Alt- und Neuindische Studien 8); A.M. BHOJAK, Cauppaṇṇamāhapurisacariyaṃ, Ahmedabad-Varanasi 1961 (Prakrit Text Society Series 3); D.L. NARASIMHACHAR, The Jaina Rāmāyaṇas, IHQ 15 (1939), p. 575 ff.; H.R. KAPADIA, The Rāmāyaṇa and the Jaina writers, JOIB 1 (1951/52), p. 115 ff.; V.M. KULKARNI, The Rāmāyaṇa version of Śīlācārya as found in the Caüppaṇṇamahā-Purisacariya, ABORI 36 (1956), p. 46 ff.; V.M. KULKARNI, The origin and development of the Rāma story in Jaina literature, JOIB 9 (1959/60), p. 189 ff. and 284 ff.; H.C. BHAYANI, The narrative of Rāma in the Jain tradition, BhV 25 (1965), p. 18 ff.

Maladhārin Devaprabha Sūri, already mentioned, wrote his Pāṇḍavacaritra[200] in the 12th century. It is a version in eighteen cantos of the Mahābhārata in more or less purāṇic style. At the beginning of the same century Vastupāla was writing in Kathiawar. He was the famous minister of the Princes Lāvaṇyaprasāda and Vīradhavala of Dholka and was an outstanding statesman, patron of poets and founder of several important libraries. Vastupāla's major poem, the Naranārāyaṇānanda[201], written between 1220 and 1230, has as its subject the friendship of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna and the latter's abduction of Subhadrā. Amaracandra Sūri, an erudite poet from Gujarat, lived at about the same time, i.e., about the middle of the 13th century. His Bālabhārata[202], written in an artificial style and in part in difficult metres, is a re-working of the Mahābhārata in nineteen sections called parvan, as they are in the original. The story of Suratha's strict asceticism in the Himālaya and how he killed a demon is the subject of the Surathotsava[203] by Someśvara (1179–1263), court poet to Lāvaṇyaprasāda and Vīradhavala of Gujarat. The whole story of the Rāmāyaṇa is dealt with in the very elaborate Udārarāghava[204], written in the first quarter of the 14th century by Sākalyamalla (or Mallācārya, Kavimalla). Part of the Rāma legend – the events leading up to the marriage of Sītā – is told in the Jānakīpariṇaya[205] by Cakrakavi, who probably lived in the 17th century and wrote several campūs.[206]

c) Poems with Historical Themes

Whereas Jaina metrical works in the major form inhabit a zone that lies between epos and kāvya, works on historical themes must on the whole be accounted true poetry as their authors attempt to conform to the demands of kāvya. Plain, purely factual historical writing is in fact comparatively rare. A poet generally places his main character in a setting determined by the conventions of kāvya; he may relate some entirely fabricated love-story concerning his hero and always praises his glorious deeds and victories irrespective of whether they have any foundation in fact or not. Like the authors of inscriptions, he is fond of associating the king he is writing about with supernatural beings and powers such as vidyādharas, gandharvas and yakṣas and weaves into his material the usual, often lengthy, descriptions of seasons, a mountain, a sunset, amorous scenes, the pleasures of bathing, etc.

200 Ed.: Pt. KEDĀRANĀTHA and V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR, Bombay 1911 (KM 93, NSP).

201 Ed.: C.D. DALAL and R. ANANTAKRISHNA SHASTRY, Baroda 1916 (GOS 2). – For Vastupāla see Bh.J. SANDESARA, Literary circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla and its contribution to Sanskrit literature, Bombay 1953 (SJS 3).

202 Ed.: in The Pandit 4 (1869/70), 5 (1870/71) and 6 (1871/72); Pt. ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1894 (KM 45, NSP). – Concerning the author see S.K. DE, History of Sanskrit Poetics, Calcutta 1960², I, p. 257 ff.

203 Ed.: Pt. ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1902 (KM 73, NSP).

204 Ed.: Bombay: Gopal Narayan & Co., no date.

205 Ed.: T. GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRĪ, Trivandrum 1913 (TSS 24).

206 *campūs,* prose works, *śleṣakāvyas* and semi-historical poetry written by Jainas are dealt with in the chapters on these genres.

Although these works contain much material about the spiritual and material culture of the period, their authors, who were frequently court poets, made no attempt to study their sources critically or to do any other historical research. When they describe a great campaign of conquest (digvijaya) or neighbouring peoples, poets often accept the authority of the table of peoples in the Mahābhārata or the information given in the Purāṇas. Their aims were entirely based on poetic effect: their poetry was to conform to the strict criteria of kāvya and to ensure that they enjoyed the esteem and personal favour of the king due partly to the high poetic standards of their work and partly to the praise and glorification bestowed both on the hero's personality and on his political and cultural merits. Numerous critics expressly mention the undying fame that will accrue both to the poet and to his patron as the result of a good kāvya. Furthermore, there was the magic belief, at least in olden days, that the king, like the gods, would prosper (vṛdh, literally "grow") as a result of the homage paid to him and that the glorification of his ancestors and of his own achievements would act as a blessing on the present as well as the future. It follows that the majority of poems on historical themes contain far more poetry than history and they are therefore classified here as quasi- or semi-historical rather than historical kāvyas. Although quasi-historical poetry was written in prose as well as in metrical form, we shall only concern ourselves with the latter in this section.

There exist short panegyrics in the form of stotras and kāvya inscriptions from the period after Aśvaghoṣa, but semi-historical sargabandhas, i.e., works divided into chapters, do not seem to have come into fashion until the beginning of the second millennium. The Navasāhasāṅkacarita[207] by Parimala or Padmagupta was probably composed in 1005. It extols the virtues of the poet's patron, the Paramāra king Sindhurāja of Dhārā, also known as Navasāhasāṅka, one of King Bhoja's predecessors, and describes in eighteen cantos the motley events that led to the marriage of the ruler to Śaśiprabhā, the ravishingly beautiful daughter of the Nāga king, Śaṅkhapāla. Śaśiprabhā fell in love the instant she saw Navasāhasāṅka's name on an arrow that had struck one of her does, while the king lost his heart when he discovered her name on a pearl necklace worn by a king-goose. When the king had learnt that Śaśiprabhā's father had promised her hand in marriage to the man who succeeded in taking the precious golden lotus from the demon Vajrāṅkuśa's pool together with one of the demon's earrings, the infatuated king set off to accomplish the task. He killed Vajrāṅkuśa and, having brought back the lotus and the ornament, married Śaśiprabhā in a magnificent ceremony. As we can see, the poem has a distinct flavour of fairy-tale and adventure, but it is in no way lacking in a

[207] Ed.: Pt.V.Ś. ISLĀMPURKAR, Bombay 1895 (BSS 53). – Lit.: G. BÜHLER and Th. ZACHARIAE, Über das Navasāhasāṅkacarita des Padmagupta oder Parimala, SAWW 1888, p. 1 ff.; (English transl.) IA 36, p. 624 ff.; Ch. PRABHA, Historical mahākāvyas in Sanskrit (Eleventh to fifteenth century A.D.), Delhi 1976, p. 12 ff.; V.S. PATHAK, The Navasāhasāṅkacarita (Itihāsa under the shadow of a symbolist), Mirashi Fel. Vol., Nagpur 1965, p. 424 ff.

kernel of historical fact, indeed it throws considerable light on the history of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. Padmagupta, who apparently wrote other works too[208], displays great poetic skill. Delightful descriptions in clear and elegant diction create pauses in the course of the narrative and the sentiment varies between erotic and heroic as the action of the story requires.

A poet of a very high order whom we have already met in his capacity as a lyricist[209] is Bilhaṇa. Like Bāṇa in the Harṣacarita, Bilhaṇa gives us a brief account of his life in the last canto of his Vikramāṅkadevacarita. He was born to a Brahman family from Madhyadeśa in Kashmir, where he grew up and received a thorough training in poetry, the theory of poetry and grammar. His literary career, which continued far into the second half of the 11th century, began when King Kalaśa ascended the throne of Kashmir. After a long pilgrimage which took the poet to Mathurā, Kānyakubja (Kanauj), Prayāga (Allahabad), Vārāṇasī and probably to Anhilvad, where he seems to have spent a short time at the court of King Karṇadeva Trailokyamalla (1064–1094), Bilhaṇa travelled to the south of India. After spending some time there as a pilgrim, he continued on the final stage of his journey, to the court of the Cālukya ruler of Kalyāṇa, King Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (1076–1127), who did him great honour and conferred on him the title of vidyāpati, "master of knowledge". Bilhaṇa now became court poet in Kalyāṇa and wrote the Vikramāṅkadevacarita[210] in honour of his patron. It was probably completed before 1088 and consists of eighteen cantos – a poem praising "The Deeds of His Majesty Vikramāṅka". The first two cantos deal with the origins of the Cālukya dynasty and the deeds of Vikrama's father, Āhavamalla. The story of Vikramāṅka himself begins in Canto III. Canto IV describes his digvijaya, a campaign of world-wide conquest, V and VI Prince Vikrama's victory and the news of his father's death, VII the glorious hero's return to Kalyāṇa. Canto VIII shows us Candralekhā, the young, nubile daughter of the King of Karahāṭa, IX the ceremony in which Candralekhā herself is allowed to choose a husband from among her suitors (svayaṃvara), her choice falling on Vikramāṅka, and X describes the wedding ceremony. The remaining sargas contain descriptions of sunset, moonrise, the king's carousal with the ladies of the court (XI), the return of the royal couple from Karahāṭa, the heat of summer, the harem enjoying bathing (XII), the rushing streams of the Himālaya and the rainy season (XIII). Cantos XIV and XV carry the

208 Other stanzas, which cannot be identified in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* itself, are quoted in Kṣemendra's *Aucityavicāracarcā* under the name of Parimala.

209 See p. 95 ff.

210 Ed.: G. BÜHLER, Bombay 1875 (BSS 14); M.L. NAGAR, Benares 1945 (Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Series 82); Pt.V.Ś. BHĀRADVĀJ, Benares 1958–1962–1964; V. ŚĀSTRĪ, Benares 1964 (with Hindi translation). – Lit.: Ch. PRABHA, Historical mahākāvyas in Sanskrit, Delhi 1976; p. 45 ff. – Translations: A. HAACK, Vikramāṅkadevacaritam...des Kaschmirer Dichters Bilhaṇa...mit Ausnahme der Episoden übersetzt..., Ratibor 1897; A. HAACK, Indische Stimmungsbilder: Sieben Episoden des Vikramāṅkadeva-caritam...übersetzt..., no place, 1899(?); V. Ś. BHĀRADVĀJ, Benares 1958–1964 (Hindi); S.Ch. BANERJI and A.K. GUPTA, Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadevacaritam: Glimpses of the History of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, Calcutta 1965.

story forward: Jayasiṃha, the king's younger brother, who has suddenly broken his oath of loyalty and led his army out to plunder and ravage, is approaching the River Kṛṣṇā, where he suffers a crushing defeat at the hand of Vikrama, who had reacted swiftly to the threat. Canto XVI describes the beauty of autumn and the royal hunt, XVII the Cola king's rising and how it is successfully put down and XVIII, which acts as an epilogue, gives us a brief account of the poet's life. Like the muktaka stanzas by the same author collected in the Caurasuratapañcāśikā, the Vikramāṅkadevacarita reveals true poetic genius. The work is written in the clear, transparent Vaidarbhī style, avoiding long compounds as far as possible, and numerous stanzas surprise the reader by the skilful use of attributes and themes. His powers of imagination, the ability continually to find new, delightful and rarely exaggerated associations, were well developed for so late a period in time. One stanza from the poem has already been quoted, in the introduction to this book.[211] Let us look at another example, the beautiful final stanza in Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre from Canto IV, the last two-thirds of which relate how, on his great campaign, Prince Vikrama receives the news of the sudden death of his father, Āhavamalla:

pratyaktā madhunena kānanamahī maurvīva cāpojjhitā
śuktir mauktikavarjiteva kavitā mādhuryahīneva ca /
tenaikena nirākṛtā na śuśubhe cālukyarājyasthitiḥ
sāmarthyaṃ śubhajanmanāṃ kathayituṃ kasyāsti vāgvistaraḥ //

"The condition of the Cālukya kingdom, bereft of him alone, like a forest abandoned by Spring, a bow-string devoid of a bow, a pearl-oyster without pearls and poetry devoid of sweetness, did not look graceful; who has words enough to narrate the capacity of those of auspicious birth?"[212]

Either at the beginning or about the middle of the 12th century Sandhyākara Nandin wrote his Rāmapālacarita. This poem will, however, be dealt with in the section on śleṣakāvyas as it is not only semi-historical but also belongs to the type of work that is permeated with paronomasia. Hemacandra's Kumārapālacarita, which cannot have been written before 1163, although quasi-historical, will be dealt with in the section on śāstrakāvyas as it is also a didactic work on science (śāstra).

In 1148 the Kashmiri poet Kalhaṇa, the son of a minister at the court of King Harṣa, completed his Rājataraṅgiṇī, the "Stream of Kings", a chronicle of the rulers of Kashmir. It contains many poetic passages but can hardly be regarded as kāvya although it is a valuable record from the historical and cultural point of view. It was later continued by Jonarāja (d. 1459) and either continued again or imitated by other Kashmiri authors. Jalhaṇa, mentioned by Maṅkha as the member of an assembly of poets.[213], was probably a genuine kavi. Also from Kashmir, he wrote an account of the deeds of Somapāla, King of Rājapurī in Kashmir about the middle of the 12th century, but the work has unfortunately been lost.

211 See p. 27.

212 Translation form S.Ch. Banerji and A.K. Gupta, Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadevacaritam, p. 80.

213 See p. 203.

Jonarāja wrote a commentary to an anonymous and uncompleted poem, the Pṛthvīrājavijaya[214], only fragments of which have been preserved. The author was probably a Kashmiri and lived at the end of the 12th century. The poem exalts King Pṛthvīrāja who, two years before he died in 1193, had won a glorious victory over Sultan Shihāb-ud-dīn-Ghorī. The author of the poem was a contemporary, the court poet to Pṛthvīrāja, and it was written between 1191 and 1193. He may have been the Jayānaka who is mentioned in the text. Jayānaka, or whoever did compose the work, was an erudite man with poetic training. Jonarāja's commentary gives several readings. Jayānaka's kāvya must have enjoyed great popularity in the 13th and 14th centuries. A stanza or so from the Pṛthvīrājavijaya are quoted in Rājānaka Jayaratha's commentary, the Alaṃkāravimarśiṇī, on the Alaṃkārasarvasva by Rājānaka Ruyyaka, a writer on the theory of poetry. It consists of twelve cantos, contains charming descriptions of cities, lakes and military expeditions as well as two weddings, and strongly resembles Bilhaṇa in style. The poet loves to join stanzas together into yugalakas, viśeṣakas or kulakas[215] and also employs citra figures.

Someśvara (or Someśvaradeva), 1179–1263, the family priest to Bhīma of Aṇhilvad and Lāvaṇyaprasāda of Dholka in Gujarat, wrote the Kīrtikaumudī[216], the "Moonlight of Fame". It is interesting to see that this poem of nine cantos is not in praise of a ruler but of Vastupāla, Lāvaṇyaprasāda's and Vīradhavala's famous minister and Someśvara's patron. Canto I describes the city of Aṇahillapura (Anhilvad), Canto II the history of the Cālukya dynasty from Mūlarāja to Bhīma II, III how Vastupāla and his brother Tejaḥpāla were summoned to act as ministers at the court of King Lāvaṇyaprasāda and Cantos IV–V a number of campaigns undertaken to defend the realm. Canto VI has as its subject the great peace festival held in Vastupāla's honour, VII nightfall, a carousal and the pleasures of love, VIII sunrise, followed by the poet's reflections on various subjects and XI, the last, a pilgrimage made by the great Jaina minister. Someśvara, whose model was Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa, used only two metres for most of the nine cantos: Anuṣṭubh in Cantos I to V and VII to VIII and Upajāti for VI and IX, other measures occurring only here and there. Another poem in praise of Vastupāla written about the same time is the Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana[217], the "Song in Praise of the Good Deeds (of

214 Ed.: S.K. BELVARKAR, Asiatic Society of Bengal 1914, Calcutta (Bibl. Ind. 228); G.H. OJHA and C.S. GULLERI, Ajmer 1941. – Lit.: Ch. PRABHA, Historical mahākāvyas in Sanskrit, Delhi 1976, p. 145 ff.

215 See p. 66 f., for an explanation of these terms.

216 Ed.: Ā.V. KĀTHAVAṬE, Bombay 1883 (BSS 25); ŚRĪ PUṆYAVIJAYA SŪRI, Bombay 1961 (together with Arisiṃha's Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana (SJS 32). – Lit.: Ch. PRABHA, Historical mahākāvyas in Sanskrit, Delhi 1976, p. 236 ff. – Translation: A. HAACK, Kīrtikaumudī oder die Lotusblume des Ruhmes, Ratibor 1892.

217 Ed.: CATURVIJAYA MUNI, Bhavnagar 1917; ŚRĪ PUṆYAVIJAYA SŪRI, Bombay 1961 (together with Someśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī*, SJS 32). – Lit.: G. BÜHLER, Das Sukṛtisaṃkīrtana des Arisiṃha, SAWW 109 (1889), Abh. 7 (with large parts of text) and IA 31 (1902), p. 477 ff.; Ch. PRABHA, Historical mahākāvyas in Sanskrit, Delhi 1976, p. 262 ff.

Vastupāla)" by Arisiṃha, a Rajput poet who was also one of the presumably well-rewarded group of writers surrounding Vastupāla. While the first two cantos of the eleven in this not particularly important poem summarize the history of the Capotkaṭa (I) and the Cālukya (II) rulers of Gujarat, Canto III describes how the strength of the kingdom was built up again by King Lāvaṇyaprasāda, his son Vīradhavala and his ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. The theme of Canto IV is a war of conquest. The account of Vastupāla's pilgrimage fills Cantos V to X into which are interpolated descriptions of a sunrise (VI) and the seasons (IX). The final canto (XI) extols the deeds of the great minister, who was appointed Governor of the City of Stambhatīrtha: he was an indefatigable builder and restorer, and all the good deeds he did are listed. A third work devoted to the life and works of Vastupāla is the Vasantavilāsa[218] by Bālacandra Sūri, another Jaina writer. This poem, written for Vastupāla's son Jaitrasiṃha after the death of his father in 1238, consists of fourteen cantos. It is rich in descriptive material but has little to give from the historical point of view. The first canto contains a brief account of the poet's life.

The Hammīramahākāvya[219] by Nayacandra Sūri was written about 1450, about two hundred years after the Vasantavilāsa. It glorifies the Cāhuvāṇa (Chauhan) kings, especially King Hammīra of Mewar, who waged a long war against the Moslem invasion. The birth of Hammīra is described in IV, his life and deeds in Cantos VI and onwards. It is true that the poem ends in tragedy, with the death of the royal family and the suicide of the king himself, who rides straight into the enemy army (XIII). The lamentation of his subjects and the final praises of Hammīra's good deeds are followed in the last Canto (XIV) by autobiographical material. In the Jagaḍūcarita[220] by Sarvānanda, who probably lived in the second half of the 14th century, we meet a new kind of patron. The hero of this poem in seven cantos is the wealthy Gujarati merchant and lay follower of Jainism Jagaḍū, who was a great benefactor and patron in his native city according to the writer.

Gaṅgā(devī), a woman from the south of India, wrote a poem entitled either the Madhurāvijaya[221], "The Victory over Madhurā" or the Vīrakamparāyacarita[222], "The Deeds of the Hero Kamparāya". She wrote the work, which consists of eight cantos, to commemorate the life and heroic deeds of her husband, King Kamapana (or Kamparāya) of Vijayanagar. Canto I tells us about the hero's father, Bukka I, and his kingdom Vijayanagar and Canto II about the birth of Kamapana. Canto III describes the prince's youth, IV to VI his campaigns in the south and VII is a dialogue between Kamapana and Gaṅgā, the author of the work: at his request, she gives a description of spring followed by others of sunset and moonrise. The theme

218 Ed.: Ch.D. DALAL, Baroda 1917 (GOS 7).

219 Ed.: N.J. KĪRTANE, Bombay 1879. – See also N.J. KĪRTANE, IA 7 (1879), p. 55 ff.

220 G. BÜHLER, Indian Studies, I: The Jagaḍūcharita of Sarvānanda, a historical romance from Gujarāt, SAWW 126 (1892), Abh. 5 (with large sections of the text).

221 See also D.S. BABU, Kingship: State and Religion in South India According to South Indian Historical Biographies of Kings (Madhurāvijaya, Acyutarāyābhyudaya and Vemabhūpālacarita), Göttingen 1975.

222 Ed.: Pt.G. HARIHARA ŚĀSTRĪ and Pt.V. ŚRĪNIVĀSA ŚĀSTRĪ, Trivandrum 1916.

of the eighth Canto is the eviction of the Moslems from Madurai (Madhurā). Finally Kamapana overthrows the reigning sultan and bestows valuable gifts on various temples in Madurai. Gaṅgā writes in the Vaidarbhī style but is fond of the art of yamaka, which was particularly popular in the south of India. The imagery in the following description of sunset in Canto VII is beautiful and very successful:

pratibimbaparamparārambudhau pavanoddhūtataraṃgasaṃginī /
nabhaso 'vatariṣyato raver maṇisopānadhiyaṃ vyabhāvayat // (8)

"The sun descended from the sky: the (unbroken) line of its reflections in the ocean, the waves of which were raised by the breezes, was like a stair-case of jewels."

In Canto V there is also a description of the seasons, beginning with summer. Like other parts of the work, it contains some delightful imagery. The following stanza (V, 46) is taken from the description of autumn (V, 38–50):

vikacapadmavilocanātmano mukham avekṣitum āttakutūhalā /
niyatam abhranicolakagarbhataḥ śarad akarṣad aharpatidarpaṇam //

"Eager to have a look at her own face with its opened lotus-eyes, Autumn[223] drew carefully from inside the sheath of the cloud the mirror of the sun".

The Sāḷuvābhyudaya[224], "The Triumph of Sāḷuva", was written about 1480 by Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima. The central figure in this not very important literary work is the Sāḷuva king Narasiṃha who, judging by what the poet says, was at the time Governor of Candragiri (near Belgore in Mysore). The thirteen cantos are partly in Vaidarbhī, partly in Gauḍī and partly in Lāṭī style. Cantos III to VII tell the story of the campaigns of Narasiṃha who (in Canto VII) conquers Baṅga, Kaliṅga, Gauḍa, Utkala (Orissa), Saurāṣṭra, Mahārāṣṭra and Kamboja. Canto VIII describes a hunt, Canto IX an excursion to Mount Veṅkaṭa (Tirupati) where King Narasiṃha pays homage to Viṣṇu in his aspect as Narasiṃha, and Canto X describes winter, summer and spring. The woman poet Rāmabhadrāmbā composed the Raghunāthābhyudaya[225] in about 1620, a semi-historical work in honour of her husband Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore. The Nāyaka was himself a writer: the author of the Āndhra-Rāmāyaṇa, and awarded another woman poet at his court the title and poet's name of Madhuravāṇī.[226] A prince named Bhavasiṃha is the hero of a short panegyric poem written about the middle of the 17th century. It is called the Bhāvavilāsa[227] and was composed by Nyāyavācaspati Rudra. A poet known only for one poem, the Rājapraśastimahākāvya (end of the 18th century), is Raṇacchoda.[228] The only two cantos of his work to have been preserved are in an inscription. A poem glorifying the dynasty of King Nārāyaṇa of Mayūragiri is the Rāṣṭrauḍhavaṃ-

223 *śarad*, "autumn", is feminine and is therefore described in the form of a young woman.
224 See K.A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, A History of South India, Madras 1976⁴, p. 350, and D.S. BABU, *op.cit.*
225 Ed.: T.R. CINTAMANI, Madras 1934. – See also K.A. NILAKANTA, *op. cit.*, p. 351 ff.
226 Cf. p. 210 and K.A. NILAKANTA, *op. cit.*, p. 350.
227 Ed. in KM 2, Bombay 1886 (NSP).
228 See F. KIELHORN, Epigraphia Indica, 5, Appendix, No. 321.

śamahākāvya[228a] by the South Indian poet Rudrakavi. The work, finished in 1596, was written at the request of the poet's patron, King Nārāyaṇa, and consists of twenty cantos. Four cantos, namely XIV to XVII, contain only descriptions of the seasons, noon, sunset, love-games, etc.

d) *Yamaka-* and *Śleṣakāvyas*

Two characteristic features of Sanskrit kāvya that become even more marked at the beginning of the second millennium are, firstly a tendency to write didactic poetry that is as erudite as possible in each field of science and, secondly a conscious effort to compose linguistically difficult works the effect of which is not so much due to the poet's powers of imagination and the interaction of all the poetic devices at his disposal as to his skill in linguistic and poetic figures and the use of techniques that are often extravagant. Two excellent methods of writing this sort of poetry which, however, can only be used in a language as flexible as Sanskrit, are paronomasia (śleṣa) and ambiguous rhyme (yamaka) in all its various forms. As we have already seen, both techniques were used very early, but by about the year 1000 they are no longer limited to single stanzas or, as in Bhāravi, Māgha and Kumāradāsa, to one canto of a work. Now they are often employed throughout a whole kāvya: we have, in fact, yamaka and śleṣa poems. Both genres make use of ambiguity. Śleṣa poems require the reader to make two interpretations of each stanza: one single reading will not be sufficient for complete understanding.

One author who appears to have written nothing but yamaka works is Vāsudeva. Local tradition says he was a Nambūtiri Brahman from the village of Perumanam, near what is today Trichūr in Kerala, and that his patron was King Rāmavarman, who was consecrated king under the name of Kulaśekhara at the beginning of the 10th century. We can therefore deduce that Vāsudeva must have lived about the year 900. There have in fact been several poets and authors of scientific works and commentaries of this name[229], most of whom have also come from Kerala. Today, however, it seems fairly well established that it is the Vāsudeva that lived at the beginning of the 10th century who is the author of the yamaka poems Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya, Tripuradahana, Śaurikathodaya and, probably, the Nalodaya. The subjects of the first three are taken from the Mahābhārata: the Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya[230], the "Victory of Yudhiṣṭhira", relates the story in eight cantos beginning with the Pāṇḍava brothers' hunt and ending with Yudhiṣṭhira's consecration. The shortest of his poems is the Tripuradahana[231], "The Burning of Tripura", which has only three

[228a] Ed. E. KRISHNAMACHARYA, Baroda 1917 (GOS 5). Transl.: J.L. DE BRUYNE, Rudrakavi: The Great Poem of the Dynasty of Rāṣṭrauḍha, Leiden 1968.

[229] See C. SUNESON, Śaurikathodaya: A Yamaka-poem by Vāsudeva, Stockholm 1969 (Skrifter utgivna av Föreningen för orientaliska studier 1), p. 8 ff. (Introduction); K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, Vāsudeva, author of the Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya, C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Vol., Madras 1946, pp. 380 f and K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, The contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit literature, Madras 1958, p. 19 ff.

[230] Ed.: Pt. ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1897, 1930[2] (KM 60, NSP).

[231] Ed.: S.K. PILLAI, Trivandrum 1956 (TSS 181).

cantos telling the well-known story of how Śiva destroyed the Asuras of the three cities. The most famous of the poems was almost certainly the Nalodaya[232], "The Triumph of Nala". It tells the story of Nala and Damayantī in yamaka form and was often thought to be the work of Kālidāsa or Ravideva. The story of the Śaurikathodaya[233], "The Dawn of the Story of Kṛṣṇa", is taken from several works such as the Harivaṃśa, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and certain southern Indian sources. It has six cantos and describes the main events in Kṛṣṇa's life up to the time he defeated Bāṇāsura. One quotation from this poem has already been used as an illustration.[234] A later Vāsudeva (Vāsudeva II) from the Payyūr-Bhaṭṭa family wrote a work on astronomy entitled the Vākyāvalī in a form that is close to kāvya, but also the yamaka poems Devīcarita, Acyutalīlā, Satyatapaḥkathā and Śivodaya, and is therefore frequently confused with Vāsudeva I.[235]

Nītivarman, who probably came from the East, must have lived in the 11th century at the very latest. His Kīcakavadha, which is often quoted in works on grammar and lexicography, tells the story from the Mahābhārata of how Pāṇḍava Bhīma killed the demon Kīcaka. There are five cantos, four of which (I–II, IV–V) are in the yamaka style and one, Canto III, in the śleṣa style.

There are also short works in the yamaka style. The earliest yamakakāvya in the minor form is the Ghaṭakarpara(kāvya), which has already been mentioned in its historical context.[236] Of unknown date, but certainly later, is the Vṛndāvanayamaka[237] by Mānāṅka. It is a dialogue in the Vṛndāvana between Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, but consists of only about fifty stanzas most of which are in Āryā metre. The Kṛṣṇalīlā[238] (1523) by Madana has less than one hundred stanzas. This poem, which has as its subject the separation of the Gopīs from Kṛṣṇa, is in the form of a samasyāpūraṇa[239], a quarter-stanza from another yamakakāvya, the Ghaṭakarparakāvya, having been worked into each stanza. Worth noticing, too, is the Rāmayamakārṇava[240] by Veṅkaṭeśa (17th century) who also wrote the Rāmacandrodaya (1635), a long poem about the Rāma legend. That Jaina poets also employed the yamaka style from time to time is shown by, for instance, the Siddhipriyastotra by Devavijayayagaṇi and the Caturviṃśatijinastuti by Śobhana.[241]

232 Ed.: BĀBŪ RĀMA, Kidderpore 1813; F. BENARY, Berlin 1830; W. YATES, Calcutta 1844 (with metrical translation); in J. HAEBERLIN, KS; Pt. J. ŚUKLA, Calcutta 1870. – Translations: W. YATES, Calcutta 1844; H. FAUCHE, Oeuvres complètes de Kalidasa, traduites du sanscrit en français, Paris 1859/60, II (together with *Ṛtusaṃhāra, Kumārasambhava* and *Śrutabodha*).

233 Ed.: C. SUNESON, Śaurikathodaya. . ., Stockholm 1969 (with English translation).

234 See p. 153.

235 Cf. C. SUNESON, *op. cit.*, p. 8 ff.

236 Cf. p. 110 ff.

237 Ed. in J. HAEBERLIN, KS.

238 See J. EGGELING, Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, VII, London 1904, No. 3880.

239 Regarding *samasyāpūraṇa*, see p. 15.

240 See P.P.S. SASTRI, Tanjore Catalogue, VI, p. 2681 f.

241 See p. 136 f.

It seems that śleṣa poetry grew to greater proportions than yamaka poetry. Paronomasia dates right back to Aśvaghoṣa's day, but it should be noted that earlier poets only used śleṣa as one figure among many and that kāvya written exclusively in the śleṣa style did not make its appearance until the 11th century as far as we can tell today. We differentiate between two categories: a) śleṣakāvya in the narrow sense and b) (anuloma)vilomakāvya. All stanzas are ambiguous in both categories, but in ordinary śleṣakāvya the double meaning is revealed stanza by stanza when one reads the poem forwards, in the usual manner or, to use the Indian technical term, anuloma, "with the nap". On the other hand anulomavilomakāvya gives one meaning when read anuloma but another, quite different meaning when it is read backwards, viloma, "against the nap". It is not unusual to find both types mixed together in suitable proportions in one and the same poem, for example in a work such as an ordinary śleṣakāvya in which each stanza yields two quite different meanings but, like a palindrome, sounds the same whether it is read "with the nap" or "against the nap". There are both short and long śleṣa poems.

The poet Sandhyākara Nandin lived in northern Bengal at the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th centuries. He is the author of the Rāma(pāla)carita[242], "The Deeds of Rāma", a short paronomastic work that is also semi-historical. The four cantos in Āryā metre give a compressed account of the Rāma legend, but when the words and compounds are read in their second meaning, we get the history of King Rāmapāla and his successors. It was completed during the reign of King Madanapāla, Rāmapāla's son and third successor to the throne. The Digambara Jaina Dhanañjaya also wrote the poem entitled the Rāghavapāṇḍavīya or Dvisandhāna[243] (1123–1140). As the title indicates, "(The Poem about) Rāghava (= Rāma) and the Pāṇḍavas", the contents are taken from both the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. Vidyāmādhava was court poet to one of the Cālukya kings, probably Someśvara of Kalyāṇa (1126–1138). His Pārvatīrukmiṇīya[244] is about the marriage of Pārvatī to Śiva and of Rukmiṇī to Kṛṣṇa. Kavirāja, the "King of Poets", wrote a work that was similar to Dhanañjaya's. Mādhava Bhaṭṭa was probably the real name of this somewhat conceited poet, who was so proud of his work that he compared his skill with that of Subandhu and Bāṇa. His patron was the Kādamba king, Kāmadeva of Jayantapurī (1182–87). Kavirāja's Rāghavapāṇḍavīya[245] is better-known and on a broader scale than Dhanañjaya's poem of the same name but, like the latter, relates the stories of the two great epics in a form that is

242 Ed.: M. HARAPRASĀD ŚĀSTRĪ, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 3 (Calcutta 1910–4), pp. 1 ff., revised with English translation by R. BASAK, *ibid.* 1969.

243 Ed.: Pt. ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1895 (KM 49, NSP). – Lit.: A.N. UPADHYE, Dhanaṃjaya and his Dvisaṃdhāna, VIJ 8 (1970), p. 125 ff.

244 See Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, XX, No. 11606. – See also K.A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, A History of South India, Madras. . .1976[4], p. 348.

245 Ed.: With the commentary of P. TARKAVAGISA, Calcutta 1854 (KM 62, NSP); Pt. DĀMODARA JHĀ, Varanasi 1965 (Vidyabhawan Sanskrit Granthamālā 128). – See also K.A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, *op.cit.*, p. 348.

paronomastic throughout. Haradatta Sūri's Rāghavanaiṣadhīya[246], a rendering of the Rāma and Nala legends, has not yet been dated but is certainly late.

Shorter works in the śleṣa style are the Śṛṅgāravairāgyataraṅgiṇī[247] by Somaprabha Sūri (or Somaprabhācārya, 2nd half of the 13th century) and the Rasikarañjana[248] by Rāmacandra (written in 1524), both of which make use of śleṣa to develop simultaneously the two themes of love (śṛṅgāra) and renunciation (vairāgya) so popular in anthologies. Another poem in the minor form is the Rāmakṛṣṇavilomakāvya[249] by Daivajña Sūrya (middle of the 16th century), which extols Rāma and Kṛṣṇa alternately. The second half of every other stanza is identical in sound whether it is read forward or backwards, i.e., anuloma or viloma. The Rāghavayādavīya (or Yādavarāghavīya)[250] by Veṅkaṭādhvarin (about 1590–1660) has only thirty-two stanzas. If we read the poem "with the nap" it is the story of Rāma, but "against the nap" the story of Kṛṣṇa, as we have already seen.[251]

An even greater tour de force is the Rāghavapāṇḍavayādavīya (or Kathātrayī, "triple story")[252] by Cidambara, one of the poets at the court of King Veṅkaṭa I of Vijayanagar (1586–1614). The poem is constructed so that it yields not two meanings, but three: the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavatapurāṇa.

e) *Śāstrakāvya*

In the first chapter of this book we made the distinction between kāvyaśāstra, a scientific work that is also poetry, and śāstrakāvya, poetry that also has a scientific content. In the first category we find handbooks (especially on astronomy, but also on other sciences) which have poetic pretentions; in the second – the only one that concerns us in this section – genuine poetry that also has didactic aims. Whereas a kāvyaśāstra generally does no more than approximate to kāvya and only parts of it have aesthetic value, a śāstrakāvya does not deal with scientific subjects at all but with the usual poetic material, which may be pure fiction, based on real life or taken from the epics and Purāṇas. However, it is didactic insofar as it also expounds rules and gives examples from various fields of science: grammar, the theory of poetry and lexicography par préférence. The fact that poets endeavour to demon-

246 Ed.: Pt. ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1896, 1926[2] (KM 57, NSP).

247 Ed.: in KM 5, Bombay 1888.

248 Ed.: in KM 4, Bombay 1887; R. SCHMIDT, Çrī-rāmacandrakṛtaṃ rasikarañjanam (Rāmacandra's Ergötzen der Kenner), Sanskrit und Deutsch..., Stuttgart 1896 (with German translation).

249 Ed.: in J. HAEBERLIN, KS; in KM 11, Bombay 1895.

250 Rāghavayādavīya par Veṅkaṭādhvarin: texte sanskrit édité par M.S. NARASIMHACHARYA, étude et traduction par M.-Cl. PORCHER, Pondichéry 1972 (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 46; with translation into French).

251 See p. 148 f.

252 See Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Goverment Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras XX, No. 7829, and P.P.S. SASTRI, Tanjore Catalogue, VI, p. 2700.

strate their own erudition is the hallmark of classical poetry, as we have seen, although in poets who lived before the end of the first millennium this parading of grammatical examples is usually limited to a few instances, as in Aśvaghoṣa. The first poem to present scientific matter throughout the entire work, not merely in parts of it, is of course, Bhaṭṭi's Rāma poem.[253] In the 10th century Halāyudha wrote his handbook for poets, the Kavirahasya[254], the "Poet's Secret", which not only lauds the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇarāja III, but is also an inventory of verbal roots (dhātupāṭha) showing how various Sanskrit verb-forms should be used. It is not possible to give an exact date for the Arjunarāvaṇīya (or Rāvaṇārjunīya)[255] by the learned Kashmiri poet Bhaṭṭa Bhīma (or Bhauma, Bhaumaka), although it must have been before the 11th century. The theme of this long poem, rightly classified as a śāstrakāvya by Kṣemendra[256], is taken from Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. The twenty-seven cantos describe the fight between Arjuna Kārtavīrya and Rāvaṇa but at the same time explain the rules of Sanskrit grammar in the order in which they are given by Pāṇini.

A poem of a very special nature is the Kumārapālacarita[257] by Hemacandra (1088–1172), who has been mentioned two or three times already. The work, a semi-historical kāvya, extols the deeds of the king of Anhilvad in Gujarat whom Hemacandra had converted to Jainism in 1152. In order to understand the practical and didactic aspects of the poem one must bear in mind that this great Jaina scholar and polyhistor has written a Sanskrit grammar and a Prākrit grammar. While the first twenty cantos of the Kumārapālacarita are in Sanskrit and illustrate the rules laid down in his own Sanskrit grammar, the last eight exemplify his Prākrit grammar and are of course written in Prākrit. As it is written in two languages and has a twofold aim, to teach both Sanskrit and Prākrit grammar, it is also known as the Dvyāśraya(mahā)kāvya. About half the poem is concerned with Kumārapāla's ancestors. The first few cantos describe the capital, Anhilvad (I), and the deeds and victories of Mūlarāja, the first Caulukya king (I–V). Cantos VI–VII are about Cāmuṇḍarāja, VIII–IX about Bhīma, X about Karṇarāja and XI–XIV about Jayasiṃha. The life of Kumārapāla, the Kumārapālacarita proper, is related in Cantos XV to XX, which are in Sanskrit, and XXI to XXVIII, in Prākrit. There are numerous descriptive passages, in the first Canto, for example, of the Caulukya king's capital, in II of the council between Mūlarāja and his ministers and of a moonrise in XXVI.

253 See p. 180 ff. above.

254 Ed.: Calcutta 1831 (with Vopadeva's *Dhātupāṭha;* in Bengali characters); S.M. TAGORE, Calcutta 1879; L. HELLER, Greifswald 1900 (both recensions). – On the author see C. VOGEL, Indian Lexicography, Wiesbaden 1979 (= HIL V, 4), p. 321.

255 Ed.: Pt. ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1900 (KM 68, NSP).

256 *Suvṛttatilaka* 3, 4.

257 Ed.: A.V. KATHAVATE, 2 vols., Bombay 1915/1921 (BSS 69 and 76); Ś.P. PAṆḌIT, Bombay 1900 (BSS 60; the eight Prākrit cantos), (revised by P.L. VAIDYA) 1936 (Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series 60). – Lit.: S.P. NARANG, Hemacandra's Dvyāśrayakāvya: a literary and cultural study, Delhi 1972; Ch. PRABHA, Historical mahākāvyas in Sanskrit, Delhi 1976, p. 179 ff.

Canto VII describes the choice of a husband (svayaṃvara) made by Durlabhadevī at a ceremony arranged by her brother Mahendra, King of Marudeśa, to which come suitors from many royal houses. We also find descriptions of gardens, seasons, mountains (Raivataka in Canto II, Arbuda in V and Śatruñjaya in XV) and, above all, of campaigns and battles. The Sanskrit cantos are in several metres, predominantly Anuṣṭubh and Upajāti, the Prākrit cantos in Āryā, but a number of other metres break them up in the various cantos. The constant attention paid to the didactic and grammatical aspects of the work, which satisfies the intellect of the reader rather than his heart, excuses the difficult, verbose and often artificial style. There are many obsolete, rare or dialectal words in both parts, apparently a legacy of Hemacandra's work as an outstanding lexicographer to whom we are indebted for four large dictionaries.[258]

Like yamakakāvya, śāstrakāvya, too, was eagerly adopted in the south of India, particularly in Kerala. The Nambūtiri Brahman Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa (16th century) wrote the didactic poem Subhadrāharaṇa[259], the "Abduction of Subhadrā", and another Vāsudeva (16th century) composed the Vāsudevavijaya[260], which may be translated either as the "Triumph of (Kṛṣṇa) Vāsudeva" or the "Triumph of (the Poet) Vāsudeva". Both poets took their material from the Kṛṣṇa legend and fulfil their didactic function by providing illustrations to Pāṇini's Sanskrit grammar. Vāsudeva left his poem unfinished, but it was later complemented by the Dhātukāvya[261], written by Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the famous Nārāyaṇīya (1586). Nārāyaṇa's Dhātukāvya continues the Kṛṣṇa narrative from the dispatch of Akrūra to Gokula up to the death of Kaṃsa, but also illustrates the dhātupāṭha, i.e., the inventory of verbal roots, which are given in Bhīmasena's Dhātupāṭha. Two commentaries to this work are the Kṛṣṇārpaṇa, written by students of the great master, and the Vivaraṇa by Rāmapāṇivāda (end of the 18th century). A didactic poem on grammar of a more recent date is the Nakṣatramālā[262] by Tripāṭhī Śivarāma (18th century).

[258] Namely: *Abhidhānacintāmaṇināmamālā* (Sanskrit synonyms), *Anekārthasaṃgraha* (Sanskrit homonyms), *Deśīnāmamālā* (Prākrit words) and *Nighaṇṭuśeṣa* (botanical terms).

[259] Ed.: Pt. DURGĀPRASĀD and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1885, 1911 (NSP). – Lit.: K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature, Madras 1958, p. 119 ff.

[260] Ed.: in KM 10, Bombay 1894, 1915. – Lit.: K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, *op.cit.*, p. 203 ff.

[261] Ed.: in KM 10, Bombay 1894, 1915; S. VENKITASUBRAMONIA IYER, Trivandru'n: University of Kerala 1970.

[262] Ed.: in KM 5, Bombay 1888.

CHAPTER V

POETRY OF THE MAJOR FORM – PROSE

1. Ākhyāyikā and *Kathā*

As we have already seen, Sanskrit poetics did not regard the metrical form of classical poetry as being the only genre that could be called mahākāvya; the term should also be applied to any long poem in prose. This classification is undoubtedly correct, but it does clash with the tendency to consider mahākāvyas as being predominantly, indeed even exclusively, stanzaic poetry arranged in cantos, in other words, to regard the term mahākāvya as being synonymous with sargabandha.[1] This usage, a legacy from older times, is not valid for poetry written later than Kālidāsa's day, although it is applicable to previous phases in the development of kāvya, when practically all poetry was written in verse and poetic prose had scarcely been evolved.

No mahākāvyas in prose have been preserved that are older than the 7th century, i.e., the time in which Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa lived. Although these masters of Sanskrit prose must certainly have had predecessors, it may safely be assumed that the prose forms of kāvya are of a relatively late date. As in other literatures, the artistic prose of classical poetry only evolved in an aesthetically mature period, and its pioneers, who possessed a well-developed, acute sense of artistry, created literary prose in contrast to the already perfected art of verse. Now it was no longer metrical writing (padya) but prose (gadya) that was the touchstone of the true poet. The widespread belief that poetic prose, being closer to everyday speech, came first and metrical poetry second is thus incorrect. The chronological order in which the various types developed is rather: from everyday speech to song, then to rhapsodic epics, then to short poems (laghukāvya), then to longer stanzaic poetry (mahākāvya) and finally, rather late, to literary prose.

Even before the beginning of prose mahākāvya, prose had been used for scientific purposes (handbooks, commentaries, etc.) as well as for religious and administrative functions (sermons, inscriptions, etc.). However, as far as poetry is concerned, it played a very minor part compared with verse. Prose appears relatively early in certain sorts of narrative literature in which – like an early forerunner of campū – long prose passages alternated with sections in verse. However, a closer scrutiny clearly reveals that narrative works of this kind do not measure up to the criteria of kāvya in all respects and therefore remain on the outer fringe of classical poetry. It

1 See p. 159.

is striking that long before Kālidāsa it was common practice to apply much stricter criteria to inscriptions, especially if they were of a panegyric nature. As these were often composed by skilful poets, they are frequently a form of prose poem in miniature, or of campū if prose and verse alternate. As poetic prose tends to assume the major form, it is the ideal vehicle for prose novels. Classical Indian poetry has nothing corresponding to the independent novel or short story in the European sense but, as Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita shows, it can put together a collection of short stories in a given or invented framework.

Sanskrit theorists differentiate between two types of mahākāvya in prose: ākhyāyikā, "a (true) story", and kathā, "a (fictive) story". Although all prose poetry written before the time of Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa is lost, we can safely assume that these two types were kept strictly apart; later they flowed together to form what was in practice a more or less unified form of prose kāvya, although critics continued to use the old terminology and insisted on certain characteristics of minor importance. Bhāmaha, however, draws a sharper distinction between the two genres; he regards ākhyāyikā as a prose work in Sanskrit the lofty contents of which – in contrast to kathā – are based on actual events experienced by the hero (nāyaka) himself. A poem of this nature should be divided into chapters called ucchvāsa, must contain stanzas in Vaktra and Apavaktra metres whose function is to announce future developments in the story, and should also deal with themes such as the abduction of a beautiful girl, war, the separation of two lovers and the triumph of the hero, mixted in suitable proportions with products of the author's own imagination. As regards the matter in kathā, Bhāmaha considers that it has no basis in the poet's own experience; it is narrated by someone other than the hero, does not contain Vaktra or Apavaktra stanzas, is not divided into the ucchvāsas required in ākhyāyikā and may be written in either Sanskrit or Apabhraṃśa.[2]

These characteristics of the two genres correspond to an earlier stage in the development of mahākāvya in prose. This can easily be recognized by the fact that Bhāmaha's definitions can only be applied to a limited extent to Bāṇa's prose works, one of which, the Kādambarī, Bhāmaha himself refers to as a kathā and another, the Harṣacarita, an ākhyāyikā. Daṇḍin himself was negative to the idea that there was any significant difference between the two genres and considered the matter irrelevant.[3] Later, when ākhyāyikā and kathā has developed so far that the differences between them had been eliminated, critics (Rudraṭa) accepted as valid rules the characteristics approved by Bāṇa, the great master of Sanskrit prose, and illustrated in his Harṣacarita and Kādambarī. In their opinion ākhyāyikā does deal with reality – at least to some extent – but the narrator need not be the hero. It is divided into ucchvāsas, the first of which should contain both a metrical introduction to the literary contents and a prose presentation of the author and his family. The other ucchvāsas should each begin with some stanzas, preferably in Āryā metre, referring to the events that follow. The metrical part of the first chapter

[2] *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 1, 25–29.
[3] *Kāvyād.* 1, 23–29.

is to contain the usual stanzas of homage and a summary of past poetry and great poets. On the other hand kathā should have a delightful, wondrous story, generally a love-story, often taken from older sources such as Guṇāḍhya's lost Bṛhatkathā, which is then treated freely and imaginatively. The narrator is not the hero, nor is the work divided into ucchvāsas but, like ākhyāyikā, it has a brief metrical introduction. The action is permeated with a markedly fantastic and miraculous atmosphere which frequently swings over to the supernatural and may even include previous births of the hero or some secondary character.

Although the two genres grow much closer to each other after Bāṇa, it would almost certainly be correct to say that the origins of ākhyāyikā are to be sought in history (itihāsa) and biography (carita) while those of kathā lie in the field of imaginative writing. Strictly speaking ākhyāyikā is prose poetry of a more serious nature and, like metrical kāvya on historical subjects, essentially (auto)biographical and semi-historical, whereas kathā is prose kāvya with an entirely fictional plot the main attraction of which is the pleasing, mainly erotic sentiment and the richness of the author's imagination. As kathā is of a gentler and more peaceful nature, violent themes such as the abduction of women (kanyāharaṇa) and war (saṃgrāma)[4] which are so typical of ākhyāyikā are not to be found in the repertoire of this genre. As both Rudraṭa and those passages in the Agnipurāṇa which are devoted to the theory of poetry see it, the main object of kathā is rather the conquest of a wondrously beautiful maiden (kanyālābha) who is not easily won by the hero. The poem should also contain long descriptions of the hero, the heroine, nature and the vicissitudes of life. Since kathā is generally recited without a break, two of the most typical features of ākhyāyikā are automatically eliminated: stanzas hinting at future events in the story and pauses between chapters. Although it is only possible to sketch out the main lines along which prose mahākāvya developed, it seems to be a reasonable assumption that ākhyāyikā has changed more than kathā, indeed that it has adapted to the form of kathā to such an extent that later critics hardly pay any attention to the question of what the difference is between the two genres. One must not forget that originally the words ākhyāyikā and kathā both meant merely "story" in the general sense and that they received their technical connotations relatively late. In non-literary circles they were still being used without differentiation even later. We find the words, for instance, as part of the titles of books such as Tantrākhyāyika and Bṛhatkathā, but these collections of fables and tales, although often regarded as kāvya, stand in fact either just on the threshold of classical poetry or quite outside.

Whereas narrative literature devotes far less attention to the formation of sentences than does classical poetry and uses alaṃkāras and other poetic devices rather sparingly or not at all, works in true poetic prose differ from mahākāvya only in that they are composed in prose, not verse. Like sargabandhas, they appeal to a public that was cultivated, aesthetically mature and demanding. As in mahākāvya, the language is artistically very sophisticated and, particularly in kathā, detailed descriptions that are often several pages long interrupt the action and relegate it to

4 Bhāmaha, *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 1, 27.

the background. Here, as in metrical kāvya, the poet frequently neglects to carry forward the plot, which is merely a pretext for him to display his powers of imagination and linguistic skill; something that can be done with even fewer inhibitions in prose than in verse. The vocabulary is exceedingly rich and sometimes deliberately difficult, as in sargabandha, and the sentences, which are loaded down with alliteration and other figures, ambiguous words and erudite allusions, are built up of long compounds which, untrammelled by metrical rules, are often many lines long. It is well known that in Sanskrit and Middle Indian languages sentences do not commonly use the construction 'main clause plus subordinate clause' but substitute for the latter element either a compound governed by one of the major words in the sentence or a locative construction. In prose kāvya these are formed with great artistry. The numerous compounds grouped round the heart of the sentence are carefully selected to give euphony and, as there are often several ways in which they can be resolved into their component parts, they may be interpreted by the reader in two, sometimes three different meanings. The richness of vocabulary and the density of the highly ornamented sentences are an expression of the ideal of attaining the greatest possible fullness and concentration of style for, as Daṇḍin and others have said, "a wealth of compounds (not only) gives strength (to poetic expression; it also gives) life to the prose."[5] The following is an example of a fairly long sentence from Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita:

atha kadācid āyāsitajāyārahitacetasi lālasālilaṅghanaglānaghanakesare rājadaraṇyasthalīlalāṭalīlāyitatilake lalitānaṅgarājāṅgīkṛtanirnidrakarṇikārakāñcanacchattre dakṣiṇadahanasārathirayāhatasahakārāṅgalagnacañcalacañcarīkakalike kālāṇḍajakaṇṭharāgaraktaraktādharāratiraṇāgrasaṃnāhaśālini śālīnakanyakāntaḥkaraṇasaṃkrāntakāntarāgalaṅghitalajje darduragiritaṭacandanāśleṣaśītalānilācāryadattanānālatānṛttalīle kāle kaliṅgarājaḥ saha nijāṅganājanena saha ca tanayayā sakalena ca nagarajanena daśa trīṇi ca dināni dinakarakiraṇajālālaṅghanīye raṇadalisaṃghalaṅghitanatalatāgrakisalayālīḍhasaikatatate taralataraṅgaśīkarāsārasaṅgaśītale sāgaratīrakānane krīḍārasajātāsaktir āsīt /[6]

"There was once a time when grief was felt in the hearts of the men whose wives had left them. The assault of the greedy bees had made the stamens quite weary. The tilaka-tree stood radiant like a beauty-mark on the brow of the forest, irredescent in all colours. The delightful, bodyless king (i.e., the god of love) selected a karṇikāra that has just opened its eyes as a golden parasol. The south wind blowing from Malaya tore the tossing buds from the noble mango tree in its stormy haste. Everything armed itself for the battle of love against the red-lipped women whose hearts were filled with rapture by melodies filled with longing that flooded from the throat of the cuckoo. In the heart of even the most bashful maiden the passion flowing into her had overcome all shyness. The wind, blowing from the slopes of the Dardura mountains, was cooled by its intimate contact with the sandal trees and, like a teacher, taught all the different creeping plants to dance and play. At that time, the King of Kaliṅga with his wives and daughter set out and, accompanied by the whole population of his capital, journeyed into the forest on the shores of the sea, where (the trees) grew so densely that the web of sunlight was unable to penetrate them. There the tender

[5] *Kāvyād.* 1, 80: *ojaḥ samāsabhūyastvam etad gadasya jīvitam.*
[6] *Daśakum.*, Story of Mantragupta. See p. 241.

shoots at the tips of the tendrils of the creepers, covered with swarms of humming bees and bowed down to the earth, kissed the sand of the shore and the gently falling drizzle, caused by the constantly breaking waves, spread a pleasant coolness. The king therefore rested there for thirteen days as the diversions gave him so much pleasure that he could not tear himself away from them."

This is a free translation. The sentence is a typical example of free-ranging kāvya prose and can only be rendered into a European language in several sentences. If we cut out all extraneous descriptive material, we are left with the following core, which bears the full weight of the richly embroidered decoration:

atha kadācit . . .(kāle) kaliṅgarājaḥ saha nijāṅganājanena saha ca tanayayā sakalena ca nagarajanena daśa trīṇi ca dināni . . .sāgaratīrakānane krīḍārasajātāsaktir āsīt,

"In a forest on the shores of the sea the King of Kaliṅga, his wives and his daughter together with the whole population of the city once surrendered to a playful enjoyment for thirteen days."

A detailed description of the season – spring – is given by numerous long compounds inserted between the first two words *atha kadācit* ("and once") and the locative they govern, *kāle* ("at a time"), the third word in the core of the sentence. They are:

1. *āyāsitajāyārahitacetasi* (*kāle*), "(at that time) when the hearts of the (lovers) separated from their wives feel grief".
2. *lālasālilaṅghanaglānaghanakesare* (*kāle*), "(at that time) when the thick stamens (of the flowers) grow weary because of the assault of the greedy bees".
3. *rājadaraṇyasthalīlalāṭalīlāyitatilake* (*kāle*), "(at that time) when the tilaka[7] shines on the brilliant brow of the surface of the forest".
4. *lalitānaṅgarājāṅgīkṛtanirnidrakarṇikārakāñcanacchattre* (*kāle*), "(at that time) when the delightful King Anaṅga[8] takes an open karṇikāra blossom as his own golden parasol[9]".
5. *dakṣiṇadahanasārathirayāhatasahakārāṅgalagnacañcalacañcarīkakalike* (*kāle*), "(at that time) when the violence of the south wind shakes the trembling buds on the mango-tree".
6. *kālāṇḍajakaṇṭharāgaraktaraktādharāratiraṇāgrasaṃnāhaśālini* (*kāle*), "(at that time) that is rich in armament against the enemy – the red-lipped (girls) – who are besotted by the longing call of the cuckoo".
7. *śālīnakanyakāntaḥkaraṇasaṃkrāntakāntarāgalaṅghitalajje* (*kāle*), "(at that time) when passion for her lover subdues the hearts of bashful maidens and overcomes all shyness".
8. *darduragiritaṭacandanāśleṣaśītalānilācāryadattanānālatānṛttalīle* (*kāle*), "(at that time) when Wind, the teacher, cool from having touched the sandalwood trees on the slopes of the Dardura mountains, causes the creepers to perform a multitude of games and dances".

[7] A favourite play on words: *tilaka* has two meanings; the tilaka-tree and the beauty-mark on the forehead of a woman, which is also called *tilaka*.

[8] "incorporeal", i.e., Kāma, the god of love.

[9] A symbol of royalty and power.

Three other compounds belong to the locative *sāgaratīrakānane* ("in a forest by the seashore"). They are placed in front of the word they refer to and give a description of the forest:

1. *dinakarakiraṇajālālaṅghanīye* (*sāgaratīrakānane*), "(in a forest by the seashore) that the rays of the sun are unable to penetrate".
2. *raṇadalisaṃghalaṅghitanatalatāgrakisalayālīḍhasaikatatate* (*sāgaratīrakānane*), "(in a forest by the seashore) the sandy slopes of which are licked by the blossoms of the creepers which are weighted down by the swarms of humming bees that cover the blossoms".
3. *taralataraṅgaśīkarāsārasaṅgaśītale* (*sāgaratīrakānane*), "(in a forest by the seashore) which is cool because it is touched by the spray (thrown up) by the agitated waves (of the sea)".

The example selected is intentionally a fairly simple one, for a glance at a novel by Bāṇa or Subandhu will reveal that these later poets devoted far greater attention to poetic decoration, erudite insertions and all kinds of tropes. Their vocabulary is more affected and, especially in Subandhu, rich in paronomasia. Furthermore, their sentences are not limited to a modest ten to thirty lines but often assume gigantic proportions, filling several pages. As far as matter is concerned, prose poets have recourse partly to real life and the stories of heroes (ākhyāyikā) and partly to the immense treasure-house of tales from older times (kathā) if they do not fabricate the entire material themselves. They are fond of using the method popularly adopted in narrative literature of taking a framework story into which they fit a series of other stories in which the episodes are often connected in such a way that person A relates B's story, person B recounts what C has narrated, etc. The text of the prose kāvya is thereby made more complex in two ways: not only does the vast length of the sentences make great demands on the linguistic skill and patience of the reader, he is also put to considerable trouble to keep the context of the various episodes clear in his mind and, particularly in rebirth stories, to keep track of the characters so that after several episodes he is able to identify the main character when the central narrative is resumed.

As prose poetry is younger than metrical kāvya it simply took over what had already come to maturity in the long poem, sargabandha. It may be regarded as a renewal of poetry which at the same time made it more difficult. It must be stressed that this development was not parallel with but in deliberate opposition to the previously all-dominating metrical genre. Prose became poetry as soon as it was adapted to the rules of kāvya; poets now imposed a straight-jacket of difficult figures on the non-metrical language and created a descriptive art in prose based on the metrical model. In place of virtuosity in metre we now find highly artistic sentence construction – the sentence architecture that is so typical of prose kāvya. As in stanzaic works, the emphasis is not on matter, the story itself, but manner, which for the most part is not narrative at all but descriptive. Just as cantos in metrical kāvya are written in various metres and the final stanzas of each sarga in a different metre from the rest of the canto, so does the prose poet break up the succession of long sentences by inserting here and there passages consisting of

shorter ones which are generally not, like the former, of a descriptive nature but are dialogue or occur in places where the action is to be carried forward. In other words, a kāvya style that is overloaded with embellishments alternates with a plainer narrative style.

2. *Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa*

As mentioned, all prose poetry before the time of Daṇḍin is lost and the oldest mahākāvyas to have been preserved, those by Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa, are in a form that has already been perfected. All that we know of older works is the title of some of them. Thus, when commenting on a reference to ākhyāyikā in Kātyāyana's Vārttikas, the grammarian Patañjali mentions three prose novels entitled Vāsavadattā (not that by Subandhu), Sumanottarā and Bhaimarathī. Apart from the name, one stanza of Vararuci's Cārumatī has been preserved as a quotation in Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa and the same is true of the Śūdrakakathā by Somila, one of Kālidāsa's predecessors. According to Bāṇa[10], the poet Bhaṭṭāra Hari(ś)candra was a master of prose and he is also praised by Vākpati, who places him immediately after Kālidāsa, Subandhu and Bāṇa in importance. Bāṇa characterizes Haricandra's work as "pre-eminent as a sovereign, luminous with its employment of words, delightful, and preserving rigidly the traditional rules of letters".[11] According to Maheśvara's Viśvaprakāśakoṣa, a Hariścandra who wrote a commentary to the Carakasaṃhitā, one of the great standard works on old Indian medicine, was court physician to King Sāhasāṅka, but it is not possible to say with any certainty whether the doctor (bhiṣaj), also mentioned in the monologue-comedy (bhāṇa) Pādatāḍitaka, is identical with the poet so highly praised by Bāṇa and Vākpati. Finally, a poet of considerable standing who wrote an ākhyāyikā in Prākrit, now lost, is Āḍhyarāja, one of Bāṇa's predecessors. He is praised by name both in Bāṇa's metrical introduction to the Harṣacarita and in one of Bhoja's books on poetics, the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābhāraṇa (11th century). He is also mentioned in Bhuvanapāla's commentary to Hāla's anthology Sattasaī, four of the stanzas in which are attributed to him.[12]

The first master whose prose work has come down to us is Daṇḍin, whose Daśakumāracarita, the "Experiences of Ten Princes", we must date on the evidence of style and structure as a little earlier than Subandhu and Bāṇa, i.e., before the middle of the 7th century. Also associated with Daṇḍin's name is a book on poetics, the Kāvyādarśa, and a handbook on metrics, the Chandoviciti, which may be a sort of appendix to the Kāvyādarśa. Some Indian researchers ascribe to Daṇḍin the Avantisundarīkathā, a fragmentary mahākāvya in prose that, judging by the form, might be identified as the lost Pūrvapīṭhikā, the first part of the Daśakumāracarita.

[10] *Harṣac.*, Introduction, stanza 12 (in some editions, 13).

[11] Or, if the word refers to "sovereign": "glorious by the rule of his territory, and preserving all caste-regulations" (translation from E.B. COWELL and F.W. THOMAS).

[12] They are stanzas 66, 169, 219 and 235; cf. also p. 83.

Recent research tends to the assumption that these four works are not by the same hand but are the work of two or three different authors of the same name.[13] The oldest of them would in that case probably be the poet who wrote the Daśakumāracarita. He must then have been followed at close intervals, about the end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th centuries, by the Daṇḍin who wrote the Kāvyādarśa (and presumably the Chandoviciti too), although it is still not clear whether the relatively late poet who composed the Avantisundarīkathā really was called Daṇḍin.

As the title indicates, the Daśakumāracarita[14] must be regarded as a collection of short stories each of which – the experiences of ten princes related by themselves – was originally linked to the others by a framework story that is no longer extant. Daṇḍin makes use of a technique favoured by narrative literature whereby one or more of the stories are interwoven into each other, but abstains from the constant and confusing interpolation of new episodes which is so typical of later prose novels. It is obvious that Daṇḍin's approach is closer to narrative writing than that of later prose authors. The progress of the narrative and the development of the plot in the Daśakumāracarita do not play such a minor part as they do in subsequent works, even those as close in time as Subandhu's Vāsavadattā or Bāṇa's Kādambarī.

[13] "Staffbearer", the designation for a wandering ascetic in a certain religious sect.

[14] Ed.: H.H. WILSON, London 1846; G. BÜHLER, Part 1, Bombay 1873 (BSS 10), 1887²; P. PETERSON, Part 2, Bombay 1891 (BSS 42); Bühler's and Peterson's editions revised in one vol. by G.J. AGASHE, Bombay 1919, 1925¹⁰ (NSP); N.B. GODABOLE and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1883 (NSP); N.B. GODEBOLE and V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR, Bombay 1910; M.R. KALE, Delhi...1966⁴ (with English translation). – Lit.: A. WEBER, Über das Daçakumāracaritam: die Fahrten der zehn Prinzen, Indische Streifen 1 (1868), p. 308 ff.; H. JACOBI, Über die Vakrokti und über das Alter Daṇḍin's, ZDMG 64 (1910), p. 130 ff. (Schriften zur indischen Poetik und Ästhetik, ed. H. LOSCH, Darmstadt 1969, p. 318 ff.); H. JACOBI, Ein zweites Wort über die vakrokti und das Alter Daṇḍin's ibid., p. 751 ff. (Schriften..., pp. 329 ff.); H. JACOBI, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, ihr Alter und ihre Stellung in der indischen Poetik, SPAW 1922, p. 210 ff. (Schriften..., p. 338 ff.); N. CHAKRAVARTY, Jātaka Stories in the Daśakumāracarita, AIOC 1922, p. 549 ff.; D.C. SIRCAR, Glimpses into domestic and social life from a story in the Dasakumaracharita, JIH 20 (1941), p. 105 ff.; B. MARIANO, La questione della Pūrvapīṭhikā nel Daśakumāracaritam di Daṇḍin, RSO 25 (1950), p. 48 ff.; W. RUBEN, Die Erlebnisse der zehn Prinzen: eine Erzählung Dandins, Berlin 1952; W. RUBEN, Die Erlebnisse der zehn Prinzen, OLZ 1953, Sp. 180 ff.; F.B.J. KUIPER, On the date of the Daśakumāracarita, JMU, Section A: Humanities 28 (1957), p. 121 ff.; S.K. DE, History of Sanskrit Poetics, Calcutta 1960², I, p. 57 ff.; D.K. GUPTA, A critical study of Daṇḍin and his works, Delhi 1970; B. PRAKASH, The historical background of Daṇḍin's prose romances Avantisundarīkathā and Daśakumāracarita, JDS 1 (1971), p. 5 ff. See also S.K. DE, Wit, humour and satire in Ancient Indian literature, Our Heritage 3 (1955), p. 157 ff. and O. BOTTO, Una epitoma inedita del Daśakumāracarita di Daṇḍin: la Daśakumāra-pūrvapīṭhikā di Vināyaka, RSO 31 (1956), p. 259 ff.; R.N. DANDEKAR, Professor Meyer on Daṇḍin, Select Writings IV, Delhi 1982, p. 273 ff. – Translations: J.J. MEYER, Daṇḍin's Daçakumāracaritam: die Abenteuer der zehn Prinzen, Leipzig 1902; M. HABERLANDT, Daçakumāracaritam: die Abenteuer der zehn Prinzen, Munich 1903; J. HERTEL, Die zehn Prinzen: ein indischer Roman von Dandin, Leipzig 1922; A.W. RYDER, Dandin's Dasha-kumara-charita: the ten princes, Chicago 1927, (reprint) 1974; M.R. KALE, Delhi...1966⁴.

On the contrary, Daṇḍin avoids inordinately long descriptions and digressions that might distract the attention of the reader from the progress of the action, and he appears to do so deliberately. Subordinate episodes in Daṇḍin seldom halt the dynamic flow of events, and the placing of the four subordinate episodes introduced into the story related by Mitragupta, the eighth prince, as well as their nature, seem perfectly justifiable.

We do not today possess the whole of the Daśakumāracarita, and neither do we know whether Daṇḍin actually completed the work or not. The beginning of the book is missing and, as in Bāṇa's Kādambarī, so is the end. Of the ten tales, each of which describes the adventures of one of the ten princes, only eight chapters (ucchvāsa) remain. The lost beginning comprised an introductory text containing the first part of the framework story and the narratives of the first two princes. The final section, also lost, related the end of the tenth prince's story and completed the framework story. These missing parts are replaced by alternate texts of varying content and wording, none by Daṇḍin, in various editions of the Daśakumāracarita. Several versions of a Pūrvapīṭhikā are used as a beginning. The generally accepted one has five ucchvāsas, commences with only one benediction and not only completes the tale of Prince Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī, which is unfinished in the original, but also relates the stories of Prince Somadatta and Prince Puṣpodbhava, which are missing in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita. It is striking that this Pūrvapīṭhikā dispenses with the metrical opening required in kathās and ākhyāyikās. As the benediction is referred to in Bhoja's Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, though without mentioning the poet's name, the stanza and the prose text must have been written in the 11th century at the latest. There are three other Pūrvapīṭhikās, by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Vināyaka respectively, the last of which, in three chapters, is stanzaic in form throughout. The thesis that the missing opening of the Daśakumāracarita is to be sought in the prose novel Avantisundarīkathā[15] can be dismissed, mainly on stylistic grounds and because of differences in narrative technique. This work, which is ascribed to a Daṇḍin, is fragmentary and in a bad state of preservation. The contents are difficult to understand, but a résumé of them is to be found in the stanzaic Avantisundarīkathāsāra.[16] The Avantisundarīkathā is the love-story of Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī, a favourite in Sanskrit novels. It begins with twenty-six introductory stanzas followed by information about Daṇḍin, the narrator, and his family, after which the story proper commences. It is undoubtedly a separate work which has nothing to do with Daṇḍin's poem. As far as the missing final section of the Daśakumāracarita is concerned, it is generally replaced by an Uttarapīṭhikā (or Śeṣa) that modern research regards as the work of Cakrapāṇi Dīkṣita, a rather late poet from the Deccan.

[15] Ed.: M.R. Kavi, Madras 1924 (with the metrical summary called *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*); M. Śāstrī, Trivandrum 1954 (TSS 172; fuller than the fragmentary text of M.R. Kavi). – Lit.: S.K. De, Aspects of Sanskrit Literature, Calcutta 1959, p. 295 ff. (reprinted from IHQ 1, 1925 and 3, 1927).

[16] Ed.: M.R. Kavi, Madras 1924 (with *Avantisundarīkathā*); G. Harihara Sastri, Mylapore-Madras 1957.

Mahārājādhirāja Gopīnātha's Daśakumārakathā has a different introductory and final section and although it incorporates Daṇḍin's text, it expands or changes it slightly in places.

It transpires from the above that the authentic text of Daṇḍin's work contains only eight of the princes' stories, namely Rājavāhana's (3), Apahāravarman's (4), Upahāravarman's (5), Arthapāla's (6), Pramati's (7), Mitragupta's (8), Mantragupta's (9), and Viśruta's (10), in that order. Each of the eight tales (as well as the missing ones) is narrated by the hero himself and gives the story of his adventures and how he won a beautiful maiden. The beginning of the third tale and the ending of the last are missing. The several later Pūrvapīṭhikās found in place of the framework story, the tales of Prince Somadatta (1), Prince Puṣpodbhava (2) and the beginning of Prince Rājavāhana's narrative (3) do not completely agree either with Daṇḍin's original or with each other. The version of the Pūrvapīṭhikā that is most commonly found gives us the following framework story: [17]

"Rājahaṃsa, a benevolent and accomplished monarch, ruled in Puṣpapurī, the capital of the kingdom of Magadha. His queen, a peerless beauty, was named Vasumatī. He had three ministers, Dharmapāla, Padmodbhava and Sitavarman by name, who held their offices by hereditary succession. Of these Dharmapāla had three sons, Sumantra, Sumitra and Kāmapāla; Padmodbhava had two, Suśruta and Ratnodbhava; and Sitavarman two, Sumati and Satyavarman. War once broke out between Rājahaṃsa and Mānasāra, King of Mālava. Rājahaṃsa was, in the first instance, victorious, but was finally defeated and obliged to take shelter in a forest of the Vindhya mountains. There he approached a sage, Vāmadeva by name, for the recovery of his lost kingdom. The sage advised him to live there for a few years, which he accordingly did. His four ministers, who had succeeded Dharmapāla, Padmodbhava and Sitavarman, followed him to his retreat, and there his wife gave birth to a son, Rājavāhana. About the same time the four ministers, too, got sons. The son of Sumati was named Pramati, that of Sumantra Mitragupta, of Sumitra Mantragupta, and of Suśruta Viśruta. While Rājahaṃsa was residing in the forest, there were brought to him, on different occasions, five other boys, making with Rājavāhana and the sons of the ministers, the ten kumāras of the story. The ten boys were educated together and became adepts in all the necessary arts and sciences (End of the first Ucchvāsa). As the princes had all grown up, the King, in accordance with the advice of the sage Vāmadeva, sent them on a campaign to conquer the world. They departed and for a time journeyed together, but, when in the Vindhya forest, Prince Rājavāhana was induced by a stranger, a Brahman, to leave his companions secretly and to assist him in obtaining the sovereignty of the Underworld (pātāla), which was foretold for him by God Śiva in a vision. Thus the two left for the Underworld through a chasm in the earth. The enterprise succeeded, but when Rājavāhana returned to the place where he had left his companions, he found them all gone. Alarmed by his inexplicable disappearance they had left in various directions in quest of him. Roaming in search of his friends, Rājavāhana came to Ujjayinī where in a garden he encountered Somadatta, accompanied by a splendid retinue and a beautiful damsel. Upon being asked by Rājavāhana, Somadatta began to narrate his adventures" (End of the second Ucchvāsa).

[17] The summary of this and the following excerpts is taken from M.R. KALE, The Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin. With a Commentary, etc., Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1966⁴, Introduction, p. XXV ff. In places abridgements and improvements have been made.

Thus the first half of the framework story. We will pass over the first and second tales, which no longer exist in the original, and summarize the contents of tales three to ten.

Prince Rājavāhana's Tale[18] (3)

"[When dwelling in Ujjayinī, Rājavāhana once beheld Avantisundarī, the lovely daughter of King Mānasāra, the foe of his father Rājahaṃsa. The prince and the princess were both smitten with love at the sight of each other. Mānasāra had abdicated his kingdom in favour of his son Darpasāra, who, too, had retired to practice penance after appointing his cousins Dāruvarman and Caṇḍavarman as joint regents. Of these the former was killed by Puṣpodbhava, so that Caṇḍavarman was left the sole ruler. Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī were legally married through the contrivance of a friendly conjuror, who made Caṇḍavarman believe at that time that the marriage was but a delusion, being part of a magic show. Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī retired into the inner apartments to enjoy the pleasures of love], but the two lovers were discovered by the attendants and reported to Caṇḍavarman, who got furious when he recognized Rājavāhana as the friend of Puṣpodbhava, the husband of the wicked Bālacandrikā on whose account his brother was killed. Caṇḍavarman wanted to execute Rājavāhana immediately, but the old king intervened and Rājavāhana was temporarily kept imprisoned in a wooden cage. In the meanwhile Caṇḍavarman marched against Siṃhavarman, the King of the Aṅgas, whose daughter he wanted to marry. Rājavāhana had to accompany the invading army in his cage. Campā, the capital of the Aṅgas, was besieged, and Siṃhavarman was vanquished and taken captive along with his daughter. Just then the orders of Darpasāra were received, sanctioning the execution of Rājavāhana. The Prince was taken out to be trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. Just at that moment the chain tied round his feet fell off and assumed the form of a nymph (apsaras) who had been cursed into that form by a sage. While Rājavāhana thus became free, a cry arose that Caṇḍavarman was killed in a mêlée by a thief. The thief turned out to be Rājavāhana's friend and companion Apahāravarman. In the meanwhile, several allies of King Siṃhavarman that were invited by him for help arrived on the scene with their forces assuring the safety of him and his daughter. Among these allies Rājavāhana found all the rest of his missing companions, and at his desire they narrated to him their adventures. Apahāravarman was the first to recount his story."

Prince Apahāravarman's Tale (4)

"In the course of his wanderings Apahāravarman came across the sage Marīci from whom he sought to obtain tidings of his master and friend, Rājavāhana. The sage promised him help and asked him to abide in the city of Campā. He related to Apahāravarman his own adventures: how he was beguiled into her love by a courtesan named Kāmamañjarī who won a wager by succeeding in enticing him into the meshes of her charms and thereafter repudiated him, making Marīci a laughing stock of the people. After spending a night at Marīci's hermitage, Apahāravarman proceeded to Campā. On his way there he made friends with Vimardaka, a gentleman who was one of the victims of Kāmamañjarī who had stripped him of all his possessions and made him a beggar. Apahāravarman promised help to Vimardaka in redeeming his lost fortune, and himself took to the profession of a

[18] The opening passage, here quoted in parentheses, was not in the original text and is taken from the *Pūrvapīṭhikā,* which was later added to the text.

gamester and burglar. On one of his nightly sallies he met a beautiful maiden, Kulapālikā by name, the daughter of Kuberadatta. Her father had first promised her in marriage to Dhanamitra who, however, became poor afterwards through his princely charities. Kulapālikā loved Dhanamitra, but her father cancelled the arrangement and wanted to bestow her on Arthapati. When she was going to Dhanamitra's house from her home to avoid that marriage, Apahāravarman met her in the dark of night. He promised to help her and took her to her lover. Apahāravarman and Dhanamitra then went back with her to her father's house which they plundered. They left Kulapālikā at home and on their way burgled Arthapati's house. In consequence of these troubles the marriage was postponed for one month. Apahāravarman enriched Dhanamitra with the proceeds of his robberies, and a story arose and circulated that Dhanamitra was in possession of a magic purse or a leather-bag which daily produced immense gold. On hearing this Kuberadatta gave his daughter to Dhanamitra.

Apahāravarman himself fell in love with Rāgamañjarī, the younger sister of Kāmamañjarī. He obtained Kāmanañjarī's consent to their union by promising to procure her that magic purse, provided she fulfilled one condition necessary for its being fruitful, viz., that Kāmamañjarī restored their wealth to all those clients of hers whom she had reduced to poverty. She agreed and thus Vimardaka got back what he had lost. The purse came to Kāmamañjarī, but Dhanamitra having reported its theft to the king, she had to return it and, to save herself from punishment, gave out, under Apahāravarman's instructions, that the purse had been given to her by Arthapati. Arthapati was consequently expelled from the country and his property confiscated. Now, one night, in a fit of foolhardiness, Apahāravarman attacked the patrolling police and was made a prisoner. His fellow prisoner Kantaka, who was enamoured of the princess Ambālikā, utilized the services of this expert in burglary to dig a subterranean passage right from the prison to the palace. Apahāravarman excavated the passage, but managed to kill Kantaka, and himself visited the apartment of the princess Ambālikā with whom he fell in love at once. As she was asleep, he returned without awakening her. Later on, when Caṇḍavarman besieged Campā and took her captive along with her father, Apahāravarman came to their rescue and killed Caṇḍavarman in a fight. He then also met Rājavāhana as had been foretold to him by Marīci."

Prince Upahāravarman's Tale (5)

"Upahāravarman had gone to his own country, Videha, in search of Rājavāhana. He there met his old nurse, who related to him how his father's kingdom had been seized by Vikaṭavarman and other sons of his elder brother's and how his parents had been imprisoned by them. Upahāravarman resolves to effect their release and, through the medium of his nurse's daughter, manages to win the affection of Vikaṭavarman's consort who was offended by the dissolute habits of her husband. At the instance of Upahāravarman she persuaded Vikaṭavarman to undertake a magical rite whereby he might exchange his body, which was ugly and deformed, for a most beautiful one. The king readily falls into the trap and is killed by Upahāravarman who then boldly usurps the throne, pretending to be the old king Vikaṭavarman metamorphosed. He succeeds in deceiving all and everybody, including his ministers, and reverses all the iniquitous deeds of the former ruler. He then releases his parents and makes his father the king. Becoming himself the Heir Apparent, he leads an army to the assistance of his ally Siṃhavarman, when he meets Rājavāhana in Campā."

Prince Arthapāla's Tale (6)

"The next prince, Arthapāla, had gone to Kāśī where he met a certain man in great distress who related to him the story of Kāmapāla who was the minister of the King of Kāśī and whom Arthapāla knew to be his father and the husband of that Tārāvalī, the Yakṣa damsel, who had made him over to Queen Vasumatī. Kāmapāla was appointed minister by the old King Caṇḍasiṃha of Kāśī, but the new king Siṃhaghoṣa, who was an evil-minded youth without judgement, had dismissed Kāmapāla and sentenced him to death. On hearing this, Arthapāla determined to effect the release of his father. He secured a poisonous snake and when his father was being led to be put to death, he dropped it on his head, so that it bit him and he fell down senseless. Arthapāla knew anti-poison charms by means of which he now counteracted the effect of the poison. Having removed the apparently dead body with the permission of the king, he restored Kāmapāla to life. Both of them then concocted a plan for the overthrow of Siṃhaghoṣa. Arthapāla dug a subterranean passage to the royal palace. This passage opened in an underground chamber where dwelt Princess Maṇikarṇikā whose attendants requested Arthapāla to wed her. Arthapāla promised to do so and entered the royal apartments where he found the king asleep. He took him captive and carried him to Kāmapāla who now administered the kingdom. Arthapāla married Maṇikarṇikā, became installed Heir Apparent and led an army to the assistance of the King of the Aṅgas when he met Rājavāhana in Campā."

Prince Pramati's Tale (7)

"Thereafter Pramati proceeded to describe his adventures. While on his journey he was benighted in a forest of the Vindhya mountains, he lay down for repose under a tree. When asleep, he fancied himself transported to a palace where he beheld a lovely maiden with whom he immediately fell in love. On awakening he was wondering whether this was a dream or a delusion, when a nymph appeared and told him how this was all real and how she had carried him asleep to the chamber of Princess Navamālikā of Śrāvastī who was the damsel seen by him. The nymph who was none other than Tārāvalī, the wife of Kāmapāla, prophesied success for him in his suit and then departed. Pramati now proceeded to Śrāvastī. On his way he met a Brahman at a cock-fight and made friends with him. These two hatched a plan: the Brahman took Pramati, dressed in a female garb as his daughter, to the king and left her under his protection, while he himself went off to find the youth to whom he professed to have betrothed her. In the palace Pramati won the affection of Navamālikā, but one day disappeared and joined the Brahman. The latter then went to the king with Pramati as his intended son-in-law and demanded to see his daughter. The king was of course not able to produce her, whereupon the Brahman threatened to immolate himself in the fire. The king was thus forced to offer his own daughter to Pramati in order to pacify the Brahman. Pramati became the son-in-law of the king and soon won his confidence. While leading his troops to succour Siṃhavarman, he met his old friend Rājavāhana."

Prince Mitragupta's Tale (8)

"Mitragupta had journeyed to the Suhma country and arrived at its capital Dāmalipta. The King, by the favour of the Goddess Durgā, had obtained two children, the son Bhīmadhanvan and the daughter Kandukāvatī, on the condition that the former should be subordinate to the husband of the latter and that the husband should be chosen by her at an annual festival where she was to play in public with a ball (kanduka). That being the time of the festival, Mitragupta went to behold it, and the princess happened to choose him. This, however, roused the ire of Bhīmadhanvan who did not like to see himself subordinate

to a stranger. Thus Mitragupta was seized by his orders and cast into the sea. He was luckily picked up by a passing Yavana vessel. The Yavanas wanted to hold him as a slave but, their ship being attacked by another, Mitragupta fought valiantly on their behalf and routed the assailants. He was now treated with great respect and given his freedom. Bhīmadhanvan turned out to be the captain of the attacking ship and was taken prisoner. The ship was driven by a contrary gale to an island where they cast anchor and Mitragupta landed ashore. He there met a Rākṣasa who threatened to devour him unless he answered four questions. They were: (1) What is naturally cruel? (2) What contributes best to the happiness of a house-holder? (3) What is love? And (4) what is the best means of achieving difficult things? Mitragupta's answers were (1) The heart of a woman. (2) The virtues of the wife. (3) The determination to possess. And (4) talent. He even illustrated his answers with four stories, each having a woman as the heroine, viz., Dhūminī, Gominī, Nimbavatī and Nitambavatī. The demon was pleased with Mitragupta's replies. At this moment another Rākṣasa was found carrying along a struggling maiden by the aerial path. She was rescued and proved to be Kandukāvatī, Mitragupta's destined bride. Mitragupta now set sail and arrived at Dāmalipta, where he was welcomed, as his son-in-law, by the old king. The latter was an ally of Siṃhavarman's; so Mitragupta was dispatched to his aid with an army, when he met Rājavāhana in Campā."

Prince Mantragupta's Tale (9)

"Mantragupta had gone to the country of Kaliṅga where, in a cemetery, he rescued the Princess of Kaliṅga, Kanakalekhā, from the hands of a sorcerer (siddha) who had procured her presence through a goblin and was about to kill and sacrifice her for obtaining miraculous powers. Mantragupta fell in love with the princess and accompanied her to the palace where he lived in her apartment without being discovered. Now Kardana, the King of Kaliṅga, once went with his family to spend a few days by the sea-side. There he was attacked and taken captive by Jayasiṃha, the King of Āndhra. Mantragupta wanted to rescue him and soon found the necessary means. It so happened that Jayasiṃha wished to wed Kanakalekhā, but a report had got abroad that she was possessed by an evil spirit, a Yakṣa, who had to be exorcised first. Mantragupta disguised himself as a great ascetic and offered his help to the king in driving away the Yakṣa. It was agreed that the king should bathe in a lake, when, by virtue of Mantragupta's magical rites, he would emerge with his body metamorphosed, and would thus be enabled to combat the Yakṣa. When, in accordance with this plan, Jayasiṃha entered the lake, Mantragupta contrived to kill him, while he himself issued as the metamorphosed king. Now he found no difficulty in releasing Kardana and the latter was married to Mantragupta. Coming to the assistance of Siṃhavarman, he met Rājavāhana.[19]"

Prince Viśruta's Tale (10)[20]

"Viśruta now narrated his adventures, being the last of the ten princes. While he wandered through the Vindhya forest he came upon a boy attended by an old man. The boy was the young Prince of Vidarbha. His father Anantavarman kept vicious company and, owing to his dissolute habits, neglected the affairs of the state. He was attacked by Vasantabhānu, a neighbouring prince, who killed him and usurped his throne. On the death of Anantavarman his Queen Vasundharā with her daughter Mañjuvādinī and her son Bhāskaravarman

[19] As Mantragupta's lips have been hurt by the kisses of his beloved, the whole tale is related without the use of labials. Cf. p. 158 above.

[20] The final passage, which is missing in the original text, is quoted in parentheses.

went to stay with Mitravarman, the king of Māhiṣmatī who was a half-brother of her husband. Mitravarman, however, proved to be a treacherous ally, and the queen sent her son away with an attendant, instructing the latter to take the prince to a place of safety. Viśruta listened to their account and, discovering that the prince was distantly related to himself, promised him help in recovering his lost kingdom. Learning from a forester that a marriage was being arranged in Māhiṣmatī by Mitravarman between Mañjuvādinī and Pracaṇḍavarman, Viśruta sent the old servant back to Queen Vasundharā, asking her to spread a false report about her son's death. He also sent her a poisoned necklace with which she was to kill Mitravarman and then to await Viśruta's arrival. Viśruta, accompanied by the prince, arrived soon afterwards in the city and for a while took up the disguise of a mendicant. He soon found an opportunity to kill Pracaṇḍavarman. He then repaired to the temple of Durgā where he hid himself underneath the pedestal of the idol. Now, according to a preconcerted plan, also the queen arrived there. She had already given out that, owing to a favour of the goddess – as revealed in a vision – her dead son would return alive on that very same day in the temple. Viśruta issued forth from the interior of the shrine and announced to the assembled people that the prince had been under the special protection of Durgā who was now pleased to send him back to them as their lawful ruler. Thus Bhāskaravarman was recognized as the king of Māhiṣmatī and Viśruta, having married Mañjuvādinī, became the king's chief adviser and conducted the affairs of the kingdom for him. [Viśruta then directed his attention to the task of restoring Bhāskaravarman to his paternal throne of Vidarbha which had been seized by Vasantabhānu. He led an expedition against the latter and killed him in single combat. The road was now clear for Bhāskaravarman's succession and Viśruta's efforts were crowned with fruition. When coming to the help of Siṃhavarman, he met Rājavāhana in Campā]."

Unfortunately we do not know how Daṇḍin ended this motley collection of delightful, entertaining tales, which possess both excitement and fine humour. Let us look at a summary of the Uttarapīṭhikā (or Śeṣa) most commonly given in the various editions of the Daśakumāracarita. This ending links up with the first part of the framework story in the Pūrvapīṭhikā:

"On the termination of these narratives there arrived a messenger from the old King Rājahaṃsa, the father of Rājavāhana, with a letter. Rājahaṃsa was struck with grief when he heard of the sudden disappearance of his son and the consequent dispersal of the other nine princes but he had been comforted by the sage Vāmadeva prophesying that they would all return safe and sound after sixteen years. That period had now elapsed. When the sage told him that they had all assembled at Campā, the king wished them to return at once to Puṣpapurī. In obedience to this mandate the princes returned. Coming to Ujjayinī they defeated and killed Mānasāra and took possession of the kingdom of Mālava. Then they repaired to Puṣpapurī. Rājahaṃsa was highly pleased to see them again and, having distributed among them the various kingdoms they had won, he retired from public life. Rājavāhana became the king of the united kingdoms of Puṣpapurī and Ujjayinī, while the princes governed their respective principalities with justice."

The construction and contents of the tales summarized above show that Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita differs considerably both from the works by Subandhu and Bāṇa we shall consider later and from prose poems modelled on Bāṇa's Harṣacarita and Kādambarī. Daṇḍin's work certainly also has the romantic, adventurous, miraculous and, not least important, erotic features that are characteristic of this literary

genre, above all of kathā. However, as far as figures and material are concerned, the Daśakumāracarita reflects neither the exalted tone expected of ākhyāyikā nor the tenderness in kathā of the gentle, noble and beautiful lovers consumed with longing for each other.

Daṇḍin breaks the rule that the hero of every type of kāvya should be presented as a noble-minded ideal figure who acts magnanimously in all situations, although other writers generally observe it. The characters introduced by Daṇḍin are mostly cunning rascals, cheats and rogues; they are, however, incomparably more lifelike and real than all the figures in later novels and resemble to some extent the scoundrels we meet in certain dramas of a more popular kind such as Śūdraka's Mṛcchakaṭika or the older monologue-comedies (bhāṇa). It is therefore not surprising that the subjects of Daṇḍin's stories are deception, wicked fraud, burglary, abduction, murder, gambling, illicit love, etc. Although he inserts long, detailed descriptions designed to show his command of a difficult prose style, the action of the story does not by any means play such an unimportant part as it does in the prose works of later poets. The Daśakumāracarita is a work of great imagination and narrative power full of fascinating adventures, delightful spontaneity, humour and jokes. It has a great deal in common with the art of popular narrative and agrees well with the plebeian background, the uncouth characters and above all the partiality for the miraculous found in the art of popular story-telling, and with the wealth of quickly changing incidents favoured by the narrative tradition of the Bṛhatkathā. It is not only the impressive number of characters that gives conviction and life to the work but even more Daṇḍin's power of observation and his psychological insight, which frequently enables us to look deep into the black souls of evildoers, as well as his descriptions of unscrupulous rogues, insouciant lovers, calculating hussies or unfaithful wives, all against a cosmopolitan background. Delicate irony and satire run through the tales like a piquant spice, and he does not shrink from exposing human weakness even in a hypocritical Brahman who thinks only of money. Ultimately the motive that spurs the princes on is, on one hand their desire to win a kingdom, and on the other love, both of which are pursued by all possible means, even those that are dubious or directly reprehensible.

Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita has not the same complex structure as later Sanskrit novels. Its disposition is comparatively easy to follow and, apart from the device of the framework story to link up the tales of the ten princes and the four separate episodes inserted into the eighth Ucchvāsa, Daṇḍin refrains from introducing the digressions and subsidiary stories that make the prose works of the majority of poets so difficult. This by no means implies that Daṇḍin is an easy author, but his elegant and sometimes powerful prose is at least free from sentences and compounds of inordinate length. The numerous charming descriptive passages such as that about Ambālikā asleep or Kandukāvatī dancing, are detailed pictures drawn with the skill of a master but they are seldom longer than a few sentences. And although they are artistically constructed, they are moderate in their use of poetic decoration, concealed allusion and paronomasia.[21]

[21] For a sample of the prose see p. 231 ff.

Subandhu is a far more difficult author and his Sanskrit novel, Vāsavadattā, a kathā, is quite different in language, construction, content and sentiment from the Daśakumāracarita. While a prose poem entitled Vāsavadattā is mentioned in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, a reference in Bāṇa's Harṣacarita[22] to a work of the same name may allude to Subandhu's novel or, less likely, to another work with this title. Unfortunately it is not possible to date Subandhu accurately, and research today bases its conclusions on this point partly on the mention of Vāsavadattā in Bāṇa and partly on Subandhu's reference to the Nyāya scholar Uddyotakara[23] and to a presumed work by the famous Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti. This last reference, bauddhasaṃgatim ivālaṃkārabhūṣitām, does not appear in all manuscripts of the Vāsavadattā, however; neither has a literary work by Dharmakīrti entitled the Bauddhasaṃgatyalaṃkāra been preserved. We also lack precise chronological information about both Uddyotakara and Dharmakīrti. If the assumption is correct that both these scholars lived at the beginning of the 7th century, then Subandhu must have been an older contemporary of Bāṇa. Indian tradition likes to believe that Bāṇa intended his Kādambarī to surpass Subandhu's famous novel, and according to a later critic, Bāṇa's verdict on his own novel, atidvayī, "superior to both"[24], refers precisely to Subandhu's Vāsavadattā and to the lost Bṛhatkathā by Guṇāḍhya. It is certain, however, that Subandhu must have worked before the first half of the 8th century as Vākpati's Prākrit poem Gaüḍavaha[25] mentions Subandhu together with the great poets Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Haricandra, and one passage from the Vāsavadattā is quoted in Vāmana's book on Sanskrit poetics, the Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti (middle of the 8th century), though without giving the author's name.[26] Subandhu probably came from central India, possibly Malwa. Legend makes him the contemporary of King Vikramāditya and the nephew of Vararuci.

The story of Subandhu's Vāsavadattā[27] has not been used in any other poem and it is clear that there is no connection between the woman who gave her name to the book and the Vāsavadattā who was King Udayana's consort and the heroine of

[22] *Harṣac.*, Introduction, stanza 11 (in some editions, 12).

[23] L.H. GRAY, Subandhu's Vāsavadattā: A Sanskrit Romance, New York 1913, Delhi ... 1962, pp. 114 and 180.

[24] *Kādambarī*, Introduction, stanza 20.

[25] Stanza 800; cf. p. 199 above.

[26] *Kāvyālamk.* 1, 3, 25.

[27] Ed.: F. HALL, Calcutta 1859; J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta 1874, 1907[3]; Srirangam 1906; Trichinopoly 1906; L.H. GRAY, New York 1913, (reprint) Delhi...1962 (with English translation). – Lit.: L.H. GRAY, *op.cit.*, p. 1 ff. (Introduction); R. SARASVATI, Vasubandhu or Subandhu: or a glimpse into the literary history of the Mauryan age, AIOC 1922, p. 203 ff.; S.P. BHATTACHARYA, Is Subandhu, the author of the Vāsavadattā, prior to Bāṇabhaṭṭa? AIOC 1928, Summaries I, p. 80 ff.; S.(P.) BHATTACHARYYA, Subandhu or Bānabhaṭṭa – who is earlier? IHQ 5 (1929), p. 699 ff.; R.G. HARSHE, Subandhu's home, Festschrift P.V. Kane, Poona 1941 (Poona Oriental Series 75), p. 214 ff.; V. RAGHAVAN, Subandhu, IHQ 19 (1943), p. 69 ff.; A.N. UPADHYE, The date of Subandhu's Vāsavadattā, AIOC 1946, II, p. 113 f.; SATYAVAT ŚĀSTRĪ, The story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā through the ages, in Essays on Indology, Delhi 1963, p. 57 ff. – Translation: L.H. GRAY, New York 1913, Delhi...1962.

Bhāsa's drama Svapnavāsavadattā. The Udayana legend is probably taken from the Bṛhatkathā while Subandhu may have invented his story himself.

The plot is as follows: The handsome Prince Kandarpaketu, the son of King Cintāmaṇi, is passionately in love with a wondrously beautiful maiden he saw in a dream. He sets out with his friend Makaranda to seek her out. When the two men spend the night under a tree in the Vindhya mountains, the Prince overhears a conversation between two parrots: Princess Vāsavadattā, the nubile daughter of King Śṛṅgāraśekhara of Kusumapura, is a ravishing beauty but rejects every suitor. One night, however, she saw her heart's desire, Prince Kandarpaketu – likewise in a dream. She immediately fell violently in love with him and sent off her crow, Tamālikā, to search for her beloved. Now it so happened that Tamālikā perched in the very tree under which Prince Kandarpaketu and his friend Makaranda were resting. The crow gave the Prince a love-letter in verse from Vāsavadattā and forthwith conducted him to a pavilion in Kusumapura. Overwhelmed by each other's beauty, the two lovers swooned briefly when they actually met. Their union does not last long, however, for by her father's command Vāsavadattā is to wed the King of the Vidyādharas that very day. The Prince and the Princess flee on the magic horse Manojava and spend the night in a bower in the Vindhya mountains engaged in the pleasures of love. In the morning, while Kandarpaketu is still asleep, Vāsavadattā, who is walking in the forest to gather fruit for her lover, suddenly comes upon two armies engaged in battle. They pursue her and destroy the hermitage belonging to a Ṛṣi. Fearing no evil, Vāsavadattā seeks shelter in the hermit's grove, but the Ṛṣi, who regards her as the cause of his misfortune, casts a spell on her and turns her into a pillar of stone. When he discovers that Vāsavadattā has disappeared, Kandarpaketu is beside himself with despair. In vain he searches for her and is only restrained from committing suicide by a heavenly voice that promises him a reunion. He stays in the Vindhya mountains and one day while he is out walking in the forest he sees a stone that resembles his beloved. When he throws his arms around the pillar the Ṛṣi's spell is broken and Vāsavadattā stands before him in the flesh.

Both the heroes and the plot of Vāsavadattā clearly show what a great distance there is between this and Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita. Subandhu's work is easily placed in the literary genre of kathā, for it is told in one long suite without being divided into chapters, the plot is a simple love-story and the action is in a few quite typical phases: two lovers are apart from each other; they are of noble birth, beautiful, tender-hearted and emotional, and then they meet for the first time. Suddenly they are separated by unforeseen circumstances, but their true, enduring love for each other enables them to bear all the blows of fate until in the end they are happily reunited. Into this somewhat eventless story are woven various miraculuous or fabulous features such as visions seen in a dream, parrots that talk to each other, a magic horse, spells and metamorphoses, all of which are typical of kathā in the post-Daṇḍin era. Prose poetry seems to have undergone a very swift development along much the same lines as mahākāvya: the essential thing was no longer the plot, as it was in narrative literature, but the numerous, often very long, elaborate and polished descriptions of people (especially the nāyikā and nāyaka), seasons, lakes, sunset, moonrise, mountains, cities, battles, etc. for which the narrative passages merely served as a welcome excuse. The emphasis is thus in no wise on the action as a whole but, as in later sargabandha, the verbal artistry and power of description was concentrated on smaller units, single illustrations.

Subandhu has, it is true, the reputation of being a more moderate author who lacks Daṇḍin's fine sense of humour, but he attained eminence in the poetic prose style in which only Bāṇa after him achieved such perfection, showed such a wealth of ideas and created such an aesthetic effect. His sentence construction is brilliant. It is characterized by long series of compounds put together with great care round the core of the sentence. They are an artistically constructed blend of artha and śabda conveying a maximum of information and timbre. Subandhu's compounds are shorter than those of Bāṇa and many other poets but they contain such a wealth of ambiguities, apparent contradictions (virodhābhāsa), erudite references and similes that they can never be resolved entirely even after long study. To a western reader, they are merely confusing, but they are an essential ingredient to those who understand Sanskrit poetry. A large number of attributes are ambiguous, they can refer to two quite different things: thus Kandarpaketu is skilful at dazzling beautiful women (rāmā-ākarṣaṇanipuṇa) just as the golden gazelle is skilful at dazzling Rāma (rāma-ākarṣaṇanipuṇa)[28]; Vāsavadattā has beautiful limbs (suparvan) just as the Mahābhārata has beautiful sections (suparvan)[29]; the midday sun displays the (vault of) heaven (prasāritāmbara) just as a merchant spreads out a piece of cloth (for a customer) (prasāritāmbara).[30] At times it is not only words or phrases but whole sentences that are ambiguous. The ninth stanza of the metrical introduction to Vāsavadattā contains the author's proud boast that every syllable of the book, which he claims was dictated to him by the goddess Sarasvatī, is ambiguous.[31] Although the tendency to choose a vocabulary that is often artificial and far-fetched deprives many passages of life and immediacy of expression, Subandhu's verbal art and powers of imagination have aroused the critics' admiration of his technical skill and seem also to have won Bāṇa's approval. Subandhu's novel is not particularly long – only about fifty pages of print. The descriptions often consist of very long sentences, but we also find short, plain passages, especially in dialogues. The dream in which Prince Kandarpaketu sees his future beloved fills five whole pages, but it is in fact only one long sentence describing every detail of the exceedingly lovely young woman. Much shorter, but also one single sentence, is the scene in the middle of the autumnal forest where Kandarpaketu suddenly discovers Vāsavadattā, transformed into a pillar of stone:

anantaraṃ sukhañjane nirbharabharadvājadvijavācāṭaviṭapiviṭape paṭutaraprabhāprabhāto 'dbhrāntaśukakulakalamakedārapraveśitāveśarājahaṃse kaṃsārātidehadyutidyutale haṃsakulatulitarājajjalamuci sāndrīkṛtendumahasi kāmukajanamuditamadhuramadhutṛṇavīrudhi sarasasārasarasitasārakāsāre śobhanakaśerukandalubdhapotripotrodghātasarasataṭabhāgacakitacātake sañcaranmatsyaputrikāpatripaṭalamadhuradhvanivihitamudi kadarthitakadambe kambudviṣi prasṛtabisaprasūne viratavāride tārataratārake vāruṇītilakacandra-

[28] L.H. GRAY, *op.cit.*, p. 166.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 180.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[31] It is remarkable that Bāṇa, who was also a great lover of paronomasia, should have characterized *kathā* as *nirantaraśleṣaghana*, "full of uninterrupted *śleṣas*".

masi svādurasāvile sphuritaśapharacakrakabaḷananibhṛtanarukabakāḷike mūkamaṇḍūkamaṇḍale saṅkocitakañcukini kāñcanacchedagauragodhūmakaśāliśālini utkrośadutkrośe surabhigandhisaugandhikagandhahāriṇiharṇāśvadaradaḷitakumudāmodini kaumudīkṛtamudi nirbarhabarhiṇi niḥkūjatkoyaṣṭike dhṛtadhārtarāṣṭre hṛṣṭakalamagopikāgītasukhitamṛgayūthe kathīkṛtayūthike mlāyamānamālatīmukule bandhūkabāndhave sañjātasujātake visūtritasautrāmadhanuṣi smerakāśmīrarajaḥpuñjapiñjaritadaśadiśi vikasvarakamale śaratsamayārambhe vijṛmbhamāṇe kandarpaketus tata itaḥ paribhraman kāñcic chilāmayaputrikāṃ dṛṣṭvā kautukena mohena śokāvegena mama priyānukāriṇīti kareṇa pasparśa.[32]

"Strightway at the beginning of autumn, with its wagtails not lame; with the course of the herons unhampered; with boughs exceedingly noisy with skylarks; with intense bright dawn; with flocks of wandering parrots in the fields of rice; with flamingoes come as guests; with a sky whose brightness was that of the body of Kaṃsa's foe;[33] with old clouds like goose-down; with the pleasure of dogs whose heat was intensified; with shoots of sweet sugar-cane; with lakes possessed of the quintessence of the delightful sounds of the herons; with pools whose banks were dug up by the snouts of boars; delighted by roots of beautiful kaserus; with startled cātakas, causing joy by the sweet sounds of flocks of wandering matsyaputrikā birds; with disdained kadambas; the foes of conches; with expanded lotuses; with clouds at intervals; with unusually bright stars; with a beautiful moon; with unusually sweet water in the pools; with flocks of motionless cranes swallowing shoals of flashing carp; with multitudes of silent frogs; with shrivelled serpents; with rice yellow with golden particles; with screaming ospreys; with the air delightful with the perfume of fragrant white lotuses; lovely with white lotuses; charming in the moonlight; with moulting peacocks; with murmuring paddy-birds; with dhārtarāṣṭra geese; with herds of deer delighted by the songs of the happy female guardians of the rice; with dead yūthikā jasmines; with faded Malabar jasmine buds; a kinsman to the bandhūka; with beauty born; putting to confusion the bow of Sutrāman;[34] with the ten quarters (of the sky) yellowed by masses of the pollen of the smiling saffron; (and) with blossoming lotuses: – (then) Kandarpaketu, wandering about, seeing a stone image, and saying with curiosity, frenzy, and the agitation of grief, 'This is like my beloved', touched it with his hand."[35]

Subandhu's fame is confirmed by the fact that a number of poets mention his name with awe and also that his novel, which was once so eargerly studied, is explained in numerous commentaries.

Vāsavadattā is the only work by Subandhu that has been preserved, but we have two by Bāṇa (or Bāṇabhaṭṭa)[36], the third great master of Sanskrit prose, namely the Harṣacarita and the Kādambarī. Other works are also attributed to Bāṇa: the

[32] L.H. GRAY, *op.cit.*, p. 191 ff.

[33] I.e., Kṛṣṇa.

[34] I.e., Indra.

[35] Translation from L.H. GRAY, *op.cit.*, p. 134 ff.

[36] For general works on Bāṇa see S.V. DIKSIT, Bāṇabhaṭṭa: his life and literature, Belgaum 1963; R.D. KARMARKAR, Bāṇa, Dharwar 1964 (Extension Lecture Series 6); N. SHARMA, Bāṇabhaṭṭa: a literary study, Delhi 1968; V.S. AGRAWALA, The Deeds of Harsha, being a cultural study of Bana's Harshacharita, Varanasi 1969; A.N. PANDEY, Bāṇabhaṭṭa kā sāhityik anuśīlan, Delhi 1975 (in Hindi). Cf. also B.N. SHARMA, Women in Bāṇa's works, PO 16 (1951), p. 103 ff.; T.S. KRISHNA MURTHY, The style of Bāṇa, JMU 18 (1958), p. 1 ff.; G.V. DAVANE, Utprekṣās of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, JUB 34 (1965), p. 87 ff.; R.K. TRIKHA, Alaṃkāras in the Works of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Delhi-Ahmedabad 1982.

hymnodic Caṇḍīśataka, previously mentioned[37], and the two plays Ratnāvalī and Pārvatīpariṇaya. The former of these two dramas, however, is generally considered to be by Harṣa and the latter was written by another Bāṇa, namely Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, an author who lived in the 15th century. In the Harṣacarita Bāṇa relates the glorious deeds of his patron, King Harṣa[38] (606–647 A.D.). Both in the first two-thirds of this work and in the introductory stanzas to the Kādambarī Bāṇa gives us information about himself and his family, which makes him the earliest Sanskrit poet about whose person and life we really know something. He was a Brahman of the Vātsyāyana clan and in the genealogies in these two works he claims as his great-grandfather Pāśupata, the youngest son of Kubera, who was held in high esteem by several sovereigns of the Gupta dynasty. His grandfather was Arthapati and his father Citrabhānu. Bāṇa grew up at a place named Prītikūṭa on the banks of the River Hiraṇyabāhu (or Śoṇa). He lost his mother Rājyadevī at a tender age and his father when he was fourteen. During the years that followed the orphan, who was by no means penniless, lived the restless but pleasurable life of an educated youth from a family of quality. He had a large circle of friends, most of whom were about his own age and interested in the arts, but he also mixed with more dubious characters such as the snake-charmer Mayūraka, the gamblers Ākhaṇḍala and Bhīmaka or the juggler Cakorākṣa, but this was entirely in accord with the carefree style of life pursued by youths in prosperous cities. His friends Īśāna, Vāyuvikāra and Veṇībhārata were poets; Sudṛṣṭi declaimed books for a living, Govinda was a scribe, Vīravarman a painter, and others again were musicians, actors or scholars. A few women also belonged to the circle, for instance the dancer Hariṇikā, the Buddhist nun Cakravākikā and Kuraṅgikā, the maid of honour. Bāṇa gained a great deal of experience during these febrile years of city life but was frowned upon by the great because of his disorderly behaviour. However, the young man came to his senses and began to show respect for royal courts. Finally, after studiously attending a number of assemblies (goṣṭhī) of connoisseurs and scholarly circles (maṇḍala), he returned to his native land. To him, the reunion with numbers of his childhood friends was like the joy of the highest release (mokṣa) and from this time on he devoted himself entirely to studies, as family customs and his position required. There came a day when he was summoned to appear before King Harṣa, who had set up his camp near the city of Maṇitārā. This mighty ruler, who wished to reproach the young Brahman for wasting his youth, first gave Bāṇa a cool reception but later showed him the greatest affection. When Bāṇa later revisited his country one autumn, he was besieged by friends and relatives demanding accounts of King Harṣa. To comply with their wishes, he tells us, he began to write the great biography of this king which, in the version we possess, begins about the middle of the third Ucchvāsa and continues through the following five ucchvāsas of the Harṣacarita. Although we do not know in what year or decade Harṣa and Bāṇa met for the first time, there is a great deal to indicate that the poet was still a young man

[37] See p. 137 f.
[38] Also known as Harṣavardhana.

when the king became his patron and that he worked in the second half of King Harṣavardhana's reign. We do not know the exact date of Bāṇa's death and it is therefore impossible to say whether he survived his patron or not. We have already discussed Bāṇa's alleged relationship to the poet Mayūra;[39] although Bāṇa mentions the snake-charmer Mayūraka in the Harṣacarita, he does not refer to the author of the Sūryaśataka and possible father-in-law named Mayūra.

We do not know for certain which of his two prose works Bāṇa wrote first but it seems natural to assume that the Harṣacarita;[40] which he once composed on a visit to his native country, is the earlier and the Kādambarī the later poem. Both are generally regarded as being unfinished works, but in fact this only applies definitely to the Kādambarī, the final section of which was written by Bāṇa's son, Bhaṭṭa Pulinda (or Bhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa), although this last part is by no means up to the standard of the original work as regards language. There is no conclusive evidence to disprove the contention that the Harṣacarita may be a complete work.

Unlike Subandhu's Vāsavadattā and Bāṇa's own Kādambarī, the Harṣacarita has a historical theme. It commences with twenty-one stanzas followed by autobiographical information in prose, is divided into ucchvāsas and relates the story of a noble and glorious hero, although the hero himself is not the narrator. These characteristics alone are enough to classify the work quite definitely as ākhyāyikā, which is the category Bāṇa himself[41] and all later critics have placed it in. They regard the Harṣacarita as being the model par excellence of this genre, of which it is the only remaining example. Its nearest relative is semi-historical kāvya in metrical form. The Harṣacarita consists of eight ucchvāsas preceded by a metrical introduction. As prescribed by the rules of ākhyāyikā, it contains verses of homage (here to Śiva, Umā and Vyāsa) as well as a discourse on poetry in general and some great poets of the past in particular.

[39] See p. 138 f.

[40] Ed.: JĪVĀNANDA VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta 1876, 1892, (revised by Pt. ĀŚUBODHA VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA and Pt. NITYABODHA VIDYĀRATNA) 1918; P.V. KANE, Bombay 1918, (reprint) Delhi 1965; A.A. FÜHRER, Bombay 1909 (Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series 66); K.P. PARAB and Ś.D.P. VAZE, Bombay 1892, (revised by V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR) 1925[5]; Pt.N.K. ŚARMA, Benares 1934 (HSS 29); R. SUKLA, Allahabad 1962 (with Hindi translation); J. PATHAK, Benares 1964 (with Hindi translation). – Lit.: U.N. GHOSHAL, Historical portraits in Bāṇa's Harṣacarita, B.C. Law Volume, I, Poona 1945, p. 362 ff.; V.S. AGRAWALA, Preparations for Rājyaśrī's Marriage, JARS 17 (1963, Banikanta Kakati Commemoration Vol.); SURYAKANTA, The historical aspect of the Harṣacarita, Gopināth Kavirāj Abhinandana Grantha, Lucknow 1967, p. 465 ff.; R. SHUKLA, Influence of Bāṇa's Harsha Charita on Raviṣeṇa's Padmapurāṇa, JGJh 23 (1967), p. 91 ff.; V.S. AGRAWALA, The Deeds of Harsha,..., Varanasi 1969 and the bibliography given on p. 261 ff.; M.C. BHARTIYA, Bāṇabhaṭṭa aur unkā Harṣacarita, Ghaziabad 1974 (in Hindi). – Translations: E.B. COWELL and F.W. THOMAS, The Harṣa-carita of Bāṇa, London 1897 (Oriental Translation Fund N.S. 8), (reprint) Delhi...1961; A. FÜHRER, Bāṇabhaṭṭa's biography of Śrīharshavardhana of Sthāneśvara, Actes du 6[e] Congrès International des Orientalistes (1883), Leiden 1885, p. 201 ff. (Chapter 5 only); R. SUKLA, Allahabad 1962 (Hindi); J. PATHAK, Benares 1964 (Hindi).

[41] *Harṣac.*, Introduction, stanza 20 (in some editions, 21).

Ucchvāsa I begins with Bāṇa's autobiography, which is followed by a detailed account of his ancestors and parents, his stormy youth and his return to the village of Prītikūṭa, a somewhat older and wiser man. Ucchvāsa II tells of the unexpected arrival of a messenger, Mekhala, who gives an important letter to Bāṇa, who is now living peacefully in the village; he has been summoned to King Harṣa's camp. After a long journey in three stages the poet reaches Maṇitārā on the banks of the Ajiravatī (or Rāptī) River, near which the great ruler is encamped. At first Bāṇa is given a chilly welcome by the king, but later Harṣa shows his guest special favours and affection. Ucchvāsa III contains the last part of Bāṇa's autobiography, which leads straight into the story of King Harṣa's life. When on a brief visit to his village, Bāṇa is urged by friends and relatives to write a biography of Harṣavardhana. He begins with a description of Sthāṇvīśvara (modern Thanesvar), the capital of Śrīkaṇṭha, and of King Puṣpabhūti, the mythical founder of the Vardhana dynasty. This is followed by an interesting passage about the great Śivaite master, Bhairavācārya, who initiates King Puṣpabhūti into a secret Tantric ritual at a burial place. Ucchvāsa IV begins with a brief account of Puṣpabhūti's descent, after which comes the story of King Prabhākaravardhana and Queen Yaśovatī, whose childless marriage was blessed after many years with the birth of three children, Prince Rājyavardhana, Prince Harṣavardhana and a girl, Rājyaśrī. Bhaṇḍi, Yaśovatī's nephew, and two brothers, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, two Gupta princes from Mālava, serve as adjutants to the two boys when they grow older. The chapter ends with an event of great political significance: Rājyaśrī is betrothed to Prince Grahavarman, who is related to the Maukharis and the Varmans of Kānyakubja (modern Kanauj). Ucchvāsa V is permeated with a tragic atmosphere. Rājyavardhana has been commanded by his father to mount a campaign against the Hūṇas. When the army sets out, Harṣa accompanies his brother a long way on horseback, but leaves him when they reach the foothills of the Himālaya. While Harṣa is out hunting one day he receives a message telling him that his father is dangerously ill. He hastens back home. When he finally reaches the capital after an exhausting ride he sees that the palace is wrapt in silence and that the members of his family are bowed down with sorrow. Courtiers besiege the king's bedchamber while doctors, apothecaries and cooks prepare medicines and soothing drinks. In the women's quarters Harṣa meets his mother Yaśovatī, who is already arrayed in the saffron-coloured robe in which she will ascend her husband's funeral pyre. Proudly she walks in a ceremonial procession to the holy Sarasvatī and even before the death of her feverish husband, she throws herself into the roaring flames of his pyre on the banks of the river. After a touching farewell speech to Harṣa, who is in despair, Prabhākaravardhana breathes his last. Bāṇa describes the funeral ceremonies and the boundless sorrow of the two princes with great feeling. In Ucchvāsa VI Rājyavardhana, who has returned hastily from the campaign against the Hūṇas, renounces the throne in favour of his younger brother and resolves to live in future as a hermit. Just as this decision is to be promulgated to the assembled court, news arrives that the King of Mālava has attacked Kānyakubja, killed King Grahavarman and carried off Harṣa's sister, Queen Rājyaśrī, into captivity. The very same day Rājyavardhana and Bhaṇḍi set off on a punitive expedition while Harṣa is ordered to stay behind to look after the country. Harṣa soon receives news that Rājyavardhana has destroyed the Mālava army in battle but that he has been treacherously slain at a parley called by the King of Gauḍa, in Bengal, one of the King of Mālava's allies. Harṣa swears to extort a bloody revenge for this shameful deed. However, the commander of the elephant troop, Skandagupta, calms down the rage of the inexperienced young ruler and gives him wise advice illustrated with examples from mythology and legend to which Harṣa listens. While he is preparing to wage war, evil omens proclaim the fate of his

opponent. Ucchvāsa VII gives a vivid, colourful and highly detailed account of the military operations. We witness the army setting out, the wearying marches, the noisy encampments. Haṃsavega, an emissary from the King of Kāmarūpa (today's Assam) comes to Harṣa bearing costly gifts. Harṣa reaches the Vindhya mountains and defeats the King of Mālava. Ucchvāsa VIII describes the endeavours of Harṣa aided by Nirghāta, a young hill-dweller, to find Rājyaśrī, who has fled from prison and is hiding somewhere in the forest. Nirghāta leads Harṣa to a Buddhist teacher and hermit named Divākaramitra who, however, cannot give them any news of Rājyaśrī. While the three men are still talking one of the ascetic's pupils hastens up with information that he has seen a woman of noble birth who is in great need and is seeking to immolate herself by fire. Led by the young monk, Harṣa immediately seeks the ill-fated spot in which Rājyaśrī and her circle of intimates and servants are already praying to Yama, the god of death. Harṣa rescues his sister and leads her to Divākaramitra's hermitage where he declares to the ascetic that both he and his sister will don the ochre-coloured robes of renunciation as soon as he has completed his task. The company returns to camp and the chapter ends with Rājyaśrī's story and a description of nightfall.

Although the Harṣacarita, which says nothing about Harṣa's later life, is undoubtedly based on a true story, and although a brief summary of the contents gives the impression that the story is full of rapidly changing events, in actual fact the amount of purely narrative matter in the work is rather small. The centre of interest here too is description couched in grandiose language, and it allows very little room for action. Thus in Ucchvāsa I there are descriptions of the maidens Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī at the hermitage by the Śoṇa river and of young Dadhīca and Mālatī; in Ucchvāsa II of Bāṇa's home, summer, a forest fire, Bāṇa's arrival at the king's encampment, Pāriyātra, the King's High Chamberlain, the king's stables for horses and elephants, the elephant Darpaśāta, the king himself and finally, of evening. In Ucchvāsa III there are descriptions of autumn, Śrīkaṇṭha, the city of Sthāṇvīśvara, Bhairavācārya, the famous Śivaite teacher, the great sword Aṭṭahāsa, Ṭīṭibha, Pātālasvāmin and Karṇatāla, three of Bhairavācārya's pupils, the Nāga Śrīkaṇṭha and the goddess Lakṣmī; in Ucchvāsa IV of Yaśovatī, her pregnancy, the birth of Harṣa, the ceremonies in preparation for Rājyaśrī's wedding, Prince Grahavarman as bridegroom, the wedding ceremony and the bridal suite; in Ucchvāsa V of the royal messenger Kuraṅgaka, the stillness of the sorrowing capital, the dying king and finally, of Yaśovatī robed ready to commit satī; in Ucchvāsa VI of Rājyavardhana's grief for his dead father, Siṃhanāda, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and Skandagupta, the general in charge of the elephants; in Ucchvāsa VII of the preparations for the campaign, the princes in Harṣa's retinue, Harṣa on the eve of departure, the march of the army, the gifts from the King of Kāmarūpa, evening, a village in the forest and its inhabitants; in Ucchvāsa VIII of the young hill-dweller Nirghāta, the forest and the trees in the Vindhya mountains, Divākaramitra's hermitage, Rājyaśrī's lament, Mandākinī, the miraculous rope of pearls presented to Harṣa by Divākaramitra, and finally, sunset and nightfall.

As an example of Bāṇa's style, we may take the description of autumn which introduces the account of Bāṇa's visit to his native village:

atha kadācit viralitabalāhake cātakātaṅkakāriṇi kvaṇatkādambe darduradviṣi mayūramadamuṣi haṃsapathikasārthasarvātithau dhautāsinibhanabhasi bhāsvarabhāsvati śuciśaśini taruṇatārāgaṇe galacchunāsīraśarāsane sīdatsaudāmanīdāmani dāmodaranidrāduhi drutavaidūryavarṇārṇasi ... pariṇāmāśyānaśyāmāke janitapriyaṅgumañjarīrajasi kaṭhoritatrapusatvaci kusumasmeraśare śaratsamayārambhe rājñaḥ samīpād bāṇo bandhūn draṣṭuṃ punar api taṃ brāhmaṇādhivāsam agāt /

"Now it came to pass that, at the time when the clouds have thinned out, the time which causes distress to the cātaka-birds, when the black-geese squawk, which is the enemy of the frogs, which robs the peacocks of their revelry, which presents all hospitality to the caravans of migrating geese-travellers, when the sky shines like a polished sword, the brilliant sun shows its brightness, the moon shines clear, the hosts of stars are new and fresh (as the eyes of lovers are tender[42]), when the rainbow, the bow of the god Indra, disappears, when the chain-lightning falls to rest (as a girl's girdle slips down over her hips), when the god Viṣṇu's slumber is disturbed, when the streams run the colour of melted lapislazuli ... when the wild rice dries in ripeness, the pollen is produced in the clusters of millet-plants, the skin of the cucumber is hardened, and the seeds smile in flower: at the time of the onset of the autumn season, Bāṇa left the king's side and returned again to that brahmin-dwelling in order to see his family."[43]

It is significant that Bāṇa did not concentrate on relating history, but devoted himself with indefatigable energy to composing descriptions. This is a phenomenon that can also be observed in semi-historical kāvya in metrical form. The fact that his work nevertheless contains a great deal of invaluable information about life in encampments and at court, military operations, the army, Harṣa's policies, etc. is due to the pains Bāṇa took to portray the world as he saw it in as much detail as possible. Writing history was not the task of Indian poetry. The poet always found mythological and legendary figures more attractive than the real heroes of his day, and even when a poetic work was based on reality, the tendency to treat the characters as if they existed on the dizzy heights inhabited by ideal figures and were equipped with the superhuman powers of mythological heroes became irresistable.

Bāṇa's Kādambarī[44], an incomplete work, is designed on a far larger scale than the Harṣacarita and, we may presume, also written later. The reason why Bāṇa did not complete this romantic prose poem may be that he died before it was finished. Unlike the Harṣacarita this novel, which has the heroine's name as its title, is not based on historical fact but is wholly fictional. The work was finished by Bāṇa's son, Bhaṭṭa Pulinda (or Bhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa), but it should be noted that what Bāṇa himself wrote stops before the narrative is fully developed. The work was probably conceived on so vast a scale and with such a complex plan that the master was unable to complete it during his lifetime. Like Subandhu's Vāsavadattā, the novel belongs to the sub-category kathā and has been held up by all subsequent poets and critics as the most perfect example of poetic prose, inimitable both in richness of thought and in linguistic brilliance. Both the Harṣacarita and Kādambarī begin with a short metrical introduction containing verses of homage to Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu

[42] The sentences in brackets give the second meaning hinted at in the Sanskrit original.
[43] Translated by J. BROUGH, Poetry in Classical Sanskrit, IT 3–4 (1975/76), p. 99.

and Bharvu, the poet's own guru, as well as reflections contrasting evil people who are incapable of fine speech with noble people who have the gift of poetry. The introduction concludes with information about the poet and his family. The main part of the book, the story proper, is not divided into ucchvāsas as in ākhyāyikā but runs unbroken from beginning to end as the rules of kathā prescribe. It also conforms to the rules as regards theme: we find a typical love-story in a refined and courtly setting and, as in other novels in the same category, the lovers are beautiful, sensitive and tender. The plot is a great deal more complicated than that of Vāsavadattā, however. In this late work by Bāṇa we follow the love story of Kādambarī, the heroine, who is torn between love and filial duty, but also the fate of Mahāśvetā, who faithfully waits for her lover on the shores of Lake Acchodaka year after year. Bāṇa does not lead his reader more or less straight into the story as Subandhu does; like the master he is, he borrows the technique common in narrative literature of weaving several tales into each other and paves the way for the love-story of Kādambarī and Prince Candrāpīḍa by prefacing it with four intertwined tales which gradually lead up to the main narrative. In addition, he also employs the device of following some of the characters through not one existence alone, but through two, even three. Bāṇa seems to have been influenced by Guṇādhya's Bṛhatkathā, which presumably also contained the story of King Sumanas, to be found also in the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī[45] and the Kathāsaritsāgara[46], for this story seems to be the basis of Kādambarī, although Bāṇa has changed the names as well as freely reworked and extended the scope of the story.

The plot of Kādambarī, at least of the part that was written by Bāṇa, is as follows (Tale 1): one day a Caṇḍāla-girl brought a parrot to King Śūdraka, who reigned in the City of Vidiśā on the banks of the Vetravatī river. The bird was very beautiful and also well-versed in all the sciences and arts. When the parrot was presented to the king, it raised its right foot in a gesture of homage and recited a panegyric verse. In the afternoon, when he had some leisure, the amazed king asked the parrot, whose name was Vaiśampāyana, to tell him the

[44] Ed.: M. MOHANA TARKĀLAṂKĀRA, Calcutta 1850; T. TARKAVĀCASPATI BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA, Calcutta 1871; P. PETERSON, Bombay 1883[1], 1900[3] (BSS 24); Pt. JĪVĀNANDA VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta 1889[3]; M.R. KĀLE, Bombay 1896, 1914[2], Delhi...1968[4] (with English translation); P.V. KĀNE. Bombay 1911, 1921[3] (NSP) (*Pūrvabhāga* p. 1–124 of Peterson's edition), Bombay 1920 (NSP); K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1890, (revised by V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR) 1908[3], 1928[7], (revised by MATHURĀNĀTH ŚĀSTRĪ) 1948[9]; P.L. VAIDYA, Poona 1951, 1965[3] (Poona Oriental Series 48 A; with English translation by J.N.S. CHAKRAVARTY, text as in Peterson's edition). – Lit.: A. WEBER, Indische Streifen 1 (1868), p. 352 f. (Analysis of the *Kādambarī*); L. von MANKOWSKI, Bāṇas Kādaṃbarī und die Geschichte von König Sumanas in der Bṛihatkathā, WZKM 15 (1901), p. 213 ff.; K.C. VARADACHARI, Sanskrit Poetics: Kādambarī, AVOI 11 (1950), p. 114 ff.; T. VENKATACHARYA, Gleanings from the Kadambari, JARS 14 (1960), p. 100 ff. – Translations: TARKASHANKAR TARKARATNA, Kadambari, Calcutta 1858 (in Bengali); C.M. RIDDING, The Kādambarī of Bāṇa, London 1896 (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S. 7; with the continuation by Bhūṣaṇabhaṭṭa); A. SCHARPÉ, Bāṇa's Kādambarī, Leuven 1937 (*Uttarabhāga* and parts of the *Pūrvabhāga*, in Dutch); P.L. VAIDYA-J.N.S. CHAKRAVARTY, Poona 1965[3]; M.R. KALE, Delhi...1968[4].

[45] *Lambhaka* XVI.

[46] *Taraṅga* LIX.

story of its life. Vaiśampāyana then said (Tale 2): I was born under a śālmalī-tree on the shores of Lake Pampā. As my mother did not survive my birth, I was brought up under the care of my father who, however, was slain by a Śabara huntsman before I was fledged.[47] I was found by a young ascetic named Hārīta. After bathing me tenderly on the shores of the lake and giving me something to drink, Hārīta took me to the hermitage of his father, the great seer Jābāli who, surprisingly enough, was able to tell me that I was now tasting the fruit of the ill-deeds I had done in an earlier existence. Then all the ascetics were curious and demanded to be told the story of my past and present fate. Jābāli related the following about my earlier existence (Tale 3): There reigned in the City of Ujjayinī a king named Tārāpīḍa who had a faithful minister called Śukanāsa.[48] After being childless for a long time a much-desired offspring was born to the king and his queen, Vilāsavatī, and Śukanāsa was also able to rejoice, almost at the same time, over the birth of a fine son, who was named Vaiśampāyana by his parents. The two boys grew up together in the closest friendship and enjoyed the exalted education that was proper for children of their rank. At the end of his education, when he was sixteen, Prince Candrāpīḍa was richly endowed. The king gave the prince a palace of his own and a miraculous horse called Indrāyudha and the queen gave him a maid of honour called Patralekhā, who was of royal descent. Candrāpīḍa valued her highly. A few days later, when the prince had been consecrated heir to the throne, he undertook at his father's request a campaign of world-wide conquest at the head of a great army and accompanied by Patralekhā and Vaiśampāyana. He conquered the East, the South, the West and finally the North, and when he had subdued every quarter of the earth, he also subjugated Suvarṇapura, the dwelling-place of the strange Kiṃnaras, who are half man, half animal. When he was out riding Indrāyudha one day the prince, who had gone astray, discovered a charming lake, Acchodaka, and both rider and horse refreshed themselves with its water. In a nearby Śiva temple he saw a girl playing a lute and singing before an image of the god. He later found out that her name was Mahāśvetā. The beautiful girl led Candrāpīḍa to her hermitage, but when he asked her the story of her life, she burst into a flood of tears. When she had composed herself, she said to the prince (Tale 4): I am the only daughter of an Apsaras and a Gandharva, two semi-divine beings. Once when I was bathing here, I saw a wonderfully handsome ascetic by the lake. I learnt from his companion Kapiñjala that he was Puṇḍarīka, the spiritual son of the great sage Śvetaketu. We both burned with love for each other, and Puṇḍarīka was so strongly afflicted with lovesickness and longing that he was no longer alive when I arrived at his sickbed, alas far too late, out of respect for my parents. I then decided to die too, and told my servant Taralikā to prepare my pyre. Just as I was about to throw myself into the sea of flames, a majestic being descended from the skies, bore Puṇḍarīka's body aloft and, in order to move me to live on, promised me a future reunion with my beloved. I took his bark garment, his water-pot and his rosary and since that day I have been living in this hermitage by Lake Acchodaka awaiting Puṇḍarīka's return.

(Main story): When night fell and Candrāpīḍa and Mahāśvetā were sitting on their beds of leaves, Mahāśvetā said that she had a true friend, Kādambarī, a girl she had known from her earliest childhood, the daughter of the Gandharva Citraratha and the Apsaras Madirā. Kādambarī had sworn not to marry until Mahāśvetā had been reunited to her lover. As

[47] Bāṇa, who lost one parent and later became an orphan, is obviously drawing on his own experience here.

[48] I.e., "parrot-nose".

Mahāśvetā wished her friend to renounce this strict oath, they set out next morning, guided by Candrāpīḍa, for Hemakūṭa, where Kādambarī was living. When the prince and Kādambarī met face to face, they fell passionately in love. Mahāśvetā was soon invited to visit her parents while Candrāpīḍa spent his time in Hemakūṭa living in a bejewelled house on a hill in the pleasure grounds near Kādambarī's palace. The prince and Kādambarī looked constantly at one another; Kādambarī from the roof-terrace of her palace, the prince from the top of the hill. When the moon rose, Kādambarī paid a short visit to the prince and asked him about his parentage and place of birth. Next morning, when Candrāpīḍa returned to Mahāśvetā's grove, he saw his army, which had found him by following Indrāyudha's hoofprints. He spent a sleepless night in the camp, thinking only of Kādambarī, and when morning came and he received a message saying that she was ill, he hurried back to Hemakūṭa. Feverish with love, Kādambarī was confined to her couch and did not reply to the prince's ambiguous words herself, but through Madalekhā, her companion. Candrāpīḍa left Patralekhā with her. When he had rejoined his army a letter from his father reached him requiring him to return with all speed to Ujjayinī. While Vaiśampāyana led the army back by slow marches, Candrāpīḍa hastened off on his journey before the two lovers had been able to swear eternal faithfulness to each other and was received with jubilation when he reached his own country and the capital. When Meghanāda, the commander of the whole army, and Patralekhā arrived in Ujjayinī a few days later, Patralekhā told the prince of the confession of love that Kādambarī had confided to her.

At this point the part of the story by Bāna himself, generally called pūrvabhāga, comes to an end. The mere fact that only about half of the story has been related hitherto shows that the work cannot be complete in the form we have it. The various threads of the story are left lying loose, and the heroine, who has given her name to the whole story, only makes her appearance in the last sixth of the book. The disposition of the work was too vast and the poet's life too short. As we have seen, the novel was later completed by Bāṇa's son, Bhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa. This second part, the uttarabhāga, will be discussed in the next section of this book.

It is entirely in keeping with the requirements of kathā that the main subjects of Kādambarī, as of Subandhu's Vāsavadattā, are the love and longings of young people who have scarcely left their childhood behind them in a setting that is wonderful and completely unrealistic and that the story is interspersed with colourful adventures, movement and encounters of the strangest kind. The story is set partly in Ujjayinī, King Tārāpīḍa's capital, and partly in Kādambarī's native country on the far side of the Himālaya, in the land of Gandharvas, Apsaras and Kiṃnaras. The action is livelier, richer and more interesting than that of Vāsavadattā. Its complexity and the fact that it has many layers is not only due to the technique of interweaving several stories and shifting events to different existences, but also because it relates the parallel love-stories of two skilfully contrasted women characters, Mahāśvetā and Kādambarī. Although several stories are intertwined in the book, Bāṇa often embarks on the long descriptions that the rules of mahākāvya require. A superabundance of detail, erudition and fine observation marks these descriptions, which are sometimes several pages long, with the result that the reader is constantly in danger of losing the thread of the narrative. Bāṇa gives us artistically constructed descriptions of the city and palaces of Ujjayinī, the Vindhya mountains,

the Himālaya, Lake Acchodaka, Mahāśvetā's hermitage, the Śiva temple by the lake, night and moonrise, but the pièce de résistance is undoubtedly the magnificent scene between Kādambarī and Prince Candrāpīḍa towards the end of the book. They meet shyly, and are shaken to the depths of their being by the ecstasy of their first, fiery feelings of love. The symptoms shown by Kādambarī when she sees Candrāpīḍa for the first time are depicted by Bāṇa in a masterly way. He is describing agitation and the sentences are extraordinarily short:

> dṛṣṭvā ca taṃ prathamaṃ romodgamas tato bhūṣaṇaravas tadanu kādambarī samuttasthau / atha tasyāḥ kusumāyudha eva svedam ajanayat / sasaṃbhramotthānaśramo vyapadeśo 'bhavat / ūrukampa eva gatiṃ rurodha / nūpuraravākṛṣṭahaṃsamaṇḍalam apayaśo lebhe / niśvāsapravṛttir evāṃśukaṃ calaṃ cakāra / cāmarānilo nimittatāṃ yayau / antaḥpraviṣṭacandrāpīḍasparśalobhenaiva nipapāta hṛdaye hastaḥ / sa eva stanāvaraṇavyājo babhūva / ānanda evāśrujalam apātayat / calitakarṇāvataṃsakusumarajo vyāja āsīt / lajjaiva vaktuṃ na dadau / mukhakamalaparimalāgatālivṛndaṃ dvāratām agāt / madanaśarapratha-maprahāravedanaiva sītkāram akarot / kusumaprakaraketakīkaṇṭakakṣatiḥsādhāraṇatām avāpa / vepathur eva karatalam akampayat / nivedanodyatapratīhārīṇivāraṇaṃ kapaṭam abhūt /
>
> "On seeing him, first horripilation, then the jingle of her ornaments, and thereafter Kādambarī rose. Now the god of love produced perspiration in her; the effort of rising hastily (to receive him) was the pretext. The tremor of her thighs hindered her movements; the flock of swans attracted by the jingling of her anklets got the blame. The accelerated flow of breath agitated her garment; the wind of the chowries came to be the cause. Her hand rested on her heart simply due to the desire to touch Candrāpīḍa, who had entered (into her heart); it being there to cover her breasts was a pretext. Joy caused the fall of the water of tears; the pollen of the flower used as an ear-ornament that was shaken off was an excuse. Shyness did not allow her to speak: the swarm of bees attracted by the fragrance of the lotus of her face became the cause. The very pain caused by the first stroke of Madana's[49] shaft (made her send forth) a hissing sound; the wound caused by the thorns of the ketakī in the gift of flowers (placed on the ground) became the cause. Tremors shook the palm of her hand; waving back the servant about to tell her something was the pretext."[50]

Bāṇa is undoubtedly one of the most difficult poets in Sanskrit, and even a well-educated Indian will find his two novels hard to read. Like other poets who wrote prose or metrical mahākāvya, Bāṇa's strength does not lie in narrative but in sentiment and poetic presentation. Whereas Subandhu's work is brilliant, extremely subtle and highly rhetorical, it is wit and imagination that flow most freely in Bāṇa. Both Kādambarī and the Harṣacarita reveal great sensitivity, and a number of passages in both works show Bāṇa's human warmth and his sense of humour – a quality Subandhu lacks completely. Although Bāṇa's splendid but difficult style is rich in similes, learned allusions, new epithets and other devices and although he is very fond of paronomasia, the poet's imagery hardly ever arouses a feeling that it is an aim in itself; it is rather the genuinely poetic vision of a truly great writer. As we saw in the sample of his prose given above, both novels do in fact contain short

[49] I.e., the god of love.

[50] A free adaptation of the translation by M.R. KALE, *op.cit.*, p. 245.

sentences. On the other hand it is true that his syntax generally leads to sentences of vast proportions, frequently five or six pages long, with the finite verb at the end. In spite of this, however, they never lack clarity. His vocabulary is extraordinarily rich and includes some very rare words such as the itvara at the end of the autobiographical section of Harṣacarita I. It is an old Vedic word, here used by the author to describe himself when young as a youth who, due to his excesses, was "(aimlessly) loafing about". As the poet went to extremes to avoid repeating a word, he continually finds or invents new synonyms for even the most common objects. "Sound", "noise", for example, is rendered with dhvani, raṇita, nāda, rava, śabda, niḥsvana, dhvāna, ghoṣa, svara and hrāda amongst others, and "moon" with candra, indu, śaśin, śaśadhara or soma, but also with much rarer epithets such as amṛtadīdhiti, sudhāsūti or kṣapākara. An almost endless play on words, sounds and thoughts passes in review before the reader's (or listener's) eyes and ears. Almost endless, too, are often the chains of long compounds, which can create greatly varying sound effects suitable for any context. According to Daṇḍin, they are "the soul of prose" and conjure up an atmosphere that is now tender, now serious or sad or ceremonious. V.S. Agrawala considers that four different styles can be distinguished in Bāṇa: "firstly cūrṇaka, which has only short compounds, the second abounding in long compounds, rising and falling like waves, known as utkalikāprāya, the third devoid of any compound and named āviddha, and the fourth called vṛttagandhi, having a sprinkling of metrical phrases and construction."[51]

The many descriptive passages name and describe a multitude of objects and circumstances – clothing, materials, musical instruments, jewelry, male and female occupations, customs, usages, ceremonies, etc. As they are often described down to the last detail they give us invaluable information about the spiritual and material culture of Bāṇa's day and the style of life at Harṣavardhana's court. In short, a whole world is created for the attentive reader of his novels and we fully understand why later critics and lovers of his works like to quote the saying, properly used of Vyāsa, the supposed author of the Mahābhārata, to the effect that great Bāṇa has said everything there is to be said and there is nothing on earth that he has not touched on: bāṇocchiṣṭaṃ jagat sarvam.[52]

3. Later Prose Poets

It is obvious that Bāṇa rapidly gained the reputation of being the greatest master of Sanskrit prose so far to appear. His work was regarded as unsurpassable and his name was soon mentioned together with Kālidāsa and other famous poets. To future generations of poets the Harṣacarita and Kādambarī were *the* models both for prose style and for prose novels.[53] After Bāṇa, ākhyāyikā as a separate genre seemed

[51] The Deeds of Harsha, p. 5.

[52] Modelled on *vyāsocchiṣṭaṃ jagat sarvam.*

[53] See p. 229.

hardly to be viable any longer. Insofar as authors chose historical themes, they either preferred semi-historical, metrical mahākāvya or wrote prose novels, at that time the genre that was most favoured as it combined the characteristics of both categories.

We will begin our outline with Bāṇa's son, Bhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa (or Bhaṭṭa Pulina, Pulinda or Pulindhra[54]), who wrote the second part (uttarabhāga) of his unfinished Kādambarī.[55] Although Bhūṣaṇa was very competent both in the technique of kāvya and Bāṇa's difficult prose style, his achievement cannot be compared with his father's in verbal artistry, imagination or deep knowledge. Bhūṣaṇa appears to have completed the novel, not because he had poetic ambitions, but rather out of filial piety since, like other critics and admirers of Bāṇa, he thought it a pity that such a magnificent work should remain incompleted. Nevertheless a résumé of the second part may follow. Of course we do not know whether the plot was continued along the lines intended by Bāṇa, but we must assume that Bhūṣaṇa, himself a connoisseur of poetry, was perfectly familiar with the design his father had drawn up. The part written by Bāṇa ends somewhat abruptly with Candrāpīḍa's return to Ujjayinī followed soon after by Patralekhā, who tells him of Kādambarī's confession of love. Bhūṣaṇa's part begins here:

When, shortly afterwards, Keyūraka, a young Gandharva, brings a detailed description of the distress in which the lovesick Kādambarī finds herself, Candrāpīḍa swoons. He determines to return to his beloved, but he must first await the arrival of Vaiśampāyana and the army. After receiving a message that his troops have reached Daśapura, he sets out to meet them. In the camp, the captains tell him that Vaiśampāyana did not come back with them; before marching to Ujjayinī he wished to bathe in Lake Acchodaka and worship Śiva in the temple there. However, when he found a bower on the shores of the lake he wept despairingly as if remembering some long-past event. After that he refused to go with his captains, saying that he intended to remain by the lake even after they had offered to delay setting off for three days. Candrāpīḍa goes to Lake Acchodaka but is unable to find his friend. He talks to Mahāśvetā at her hermitage and she tells him that a young Brahman (it is of course Vaiśampāyana) had been wandering about in the neighbourhood and was burning with love for her. It seemed as though the young man recognized her in some way. Although she had repulsed him, Vaiśampāyana had continued to protest his love, indeed one night he had been so insistent that she had become very angry with him, put a spell upon him and turned him into a parrot. On hearing this, Candrāpīḍa's heart breaks and he breathes his last.

Now Kādambarī, Patralekhā, Madalekhā and Keyūraka enter and when they see Candrāpīḍa lying dead, Kādambarī and Patralekhā swoon. On recovering, Kādambarī wishes to take her own life immediately but is restrained by a voice from above promising Mahāśvetā's reunion with Puṇḍarīka and urging Kādambarī to guard the body of the prince until the spell on him is broken and she and Candrāpīḍa can also be reunited. When Patralekhā recovers consciousness, she jumps on to Indrāyudha's back, to the surprise of everyone, and rides him into Lake Acchodaka. Soon afterwards Puṇḍarīka's true

[54] According to Dhanapāla's *Tilakamañjarī,* Introduction, stanza 26.
[55] See p. 252.

friend and companion Kapiñjala rises out of the lake and, to Mahāśvetā's astonishment, relates that, after following Puṇḍarīka into the grave, he had arrived in the sphere of the moon. There the Moon himself explained what had happened: when he gave up his life, Puṇḍarīka put a spell on the Moon so that he should be reborn and suffer separation from his beloved. The Moon, in his turn, pronounced a spell over Puṇḍarīka condemning him to suffer exactly the same fate. The Moon guarded Puṇḍarīka's body carefully until the time should come for them to be reborn, the Moon as Candrāpīḍa and Puṇḍarīka as Vaiśampāyana. Before they were reborn, however, a Vaimānika cursed Kapiñjala, who in his haste had almost knocked down the semi-divine being while he was rushing distractedly along the heavenly paths. The curse requires Kapiñjala to be reborn in the form of a horse but has been mitigated insofar as his life in this form – he will be reborn as Indrāyudha – will only last until the death of his master, Candrāpīḍa.

The remainder of the action links up with Bāṇa's opening to form the framework story. Here follows A.B. Keith's summary[56] of the end of the story showing how all the threads come together:

"Here ended Jābāli's tale, and the parrot knew the truth, that it was Vaiśampāyana dreeing the weird appointed for him. The impatient parrot desires to know its future fate, but is rebuked for its haste, and told that it would have as brief a life in its new condition as when Puṇḍarīka. It is consoled by the advent of Kapiñjala, sent to it by Śvetaketu with the news that he and Lakṣmī, ashamed of past neglect, are now engaged in sacrifice to end the curse, and that it must stay peacefully in the hermitage until the due season. Impatient, however, it flies off, is caught by a Caṇḍāla for his princess, who has brought it to the king; this is all it knows and here ends its tale, which the poet resumes. The Caṇḍāla maiden reveals herself as Lakṣmī, mother of the parrot, who had captured it to save it from the consequences of filial disobedience; she bids the king now quit his life and both he and the parrot at once perish, thus completing the human lives in which they had to suffer. At this moment Candrāpīḍa comes to life in Kādambarī's eyes, Puṇḍarīka descends from the sky, all are reunited, Candrāpīḍa places Puṇḍarīka on the throne, and in devotion to his parents spends his time partly at Ujjayinī, partly at Hemakūṭa, Kādambarī's parental home, and partly in the moon, his own abode, while Patralekhā is revealed as Rohiṇī, the best beloved of the queens of the Moon."

Bhūṣaṇa's second part is only one third of the total length of the work. A comparison with Bāṇa's pūrvabhāga shows that he has not developed the action with the same breadth, artistry or erudition; he seems rather to have concentrated on tightening up the plot and increasing the tempo of the narrative. Even if he has not followed his father's plan on all points, the uttarabhāga is important if we are to understand the first part correctly, for it is here that the fates of the main characters in their various incarnations and their relationship to each other are made clear. It may be thought surprising that the person to emerge as the most important figure at the end of the novel should be King Śūdraka, who has experienced unhappy love in two earlier existences. Quite a few critics have expressed the view that admittedly the way in which Bhūṣaṇa develops and completes the plot is complex and in many strata, but that at bottom it is flat and lacks charm. On this point, however,

[56] A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 323.

opinions differ. The stanzaic version of Kādambarī to be found in Abhinanda's Kādambarīkathāsāra[57] shows that other critics, who regard the achievement of the novel by Bāṇa and Bhūṣaṇa as lying mainly on the linguistic and descriptive plane, greatly appreciate the story too.

The Avantisundarīkathā[58] was written after Bāṇa's time, possibly in the 9th century. Badly preserved, it may have been composed by a poet named Daṇḍin (not to be confused with the author of the Daśakumāracarita, although tradition has frequently done so) and shows some features that are characteristic of kathā and others that belong to ākhyāyikā. Typical of kathā are the stanzas in homage to Īśāna and the brief autobiography in the metrical introduction, while the remarks on poetry and great poets of the past in the stanzaic foreword together with the prose autobiography with which the prose part of the story opens are typical of ākhyāyikā. The poet himself is also the narrator, relating a tale that friends of his have told him. The protagonists are the two figures we meet so often in Sanskrit literature, including the lost beginning of the Daśakumāracarita: Prince Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī, the beautiful daughter of King Mānasāra, the prince's arch-enemy.[59] The Avantisundarīkathā is extant only in fragments and the ca. twenty pages of manuscript that have been preserved deal only with Rājavāhana's parents, King Rājahaṃsa of Magadha and his consort, Queen Vasumatī, the story breaking off just before the birth of the hero. In addition there is a stanzaic Avantisundarīkathāsāra by an anonymous author which is a more or less faithful metrical version bearing about the same relation to the prose kathā as the Kādambarīkathāsāra does to Kādambarī. It is possible that the different versions of the Avantisundarī legend in the Pūrvapīṭhikā of the Daśakumāracarita and the Avantisundarīkathā come from two different sources, or that the poet who wrote the latter took his material from Daṇḍin's Pūrvapīṭhikā but reworked it in kathā style to suit himself. As in Bāṇa's novels, the main thread of the story is often obscured by subsidiary plots, minor episodes and, not least, by the fact that events are sometimes moved to different incarnations. Furthermore, the narrative is constantly being interrupted by long descriptions, such as the elaborate account of the love-games played by King Rājahaṃsa and Queen Vasumatī. To an even greater extent than Bāṇa, the author of the Avantisundarīkathā indulges in long, sweeping sentences, long compounds, paronomasia and alliteration.

In the time after Subandhu and Bāṇa prose was cultivated particularly in educated Jaina circles. As Jainism enjoins strict asceticism and the renunciation of the world on its adherents, explicitly worldly subjects, especially erotic themes, were in theory prohibited. Numerous Jaina Munis were nevertheless very fond of love-stories. Their poets did not usually write openly on these themes but tended to disguise them as religious or edifying literature. Stories filled with erotic sentiment (śṛṅgārarasa) even found their way into the thriving Jaina dharmakathā literature

[57] See p. 200.
[58] For editions, etc., see p. 236, note 15.
[59] Cf. p. 238 f.

which, although it might be entertaining also, was primarily intended to be beneficial for the spiritual health of the community. In these works we therefore find many descriptions of festivals, processions, spring games, etc. On such occasions a young man might catch sight of a beautiful young girl who has just turned sixteen, with whom he falls violently in love. Immediately the youth will swoon, struck by the scorching sight of feminine beauty. As soon as the maiden sees the young man, she, too, loses consciousness; sick with love, she is confined to her couch and is treated with soothing lotions to mitigate the fever of love. Finally, when the girl's parents learn of the affair and of their daughter's pitiable condition, she is allowed to marry the man she so hotly desires. A number of tales describe the magnificent ceremony (svayaṃvara) parents arrange at which a marriagable daughter chooses as her husband the prince or king she has longed for so deeply; other stories describe the nuptials of a beautiful daughter and a young man who has daringly rescued her from snake-bite or a charging elephant, and others again the elopement of unhappy lovers who finally make an informal love-marriage (gandharvavivāha) because the bride's parents will not consent to the young man's proposal.

Although these themes would have fitted perfectly into the sort of love-story Bāṇa wrote and although Jaina poets offer their readers or listeners a motley assortment of descriptions such as the seasons, sunrises, towns, woods or parks, journeys, military expeditions, indeed even battles, abductions, the pleasures of love, weddings, kings, ministers, merchants or generals, the majority of these Jaina works are not true prose novels in the strictly poetic sense. This is partly because the message in Jaina stories and collections of tales is far more narrative and didactic than aesthetic in character although the works themselves have many features in common with mahākāvya. For example, many stories illustrate virtues such as self-control, generosity or asceticism in their main characters, or they may contain passages censuring women (strīnindā) intended to direct them towards renunciation of the world and tranquillity. Heroes often live through several incarnations. In the Samarāiccakahā[60], a dharmakathā in Prakrit by Haribhadra Sūri (9th century), a work that in many respects resembles Bāṇa's Kādambarī, we follow Samarāditya (Pkt. Samarāicca), King of Ujjayinī, through ten existences which illustrate the gradual maturing of karman.

Like other authors, Jaina writers like to take their material from the inexhaustible treasure-trove of folklore and popular tales common to the whole of India. These they re-edit and use for their own religious propaganda. Their stories seem fresher, the scene more living and the characters less decadent than those of Bāṇa or Subandhu. As in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita, we meet more plebeian types such as hetaerae, ascetics, messengers, servants, gamblers, rogues, thieves and poor people

[60] Ed.: H. JACOBI, Calcutta 1908–26 (Bibl. Ind., 169); M.S. MODI, 2 vols., Ahmedabad 1935/36 (Prakrit Grantha-Mālā 7). – See also A.N. UPADHYE, Samaramiyaṅkā kahā of Haribhadra, AIOC 1946, II, p. 381 f. and BhV 8 (1947), p. 23 f.; R. WILLIAMS, Haribhadra, BSOAS 28 (1965), p. 101 ff.

but also kings, queens, ministers and merchant princes. Although it often comes close to genuine, artistically constructed kāvya, their narrative literature deviates from the classical novel as defined by Bāṇa and subsequent critics in that it is not written in Sanskrit only, but also in Prākrit (Māhārāṣṭrī) and Apabhraṃśa, or sometimes in all three. Another difference is that they do not use prose for everything except the metrical introduction but also stanzaic forms or, like the author of the Samarāiccakahā, employ the mixed form of prose and verse that is characteristic of campū. Jaina poets are fond of allowing stanzas in Sanskrit or Apabhraṃśa to alternate with passages in Māhārāṣṭrī which, due to its fascinating euphony, has for ages been considered especially suitable for creating an erotic sentiment.

The Śvetāmbara-Jaina Dhanapāla, a Brahman who had been converted to Jainism by his brother Śobhana, follows exactly in Bāṇa's footsteps in the Sanskrit novel Tilakamañjarī. We are also indebted to this poet for a Prākrit dictionary, Pāiyalacchī, and a number of Jaina hymns.[61] As a couple of stanzas of homage to his patrons in the metrical introduction to Tilakamañjarī show, Dhanapāla wrote his prose work in the second half of the 10th century[62] during the reigns of the Paramāra monarchs Sīyaka[63] and Vākpatirāja[64] of Dhārā. He was born in Ujjayinī but when he grew up he moved to the capital of Mālava, a learned and versatile author. His novel[65], named after its heroine, is a direct copy of Bāṇa's Kādambarī, which the poet took as his model. However, he does not rise to the same heights of linguistic magnificence, elegance or erudition as his great predecessor. Like other kathās, it is prefaced by a metrical foreword containing a stanza of homage, in this case to Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, and the usual remarks on poetry and older poets as well as praise of his two patrons, the Paramāra rulers of Dhārā. The body of the novel, which is not divided into chapters – one of the most important signs of kathā – relates the romantic story of the love of Tilakamañjarī and Samaraketu and their final union. The oldest Prākrit novel, the rebirth story Taraṅgavatī[66] by the famous Jaina poet Pādalipta (Pkt. Pālitta, before the 5th century A.D. ?), who is a link in the tradition between the courts of Hāla and Harṣa, and the Trailokyasundarīkathā by Rudra are unfortunately both lost. Dhanapāla pays tribute to both of them in the foreword to Tilakamañjarī.[67]

[61] See p. 136.

[62] Probably about 970 A.D.

[63] *Tilakamañjarī*, Introduction, stanza 23.

[64] *Ibid.*, Introduction, stanza 35 f.

[65] Ed.: Pt. BHAVADATTA ŚĀSTRĪ and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1903, 1938[2] (KM 85, NSP); N.M. KANSARA, Ahmedabad 1969 (Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Series 23). – Lit.: C. SIVARAMAMURTI, Art notes from Dhanapāla's Tilakamañjarī, IC 2 (1935), p. 199 ff.; H. BHUSANA JAIN, Tilakamañjarīkāro mahākavidhanapālaḥ, PJ 5 (1967), p. 476 f. (in Sanskrit).

[66] The contents of this work, a love story, were retold in Prākrit stanzas in the *Taraṅgalolā* (1643 A.D.). Translation: E. LEUMANN, Die Nonne. Ein neuer Roman aus dem alten Indien, München-Neubiberg (1921).

[67] *Tilakamañjarī*, Introduction, Stanzas 23 and 35 f.

The Gadyacintāmaṇi is by an author we have already considered[68], the Digambara Jaina Vādībhasiṃha Oḍayadeva (or Vādībhasiṃha Sūri) from the Karnāṭaka in the south of India, a contemporary of Vādirāja's. He lived in the 11th century. As in the Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi, which is stanzaic, the story of the Gadyacintāmaṇi is taken from Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa. It is in eleven chapters, here called lambhaka, and tells the story of Jīvandhara (or Jīvaka), the son of King Satyandhara, who finally takes monastic vows and gains peace of mind and supreme knowledge in the bosom of the Jaina faith. The influence of Bāṇa's Kādambarī is noticeable in Vādībhasiṃha's work too. His Gadyacintāmaṇi[69], the "Wishing Stone of Prose", is considered to be a very important Sanskrit novel notable, despite its long compounds, for its graceful, flowing style and an interesting story into which numerous illustrations of Jaina teaching and valuable descriptions of Jaina life have been inserted. About the end of the 10th century or the beginning of the 11th an unknown Jaina poet wrote the Malayasundarīkathā, a fantastic novel the hero and heroine of which are Mahābala and Malayasundarī.

The poet Soḍḍhala came from the caste of scribes (Kāyastha) and wrote under the patronage of the Koṅkaṇa rulers Cittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummiṇirāja, whose capital was Sthānaka (the modern Thaṇa south of Bombay). As Soḍḍhala also mentions Vatsarāja of Lāṭa's patronage, his work, the Udayasundarīkathā[70], may have been written between 1026 and 1050. His poetry is influenced by the Kādambarī, both in content and style, and as the prose is frequently interrupted by stanzas, critics like to classify it as campū. It is divided into chapters in the ākhyāyikā manner and the protagonists are Udayasundarī, the charming and beautiful daughter of the Nāga king, Śikhaṇḍatilaka, and Mālayavāhana, the young king of Pratiṣṭhāna. Their love for each other is undying and finally they make an informal love-marriage. In this poem stanzas are not yet used with the same freedom as in true campū, but it gives a clear indication that the boundaries of prose kāvya are no longer hard and fast.

A later author, not a Jaina, whom we have already discussed is Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa[71], who lived at the beginning of the 15th century. His Vemabhūpālacarita[72] – one of the few works to take Bāṇa's Harṣacarita and not Kādambarī as its model – relates the deeds of the Reddi ruler Vemabhūpāla (or Vīranārāyaṇa) of Koṇḍaviḍu (about 1403 to 1420).

[68] See p. 212.

[69] Ed.: T.S. KUPPUSVAMI SASTRI, Madras 1902.

[70] Ed.: C.D. DALAL and E. KRISHNAMACHARYA, Baroda 1920 (GOS 11). – Lit.: C. SIVARAMAMURTI, Jottings on painting from the Udayasundarīkathā of Soḍḍhala, JORM 13 (1939), p. 338 ff.; D.P. PATEL, A critical appreciation of Soḍḍhala's Udayasundarīkathā, JMSU 13 (1964), p. 71 f.; V.V. MIRASHI, The Udayasundarikatha of Soddhala, Nilakanta Sastri Fel. Vol., Madras 1971, p. 423 ff.

[71] See pp. 125, 210 and 248.

[72] Ed.: Pt.R.V. KRISHNANAMACHARIAR, Srirangam 1910 (Sri Vani Vilas Sanskrit Series 16). See also D.S. BABU, Kingship, State and Religion in South India, etc.; cf. p. 220, note 221.

The flowering of the prose novel was comparatively brief – it lasted only a few centuries. Poetry that can be defined as kathā, either by the title or the content, was also written in later ages, not least by Jaina poets. However, after the beginning of the second millennium the authors of most of these works allowed an ever-increasing number of verses to invade their poems. This tendency is noticeable in a book as early as Dhanapāla's Tilakamañjarī, in which a far larger proportion of verses is used than in Bāṇa. The final result was that kathā, no longer being written exclusively in prose, gradually changed into campū, the genre dealt with in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

POETRY OF THE MAJOR FORM – *CAMPŪ*

1. Introductory Remarks

At the end of the long road along which the various genres of kāvya have developed, from short poems, via metrical sargabandha to mahākāvya in prose, we have campū which, as we saw in our survey of literary categories[1], is a mixed form in which prose passages alternate with stanzas. It was known to Daṇḍin, who designated it 'gadyapadyamayī'[2], i.e., consisting of gadya and padya, but it was not used to any great extent until after the end of the first millennium A.D. The genre enjoyed great popularity in the south, particularly in Kerala, both in Malayālam and in the mixed style known as Maṇipravāla, which used a mixture of Malayālam and Sanskrit. In the history of Malayālam literature it is the time between the end of the 14th and the 16th centuries that can in fact be regarded as the campū period.[3] The term campū is not of Indo-Aryan origin and its etymology has not been definitely established[4]. F.B.J. Kuiper considers it to be a loan from Austro-Asiatic which is related, very appropriately, to the Malay tjampur, "mixed", and the Sakei campur, "to mix".[5]

Trivikramabhaṭṭa's Nalacampū (or Damayantīcampū), written at the beginning of the 10th century, is generally accepted as being the earliest campū in Sanskrit, but there are a few even older works in Prākrit which, having been composed in the transitional period between prose and mixed forms, may be classified as either campū or kathā. The mixing of poetry and prose is in itself certainly of considerable age. It is to be found in Buddhist texts, especially the Avadānas, but it is also common in the Sūtras, both in Pāli and Sanskrit, as well as in Hindu narrative literature and in inscriptions. Nevertheless, it is inadvisable to use the term campū indiscriminately of any mixture of prose and verse or to define as campū works like Ārya Śūra's Jātakamālā[6] or, still less, a book of fables like the Hitopadeśa, as is often done. Although these books do contain both prose and verse, their authors did not write them as campūs. It is true that in their day a mixture of poetry and prose

[1] See p. 45 ff.

[2] *Kāvyād.* 1, 31.

[3] Cf. A.C. SEKHAR, Evolution of Malayalam, BDC 12, 1–2 (1951), p. 1 ff.

[4] Cf. M. MAYRHOFER, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, I, Heidelberg 1956, *sub verbo.*

[5] AO 16, p. 309 f. For the genre, its origin and development, see S.K. DE, The Campū, JGJh 1 (1943), p. 56 ff. and M.K. SURYANARAYANA RAO, Origin and development of campūs, V.V. Mirashi Fel. Vol., Nagpur 1965, p. 175 ff.

was not uncommon, but they were not put together in the campū manner; this developed later. While in true campū there is a calculated balance between prose that is as perfect as possible and stanzas (in the genuine kāvya style) in most of the texts above the prose does not measure up to especially high criteria and the verse has either a strongly didactic tendency or it has been allotted some other function, for example giving a summary. It is a principle of some importance that the flowering of prose mahākāvya should have preceded the development of campū, the last of all the literary genres. In just the same way as the prose novel arose as a deliberate contrast to metrical kāvya, which was then fully developed, so campū was created when Sanskrit poets had mastered all the fine points and difficulties of prose. Only when the need was felt to find a new and more difficult form of kāvya did poets endeavour to develop a new genre – campū – in which both poetry and prose combined to produce a harmonic and balanced whole.

2. *The Poems*

The large number of poems in the mixed style that have been preserved indicate that campū must have been one of the best-loved genres both in Sanskrit and in Prākrit poetry. A transitional poem, though it should perhaps be reckoned as campū, is the voluminous Kuvalayamālā[7], extant in two recensions, by the Jaina poet Uddyotana Dākṣiṇyacihna (or Uddyotana Sūri), a pupil of the famous Haribhadra, the author of the Samarāiccakahā. Completed in 799 in Jāvālipura (mod-

[6] The compositions of Ārya Śūra and other Buddhist authors of *Jātakamālās* in verse *cum* prose or only in verse such as Kumāralāta, Saṅghasena, Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta have not been discussed in this volume, as these works are not exclusively governed by all the rules of classical poetry. Though it is incontestable that their poems contain numerous elements of *kāvya* and Ārya Śūra in his 29th *Jātaka* story, as has been shown recently (see B. BHATTACHARYA, Yamaka in Ārya-Śūra's Jātaka-Mālā, BV 44/45, Adyar 1980/81, p. 390 ff.), even uses the technique of *yamaka*-writing, their works are preferably to be classed as narrative literature. Since their chief purpose is story-telling, they do not make any excessive use of descriptions and, as a rule, are moderate also in exhibiting other painstaking poetic devices.

[7] Ed.: A.N. UPADHYE, Bombay 1959 (SJS 45). – Lit.: JINAVIJAYAJI MUNI, Kuvalayamālā (A Jain story of the 8th century A.D.), BhV 2 (1940/41), p. 77 ff. and p. 211 ff.; A.N. UPADHYE, Sanskrit passages in the Kuvalayamālā, BV 25 (1961), p. 353 ff.; A.N. UPADHYE, Languages and dialects used in the Kuvalayamālā, JOIB 14 (1964/65), p. 317 ff.; A.N. UPADHYE, On the two recensions of the Kuvalayamālā, V.V. Mirashi Fel. Vol., Nagpur 1965, pp. 201 ff.; A.N. UPADHYE, Languages and dialects used in the Kuvalayamālā, AIOC 1965, II, p. 204 ff.; A.N. UPADHYE, Works and authors referred to in the Kuvalayamālā of Uddyotanasūri, VIJ 3 (1965), p. 117 ff.; A.N. UPADHYE, Influence of Vimalasūri's Paumacariya and Bāṇa's Kādambarī on Uddyotanasūri's Kuvalayamālā, JOIB 16 (1967), p. 371 ff.; A.N. UPADHYE, Influence of earlier works on the Kuvalayamālā, AIOC 1968, p. 321 ff.; A.N. UPADHYE, The Kuvalayamālā: introduction, notes..., with a cultural note on the Kuvalayamālā...by...V.S. AGRAWALA, (without place) 1969; A.N. UPADHYE, Kuvalayamālā: a cultural study, JOIB 20 (1970), p. 148 ff.; Kuvalayamala (of) Uddyotana Suri, JJ 5 (1970), p. 52 ff. (summary of contents).

ern Jalor, near south of Jodhpur), it not only combines prose and verse in the manner practised by the genre that was slowly coming into fashion, it is a mixed work in several other respects too: in it we find descriptions, love-stories, conversations, riddles, samasyāpūraṇas, a mixture of styles and metres and even a mixture of languages, above all of various Middle Indian dialects. The poet considered his work to be, in principle, an "edifying tale", a dharmakathā in Māhārāṣṭrī. What he offers is, however, a saṃkīrṇakathā, a "mixed story", which presents a number of short poems within the framework of a poem in the major form – a kathā or a campū. It is also mixed from the language point of view, for into the body of the text, which is mostly in Prākrit, are interpolated passages in Sanskrit, usually metrical (in the form of quotations), in Apabhraṃśa and sometimes even in Paiśācī. The poem exemplifies the maturing of the karman, while the fate of five persons illustrate the pernicious effects of krodha, māna, māyā, lobha and moha, i.e., anger, pride, deceit, greed and delusion. At the beginning of this long, often obscure story, we meet Prince Kuvalayacanda, who is searching for the beautiful young maiden Kuvalayamālā. He eventually gains her since he is sufficiently educated and skilful to complete a half-finished stanza. Kuvalayamālā may not be a perfect kāvya in all respects, but it will serve as an excellent illustration of the sort of works in mixed prose and verse written in large numbers by other Jaina poets not mentioned here. Uddyotana made use of every convention in kāvya he possibly could and, following the example of Kādambarī, Tilakamañjarī and the lost Taraṅgavatī, indulged in the verbose descriptions typical of poetic prose, for example of cities like Vārāṇasī, Ujjayinī and Takṣaśilā, sunset and dusk, Dīpāvalī and other festivals, summer, merchants on a voyage, the monsoon, etc. The Jaina scholar Ratnaprabha Sūri wrote a résumé of Kuvalayamālā in the 13th century. Like many other works defined as kathā in the title, his Kuvalayamālākathā[8] is in fact written in the form of a campū in Sanskrit and is not without a flavour and character of its own.

The earliest real campūkāvya is the Nalacampū (or Damayantīcampū, Damayantīkathā)[9] by Trivikramabhaṭṭa, who came from Karṇāṭaka. As the same author composed the Nausari inscription for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra II, we can date his work to the beginning of the 10th century. The poem is divided into seven ucchvāsas and, as the name announces, relates the tale that is such a favourite of Sanskrit poets, the story of King Nala and his consort, Queen Damayantī.[10] The work, which deals with only a fraction of the Nala legend, is modelled on Subandhu and Bāṇa and is written in difficult prose full of erudition and paronomasia. The fact that stanzas from the Nalacampū are included in various anthologies shows that Trivikrama's poetry won the approval of the critics. It is said that Trivikrama wrote

[8] Ed.: A.N. UPADHYE, Bombay 1970 (SJS 46). – Cf. also A. MASTER, Gleanings from the Kuvalayamālā Kahā – II, BSOAS 13 (1949/51), p. 1004 ff.

[9] Ed.: N.B. PARVAṆĪKAR, Pt. DURGĀPRASĀD and Pt. ŚIVADATTA, Bombay 1885 (NSP); Pt.N.K. ŚARMA. . .under the supervision of. . .Pt.N.Ś. KHISTE, Benares 1932 (KSS 98, Kāvya section 15).

[10] See p. 192 above.

it in answer to a challenge from a colleague while his father, an important court poet, was away from home. Unfortunately he never finished it, for when his father returned, he regarded his son's attempt at poetry as an idle pastime. Trivikrama is generally considered to be the author of another poem belonging to the same genre, the Madālasācampū. Today, however, we know that it was written by another poet of the same name.[11]

Another important campū also comes from Karṇāṭaka. It is the Yaśastilakacampū[12], written in 959 by the Digambara Jaina Somaprabha Sūri (or Somadeva), who worked under the patronage of the son of the Cālukya monarch King Arikesarin III, a vassal of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Kṛṣṇa. Somaprabha took the material for this comprehensive campū on the legend of King Yaśodhara and his reincarnations from Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa, which has been the source of several Jaina works.[13] As in poems by many other Jaina writers, indeed also in Bāṇa, upon whom they modelled themselves, the action of the story extends over several incarnations. It was in accordance with the practice of Jaina authors that Somaprabha should combine a great deal of didactic material concerned with Jaina teachings and ethics with the more poetic passages in this erudite and extraordinarily broadly orientated poem. There are eight chapters in the work – here called āśvāsa – the last three of which form a sort of book of instruction for laymen. The story proper, which is in many layers, is related with great skill in Āśvāsas I–V, the prose and stanzaic passages revealing the hand of a man with a true mastery of both styles. Since there are other works based on the same story, a synopsis of the work follows:[14]

> The city of Rājapura in the land of Yodheya is ruled over by a sensuous young king named Māridatta. On the advise of his family priest he has decided to sacrifice a pair, male and female, of every living creature to his household goddess, Caṇḍamāridevatā. When, for this human sacrifice, two ascetics, a youth and a maiden, are brought before the king, the scales suddenly fall from his eyes. He remembers having heard that his nephew and niece, twins, had renounced the world and become followers of the Jaina faith. They tell him of their experiences in previous incarnations and their story, which takes up the greater part of the work, makes it clear to Māridatta that they are in fact his relatives. The king undergoes an

[11] See V.V. MIRASHI, Trivikrama, the author of the Madālasācampū, Nagpur University Journal 15 (1964), p. 1 ff. and V.V. MIRASHI, Madālasācampūkartā trivikramabhaṭṭaḥ, PJ 5 (1967), p. 482 f.

[12] Ed.: Pt. ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, 2 vols., Bombay 1901, 1903, Pt. ŚIVADATTA... and V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR, 1916² (KM 70, NSP). – Lit.: A. VENKATASUBBIAH, The Yaśastilaka and the Pañcatantra, PO 2 (1937), p. 181 ff.; V. RAGHAVAN, Gleanings from Somadevasūri's Yaśastilaka Campū, JGJh 1 (1944), p. 249 ff. and 467 ff.; K.K. HANDIQUI, Yaśastilaka and Indian culture (or Somadeva's Yaśastilaka and aspects of Jainism and Indian thought and culture in the tenth century), Sholapur 1949 (Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā 2); V. RAGHAVAN, Somadeva and King Bhoja, JUG 3 (1952), p. 35 ff.; E.D. KULKARNI. The vocabulary of Yaśastilaka of Somadevasūri, BDC 18 (1957, Taraporewale Mem. Vol.). On the author see O. BOTTO, *IL Nītivākyāmṛta di Somadeva Sūri, Torino 1962, p. 7 ff.*

[13] See p. 214.

[14] For a more detailed synopsis see A.B. KEITH, A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 333 f.

inward transformation and both he and his household goddess are converted to the exalted teaching of Mahāvīra, which preaches the sacredness of life.

Another work containing Jaina teaching which, like the Yaśastilakacampū, is based on the Uttarapurāṇa is the Jīvandharacampū[15] by Haricandra (or Haribhadra), who was certainly not writing before the 9th century and may also be the author of the wholly stanzaic Dharmaśarmābhyudaya.[16] In campū form it retells the story so popular in Jaina poetry, the Jīvandhara legend on which the Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi and Gadyacintāmaṇi[17] by Vādībhasiṃha are also based. The Jaina poet Mahendra Sūri's Nammayāsundarīkahā (Skt. Narmadāsundarīkathā)[18] is written in Prākrit. Mainly stanzaic, it was composed in 1130, allegedly at the request of a pupil. It relates the story of the very pious girl, Narmadāsundarī, who suffered all kinds of distress after her marriage to Maheśvaradatta, but heroically withstood all temptations, even when she found herself in a house of joy. Like most works in this genre, it is of great value from the cultural and historical point of view. Of particular interest are the details of how a courtesan (gaṇikā) is trained as related to Narmadāsundarī by the madam of the house, which had a staff of at least seven hundred ladies of easy virtue.

Also worth mentioning is the Buddhist Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa[19] (before the second half of the 13th century) which applies the technique of campū to a text written in Pāli. It is a monastery chronicle (vaṃsa) from Ceylon composed in the manner of a Sanskrit campū. The work consists of 11 chapters (pariccheda) and opens with a benediction. Chapter I contains descriptions of the district Maṇibheda, the river Vālukanadī and the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-Stūpa and relates how Prince Saṅghabodhi was born in a village in the vicinity of the stūpa; Chapter II describes the sermon delivered by the illustrious monk Nandamahāthera to Prince Saṅghabodhi, which is modelled directly on Śukanāsa's speech to Candrāpīḍa in Bāṇa's Kādambarī; III the arrival of the three young men Saṅghabodhi, Saṅghatissa and Goṭhābhaya at Anurādhapura; and IV the death of Saṅghatissa and the annointing of Saṅghabodhi as king. When Saṅghabodhi refuses the kingdom, his speech again follows the words uttered by Śukanāsa in Bāṇa. Chapter V describes Saṅghabodhi's desire to attain the perfections of enlightenment, VI how he tames a red-eyed demon and the dialogue between him and the king; VII the king's renunciation of the world; VIII his voluntary death, IX the cremation of the king and the queen and the erection of a stūpa by King Goṭhābhaya; X the building of a five-storied mansion for the monks; and XI the good deeds performed by the two kings

[15] Ed.: T.S. KUPPUSVAMI SASTRI, Tanjore 1905 (Sarasvatī Vilāsa Series); P. JAIN, Benares 1958 (Jñānapīṭha Mūrtideva Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrit grantha 18, with Hindi translation). – On the date of the author see V. RAGHAVAN, The date of the Jain poet Haricandra, JGJh 26 (1970), pp. 45–46.

[16] Cf. p. 212 above.

[17] Cf. p. 263 above.

[18] Ed. K.P. TRIVEDĪ, Bombay 1960 (SJS 48). See J.C. JAIN, Prākṛt sāhitya kā itihās, Varanasi 1961 (Vidyābhavan Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Granthamālā 42), p. 459 ff. (in Hindi).

[19] Ed. C.E. GODAKUMBURA, PTS 1956.

Vijayabāhu and Parākramabāhu II. In the verse portions the poet uses metres which all are employed in Sanskrit kāvya. About twenty stanzas are modelled on or inspired by Ārya Śūra's Jātakamālā.

Judging by the texts that have been preserved, most of the campūs written before the end of the first millennium were by Jainas. Although the genre must have enjoyed popularity among Hindus, too, it is astonishing to find that Hindu campū did not reach the height of its power until the 16th century. After this time the number of Hindu campūs is so large that space does not permit us to give more than a brief description of the most important of them.

The Rāmāyaṇacampū (or Bhojacampū)[20] cannot be dated with any certainty and was written by more poets than one. Like the epic Rāmāyaṇa it is divided into six sections (kāṇḍa). The first five kāṇḍas are by Vidarbharāja, i.e., Bhoja (first half of the 11th century) and the last (Yuddhakāṇḍa) by Lakṣmaṇa Sūri (or Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa), who is also known for his commentary on Kavirāja's Rāghavapāṇḍavīya and the Gītagovinda. Some manuscripts include a seventh section (Uttarakāṇḍa) attributed to Veṅkaṭarāja. Bhoja's part of the work is influenced not only by the Rāmāyaṇa itself, but also by those sargas in the Raghuvaṃśa[21] that deal with the Rāma legend. Divākara's Amogharāghavacampū[22], relating in seven ucchvāsas the story of the Bālakāṇḍa in the Rāmāyaṇa, was written in 1299. The poet's patron was the ruler of Kolattunāḍ in Kerala named in the title, (Vīra)Rāghava (Cakravartin). A campū that retells the story of the Mahābhārata is the Bhāratacampū[23] by Ananta Bhaṭṭa (end of the 16th century).

The majority of campūs have as their subject episodes or legends taken either from the two great epics or the Purāṇas, particularly the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. Śeṣakṛṣṇa (Kṛṣṇa for short), a 16th century author, wrote the Pārijātaharaṇacampū[24] and a contemporary, Daivajña Sūrya,wrote a Nṛsiṃhacampū.[25] A considerable number of the campūs inspired by the Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa and Śiva legends were composed during the 17th century and, like earlier campūs, many of them come from the south. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, from the south of India, whom we have already mentioned, wrote the Nīlakaṇṭhavijayacampū[26] (1637) about the legend of the churning of the ocean of milk. Keśava Bhaṭṭa, the son of Ananta Bhaṭṭa, and

[20] Ed.: K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1898 (NSP); R. MISRA, Benares 1956. – Lit.: E. SLUSZKIEWICZ, Notes sur le Campūrāmāyaṇa de Bhoja, RO 3 (1925), p. 107 ff.

[21] Cf. p. 176 f.

[22] See K. KUNJUNNI RAJA, The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature, Madras 1958, p. 238 f and A.G. WARIAR, King Rāghava of the Amogharāghavacampū, IHQ 17 (1941), p. 251 ff.

[23] Ed.: Bombay: Induprakāśa Press 1864; K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1903, (K.P. PARAB and V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR) 1919³.

[24] Ed.: Pt. DURGĀPRASĀD and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1889 (KM 14, NSP); C. SANKARARAMA SASTRI, Madras 1924.

[25] Ed.: HARIPRASAD BHAGAVAT, Bombay 1909. – See also V. RAGHAVAN, The Nṛsiṃha Campū of Daivajña Sūrya Paṇḍita and the Nṛsiṃhavijñāpana of Śrī Nṛsiṃhāśramin, BV 1 (1937), Manuscripts notes II, p. 42 ff.

[26] Ed.: C. SANKARARAMA SASTRI, Madras 1924 and 1941 (Sri Balamanorama Series 7).

Saṃkarṣaṇa each wrote a Nṛsiṃhacampū.[27] Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa from North Malabar, also previously mentioned, wrote the short quick-poem (āśukavitā) entitled Svāhāsudhākara[28] in campū form but, having only 26 stanzas, it belongs rather to the minor form of kāvya. Other poems are the Śaṅkaracetovilāsacampū[29] by Śaṅkara and the Mandāramarandacampū[30] by Kṛṣṇaśarman. The artistically constructed early 17th century Varadāmbikāpariṇaya[31] by the woman poet Tirumalāmbā tells the story of the love and marriage of Varadāmbikā and Acyutarāya, King of Vijayanagara (crowned about 1530 A.D.). The author of a Rāmāyaṇa-, a Bhāgavata-, a Nala- and a Hariścandracampū is the southern Indian scholar-poet Ghanaśyāma[32], who lived in the first half of the 18th century. He also wrote a number of dramas, purely metrical kāvyas, commentaries and other works. Then there is the Citracampū[33], completed in 1744, by the Bengali poet Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya (born about 1665).

Quite a number of campūs are on predominantly religious or philosophic themes. A typical work of this kind is the Viśvaguṇādarśacampū[34] by the versatile scholar and poet Veṅkaṭādhvarin[35] (born about 1590 in Araśāṇipāla near Kāñcī, died about 1660 in Kāñcī). He calls each section of his work a varṇana, i.e., "description" (possibly also "praise"), and presents what he wishes to say in the form of a dialogue between two Gandharvas named Viśvāvasu and Kṛśānu. These two beings fly over India in a vimāna, an "aerial chariot", and Viśvāvasu sings the praises of everything that meets his eye during the journey. Kṛśānu, on the other hand, sees only negative qualities, but he is not a true advocatus diaboli as his speech is full of ambiguities (śleṣa) and he thus frequently agrees with Viśvāvasu without appearing to do so. It is interesting that the journey theme, which has long been found in dūta poetry and occasionally also in metrical mahākāvya, can obviously be adapted to new, even religious purposes. As a pious Viṣṇuite whose spiritual advisers seem to have been Rāmānuja, Vedāntadeśika and Nammāḻvār (Skt. Śaṭhakopa) Veṅkaṭādhvarin uses the device of describing the most important places of pilgrimage in order to make

[27] Ed.: HARIPRASAD BHAGAVAT, Bombay 1909 (Keśava Bhaṭṭa).

[28] Ed.: in KM 4, Bombay 1887.

[29] See A.B. KEITH, A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 337.

[30] Ed.: KEDARNĀTH and V.L.Ś. PAṆṢĪKAR, Bombay 1924[2] (NSP); Pt. ŚIVADATTA and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1895 (KM 52).

[31] Ed.: LAKSMAN SARUP, Lahore (1938?).

[32] On the poet and his works see M. VALLAURI, Il poeta Ghanaçyāma e il suo 'Damaruka', GSAI 2 (1930/31), p. 75 ff.; J.B. CHAUDHURI, Sanskrit poet Ghanaśyāma, IHQ 19 (1943), p. 237 ff.

[33] See J. EGGELING, Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, VII, London, 1904, No. 4044.

[34] Ed.: C.V. RAMASSWAMI, Calcutta 1825; Sh. VITHAL, Bombay 1889; B.G. YOGI and M.G. BAKRE, Bombay 1923[5] (NSP). – Translation: M.-Cl. PORCHER, Un poème satirique sanskrit: la Viśvaguṇādarśacampū de Veṅkaṭādhvarin, Pondichéry 1972 (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 48). – On the author see E.V. VIRA RAGHAVACHARIA, Veṅkaṭādhvarin: his date and works, IC 6 (1939), p. 225 ff. and M.-Cl. PORCHER, *op.cit* (introduction).

[35] See p. 148 above.

his campū a sort of māhātmya as well as a poem. A parallel example, very similar in conception to Veṅkaṭādhvarins' work, is to be found in the sixth Act of Vedāntadeśika's drama Saṃkalpasūryodaya (aerial journey and description of holy places by Viveka and Tarka). It is obvious that in Veṅkaṭādhvarin's day it was fashionable to use the journey theme and the dialogue form which was used throughout and was frequently turned into exaggerated verbal cleverness. Similar campūs are Samarapuṃgava Dīkṣita's Tīrthayātrāprabandha[36] and Annayārya's Tattvaguṇādarśa(campū)[37], which resembles the Viśvaguṇādarśacampū both in title and manner. Also worth mentioning is Kavitārkikasiṃha Vedāntācārya, in whose Vedāntācāryavijaya[38], "The (Spiritual) Victory of the Vedānta Master (Vedāntadeśika)", disputes between various scholars and Vedāntadeśika are described. In a similar way Rāmacandra Cīrañjīva Bhaṭṭācārya allows representatives of various sects to present the essential features of their faiths in his Vidvanmodataraṅginī[39] (1st half of the 18th century).

Just as Jaina poets made use of campū for the dissemination and illustration of their faith, so numbers of Vaiṣṇava poets employed the genre for their message of salvation. This is particularly true of the leaders of the revivalist movement founded by Caitanya (1485–1533 A.D.). His disciples and the sect's first theologists were true connoisseurs of poetry and often introduced into their campūs glowing pictures of the sublimated erotic love found in kāvya in which worldly love and religious mysticism are inextricably mixed. Jīva Gosvāmin wrote the voluminous Gopālacampū[40], which has (thirty-three chapters) named purāṇas and, like the philosophic campūs, uses dialogue technique. Raghunāthadāsa wrote the Muktācaritra[41] and Paramānandadāsa Kavikarṇapūra the Ānandavṛndāvanacampū.[42] The devotion to classical kāvya of these early teachers of the Caitanya school[43] not only had the result that an important branch of Kṛṣṇaite poetry arose, it also led to the inclusion in this school's system of religious instruction of a number of complex Sanskrit poetic theories and technical terms.

[36] Ed.: KEDARNĀTH and V.L.Ś. PAṆŚĪKAR, Bombay 1908 (NSP).

[37] Cf. Descriptive Catalogue, Madras Govt. Oriental Library, XXI, No. 12295.

[38] Cf. Descriptive Catalogue, Madras Govt. Oriental Library, XXI, No. 12365.

[39] Ed.: Bombay: Veṅkaṭeśvara Press 1912. – On the author see S.K. DE, History of Sanskrit Poetics, Calcutta 1960², I, p. 279 f.

[40] Ed.: NITYASVARUP BRAHMACARI, 2 vols., Bṛndaban 1904, 1961; RĀSAVIHĀRĪ SĀṂKHYATĪRTHA, 5 vols., Berhampur 1908–1913 (in Bengali characters); MADHVA GAUḌEŚVARĀCĀRYA, RĀSAVIHĀRĪ and NṚSIṂHAVALLABHA, Vṛndāvana 1968.

[41] Ed.: NITYASVARUP BRAHMACARI, Bṛndaban 1917 (in Bengali characters).

[42] Ed.: V.Ś. TRIPĀṬHĪ, in: The Pandit, O.S. 9 (1874/75) –10 (1875/76), N.S. 1 (1876/77) – 3 (1878/79); M. DAS, Hugli 1918 (in Bengali characters, incomplete).

[43] On Jīva and the other Gosvāmins see U. BHATTACHARJI, The philosophy of Jīva Gosvāmin, Poona 1934 (K.B. Pathak Commem. Vol.); S.K. DE, Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature and Studies in Bengal Vaisnavism, Calcutta 1960 (reprint from ISPP).; S.K. DE, Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal, Calcutta 1961; and J. GONDA, Medieval Religious Literature in Sanskrit, Wiesbaden 1977 (= HIL II, 1), p. 20 ff.

As regards more recent campūs, three are particularly worthy of mention: Śrīnivāsa's Ānandaraṅgavijayacampū[44], the Sarvadevavilāsa[45] (about 1900), which describes the city of Madras about the end of the 18th century, and the (Śrī) Narasiṃhavijayacampū[46] by (Śrī)Narasiṃha (1830–1896) from Tiruccirappalli. The Guṇḍīcācampū[47] by Cakradhara Paṭṭanāyaka describes the ceremony of Jagannātha's car-festival in Puri and the Aniruddha (carita) campū[48], a work in nine ucchvāsas by Devarāja, son of Raghupati, the marriage of Aniruddha and Uṣā.

Conclusion

This presentation of classical Indian poetry has dealt with kāvya in the narrow sense of the word, thus excluding classical Indian drama, to which another volume in this series is devoted. In principle, many of the stanzas in drama could, it is true, be regarded as kāvya in the strict sense: they are generally easy to detach from their context, which is also true of stanzas in sargabandha, as we have seen; they are usually written in a simpler style of kāvya since they must be easily and quickly understandable by an audience; they can easily be enjoyed as short poems, as quotations from dramas in books on poetic theory prove. The same can only be said with considerable reservations about the prose passages in drama. Nevertheless, we do find among all the Sanskrit and Prākrit dramatic speeches a number of descriptive passages which closely imitate the artistic style of prose mahākāvya both in vocabulary and syntax.

Two other categories of literature that are not dealt with in this volume are inscriptions (praśasti) and letters of spiritual instruction (lekha).[49] The diction of the few epistles, mostly Buddhist[50], that have come down to us is to some extent poetic in pattern, and the form and style of many royal edicts, deeds of gift, etc. can rigthly be regarded as a sort of inscriptional kāvya. Letters are considered to be dharmakāvyas[51], "poems on religion"; they are didactic in content and lack the descriptions so typical of kāvya. They do not, as a rule, make use of poetic figures to any

44 Ed.: V. RAGHAVAN, Tiruccirappalli 1948.

45 Ed.: V. RAGHAVAN, Adyar 1958 (Adyar Library Pamphlet Series 33).

46 Ed.: V.B. NATARAJA SASTRI, Tiruccirappalli (no date, probably 1969/70).

47 Cf. HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, VII, Calcutta 1934, Nos. 5424 and 5425.

48 Cf. J. EGGELING, Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, VII, London 1904, No. 4035 and HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, *op. cit.*, No. 5423.

49 Cf. the table on p. 47.

50 For information of the art of Buddhist letter writing see S. DIETZ, Die buddhistische Briefliteratur Indiens. Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert, I: Einleitung, II: Texte und Übersetzungen, III: Anmerkungen und Register, Bonn 1980, and S.Ch. BANERJI, A Study of the Epistolary and Documentary Literature in Sanskrit, IHQ 34 (1958), p. 226 ff.

51 See S. DIETZ, *op.cit.*, I, p. 129 f.

great extent. Inscriptions are written in verse, in prose, or in a mixture of the two; in the last case they are campū in miniature. They often contain kāvya-like descriptions but seldom reach the heights of great poetry. Nor, apparently, have inscriptions and epistles ever received much attention from the teachers of Sanskrit poetics; theoretical works never quote passages from these two genres. Notwithstanding their lowly position, inscriptions have played an immensely important part in making Indian poetic language familiar not only in the whole of India itself, but, since as long ago as the 1st century A.D., also in large areas of South East Asia and Indonesia which had culturally been colonized by Indians.[52]

Finally, though mentioned once or twice, modern Sanskrit poetry has not been taken into consideration in this history of kāvya; it lies too close in time for us to be able to put it into its correct perspective.

[52] See p. 50 f.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Texts

Agnip.	Agnipurāṇa
Buddhac.	Buddhacarita
Daśakum.	Daśakumāracarita
Ghaṭak.	Ghaṭakarpara
Gītag.	Gītagovinda
Harṣac.	Harṣacarita
Kāvyād.	Kāvyādarśa
Kāvyālaṃkāras.	Kāvyālaṃkārasūtra
Kāvyam.	Kāvyamīmāṃsā
Kirāt.	Kirātārjunīya
Kiṣkindhāk.	Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa
Kumāras.	Kumārasambhava
Mahābh.	Mahābhārata
Mahāvīrac.	Mahāvīracarita
Meghad.	Meghadūta
Naiṣadh.	Naiṣadhacarita
Pavanad.	Pavanadūta
Raghuv.	Raghuvaṃśa
Rām.	Rāmāyaṇa
Ṛtus.	Ṛtusaṃhāra
Saund.	Saundarananda
Śiśup.	Śiśupālavadha
Śṛṅgāraprak.	Śṛṅgāraprakāśa
Śṛṅgāraś.	Śṛṅgāraśataka
Subh.	Subhāṣitāvali
Therag.	Theragāthā
Therīg.	Therīgāthā
Vajjāl.	Vajjālagga

2. Periodicals

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
AIOC	All India Oriental Conferences (Proceedings, etc.)
AKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
AO	Archiv Orientálni
AORM	Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras
AP	The Aryan Path
ASAW	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ASEA	Asiatische Studien –Études Asiatiques
AVOI	Annals of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute
BDC	Deccan College Research Institute Bulletin

BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient
BhV	Bhāratīya Vidyā
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BV	Brahmavidyā. The Adyar Library Bulletin
GRM	Germanisch- romanische Monatsschrift
GSAI	Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana
IA	Indian Antiquary
IC	Indian Culture
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
IOC	International Orientalist Conferences (Proceedings, Transactions, etc.)
ISPP	Indian Studies Past and Present
IT	Indologica Taurinensia
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JARS	Journal of the Assam Research Society
JAS	Journal of the Asiatic Society
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JASBo	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay
JAU	Journal of the Annamalai University. Part A: Humanities
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar (and Orissa) Research Society
JBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JBTS	Journal of the Buddhist Text (1897 ff.:) and Anthropological Society
JDS	Journal of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Delhi
JGJh	Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute
JIH	Journal of Indian History
JJ	Jain Journal
JMA	Journal of the Music Academy, Madras
JMSU	Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
JMU	The Half-Yearly Journal of the Mysore University New Series, Section A – Arts
JOIB	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda
JORM	The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras
JPASB	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JPTS	Journal of the Pali Text Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
JUB	Journal of the University of Bombay. Arts: Humanities and Social Sciences
JUG	Journal of the University of Gauhati
MU	Le Muséon
NGWG	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philolog.-hist. Klasse
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OS	Orientalia Suecana
PJ	Prāci-Jyoti: Digest of Indological Studies, Kurukshetra University

PO	The Poona Orientalist
RO	Rocznik Orientalistyczny
RSO	Rivista degli studi orientali
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse
STT	Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden
TLV	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (van Nederlands-Indië)
TSML	Tanjore Maharaja Serjofi's Sarasvati Mahal Library Journal
VIJ	Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
WZKS	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens
WZKSO	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZII	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik

3. Series, publishing houses and often quoted books

ĀnSS	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series
AOS	American Oriental Series
BSS	Bombay Sanskrit Series
CSS	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series
GIL	M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur, 3 vols., Stuttgart 1968 (reprint)
GOS	Gaekwad Oriental Series
HIL	A History of Indian Literature, ed. by Jan Gonda, Wiesbaden
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
KM	Kāvyamālā
KS	J. Haeberlin, Kávya-sangraha. A Sanskrit anthology, being a collection of the best smaller poems in the Sanscrit language. Calcutta 1847
KSS	Kāśī Sanskrit Series
NSP	Nirnaya Sagar Press
OUP	Oxford University Press
PTS	Pali Text Society
SJS	Singhi Jain Series
TSS	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
VBhSG	Vidyābhavana-Saṃskṛta-Granthamālā, Caukhambā Vidyābhavana, Banāras

INDICES

AUTHORS

Authors of the same name are not separated. * after a page number indicates that the respective name is to be found in the footnote(s) to that page. References to footnotes are, however, not given if the respective word already appears in the main text. Writers other than poets, authors of works on poetics and commentators are listed in the General Index.

Abdul Rahmān 127
Abhayadeva (Sūri) 136, 213
Abhinanda 88, 200, 260
Abhinava-(Bhaṭṭa)bāṇa 210*
Abhinavagupta 1*, 21, 69, 100, 110*, 111, 112*, 142
Abhinava-Kālidāsa 123
Acala(siṁha) 87
Acyutarāya 193
Addahamāṇa 127
Ādhyarāja 83, 234
Akbarīya-Kālidāsa 116
Alaṁkāra 203
Āḻvār *see* Kulaśekhara Ā.
Amarakīrti 109
Amara(siṁha) 17*
Amara Sūri 215
Amaru 69, 70, 71, 72, 73*, 91ff., 99, 104, 134*
Ānandarāghava 143
Ānandavardhana 12, 21, 44, 68, 69, 85, 92, 142, 188
Ananta 102
Ananta Bhaṭṭa 270
Ananta Paṇḍita 98
Āndhralakṣmī 83
Annayārya 272
Anulakṣmī 83
Appayya Dīkṣita 101
Arisiṁha 220
Arjunavarman, Arjunavarmadeva 73*, 92, 93
Ārya Śūra 265, 266*, 270
Aśvaghoṣa 48, 53, 63, 108, 115, 132, 163, 164ff., 179, 185, 201, 216, 224, 226
ātapatra-Bhāravi 187
Avatāra 142

Bālacandra Sūri 220
Bāṇa, Bāṇabhaṭṭa 17*, 44, 45, 81, 83, 87, 92, 98, 134, 135, 137f., 144, 151, 197, 200, 217, 224, 228, 229, 230, 233, 234, 235, 236, 242, 244, 246, 247ff., 260, 261, 263, 264, 267, 268, 269
See also Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa
Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṁkāra Bhaṭṭācārya 271
Bappabhaṭṭi 136
Bappairāa 199
Bhadanta 134*
Bhadrabāhu 135
Bhallaṭa 100
Bhāmaha 4, 11*, 46, 65, 66, 117, 120, 133*, 150*, 159, 180, 182, 229, 230*
Bhānudatta 209
Bharata(muni) 1*, 46, 54, 153, 197, 199
Bhāravi 115, 131, 157, 158, 167, 171, 184ff., 188, 189, 190, 191, 194, 197, 198, 208, 222
Bhartṛ 89, 180
Bhartṛhari 9, 13*, 24, 28, 52, 87, 88ff., 92, 93, 99, 100, 134*, 180
Bhartṛmeṇṭha 196f.
Bhāsa 88*, 244, 245
Bhaṭṭa Bhīma 226
Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa 236
Bhaṭṭa Pulinda (Pulina, Pulindhra) 249, 252
Bhaṭṭācārya *see* Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṁkāra Bh. and Rāmacandra Cīrañjīva Bh.
Bhaṭṭāra Hari (ś)candra *see* Hari(ś)candra
Bhaṭṭavṛddhi 24, 28
Bhaṭṭi 28, 41, 52, 89, 163, 169, 171, 180ff., 184, 226
Bhauma(ka) 226
Bhavabhūti 1*, 34, 52, 87, 98, 115, 118, 145, 199
Bhīṣma Miśra 209
Bhoja 17*, 173*, 234, 236, 270

Bholanātha 126
Bhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa 249, 252, 255, 258ff.
See also Bhaṭṭa Pulinda
Bhuvanapāla 82, 83, 234
Bilhaṇa 17, 28, 44, 48, 67, 95ff., 99, 100, 107, 217f., 219
Bilvamaṅgala *see* Līlāśuka B.
Buddhaghoṣa 201
Buddhappiya 134

Cakradhara Paṭṭanāyaka 273
Cakrakavi 215
Cakrapāṇi Dīkṣita 236
Caṇḍāla 135
Candragomin 133
Cāritrasundara(gaṇi) 124, 213
Cāritravardhana 39, 40, 194
Caturbhuja 209
Cidambara 225
Cintamanarão Sahasrabudhe 125
Cittaka 77
Cora(kavi), Caura(kavi) 96

Daivajña Sūrya 225, 270
Dakṣiṇāvartanātha 118
Daṇḍin 4, 19*, 21, 46, 52, 65, 67*, **145**, 150, 158, 159, 161, 162, 182, 228, **229**, 231, 234ff., 245, 246, 260, 261, 265
Devarāja 83, 273
Devavijayagaṇi 223
Devendra 137
Dhammapāla 78*
Dhanada, Dhanadadeva, Dhanadarāja **101**
Dhanañjaya 173*, 224
Dhanapāla 136, 258*, 262, 264
Dharmadāsa 151*,. 154
Dharmaghoṣa 136f.
Dharmakīrti 87, 133, 134*, 136, 244
Dharmakumāra 213
Dharmanidhāna 137
Dhoyī, Dhoī, Dhoyīka 17*, 18, 113, 121ff., 125, 204, 205
Digambara Paṇḍitācārya 209
Dignāga, Diṅnāga 133
dīpaśikhā-Kālidāsa 35, 179*
Divākara 270
Durlabha 109

Gaṇacandra 136*
Gaṅgādevī 145, 220f.
Gaṅgādhara 73*
Gauḍābhinanda 200

Ghanaśyāma 271
ghaṇṭā-Māgha 35, 36, 191
Ghaṭakarpara(kavi) 17*, 110ff.
Gokula 101, 143, 210
Gopadatta 266*
Gopāla Śarman *see* Śarman, G.
Gopīnātha, Mahārājādhirāja 237
Govardhana, Govardhanācārya 17*, 97ff., 121, 204, 205
Guṇabhadra, Guṇabhadrācārya 212, 214, 263, 268

Hāla 64, 69, 72, 73*, 80ff., 88, 94, 97, 98, 104, 115, 170, 199, 234, 262
Halāyudha 79, 226
Haradatta Sūri 225
Haribhadra (Sūri) 212, 261, 266, 269
Haribhaṭṭa 266*
Hari(ś)candra 212, 234, 244, 269
Hariṣeṇa 170
Harṣa, Harṣadeva, Harṣavardhana 17*, 100, 133, 134, 192
Hemacandra 11*, 136, 169, 212f., 218, 226f.

Īśāna 248

Jagaddhara Paṇḍita 142
Jagannātha 8*, 103, 144
Jalhaṇa 87, 218, 219
Jambukavi 121, 126
Janārdana Bhaṭṭi 103
Janārdana Gosvāmin 103
Jaṭācārya 212
Jaṭāsiṃhanandi 212
Jaṭila 212
Jayadeva 4, 17*, 34, 48, 52, **96**, **97**, **121**, 129, 146, 192*, 204ff., 209
Jayadratha 203
Jayamāghava 24, 25, 26, 28
Jayānaka 219
Jayaratha 203
Jayaśekhara 199*
Jayavallabha 87
Jhā, Mahāmahopādhyāya **Parameśvara** 124
Jinabhadra 137
Jinakīrti 137
Jinaprabha 136, 137
Jinasena 118, 124, 214
Jinavallabha 136
Jīva Gosvāmin 147, 272
Jonarāja 218, 219

Kalhaṇa 142, 197, 199, 218
Kālidāsa 5, 6, 9, 17*, 18*, 20, 29, 35, 39, 45, 52, 61, 67, 80, 84*, 89, 92, 98, 99, 100, 106, 108, 110, 111, 113ff., 124, 125, 126, 127, 131, 133, 137, 138, 152, 153, 163, 167, 168*, 170, 171ff., 180, 184, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 212, 219, 223, 228, 229, 234, 244
Kalyāṇa 209
Kanakasena Vādirāja Sūri 212, 263
Kariṅgapalli 125
Karṇa, Karṇarāja 83
Kassapa 135
Kaula *see* Sāhiba Kaula
Kavikarṇapūra Gosvāmin 147
Kavimalla 215
Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī 20
Kavirāja 52, 224, 270
Kavitārkikasiṃha Vedāntācārya 272
Keśava Bhaṭṭa 270
Keśavāditya 200
Khiste, Nārāyaṇaśāstrī 5, 6
Kīka 154
Kokasambhava 93
Kṛṣṇa *see* Śeṣakṛṣṇa
Kṛṣṇabhūti 123
Kṛṣṇacandra Tarkālaṅkāra 126
Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja 209
Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala *see* Līlāśuka B.
Kṛṣṇānanda 210
Kṛṣṇanātha Nyāyapañcānana 126
Kṛṣṇarāja Dīkṣita 103
Kṛṣṇaśarman (Sārvabhauma) 126, 271
Kṣemarāja 142
Kṣemendra 14*, 15*, 20*, 28*, 45, 79, 100, 197, 203, 204, 217*, 226
Kulaśekhara Āḻvār 131, 143
Kumāradāsa 17*, 79, 115, 116, 196, 197ff., 222
Kumāradatta 199
Kumāralāta 226*
Kumudacandra 135*
Kuntaka 11*

Lakṣmaṇa Ācārya 145
Lakṣmaṇa Sūri 270
Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa 270
Lakṣmīcandra 127
Lakṣmīdāsa 125
Lakṣmīdhara 88
Laṅkaka 203
Līlāśuka, Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala 145, 146
Lolimbarāja 209
Loṣṭadeva 142
Loṣṭaka 142

Madana 223
Mādhava 101
Mādhava Bhaṭṭa 224
Mādhavī 83
Madhuravāṇī 210, 221
Māgha 24, 25, 26, 28, 35, 36, 52, 131, 157, 158, 167, 171, 181, 184, 187ff., 194, 198, 199, 201, 203, 208, 219, 222
Mahāliṅga Śāstrin 125
Mahārājādhirāja Gopīnātha *see* Gopīnātha
Mahendra Sūri 269
Maladhārin Devaprabha Sūri 213, 215
Mallācārya 215
Mallinātha 39, 40, 114, 115, 118, 173*, 180, 186*, 187, 188, 190, 194
Mammaṭa 11*, 19*, 21*, 22, 69, 100, 193, 194, 197
Māna, Mānāṅka 83, 207*, 223
Mānatuṅga 135
Mandikai Rāmaśāstrin 123
Māṇikya Sūri 212
Maṇirāma 109
Maṅkha, Maṅkhaka, Maṅkhuka 197, 203, 218
Manovinoda 88
Mātaṅga Divākara 135
Mātṛdatta 125
Mayūra, Mayūrabhaṭṭa 92, 129, 134, 135, 138f., 249
Medhaṅkara 201
Meghavijaya 124
Meṇṭha 196f.
Merutuṅga 124
Miśra, Rājavallabha 126
Mūka(kavi) 142, 144
Murāri 88

Nāgārjuna 133
Nambūdri 125
Nandīṣeṇa 135
Narahari 103
Nārāyaṇa (Bhaṭṭa) 127, 143f., 227, 271
Nārāyaṇatīrtha 146, 209
Nava-Kālidāsa 116
Nayacandra Sūri 220
Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita 103, 144, 210, 270
Nītivarman 223
Nṛsiṃha 125
Nṛsiṃhadeva 67*
Nyāyavācaspati Rudra 221

Pādalipta 82, 262
Padmagupta 216f.
Padmasundara 102
Pālitta 82, 262
Pāṇini 79, 80
Paramānanda(dāsasena) Kavikarṇapūra 147, 272
Parameśvara Yogin 131
Parimala 216
Patañjali 79, 80, 89
Paṭṭanāyaka *see* Cakradhara P.
Piṅgala 79
Pītāmbara 83
Prabodhānanda 147
Pratihārendurāja 172*
Pravararāja 83
Pravarasena 17*, 83, 115, **161***, **184***, 187*, 196, 197, 198, 199
Priyadāsa 209
Pupphayanta 140
Puṣpadanta 140f., 214
Pūrṇasarasvatī 116*, 118, 125

Rāghavānanda 143
Rāghavendra Sarasvatī 139
Raghukāra 177
Raghunandanadāsa 126
Raghunāthadāsa 125, 147, 272
Rahmān *see* Abdul R.
Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita 209
Rājānaka Ratnākara 131, 187*, 188, 199f., 201
Rājanātha Diṇḍima 221
Rājarāma 126
Rājaśekhara 1*, 12*, 14, 15, 21, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 88, 135*, 138*, 141, 169*, 197
Rākṣasa 200
Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita 144
Rāmabhadrāmbā 221
Rāmabhaṭṭa 209
Rāmacandra 101, 136, 225
Rāmacandra Cīrañjīva Bhaṭṭācārya 272
Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī 134
Rāmagopāla 125
Rāmānandanātha 93
Rāmānuja, Rāmānujācārya 146
Rāmapāṇivāda 209, 210f., 227
Raṇacchoda 221
Raṅgācārya 125, 148
Ratnaśekhara 137
Ratnākara 142
Ratnaprabha Sūri 267
Ravicandra 93
Ravideva 52, 116, **200**, 223
Raviṣeṇa 214
Rāyabhaṭṭa 101
Revā 83
Ṛṣiputra Parameśvara 116*
Rudra 262
Rudra Nyāyapañcānana 125
Rudrakavi 222
Rudraṭa 11*, 21, 150*, 159, 229, **230**
Rūpa Gosvāmin 125, 126, 147
Rūpanātha Upādhyāya 211
Ruyyaka 203, 219

Sāhiba Kaula 142
Sākalyamalla 215
Samantabhadra 136
Samarapuṃgava Dīkṣita 272
Sāmba 142
Śambhu 100, 128
Saṃkarṣaṇa 271
Sandhyākara Nandin 218, 224
Saṅghasena 266*
Śaṅkara, Śaṅkarācārya 93, 131, 139f., 146, 271
Śaṅkuka 199
Śāntikarṇa 83
Śaraṇa 121, 204
Śarman, Dvijendralāla 124
Śarman, Gopāla 139
Śarman, Mādhava 126
Śārṅgadhara 87
Sarvajñamitra 134
Sarvānanda 220
Sarvasena 83
Satābudhāna Kṛṣṇadeva 125
Śatānanda 200
Śeṣakṛṣṇa 270
Siddhasena Divākara 135*
Śīlāṅka 214
Śilhaṇa, Śihlaṇa, Silhaṇa, Sihlaṇa **100**
Śivadāsa 143, 210
Śivasvāmin 197, 201
Śobhana 136, 223, 262
Soḍḍhala 263
Somadeva 141, 204, 268
Somanātha 102
Somaprabha (Sūri) 101, 225, 268
Somaprabhācārya 225
Somasundara 137
Someśvara(deva) 215, 219
Somila 234
Śrīdharadāsa 87, *100*, *143*, *145*
Śrīharṣa 48, 171, 175, 192ff.
(Śrī)Narasiṃha 273

Śrīnivāsa 273
Śrīśvara Vidyālaṃkāra **139**
Śrīvara 210
Śrutidhara 17*
Sthiradeva 118*
Subandhu 115, 184*, 197, 224, 228, 229, 233, 234, 235, 242, 244ff., 249, 252, 253, 255, 256, 260, 261, 267
Subhūtī 77, 78
Śūdraka 86, 243
Sukumāra 209
Sumanā 78
Sumati Sūri 15*
Sumativijaya 39*, 118
Sundara 96
Sūryadeva, Sūrya Paṇḍita 148
Svayambhūdeva 214

Tailaṅga Vrajanātha 126
Tirumalāmbā 271
Trailokyamohana 123
Tribhuvanapāla 139
Tripāṭhī, Śivarāma 227
Trivikramabhaṭṭa 187*, 265, 267f.

Udaya 113, 125
Udayottuṅga 125
Udbhaṭa 172*, 199
Uddaṇḍa Kavi 125
Uddyotana Dākṣiṇyacihna, U. **Sūri 82**, 266f.
Umāpati(dhara) 121, 204
Uñchavṛtti 27
Usabha 76
Utpaladeva 142
Utprekṣāvallabha 101, 143, 210

Vādībhasiṃha Oḍayadeva 212, 263, **269**
Vādicandra Sūri 126
Vādirāja *see* Kanakasena V. Sūri
Vāgbhaṭa 11*, 213
Vairocana 100
Vajradatta 134, 144
Vākpati(rāja) 83, 196, 199, 203, 212, 234, 244
Vallabhadeva 24, 87, 108, 118, 188, 190
Vallaṇa 88
Vālmīki 28, 44, 45, 53, 58, 98, 114, 137, 163, 177, 179, 214, 226
Vāmana 4, 8, 19*, 21*, 45, 66, 92, 173*, 188, 198, 244
Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa 125, 210, 248, 263
Vanavaccha 77, 78
Varāṅga 212
Vararāja 109
Vararuci 17*, 80, 116
Vastupāla 215, 219, 220
Vāsudeva 52, 125, 153, **200, 222f., 227**
Vasukalpa 88
Vāyuvikāra 248
Vedāntācārya 209
Vedāntadeśika 125, **209, 271, 272**
Vemabhūpāla 93, 94
Veṇībhārata 248
Veṅkaṭācārya 125
Veṅkaṭādhvarin 148ff., 225, **271f.**
Veṅkaṭanātha 125, 209
Veṅkaṭarāja 270
Veṅkaṭeśa 143, 209, 223
Vetālabhaṭṭa 17*
Vidarbharāja 270
Vidyākara 37*, 87
Vidyāmādhava 224
Vijayaprabha Sūri 124
Vikrama 124
Vimala Sūri 213f.
Vimalakīrti 126
Vinaya Vijayagaṇi 126
Vināyaka 236
Vīreśvara 128
Vīryamitra 88
Viśākhadatta 89
Viṣṇudāsa 126
Viśvanātha 74*, 119*, 173*
Viśvanātha Cakravartin 147
Viśvanātha Devaśarman 211
Viśvanātha Siṃha 209
Viśveśvara 103, 109
Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa 154
Viṭṭhala(nātha) Giridhara, Viṭṭhaleśvara 146
Vopadeva 20
Vṛddhi 24

Yajñeśvara Śāstrin 139
Yogeśvara 88

WORKS

Works of the same name are not separated. * after a page number indicates that the name is to be found in the footnote(s) to that page. References to footnotes are, however, not given if the respective word already appears in the main text. Works other than poems, dramas, commentaries and texts on poetics are listed in the General Index.

Abdamālikā 148
Abhijñānaśākuntala 89, 116
Acyutalīlā 223
Adhyardhaśataka 132
Ādidevastava 136, 137
Agnipurāṇa 1*, 68, 69, 150*, 230
Ajitaśāntistava 136, 137
Alakāmilana 124
Alaṃkārasarvasva 203, 219
Alaṃkāravimarśinī 219
Amaruśataka 71*, 72*, 87*, 92ff., 96
Amogharāghavacampū 270
Amṛtalaharī 144
Anāgatavaṃsa 135
Ānandalaharī 139f., 141
Ānandaraṅgavijayacampū 273
Ānandasāgarastava 144
Ānandavṛndāvanacampū 147, 272
Anaparāddhastotra 132
Aniruddha(carita)campū 273
Anyāpadeśaśataka 103
Anyoktimuktālatā 100
Anyoktimuktāvali 102
Ardhanārīśvarastotra 142
Arjunarāvaṇīya 226
Āryasaptaśatī 97ff., 103, 121, 205
Āryāśataka 103
Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityavandanāstava 134
Aucityavicāracarcā 79, 217*
Avadānakalpalatā 204
Avantisundarīkathā 234, 235, 236, 260
Avantisundarīkathāsāra 236, 260

Bālabhārata 215
Bālagopālastuti 145
Bālakāṇḍa (Rām.) 270
Bauddhasaṃgatyalaṃkāra 244
Bauddhaśataka 134
Bhagavadāryamañjuśrīsādhiṣṭhānastuti 133
Bhāgavatacampū 211, 271
Bhaimarathī 234
Bhaja-govindam-stotra 139
Bhaktacāmarastotra 135
Bhaktiśataka 134
Bhallaṭaśataka 100
Bhāminīvilāsa 102f.
Bhāratacampū 270
Bhāratamañjarī 203
Bhaṭṭikāvya 28, 41, 91*, 163, 171, 180ff., 187
Bhāvaprabodhinī 5, 7
Bhāvavilāsa 221
Bhayahara 135
Bhikṣāṭanakāvya 143, 210
Bhojacampū 270
Bhramaradūta 125
Bhramarasandeśa 125
Bhramarāṣṭaka 116
Bhṛṅgadūta 125
Bhṛṅgasandeśa 125, 127
Bhṛṅgāṣṭaka 116*
Bhuvanābhyudaya 199
Bilhaṇacarita 96
Bilhaṇakāvya 96
Bilvamaṅgalakośakāvya 145
Bilvamaṅgalastava 145
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī 203
Buddhacarita 33*, 132, 164ff.
Buddha(pari)nirvāṇastotra 133
Buddhivinoda(kāvya) 200
Budhavaktramaṇḍana 154

Caitanyacandrāmṛta 147
Caitanyacandrodaya 147
Caitanyacaritāmṛta(kāvya) 147
Camatkāracandrikā 147
Caṇḍīkucapañcāśikā 145
Caṇḍīśataka 92, 134, 135, 137f., 144, 248
Candracūḍacarita 204
Candradūta 121, 126
Candrāloka 205
Candrikā 109
Carpaṭapañjarikā 139
Cārucaryā 203
Cārumatī 80, 234
Cātakāṣṭaka 103
Catuḥśataka 132

Caturvargasaṃgraha 203
Caturviṃśatijinastava 136
Caturviṃśatijinastavana 137
Caturviṃśatijinastotra 223
Caturviṃśatijinastuti 136
Caturviṃśatikāstavana 137
Caturviṃśatistavana 136
Caturviṃśatistotra 136
Cauppaṇṇamāhapurisacariya 214
Caurapañcāśikā 95
Caurasuratapañcāśikā, Caurīsuratap. 67, 95ff., 100, 107, 218
Cetodūta 126
Chappaṇṇayagāhā 87
Chindapraśasti 192
Citracampū 271
Corapañcāśat 95

Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra 139
Damayantīcampū 265, 267f.
Damayantīkathā 187*, 267f.
Darpadalana 203
Daśakumāracarita 158, 229, 231, 234ff., 244, 245, 260, 261
Daśakumārakathā 237
Daśarūpaka 173*
Daśaślokī 139
Daśāvatāracarita 203
Deśanāstava 133
Devakīsutastuti 147
Devīcarita 223
Devīnāmavilāsa 142
Devīśataka 142
Dharmaśarmābhyudaya 212, 269
Dhātukāvya 227
Dhvanigāthāpañjikā 200
Dhvanyāloka 44*, 69, 188
Dhvanyālokalocana 69
Dīnākrandanastotra 142
Dvādaśāṅgīpadaprāmāṇakulaka 137
Dvādaśapañjarikā 139
Dvisandhāna 224
Dvitīyāśvāsa (Meghad.) 116*
Dvyāśraya(mahā)kāvya 226

Gadyacintāmaṇi 263, 269
Gāhākosa 82
Gāhāsattasaī 80ff.
Gaṇḍīstotragāthā 132*
Gaṅgālaharī 144
Gaṅgāvataraṇa 210
Gāthākośa 82
Gāthāsaptaśatī 75, 80
Gaüḍavaha 83, 199, 203, 212, 244
Gauḍorvīśaprasasti 192
Gaurāṅgalīlāmṛta 147
Gautamastotra 137
Ghaṇṭāpatha 187
Ghaṭakarpara(kāvya) 110ff., 116, 223
Gītagaṅgādhara 209
Gītagaurīpati 209
Gītagirīśa 209
Gītagopāla 209
Gītagovinda(kāvya) 4, 34, 52, 97, 121, 129, 146, 163, 192*, 204ff., 270
Gītaśaṅkara 209
Gītavītarāgaprabandha 209
Gopālacampū 272
Govindabirudāvalī 147
Govindalīlāmṛta 209
Govindāṣṭaka 139
Guṇḍīcācampū 273

Hālasattasaī *see* Sattasaī
Hammīramahākāvya 220
Haṃsadūta 125
Haṃsasandeśa 125
Haracaritacintāmaṇi 203
Harim-īḍe-stotra 139
Haravijaya 131, 187*, 188, 199
Hariścandracampū 271
Harivaṃśa 214
Harivaṃśapurāṇa 214
Harivijaya 83
Harivilāsa 209
Harṣacarita 44, 81, 138, 217, 229, 234*, 242, 244, 247ff., 256, 257, 263
Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa 269
Hayagrīvavadha 197

Indudūta 126
Īśvaraśataka 142

Jagaḍūcarita 220
Jānakīharaṇa 163, 197ff.
Jānakīpariṇaya 215
Jātakamālā 265, 266*, 270
Jayantavijaya 213
Jinacarita 201
Jinadattākhyāna 15*
Jinastotrāṇi 137
Jīvandharacampū 212, 269
Jīvandharacaritra 212
Juyatihuyana 136

Kādambarī 138, 151, 200, 203, 229, 235, 242, 244, 247, 249, 252ff., 260, 261, 263, 267, 269

Kādambarīkathāsāra **200, 260**
Kākadūta 125
Kalāvilāsa 203
Kalyāṇamandirastotra **135***
Kāmadā 93
Kāmasamūha 102
Kāmasandeśa 125
Kaṃsavaha 211
Kaṇṭhābharaṇa 80
Kapphiṇābhyudaya 201
Karuṇālaharī 144
Kāśīpañcaka 139
Kathākautuka 210
Kathāsaritsāgara 204
Kathātrayī 225
Kavikalpadruma 20
Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa 14*, 20*, **45**
Kavīndrakalpadruma 20
Kavīndrakarṇābharaṇa 154
Kavirahasya 226
Kāvyādarśa 11*, 21*, 46*, 65, 67*, 150, 159*, 161*, 162, 229*, 231*, 234, 235
Kāvyakalpalatā 21*
Kāvyālaṃkāra 11, 46*, 66*, 117, 150*, 159*, 180*, 229*, 230*
Kāvyālaṃkārasaṃgraha 172*
Kāvyālaṃkārasūtra 8*
Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti 21*, 45, 66*, 173*, 188, 244
Kāvyamīmāṃsā 1*, 12*, 14*, 15*, 41*, 43*, 44, 45, 141, 169*
Kāvyānuśāsana 11*
Kāvyaprakāśa 11*, 21*, 69, 193, 194, 197
Kāvyaprakāśavṛtti 22*
Kāvyarākṣasa 200
Khuddakanikāya 75
Kīcakavadha 223
Kīraduta 125
Kirātārjunīya 7*, 131, 158, 163, 171, 184ff., 188, 189, 190
Kīrtikaumudī 219
Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa (Rām.) 26
Kokilasandeśa 125
Kośa, Kosa 81, 82
Koṭiviraha 127
Kṛṣṇabhāvanāmṛta 147
Kṛṣṇāhnikakaumudī 147
Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta 145, 210
Kṛṣṇalīlā 223
Kṛṣṇalīlāmṛta 145, 146
Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅginī 146, 209
Kṛṣṇārpaṇa 227
Kṛṣṇastotra 145
Kṣamāstotra 131
Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi 212, 263, 269
Kumārapālacarita 218, 226f.
Kumārasambhava 7*, 11, 43, 100, 108*, 116, 120, 131, 170, 171ff., 177, 178, 179, 190, 193, 199
Kuvalayamālā 82, 266f.
Kuvalayamālākathā 267

Lakṣmīlaharī 144
Lakṣmīsahasra 148
Lokānanda 133
Lokeśvaraśataka 134, 144

Madālasācampū 268
Madhumathanavijaya 199
Madhurāvijaya 145, 220f.
Māghakāvya 188, 191
Mahāpurāṇa 214
Mahāvīracarita 35*
Mahāvīrastava 136
Mahāvīrasvāmistotra 136
Mahimnastava 140f.
Mahīpālacaritra 213
Mālatīmādhava 118
Mālavikāgnimitra 116
Malayasundarīkathā 263
Mandāramarandacampū 271
Maṅgalāṣṭaka 116
Manodūta 126
Manoharakalpanāmalokanāthastotra **133**
Mayūrasandeśa 113, 125
Mayūrāṣṭaka 138
Meghadautya 123
Meghadūta 5, 8, 9, 39, 67, 106, 108*, 111, 113ff., 121, 122, 124, 128, 171, 179, 191
Meghadūtasamasyālekha 124
Meghapratisandeśa 123
Miśrakastotra 133
Mohamudgara 139
Mṛcchakaṭika 86, 243
Mṛgavatīcaritra 213
Mudrārākṣasa 89
Mukapañcāśatī 142*
Muktācaritra 272
Mukundamālā 131, **143**
Mukundamuktāvalī 147
Mukundaśataka 211

Nāgānanda 100, 192
Naiṣadhacarita, Naiṣadhīya **171, 175,** 192ff.
Nakṣatramālā 227
Nalābhyudaya 210
Nalacampū 265, 267f., 271

Nalodaya 116, 200, 222, 223
Nāmasaṅgīti 134
Namaskārastavana 137
Nammayāsundarīkahā 269
Naranārāyaṇānanda 215
Nārāyaṇīya 143f., 227
Narmadāsundarīkathā 269
Nāṭyadarpaṇa 136*
Nāṭyaśāstra 1*, 54, 65, 197, 199
Navasāhasāṅkacarita 192, 216f.
Nemidūta 124
Neminirvāṇa 213
Nīlakaṇṭhavijayacampū 270
Nirbhayabhīmavyāyoga 136*
Nītikalpdruma 203
Nītiśataka 9, 88, 90, 101
Nṛsiṃhacampū 270, 271

Padāṅkadūta 126
Padmapurāṇa 214
Padyacūḍāmaṇi 201
Padyakādambarī 203
Padyāvalī 147
Pajjamadhu 134
Pañcagatidāpana 135
Pañcakalyāṇajinastotra 136
Pañcaparameṣṭhistava 137
Pañcāśatī 142
Pañcaviṃśatiguṇastavana 137
Pāṇḍavacaritra 215
Pānthadūta 126
Paramārthanāmasaṅgīti 134
Parameṣṭhistavana 135
Parameśvarastotrāvalī 142
Pārijātaharaṇacampū 270
Pārśvābhyudaya 118, 124, 214
Pārśvanāthacarita 212
Pārśvanāthalaghustava 137
Pārśvanāthastava 136
Pārvatīpariṇaya 248
Pārvatīrukminīya 224
Paümacariu 214
Paümacariya 213f.
Pavanadūta 18, 113, 121ff., 126, 204
Pīyūṣalaharī 144
Prasādapratibhāstotra 132, 133
Prasādapratibhodbhava(stotra) 133
Prasannarāghava 96, 205
Priyadarśikā 192
Pṛthvīrājavijaya 219
Pūrvacātakāṣṭaka 103
Pūrvamegha (Meghad.) 116, 119*
Pūrvapīṭhikā (Daśakum.) 234, 236, 237, 238*, 242, 260
Pūrvasandeśa (Meghad.) 116*
Puṣpabāṇavilāsa 116

Rāghavanaiṣadhīya 225
Rāghavapāṇḍavayādavīya 225
Rāghavapāṇḍavīya 224, 270
Rāghavayādavīya 148ff., 225
Raghunāthābhyudaya 221
Raghuvaṃśa 11*, 20, 29, 33*, 35, 43, 59*, 108*, 116, 120, 131, 163, 168*, 171, 175ff., 190, 198, 219, 270
Raghuvīrastava 144
Rāghavīya 211
Rājapraśastimahākāvya 221
Rājataraṅginī 197, 218
Rājendrakarṇapūra 100, 128
Rākṣasakāvya 116, 200
Rāmabāṇastava 144
Rāmacandrāhnika 209
Rāmacandrodaya 223
Rāmacāpastava 144
Rāmacarita 200f.
Rāmagītagovinda 209
Rāmakṛṣṇakāvya 148
Rāmakṛṣṇānulomavilomākṣarakāvya 148*
Rāmakṛṣṇavilomakāvya 225
Rāmakṛṣṇavilomākṣarakāvya 148
Rāmapālacarita 218, 224
Rāmāṣṭaprāsa 144
Rāmavijayakāvya 211
Rāmayamakārṇava 223
Rāmāyaṇa 19, 25*, 26, 27, 33*, 53, 57ff., 107, 109, 114, 130, 143, 144, 163, 164, 167, 168, 176, 179, 182*, 203, 211, 213, 214, 215, 224, 225, 226, 270
Rāmāyaṇacampū 270, 271
Rāmāyaṇamañjarī 203
Rāmāyaṇasāra 210
Rāmāyaṇasārasaṃgraharaghuvīrastava 144
Rasagaṅgādhara 21*, 103
Rasiapaāsaṇa 100
Rasikarañjana 101, 225
Rāṣṭrauḍhavaṃśamahākāvya 221f.
Ratimañjarī 205
Ratnāvalī 192, 248
Rāvaṇārjunīya 226
Rāvaṇavadha 171, 180ff.
Rāvaṇavaha 197
Ṛṣabhadevājñāstava 137
Ṛṣabhapañcāśikā 136
Ṛṣimaṇḍalastotra 136
Ṛtusaṃhāra 25*, 33*, 53, 61, 106, 108f., 110, 116, 119, 127, 162*, 163
Ṛtuvarṇana 109

Ṛtuvarṇanakāvya 109
Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa 209
Rukmiṇīpariṇaya 211

Ṣaḍṛtuvarṇana 109
Saduktikarṇāmṛta 87, 100, **143, 145, 200**
Sāhityadarpaṇa 74*, 119*, **173***
Sahṛdayānanda 210
Śālibhadracarita 213
Sāḷuvābhyudaya 221
Samarāiccakahā 261, 262, 266
Sāmbapañcāśikā 142
Saṃgītaraghunandana 209
Saṃjīvinī 39
Saṃkalpasūryodaya 209, 272
Saṃneharāsaya 127
Sandeśarāsaka 127
Śaṅkaracetovilāsacampū 271
Śāntiśataka 99, 100
Śāntivilāsa 103
Saptaśatī 80, 101
Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa 173*, **234, 236**
Sarasvatīstotra 116
Śārṅgadharapaddhati 87, 200
Sarvadevavilāsa 273
Śāśvatacaityastava 137
Śatakatraya, Śatakatrayī 88ff., 101
Śatapañcāśatka 132
Ṣaṭpadī 139
Ṣaṭprajñagāthā(ḥ) 87*
Ṣaṭślokīgīta 146
Sattasaī 64, 69, 80ff., 93, 94, 97, **170, 199,** 234
Satyahariścandra 136*
Satyatapaḥkathā 223
Saundarananda 7*, 132, 164ff.
Saundaryalaharī 139f., 141
Śaurikathodaya 153, 200*, 222, 223
Śeṣa (Daśakum.) 236, 242
Setubandha 83, 161*, 187*, 197
Sevyasevakopadeśa 203
Siddhipriyastotra 223
Śīladūta 124
Siricimḍhakavva 146
Śiśupālavadha 7*, 11*, 24, 26, 36, 59*, 131, 163, 171, 187ff., 212
Śiṣyalekha 133
Śivagīti 209
Śivalīlārṇava 210
Śivaśataka 211
Śivodaya 223
Śobhanastuti 136
Sragdharāstotra 134
Śravaṇānanda 148
Śrīcihnakāvya 146
Śrīghananandamahākāvya **198**
Śrīkaṇṭhacarita 203
Śrīkṛṣṇavilāsa 209
Śrīmahātārāstotra 133
(Śrī)Narasiṃhavijayacampū 273
Śrīnivāsasahasra 148
Śrīnivāsavilāsacampū 209
Śrīvijayapraśasti 192
Śṛṅgāradarpaṇa 102
Śṛṅgārahārāvalī 192
Śṛṅgārajñānanirṇaya 128
Śṛṅgārakalikātriśatī 103
Śṛṅgārakallola 101
Śṛṅgāramādhavīyacampū 205
Śṛṅgāraprakāśa 1*, 234
Śṛṅgārarasamaṇḍana 146
Śṛṅgārarasāṣṭaka 100, 116
Śṛṅgārasaptaśatikā 147
Śṛṅgāraśataka 24*, 88, 90, 99, 101, **103**
Śṛṅgāratilaka 99, 116
Śṛṅgāravairāgyataraṅgiṇī 101, 225
Stavamālā 147
Stavāvalī 147
Stotrāvalī 142
Stutikusumāñjali 142
Subhadrāharaṇa 227
Subhāṣitamuktāvalī 87
Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra 9*
Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa 24*, 37*, 87
Subhāṣitāvalī 24*, 27*, 85*, 108, 135, 198
Sudhālaharī 144
Śūdrakakathā 234
Sugamānvayā Vṛtti 39*
Śukasandeśa 125
Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana 219f.
Sūktikarṇāmṛta 87
Sūktimuktāvalī 135*
Sumaṅgalastotra 145f.
Sumanottarā 234
Sundarīśataka 101
Suprabhātastotra 134, 192
Surahotsava 215
Sūryaśataka 92, 129, 134, 135, **138, 249**
Sūryāṣṭaka 211
Suvṛttatilaka 28*, 197, 226*
Svāhāsudhāra 271
Svapnavāsavadattā 245
Svayamutpreksitalīlā 147
Śyāmalādaṇḍaka 116

Taraṅgalolā 262*
Taraṅgavatī 262, 267
Tattvaguṇādarśa(campū) 272

Telakaṭāhagāthā 134
Theragāthā 75ff., 85, 104
Therīgāthā 75ff., 85, 104
Tilakamañjarī 258*, 262, 264, 267
Tīrthayātrāprabandha 272
Trailokyasundarīkathā 262
Tripuradahana 200*, 222
Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra 213

Udārarāghava 215
Udayasundarīkathā 263
Uddhavacarita 126
Uddhavadūta 126
Uddhavasandeśa 126
Ullāsikammastava 136
Usāṇiruddha 211
Uttaracātakāṣṭaka 103
Uttarakāṇḍa (Rām.) 211
Uttaramegha (Meghad.) 116, 119
Uttarapīṭhikā (Daśakum.) 236, 242
Uttarapurāṇa 214, 263, 268, 269
Uttarasandeśa (Meghad.) 116*
Uvasaggaharastotra 135

Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra 11*
Vāgmaṇḍanaguṇadūta 128
Vairāgyaśataka 88, 90, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103
Vajjālagga 74*, 81, 82, 87
Vakroktijīvita 11*
Vakroktipañcāśikā 142, 200
Vākyāvalī 223
Varadāmbikāpariṇaya 271
Varāṅgacarita 212
Varṇamālāstotra 144
Varṇārhavarṇa(stotra) 132
Vasantavilāsa 220
Vāsavadattā 234, 235, 244ff., 249, 252, 255
Vāsudevavijaya 227
Vātadūta 126
Vedāntācāryavijaya 272
Vedasāraśivastuti 139
Vemabhūpālacarita 263
Vidagdhagāthā(ḥ) 87
Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana 151*, 154
Vidvadvinoda(kāvya) 200
Vidvanmodataraṅginī 272
Vikramāṅkadevacarita 27, 44, 97, 217f.
Vikramorvaśīya 112, 116, 152
Vīrakamparāyacarita 220f.
Vīrastava 136
Viśeṣakāvya 109
Viṣṇupādādikeśāntavarṇanastotra 145
Viṣṇupriyā 211
Viṣṇuṣaṭpadī 139
Viṣṇustuti 145
Viṣṇuvilāsa 211
Viśvaguṇādarśacampū 271f.
Vītarāgastotra 136
Vivaraṇa 227
Vṛndāvanayamaka 223

Yādavābhyudaya 209
Yādavarāghavīya 225
Yakṣamilanakāvya 124
Yakṣollāsa 123
Yaśastilaka 141
Yaśastilakacampū 268, 269
Yaśodharacarita 212
Yuddhakāṇḍa (Rām.) 114
Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya 200, 222

GENERAL INDEX

Authors and works with the same name as well as terms with more than one meaning are not listed separately.

Abhidhānacintāmaṇināma**mālā 227***
abhisārikā *see* nāyikā
abhiyoga 19
abhyāsa 19, 21*
Abu 124
Acchodaka 253, 254, 256, 258
action 160, 164, 194, 204, 236, **243, 245,** 251, 255, 259, 268
Acyutarāya 271
Ādigrantha 205
ādikavi 53, 163
ādikāvya 53, 163
adṛṣṭapūrva 36
Advaita-Vedānta 93, 131, 192
adversary 161, 189
Agnivarṇa 176, 177
Agrawala, V.S. 257
Āhavamalla 217, 218
ahiṃsā 212
Aihole inscription 115, **184**
Aja 149, 176, 178
Ajiravatī 250
Ajita 136
Ajitāpīḍa 199
Ajitasena 116
akam 73*
Akbar 102
Ākhaṇḍala 248
ākhyāyikā 46, 47, 66*, 159, 160, 229, 230, 233, 234, 236, 243, 249, 253, 257, 260
Akrūra 227
akṣaracyutaka 152, 153
Alakā 5, 40, 116, 118, 119
alaṃkāra 12, 26, 31, 35, 52, 54, 56, 61, 62, 68, 69, 84, 87, 133, 153, **162,** 199, 203
  artha-a. 43*
  śabda-a. 43*, 76, 150
alaṃkāraśāstra 104
Allahabad 97, 176, 217
  A. column 170
alliteration 6, 105*, 131, **194, 198, 207,** 231, 260
Almora 103, 109
Ambālikā 239, 243
ambiguity 137, 149, **246, 271**
Āmrakūṭa 118*
Ananga 232
Aṇahillapura 219
Anantavarman 241
Andhaka 199
Āndhra, Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty **81, 241**
Āndhra-Rāmāyaṇa 210, 221
Anekārthasaṃgraha 227*
Aṅgada 198
Aṅga(s) 238, 240
Anhilvad 97, 213, 217, 219, 226
anibaddha 66
Aniruddha 211, 273
Annapūrṇā 139
anthologist 66
anthology 66, 71, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 86, 87, 88, 89, 92, 94, 97, 98, 99, 100, 112, 128, 134, 147, 164, 193, 198, 200, 204, 205, 218, 225
anuloma 224, 225
  anulomaviloma 154
  anulomavilomakāvya 224
  anulomavilomākṣarakāvya 224
  anulomaviloma poetry 149
anuprāsa 105
anurāga 54, 86
Anuṣṭubh metre 169, 170, 219, **227**
anvaya 5
anyā *see* nāyikā
anyāpadeśa 100
anyastrī *see* nāyikā
anyokti 100, 101*, 103
aorist *see* grammar
Apabhraṃśa 14, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 87, 110, 126, 127, 136, 137, 140, 161, 205, 207, 211, 212, 214, 229, 262, 267
  A. poetry 207
  A. literature 208
Apahāravarman 237, 238
  A.'s tale (Daśakumāracarita) 238f.
apauruṣeya 1*
application of an attribute 27, 28
Apsaras 185*, 254, 255
apūrva 22

Arāḍa 166, 167
Arbuda 227
ardhrabhramaka 186
Ardhamāgadhī 62
ardhāvali 187
Arikesarin 268
Arjuna 131, 163, 184, 185, 186, 215
Arjuna Kārtavīrya 226
ārṣa 1*
artha 4*, 11, 21, 99*, 161*, 179, 185*, 246
  arthagaurava 186, 190
  arthāntaranyāsa 39
Arthapāla 237
  A.'s tale (Daśakumāracarita) 240
Arthapati 239, 248
arthaśāstra 19
arthatrayavācin 187
arts *see* kalā
Aruṇa 139
Arundhatī 29, 172
Āryā metre 83, 101, 102, 103, 131, 139, 170, 180, 223, 224, 227, 229
Āṣāḍha 110
āśis 161
Aśoka 64, 143
aśoka tree 32, 33*, 168
Assam 251
assemblies of connoisseurs *see* goṣṭhī
Aṣṭādhyāyī 79, 80
aṣṭaka 88, 99, 105
aṣṭapadī 206
astonishment
  aesthetic a. *see* camatkāra
astrology, astronomy 194, 223, 225
āśukavitā 271
Asuras 223
asūryaṃpaśya 15
Atharvaveda 56, 57*
Atithi 176
attributes 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 35, 37, 48, 54, 62, 78, 168, 218
aucitya 28, 29, 35
Aupacchandasika metre 169
autobiography
  Bāṇa's a. 250, 260
Avadāna 265
Avadānaśataka 201
āvalī 88
Avalokiteśvara 134
Āvantikā *see* style
Avantisundarī 236, 238, 260
Avantivarman 199, 201
Ayodhyā 28, 60, 101, 198
  A. dynasty 176
bahuvrīhi 10
Bahuśrutika 164
Bālabṛhaspati 188
Bālacandrikā 238
Ballāla 52, 115*
Bāṇa, Bāṇāsura 211, 223
bandha 155
  padma(bandha) 155, 156*
Bandhuvarman 168*
Baṅga 221
bard 13, 57, 58, 59
Baroque period 158*
bathing with the ladies of the court, pleasures of bathing *see* description
battle scene 66, 185, 190, 197, 212, 245
Bauls 30*
Belgore 221
Belvalkar, S.K. 139
Benares 97, 129, 139
Bengal 17*, 30*, 97, 125, 134, 142, 145, 147, 192, 196, 204, 224, 250
Bengali 50, 51
  B. stotra poets 147*
  Old B. 207
  Old B. poetry 207
Bengalism 192
Bhagavadgītā 143, 174
Bhāgavatapurāṇa 143, 211, 225, 270
Bhairavācārya 250, 251
Bhaktamālā 204
bhakti 30, 130*, 134, 139, 146, 207*
Bhāminī 102
bhāṇa 234, 243
Bhandarkar, R.G. 81
Bhaṇḍi 250
bhaṇita 207
Bharata 60, 61
Bharvu 253
bhāṣāśleṣa 137
Bhāskaravarman 241, 242
Bhaṭṭa Jayanta 200
Bhattacharyya, Sivaprasad 139
Bhava 141
bhāva 41
Bhavasiṃha 221
Bhilsa 118*
Bhīma 141, 188, 195, 219, 223, 226
Bhīmadhanvan 240, 241
Bhīmaka 248
Bhīmasena 128, 184, 227
Bhīṣma 131
Bhoja 35, 52, 209, 216
Bhojaprabandha 52, 115*
Bhujaṃgaprayāta metre 131, 139

bindumatī 152
biography 18, 230
Birken, S. von 158*
Bodhisattva 134
bon-vivant 42, 54
borrowings 43, 44
Brahmā 171, 252
brahman 97*
Bṛhatkathā 213, 230, 243, 244, 253
Bṛhatkathāmañjarī 253
Buddha 64, 79, 128, 132, 133, 134, 168, 198, 201
Buddhism 164, 165, 201
Buddhist
B. author, poet, writer 49, 77, 100, 115
B. canon 62, 64, 75, 76, 78, 79, 132
B. devotional lyrical poetry 134
B. hymns, stotras 132, 133, 164
B. logic 133
B. philosopher 115
B. rebirth stories 203
B. sacred places 134
B. texts 265
B. works 130
Bühler, G. 170
Burma 50, 143

caesura 179
Cāhuvāṇa (dynasty) 220
Caitanya 125, 147, 204, **210, 272**
cakora bird 55
Cakorākṣa 248
cakravāka 55
Cakravākikā 248
Cālukya dynasty, C. kingdom, C. rulers, etc. 97, 184, 212, 217, 218, 219, **220**, 224, 268
camatkāra, camatkṛti 32, 37, 44, 68
Cambodia 50
Campā 238, 239, 240, 241, 242
campaign of (world) conquest 176, 177, 216, 217, 221, 237, 254
campū 46, 47, 66*, 148, 159, 160, 192, 215, 228, 262, 263, 264, 265ff., 274
Cāmuṇḍarāja 226
Caṇḍāla 253, 259
Caṇḍamāridevatā 268
Caṇḍasiṃha 240
Caṇḍavarman 238, 239
Caṇḍī 98, 131, 138, 200
Caṇḍīmāhātmya 138
Candradatta 204
Candragiri 221
Candragupta II 17*, 115
Candralekhā 217
Candrāpīḍa 253, 254, **255, 256, 258, 259**, 269
Candraprabha 137
Caṅkam *115**
C. lyrical poetry 22, 49, 82
canto 53, 159, 161, 162
Capotkaṭa 96*, 220
Carakasaṃhitā 234
carita 18, 230
carmen figuratum 150, 154ff.
cātaka-bird 55, 103, 104, 131
catukkanipāta *see* nipāta
caturvarga 4*
Cauḍa, Caura 96
Caulukya dynasty 226
Cedis 188
Ceylon 17*, 50, 114, 116, **134, 197, 198**, 199*
Chandaḥsūtra 79, 205
Chandaka 166
Chandoviciti 234, 235
characteristics of kāvya 8, 10, 13, 62
Chatterji, S.K. 207
Chauhan dynasty 220
Cicero 30
Cintāmaṇi 129, 245
Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa 188
citra figures, citra poetry 154ff., 186, 187, 198, 199, 201, 208, 219
citrabandha 155, 157, 186, 187
Citrabhānu 248
Citrakūṭa 28, 29, 60, 61
Citraratha 254
Cittarāja 263
cloud 5, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 37, 40, 56, 57, 78, 110, 111, 112, 113, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120*, 122, 125
cock-fight 240
Cola 143
competition 16
compound(s) 12, 15*, 186, 224, 231, 233
c. used in an ambiguous manner 85
determinative c. 10
difficult c. 138
long c., lengthy c. 94, 98, 179, 197, 198, 218, 257, 260, 263
possessive c. 10
series of c. 246
Conjivaram 184
connoisseur 18, 34, 40, **41, 67, 68**, 70, **75**, 151, 191, 198, 200*, **210, 248, 258, 272**
consonants
c. in a compound 10

harsh c. 10
constellations 73
content 11, 12
form (śabda) and c. (artha), **expression** and c. 11f., 21, 30, 179, 185*
weightiness of c. 186, 190
context 5, 23, 69
copyright 43
court 17, 18, 59, 75, 248
c. bards 59
c. poet *see* poet
c. receptions 16
courtesan 16, 42, 74, 75

Dadhīca 251
Dāmalipta 240, 241
Daṇḍaka 176
Dardura mountains **231, 232**
Dāruvarman 238
Darpaśāta 251
Daruvarman 238
Daśapura 118*, 258
Daśaratha 149, 176
Daśārṇa 118*
Dattaka Sarvāśraya 187
dattāvasara 15
dawn worship *see* saṃdhyāvandana
De, S.K. 68, 92, 182
Deccan 62, 64, 73*, 81, 236
decorative figure *see* alaṃkāra
defect
poetic d., *stylistic* d. *see* doṣa
dénouement 161
description 28, 29, 30, 32, 35, 37, 56, 63, 122, 160, 161f., 185, 189, 194, 217, 246, 255, 261, 266*, 267, 269, 271
d. of autumn 185, 251f.
d. of the half-demented lover 112
d. of nature, etc. 3, 7*, 113, 118f.
d. of nightfall and moonrise 175, 185, 193, 201, 217, 219, 220, 226, 251
d. of the pleasures of bathing 176, 181, 185*, 189, 190, 201, 215, 217
d. of seasons, towns, etc. 59, 107, 109, 114, 163, 170, 176, 182, 185*, 189, 201, 212, 215, 220, 221, 222, 232, 245, 261
d. of scenes of battle *see* battle
d. of sunrise 189, 212, 219, 220, 245, 261
d. of sunset and night 175, 193, 195, 201, 212, 215, 217, 220, 221, 222, 245, 251, 267
d. of svayaṃvara 176, 194
detailed d., elaborate d., long d. 12, 54, 61, 63, 116, 144, 179, 193, 201, 230, 236, 243, 260
pādādikeśānta d., nakhaśikha d., d. from foot to hair-ends 144, 145, 173, 194f.
Deśīnāmamālā 227*
Deva Rāya 209
Devakī 147
Devī 128, 131, 140, 142, 144
Devīmāhātmya 138
Dhammapada 76, 166, 201
Dhanamitra 239
Dhārā 17*, 52, 177, 209, 216, 262
dharma 4*, 99*, 148, 161*
Dharmabhadra 134
Dharmadeva 188*
dharmakathā 260f., 267
Dharmanābha 188*
Dharmanātha 188*
Dharmapāla 237
dhātupāṭha 226, 227
Dholkā 215, 219
Dhūminī
Dh. 's tale (Daśakum.) 241
dhvani 1*, 30, 31, 41, 44, 54, 57*, **64, 68,** 70, 71*, 82, 84, 85, 94, 98, 119, **162**
alaṃkāradhv. 71*
rasadhv. 71*
vastudhv. 71*
Dignāga 115
digvijaya 216, 217
Dilīpa 29, 176
dīpaka 153*
Divākaramitra 251
Diwekar, H.R. 60
Djāmi 210
doṣa 32, 35*, 54, 117, 194
drama 1, 31, 45, 46, 47, 48, 61*, 66, 88, 104, 109, 112, 136*, 160, 164, 205, 209, 243, 248, 271, 272, 273
dramatic theory 161
Draupadī 184
Dravidian
D. language(s) 49, 50, 51, 71*, 82, 192
D. poet, D. poetry 211, 212
Dṛḍhavrata 143
Dṛśadvatī 118*
dṛśya 1, 45, 47, 48
Drutavilambita metre 179, 198
dukanipāta *see* nipāta
Durgā 142, 240, 242
Durgā-Caṇḍī 138, 145
Durgā-Kālī 128
Durgāmāhātmya 138
Durlabhadevī 227

Duryodhana 184
dūta 115*, 122
d. poem 45, 113, 118*, 121, 126, 127
d. poet, d. poetry 117, 118, 120, 121, 124, 126
dūtakāvya 51, 67*, 112, 114, 117, 124, 125, 126, 127
dūtī 72, 84, 90, 111, 115, 206
Dvārakā 149
Dvivedī, H. 127
dvyakṣara 157, 187, 198

eccavakai 85*
ekākṣara 158, 186, 198
ekākṣarapāda 186, 190
ekanipāta *see* nipāta
Eḷu 51
epic 160, 228
the (great) epics 1*, 31, 53, 58, 163, 164, 213, 224, 225
lyrical e. 160
epistle 46, 273, 274
epithet
descriptive and narrative e. 129
new e. 256
euphony 6, 11, 231
exercises 19, 20, 21
euphonic e. 19
metrical e. 14, 20, 21, 151
e. to test vocabulary 20, 151

Fa-hsien 134
fight *see* battle scene
figure(s)
decorative f., poetic f. 3, 12, 26, 31, 35, 43*, 51, 54, 56, 61, 62, 68, 84, 87, 136, 153, 162, 182, 190, 222, 231, 273
use of f. 181, 194
folksong(s) 62, 64*, 84, 107, 110, 112, 114, 126
friend
the beloved's female f. 72, 84, 99
the lover's f. 72

gadya 46, 47, 228, 265
gajapada 154f.
Gaṇadhara 137
Gaṇapati 129
Gandhamādana 175
Gandharva 140, 185*, 254, 255, 258, 271
Gaṇeśa 14, 98, 128, 129
Gaṅgā, Ganges 11*, 18, 28, 29, 129, 139, 144, 176, 185*, 192, 210
gaṇikā 74, 84, 150
garbha 161
Garuḍa 133
gāthā 75, 76, 134
Gauḍa 18, 121; 200, 221, 250
Gauḍa style, Gauḍī *see* style
Gauḍapāda 139
Gītā *see* Bhagavadgītā
gītakāvya 111
Godāvarī 81, 82
Gokula 227
Gominī
Gominī's tale (Daśakum.) 241
gomūtrika 154, 186, 198
Gopī 126, 206, 223
Gorakṣanātha 89
goṣṭhī 16, 17, 19, 22, 150, 248
kavig., kāvyag. 15, 16, 17, 30, 150
jalpag. 16
nṛtyag. 16
vādyag. 16
vīṇāg. 16
Goṭhābhaya 269
Govinda 128, 146, 163, 248
Grahavarman 250, 251
Grahila 140
grammar 19, 168, 182, 196, 212, 225
Prākrit gr. 146, 226
Sanskrit gr. 169, 226, 227
display of grammatical brilliance 202
examples of the Sanskrit aorist 169, 191
examples of the Sanskrit perfect 169
examples of the Sanskrit periphrastic future 181
grammatical jests 168
grammatical works, works on gr. 169*, 223
Sanskrit verb-forms 226
use of moods 181
use of tenses 181
gūḍhacaturthapāda 152, 153
Gujarat 16, 136, 188, 212, 213, 215, 219, 220, 226
Gujarātī 50
guṇa 8, 32, 35*, 54
prasāda (clarity) 97
Guṇāḍhya 230, 244, 253
Gupta
G. dynasty, G. era, G. period 40, 48, 62, 115, 248
G. king, G. prince 177, 250
Guruvāyur 143

hagiography 212, 213
Hammīra 220

Haṃsavega 251
Hanumat 113, 114, 181, 183
Hara 83*, 129, 187*, 199
haraṇa 43
  arthaḥ. 43*
  śabdaḥ. 43*
Hari 208
Hariṇī metre 141, 170
Hariṇikā 248
Hārīta 254
Harivaṃśa 223
Harṣa, Harṣavardhana 135, 137, 151, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 257, 262
Harṣadeva of Kashmir 100, 128
hāva 119
Hayagrīva 197
Hemakūṭa 255, 259
hero 4, 161, 229, 230, 233, 249, 252, 263
heroine 252, 255, 262, 263
heron 37, 38, 164*
hetaera 74, 84, 150, 261
Himālaya 171, 172,*, 173, 174, 184, 185*, 201, 215, 217, 250, 255, 256
Hindī 31*, 50, 51
  H. literature 127
  Old H. poetry 207
Hindu
  H. campūs 270ff.
  H. hymnody 137ff.
  H. poetry 49
  H. works 130, 202
Hiraṇyabāhu 248
Hitopadeśa 60*
homonym 60
horse
  magic h., miraculous h. 245, 254
Hoysala rulers 18
Hūṇas 250
husband
  choice of husband *see* svayaṃvara

iḷavēṉil 110
imagery 37, 51, 55, 56, 62, 78, 88, 109, 187, 201, 221, 256,
imagination *see* pratibhā
implied
  the i. 30, 31, 41, 44, 68, 69, 70, 162
  the i. on the basis of content 71*
  the i. on the basis of figures 71*
  the i. on the basis of sentiment 71*
  see also: the unexpressed
impressions
  latent mental i. 21
improvisation, improvision on a given theme *see* samasyāpūraṇa
indagopaka *see* indragopa(ka)
Indonesia 50, 51, 274
Indra 172, 184, 247*, 267
indragopa(ka) 23*, 26, 27, 28, 77, 78, 164*
Indravajrā metre 19*, 170, 178
Indrāyudha 254, 255, 259
Indumatī 35, 176, 178
Ingalls, D.H.H. 173
inscription(s) 17, 18, 46, 47, 50, 52, 62, 170, 205, 215, 216, 221, 228, 229, 265, 273, 274
Īśāna 141, 260
itihāsa 1*, 161, 230
I-tsing 89, 90, 132

Jābāli 254, 259
Jacobi, H. 59, 175
Jagaḍū 220
Jagannātha
  J. cult 207*
  J.'s car-festival 273
Jaina
  J. anecdotes 188
  J. author, J. writer 49, 124, 126, 136, 202, 213, 220, 268
  J. canon 62, 136, 137
  J. circles 202, 260
  J. commentator 109
  J. dharmakathā literature 260f.
  J. hymns, J. stotra literature 135ff., 262
  J. poems 202, 209
  J. poet(s) 101, 102, 223, 261, 264, 272
  J. poetry 126, 203, 211ff., 269
  J. Rāmāyaṇas 213f.
  J. scholar(s) 154, 226
  J. works 130, 202, 268
Jaitrasiṃha 220
jalavihāra 66, 176
Jalor 267
Janamejaya 58
Jātaka 166
Jātakanidānakathā 201
jāti 102
Java 199*
Jayacandra 192
Jayanta 213
Jayanta Bhaṭṭa 141, 200
Jayāpīḍa 199
Jāvālipura 226
Jayasiṃha 203, 212, 213, 218, 226, 241
Jina 129
Jīvaka 263
Jīvandhara 212, 263, 269

Jodhpur 267
Jyeṣṭha 129

Kādamba 224
Kādambarī 253, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 262
Kailāsa 118*, 203
kalā 13, 19, 42
Kalaśa 217
Kālī 115, 198
Kālī-Durgā 140
Kaliṅga 221, 231, 232, **241**
kallola 88
Kalyāṇa 224
kāma 4*, 99*, 161*
Kāma 7*, 25, 34, 123*, **125, 172, 232**
Kāmadeva 224
Kāmākṣī 142
Kamalā 207*
Kāmamañjarī 238, 239
Kāmapāla 237, 240
Kamapana 220, 221
Kāmarūpa 251
kāmaśāstra 19, 39, 74, 99, 102, **110, 167,** 173, 176, 199
Kāmasūtra 42*, 54, 150, 189
Kāmavilāpa-Jātaka 114*
Kamboja 221
Kamparāya 220
Kaṃsa 209, 211, 227, 247
Kāmyaka 184
Kanakalekhā 241
Kanauj 97, 192, 199, 217, 250
Kāñcī(puram) 184, 271
kāṇḍa 53
Kandarpaketu 245, 246, 247
Kandukāvatī 240, 241, 243
kaṇpaṭainilai 59
Kantaka 239
kaṇṭaka 14
Kaṇṭhaka 169*
kanyakā 74
Kānyakubja 97, 192, 217, 250
kapālaka 66, 67, 104, 176
Kapilavastu 166, 167
Kapiñjala 254, 259
Kapphiṇa 201
Karahāṭa 217
Kardana 241
karman 21, 267
Karṇadeva Trailokyamalla 97, **217**
Karṇarāja 83
Karṇāṭa(ka) 212, 267, 268
Karṇatāla 251
Kārtikeya 138
Karuṇāmaya 134
karuṇarasa *see* rasa
Kāśī 129, 240
Kashmir 17, 95, 97, 100, 132*, 142, 188, 197, 199, 200, 201, 203, 217, 218
kathā 46, 47, 66*, 159, 160, 161, 229, 230, 233, 236, 243, 245, 246*, 252, 253, 255, 260, 265, 267
Kathāsaritsāgara 140, 253
Kātyāyana 140, 211, 234
Kauravas 184, 185
kavi 13, 14, 17, 18, 22, 23, 30, 35, 37, 41, 55, 56, 59, 64*, 65, 187
  kavirāja 121
  kavīndra, kavīśvara 44
  kukavi 44
  satkavi 44
  utpādakakavi 44
kavikarṇapūra 147
kāvya
  definitions of k. 11*
  the extent of k. 2f.
kāvyahetu 19, 22
kāvyakriyā 14
kāvyaśāstra 225
Keith, A.B. 83, 149, 182, 259
Kerala 118*, 127, 142, 143, 209, **210, 222,** 227, 265, 270
Keyūraka 258
Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya 192
khaṇḍakāvya 66, 67, 74, 104ff., **113,** 116, 161
khaṇḍitā *see* nāyikā
Khonamukha 97
Kīcaka 223
Kiṃnara 254, 255
Kindubilva 204
Kirāta 163, 184, 186
kīrti 4
Kokkoka 119*
Kolattunāḍ 270
Koṇḍaviḍu 263
Koṅkana rulers 263
kośa, koṣa 65*, 66, 67, 71, 81, 87, 161*
Kośala 201
Kṛṣānu 271
Kṛṣṇa 98, 101, 124, 126, 128, 129, 131, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 153, 188, 191*, 204, 206, 208, 209, 210, 211, 214, 215, 223, 224, 225, 227, 247*, 268, 270
Kṛṣṇā 218
Kṛṣṇalīlā 146

Kṛṣṇarāja 226
Kubera 5, 116, 123, 248
Kuberadatta 239
Kuiper, F.B.J. 265
kulaka 63, 65*, 66, 67, **104, 111, 137, 161***, 170, 219
Kulapālikā 239
Kulaśekhara 222
Kumāra 171, 174, 198
Kumāragupta 250
Kumārapāla 213, 226
Kumārila 140
Kumārilabhaṭṭa 140
Kumbha 201
kumbhakarṇa 207*
Kumudvatī 176
Kunstepos 63
Kuraṅgaka 251
Kuraṅgikā 248
Kurukṣetra 118*
Kuśa 57, 58, 176
kuśīlava 57
Kusumapura 245
Kuvalayacanda 267
Kuvalayamālā 267
Kuvalayavatī 121, 122

laghukāvya 46, 47, 53, **63, 65ff., 159, 160,** 161, 162, 171, 228
laharī 88
Lakṣmaṇa 181
Lakṣmaṇasena 17*, 18, 97, 121, 122, 123*, 146, 204, 205
Lakṣmī 18, 98, 128, 144, 207*, 251, 259
Lalitā 124
Laṅkā 114, 181
Lassen, Chr. 207
Lāṭa 263
Lāṭī *see* style
Lava 57, 58
Lāvaṇyaprasāda 215, 219, 220
lekha 46, 273
Lévi, S. 207
lexicography 19, 212, 225
  works on l. 173*, 223
  lexicographer 227
Līlāvatī 201
listener *see* reader
literary text 2, 5, 12, 36, 54
logic 19, 133, 141, 189
Lokanātha 133, 134
Lokeśvara 134
love 90, 225
  first blossoming of l. 162, **196**
  happy l., l. in union 71, 77, 84, 93, 94, 110, 114, 162, 196, 206
  unhappy l., l. in separation 71, 77, 84, 93, 94, 110, 114, 120, 125, 162, 196, 206
lover *see* nāyaka, nāyikā

Madana 256
Madanadeva 101
Madanapāla 224
Madalekhā 255, 258
Mādhava 118
Mādhavagupta 250
Madhurā 220, 221
madhyā *see* nāyikā
Madhyadeśa 164, 217
Madirā 254
Madras 273
Madurai 210, 221
Magadha 64*, 81, 166, **237, 260**
  Magadhan Empire 64
Māgadhī *see* style
Māgadhī (language) 14, 64*
Mahābala 263
Mahābhārata 19, 53*, 58, 114*, 125, 130, 163, 182*, 184, 188*, 193*, 194, 203, 215, 216, 222, 223, 224, 225, 246, 257, 270
Mahābhāṣya 79, 89
Mahādeva 129
Mahādevī 131
Mahākāla 129
Mahant 141
mahāparinirvāṇa 116
Mahārāṣṭra 82, 221
Māhārāṣṭrī 49, 64, 81, 87, 136, 197, 213, 262, 267
Mahāsāṅghika 164
Mahāśvetā 253, 254, 255, 256, 268, 259
māhātmya 202, 203, 212
Mahāvīra 124, 129, 136, 137, 211, 262, 269
Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra 164
Mahendra 227
Maheśvara 234
Mahīpāla 213
Mahiṣa 138
Mahiṣmatī 242
Mahiyaṅgaṇa-Stūpa **269**
Maithilī *see* Sītā
Maitreya 135
Makaranda 245
Māla 118*
mālā 88
Malabar 247
Mālatī 118, 251
Mālava 237, 242, **250, 251, 262**

Malay 265
Malay Archipelago 50
Malaya 231
Malayālam 211, 265
Malayasundarī 263
Mālayavāhana 263
Mālinī metre 126, 137, 141, 170
Malwa 217, 244
māna 54
Māna 197
Mānapura 83
Mānasa 118*, 131
Mānasāra 237, 238, 242, 260
Mānavamma 197, 198
Mandākinī 61, 251
Mandākrāntā metre 6, 103, 117f., 121, 126, 170
Mandanamiśra 93
Mandasore inscription 108, 168*, 180
Maṇibheda 269
Maṇikarṇikā 240
māninī *see* nāyikā
Maṇipravāla 265
Maṇitārā 248, 250
mañjarī 88
Mañjuśrī 133, 134
Mañjuvādinī 241, 242
Manojava 245
mantra 131, 140
  mantrabīja 135*
Mantragupta 158, 231*, 237
  M.'s tale (Daśakum.) 241
Manusmṛti 164*
Māra 166
Marāṭhī 175
Marīci 238
Māridatta 268
Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa 138
Marudeśa 227
Mathurā 97, 125, 126, 217
mātrācyutaka 152, 153
Mātṛgupta 197
Maukhari dynasty 250
Maurya 81
māyā 156
Mayapura 128
Mayūragiri 221
Mayūraka 248, 249
Mayūreśa 129
maxim 8, 9
meaning
  m. of a word, phrase or sentence 63
  implied m. 64
  more than one m. 169
medicine 168, 189, 194, 209, 234
Meghanāda 255
Mekhala 250
Menā 11
merchant 211, 220
merit
  stylistic m. *see* guṇa
Meru 11
message poem, messenger poem, m. poetry 51, 112, 114, 115, 117, 123, 124, 127, 204
messenger (of love) 5, 72, 73, 84, 115, 116, 121, 125, 126, 127, 206
metaphor 36*, 187
  metaphorical identification 167*
metre 23, 51, 54, 61, 66, 83, 87, 100, 101, 107, 108, 111, 136, 159, 163, 170, 190, 198, 201, 233
  Apavaktra m. 229
  changes in m. 105
  choice of m., selection of m. 28, 45, 144
  mora m., mātra m. 207
  number of m. 169
  short m. 182, 186
  syllabic m. 207
  use of m. 185, 194
  Vaktra m. 229
  See also: Anuṣṭubh, Āryā, Aupacchandasika, Bhujaṃgaprayāta, Drutavilambita, Hariṇī, Indravajrā, Mālinī, Mandākrāntā, Praharṣiṇī, Puṣpitāgrā, Rathoddhatā, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Śloka, Sragdharā, Sundarī, Svāgatā, Udgatā, Upajāti, Upendravajrā, Vaṃśastha, Vasantatilakā, Vidyunmālā and Viyoginī
metrics 19, 31, 56, 150, 196
Metteyya 135
Mewar 220
Middle Indian
  M.I. dialects, M.I. languages 10, 31, 38, 49, 57, 61, 62, 64, 79, 97, 107, 231, 267
  M.I. inscriptions 123*
  M.I. kāvya 110
  M.I. literature 75
milavu 211
Mīmāṃsā 93, 141, 148
Mīnākṣī 144
miniature (painting) 37, 70
miśra 46, 47
Mithila 205, 209
Mitragupta 236, 237
  M.'s tale (Daśakum.) 240f.
Mitravarman 242
  mokṣa 4*, 161*, 169*, 248

monologue-comedy 234, 243
monsoon 23ff., 32, 37, 56, 61, 77, 78, 108, 110, 111, 116, 118, 125, 126, 164*, 217, 267
moods *see* grammar
moon 7*, 10, 36, 113, 117, 121, 126, 162, 195
Moslem
  M. poet 127
  M. rulers 202
Müller, M. 170
mukha 161
muktaka 23, 52, 63, 64, 65*, 66, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73*, 74, 75, 82, 84, 86, 87, 97, 99, 102, 104, 106, 112, 119*, 128, 160, 161, 162, 173, 204, 208, 218
Mūlarāja 219, 226
Mummiṇīrāja 263
Munisuvrata 137
Murāri 191*
music 13, 25, 28
mutuvēṉil 110
Mysore 221

Nābhādāsa 204
Nāga 216, 251, 263
nāgara(ka) 42, 54, 84, 150
Nāgarasarvasva 42*
Nāgārjuna 263
Naiṣadha 192
nakhaśikha *see* description
Nala and Damayantī, Nala saga 114*, 125, 192, 193, 194, 195, 200, 210, 223, 225, 267
namaskāragāthā 83
namaskriyā 161
Nammāḻvār 217
Nanda 166, 168, 198
Nandamahāthera 269
Nandinī 176
Narasiṃha 221
Nārāyaṇa 221
Narmadāsundarī 269
narrative literature 15*, 164, 204, 213, 228, 230, 245, 262, 265, 266*
nāṭaka 1
Nausari inscription 267
Navamālikā 240
Navasāhasāṅka 216
navoḍhā *see* nāyikā
nāyaka 4*, 70, 71, 72, 84, 111, 117, 121, 122, 161, 206, 229, 245
  unmatta-n. 117
nāyikā 37*, 70, 71, 72, 74, 84, 90, 93, 99, 100, 102, 107, 111, 112, 117, 119, 120, 122, 126, 127, 206, 245
  abhisārikā 23, 37, 72, 73, 84, 94, 206
  kalahāntaritā 73*, 93, 102, 206
  khaṇḍitā 73*, 93, 102, 206
  madhyā, madhyamā 72, 102
  māninī 84, 93, 206
  mugdhā 72, 102
  navoḍhā 84, 93
  parakīyā, anyastrī, anyā 74, 84, 86
  pragalbhā, prauḍhā 72, 84, 93, 102
  proṣitabhartṛkā, proṣitapatikā 37, 73, 86, 120
  sādhāraṇastrī, sādhāraṇā, -ī, sāmānyan. 74
  svastrī, svīyā 74, 84
  vāsakasajjā 206
  vipralabdhā 93, 102, 206
  virahotkaṇṭhitā 93
Neminātha 124, 137, 213
Neo-(Indo-)Aryan
  N.-I.-A. languages 49, 50, 51, 71, 126
  N.-Indian literature 75
Nepal 50
nibaddha 66
Nighantuśeṣa 227*
Nikumbha 201
Nimbavatī 241
  N.'s tale (Daśakumāracarita) 241
Nine Juwels 17*, 80, 111, 115
nipāta 76
  ekan., dukan., tikan., catukkan. 76
nirauṣṭhya 186, 187, 190
Nirghāta 251
Nirmalānta 188*
nirvahaṇa 161
Nirvindhyā 118*, 119
niṣaṇṇa 15*
Nitambavatī 241
  N.'s tale (Daśakum.) 241
nīti 98, 99*, 103, 189
nītiśāstra 199
nom de plume 189
non-literary text 5, 8, 27
non-violence 212
Nṛsiṃha 129
nyāya 19, 148, 164*, 244
Nyāyamañjarī 141

one-consonant-poem 158
onomatopoetic effect 98
Orissa 211, 221

pada 1*
pādādikeśānta *see* **description**
padalālitya 191
Pādatāḍitaka 234
Padma 213, 214
Padmā 207*
padma(bandha) 155, **156***
Padmācārya 145
Padmaśrī 42*, 167
Padmāvatī 207*
story of Vāsavadatta **and P. 213**
Padmodbhava 237
padya 46, 47, 228, 265
Pagan 143
Paithan 82
Pāiyalacchī 262
Pakṣadhara Miśra 205
palatals 11
Palembang 199*
Pāli 49, 62, 64, 75, 78, **104, 134, 201, 265,** 269
palindrome 224
Pampā 254
Pañcālī *see* style
pañcāśikā 88, 99, 102, 105
Pāṇḍava, P. brothers 184, 222, 224
Pāṇḍya 143
panegyric 101, 106, 128, 137, 148, **170,** 192, 216, 221
Pāṇini 181, 226, 227
panthin *see* traveller
parakīyā *see* nāyikā
Parākramabāhu 134, 270
Paramāra (dynasty), P. monarchs **216, 217,** 262
pāramitā 134
Paramparāpustaka 199*
Paranavitana, S. 197
Pāriyātrā 251
Parjanya 56
paroḍhā 74
paronomasia 30, 44, 46, 98, 101, 128, 137, 138, 153, 168, 181, 194, 222, 224, 233, 243, 246*, 256, 260
Pārśva 124, 164
Pārśvanātha 135, 136, 137, 212, 214
Pārśvaputra 129
Pārvatī 11*, 98, 175, 209, 224
Pāśupata 248
Paśupati 83*, 129, 141
Pasuvaï 83*
Pātālasvāmin 251
Pāṭaliputra 64*
Patañjali 234
Pater noster 158*
Patralekhā 254, 255, 258, 259
patron
the poet's p. 18, 202, 211, **216, 219, 220**
pauruṣeya 1*
Payyūr-Bhaṭṭa 223
peacock 39, 40
dancing p. 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 33
perfect *see* grammar
periphrastic future *see* grammar
Persian
P. Empire 203
P. poetry 210
personae
(carminis) p. 62, 72, 90, 119, 122, 206
Perumanam 222
phrases
(set) phrases 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 59, 168
Piśāca 141
Pischel, R. 207
plagiarism 43, 44, 45
plot 161, 167, 231, 235, 245, 260
poem
five-to-fifteen-stanza p. 66
four-stanza p. 66
long p. 68, 162, 163, 164, 233
love p. 71, 79, 90, 99, 119
multiple-stanza p. 100, 104, 171
one-stanza p., single-stanza p. 63, **66,** 68, 70, 71, 75, 88, 101, 104, 105, 160
p. of several stanzas 63, 66
p. with historical themes 215ff.
prose p. 159, 228ff.
quick-p. 271
short p. 70, 71, 75, 81, 86, 87, 88, 104, 106, 108, 170, 192, 228, 265, 273
two-stanza p. 63, 66
three-stanza p. 66
poet
the daily life of a p. 14
the p.'s dwelling 14
the p.'s routine 14
p. of the past, older p. 249, 260, 262
bad p. 44
court p. 17, 18, 58, 84, 128, 146, 170, 192, 204, 216, 217, 219, 224
creative p. 44
epic p. 59
genuine p. 44
lyrical p. 62
muktaka p. 63, 80
occasional p. 15
p. of circumstance 15
Romantic p. 30

Vedic p. (-seer) 30, **56**
poetic
p. canon 2, 185
p. examples 181
p. prose 170
p. sentiment *see* rasa
p. talent 21
p. theory 185, 209, 273
poetry
bardic-rhapsodic p. 58, 59*, 85, 163
didactic p. 8, 71, 222
epic p. 61, 63, 64, 132, 163, 164, 167
erotic (lyrical) p. 74, 87, 92, 93, 144, 206
gnomic p. 8
Hindī p. 31*
instant p., impromptu p. 59*, 204
lyrical p. 63, 64, 86, 90, 96, 102, 104, 115, 151, 160, 162
love p. 72, 73, 94, 98, 173
muktaka p. 68, 71, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 103, 105, 107
multiple-stanza p. 105, 106, 107ff.
p. of implication 69
p. of the major form 159ff.
p. of the minor form 65ff., 160, 163
p. with a scientific content 182, 225ff.
religious p. 4, 71, 99, 128ff.
secular (lyrical) p. 104, 107ff.
single-stanza p. 69, 73, 75ff., 106, 110, 115
political science 19
prabandha 69*, 110, 206, 207, 208
Prabhākaravardhana 250
Pracaṇḍavarman 242
pragalbhā *see* nāyikā
prahara 14*
Praharṣiṇī metre 28, 186*
prahelikā 150*, 152
prajñā 21
Pramati 237
Pr.'s tale (Daśakumāracarita) 240
prāsa 211
Prasād, Jayśaṅkar 50
praśasti 18, 46, 47, 180, 202, 273
Prasenajit 201
praśnottara 15
praśnottarakāvya 150
praśnottarasama(jāti) 153
prathamāśvāsa (Meghadūta) 116*
pratibhā 14, 19, 21, 22, 30
creative (kārayitrī) pr. 41
re-creative (bhāvayitrī) pr. 41
pratibhāna 19*
pratilomānulomapāda 186, 190
pratilomena ślok**advaya 186, 190**
pratimukha 161
pratināyaka 161
Pratiṣṭhāna 81, 82, 263
pratītyasamutpāda 135
prauḍhā *see* nāyikā
Prayāga 97, 176, 217
prayatna 19
prayojana 17
prāyojanika 15
prekṣya 1, 45
preman 147
prīti 4
Prītikūṭa 248, 250
proṣitabhartṛkā, proṣit**apatikā *see* nāyikā**
Pṛthu 99
Pṛthvī metre 102
Pṛthvīrāja 219
Puṇḍarīka 254, 258, 259
Purāṇas 1*, 19, 31, 130, **132, 212, 216,** 223, 225, 270
purāṇic material 214
purāṇic sources 177
purāṇic style 215
Puri 273
Purūravas 112, 152, 153
puruṣārtha 99*
pūrvarāga 161, 196
Puṣpabhūti 250
Puṣpaka 28
Puṣpapurī 237, 242
Puṣpitāgrā metre 182
Puṣpodbhava 236, 237, 238

qualification
q. necessary for a poet 19
question-and-answer(-poem) 15, 150*

Rādhā 101, 124, 129, 146, 147, 149, 206, 209, 210
rāga 207
Rāgavidbodha 102
Rāghava 148, 224
Raghu 29, 61, 176
R. clan, R. dynasty 176, 177
R. poem 177
Raghunātha Nāyaka 210, 221
Raghupati 273
rain-mite 23, 27, 28
rainy season *see* monsoon
Raivataka 36, 189, 191, 227
Rājahaṃsa 237, 238, 242, 260
Rājamañjarī 239
Rājamatī 124

Rājapura 268
Rājasthānī literature 127
Rājasundarī 197
Rājavāhana 236, 237, 239, 240, 241, **242**, 260
R.'s tale (Daśakumāracarita) 238
Rājyadevī 248
Rājyaśrī 250
Rājyavardhana 250
rākṣasa 241
Rāma 4*, 28, 29*, 57, 60, 61, 114, 126, 129, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 176, 179, 181, 183, 197, 198, 201, 209, 213, 214, 215, 223, 224, 225, 246, 270
Rāmagiri 116, 118*, 119
Rāmānuja 207*, 271
Rāmapāla 224
Rāmavarman 222
Rambhā 128
Rāptī 250
rasa 12*, 31, 32, 35, 41, 54, 55, 63, 67, 68, 69, 71*, 82, 85, 161, 162, 194
comic r. (hāsyar.) 71*
erotic r. (śṛṅgārar.) 35, 69, 70, 84, 110, 196, 260
furious r. (raudrar.) 35, 71*
heroic r. (vīrar.) 35, 71*
pathetic r. (karuṇar.) 35, 103
peace of mind (śāntir.) 71*
miraculous r. (adbhutar.) 71*
nauseous r. (bībhatsar.) 35, 71*
terrifying r. (bhayānakar.) 71*
rasābhāsa 68
rasajña 4, 41
rāsaka 127
rasika 4, 41
Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, R. rulers 83, 226, 267, 268
Rathoddhatā metre 198
Rati 172, 173
Ratirahasya 119*
Ratnodbhava 237
raudrarasa *see* rasa
Rāvaṇa 4*, 114, 176, 183, 197, 198, 214, 226
reader (or listener) 3, 4, 6, 22, 25, 30, 31ff., 54, 62, 63, 70, 94, 160, 165, 182, 185, 189, 194, 196, 233, 257, 261
recitation 58, 75, 163
Reddi ruler 263
refrain 131, 206, 207
Renaissance
European R. 17
R. of Sanskrit literature **170**
renunciation 225, 261, 269
repetition of lexemes, words, parts of a stanza, etc. 7, 60, 167
Revā 82
Ṛgveda 29, 56
rhapsodist 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 163
rhyme 9, 51, 60, 168, 207, 208
head-rhyme 211
ambiguous rhyme 222
riddle 150ff., 267
r.-poem 150*
r.-poetry 150ff.
verse-r., verse puzzle 15*, 16
Rītikāl 31*, 50
Rohiṇī 259
Ṛṣabha 135, 136, 137
ṛṣi 13, 136, 168, 245
Rudra 129, 141
Rukmiṇī 224
rūpaka 36*, 38*, 153*, 167

śabda 11, 21, 179, 185*, 246
śabdārthavibhaktivacanabhinnajāti 151
sabhā 16
sādhāraṇā, sādhāraṇī *see* nāyikā
sādhāraṇastrī *see* nāyikā
ṣaḍṛtuvarṇana 107, 108
sahacara 72
sahacarī 72
Sahajiyā 146, 204
Sāhasāṅka 234
sāhitya 12, 13
sahṛdaya 4, 41
Sakei 265
Sāketa 149, 164
sakhī 72, 84, 99, 206
Śākta 146
śakti 19*, 147
Śākya 168
Śālibhadra 213
Sāḷuva 221
Śaṅkhapāla 216
samāja 16, 17
sāmānyanāyikā *see* **nāyikā**
Samarāicca 261
Samarāditya 261
Samareketu 262
samasyāpūraṇa 15, 16, **79**, **123**, **124**, **126**, 135*, 150, 223, 267
sambhoga 45
sambhogaśṛṅgāra 71, **77**, **84**, **93**, 94, **114**, 162, 196, 206
saṃdhi 1*, 161
saṃdhyāvandana 14

saṃghāta 65*, 66, 67, 74, 104ff., 110, 161, 162
saṃgīta *see* music
Sāṃkhya 164*
saṃkīrṇakathā 267
samparka 11
saṃskāra 21
samudgaka 186, 187
Samudragupta 17*, 170, 177
sandānitaka 66, 67, 104
sandeśa 113, 118
s.-kāvya 51, 67*, 112, 113, 117, 120, 121, 123, 126, 127, 128
s. poetry, s. literature 116, 117, 127
Saṅghabodhi 269
Saṅghatissa 269
Śaṅkara 129, 145
Śaṅkarahṛdayaṃgamā 145
Śaṅkaravarman 100
śānti 100, 103
Śānti(nātha) 136, 137
saptaśatī 88
Sarasvatī 14, 15, 18, 21, 42, 118*, 129, 194, 246, 250, 251
Sarayū 176
Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre 92, 109, 126, 131, 132, 137, 138, 139, 142, 144, 170, 192, 218
sarga 53, 63, 65, 66, 105, 161, 162, 206
sargabandha 63, 65, 66, 159ff., 170, 171, 196ff., 228, 230, 231, 233, 265, 273
Śāriputra 164
Śarva 141
sarvatobhadra 154, 186, 190, 198
Śaśiprabhā 216
śāstra 1*, 13, 42, 99*, 151, 218
śāstrakāvya 182, 203, 218, 225ff.
sat 41
śataka 83, 88, 90, 92, 99, 100, 101, 103, 105, 134, 135
Sātavāhana 81, 82, 83
Śaṭhakopa 271
satī (suttee) 251
Sator-Arepo-formula 157*
Śatruñjaya 227
Satyandhara 263
Satyavarman 237
Śaunaka 58
Saurāṣṭra 221
Sāvitrī 251
Schroeder, L. von 208
science of interpreting omens 194
Sena dynasty 97
sentiment *see* rasa
separation (of the lovers) 54, 71, 94, 111, 113, 117, 118, 120, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 206
Śeṣa 98, 195
Śeṣaputra 129
Shāh Jahān 144*
Shihāb-ud-dīn Ghorī 219
śīghrakavitva 59*
signature
poet's s. 207
Śikhaṇḍatilaka 263
Śikhariṇī metre 126, 141
Sikhs 205
Siṃhaghoṣa 240
Siṃhanāda 251
Siṃhavarman 238, 239, 240, 242
Siṃhaviṣṇu 184
simile 22, 23, 26, 28, 29, 30, 36, 43, 55, 85, 114*, 164, 168, 246, 256
art of s. 190
Sindhu 118*
Sindhurāja 216
Sinhalese literature 51
Śiśupāla 163, 188
Sītā 28, 29, 113, 114, 126, 163, 176, 179, 181, 197, 198, 201, 209, 214, 215
Sitavarman 237
situation 22, 73, 177
love s. 101
Śiva 7*, 11*, 15*, 83, 90, 98, 129, 131, 138, 140, 142, 143, 171, 172, 173, 174, 178, 184, 185, 187*, 188, 199, 200, 203, 209, 210, 223, 224, 237, 249, 252, 254, 256, 258, 270
Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya *see* Bhattacharyya, S.
Śīyaka 262
Skanda 186
Skandagupta 250, 251
śleṣa 30, 44, 101, 136, 137, 153, 222, 246*, 271
ś. poem 222ff.
ś. poetry, śleṣakāvya 203, 215*, 218, 222ff.
ś. style 224, 225
Śloka metre 21, 59, 152, 179, 182, 200, 212
Smara 141
societies *see* goṣṭhī
Sohoni, S.V. 40
śoka 32
Somadatta 236, 237
Somapāla 218
Someśvara 224

Śoṇa 248, 251
songs to waken a sleeper **58**
Sragdharā metre 132*, **134, 138, 144**
Sravana Belgola 209
Śrāvastī 201, 240
śrāvya 1, 45, 47, 48, **49, 52**
Śreṇya 166
Śrī 156, 208
Śrīdharasena 180
Śrīkaṇṭha (= Śiva) **203**
Śrikaṇṭha 250, 251
Śrīraṅgam 143
Śrīvijaya 199*
śṛṅgāra 99*, 103, 225
śṛṅgārarasa *see* rasa
śṛṅgāraśataka 101
Śṛṅgāraśekhara 245
śruta 19
Śrutabodha 116
śruti 141
Stambhatīrtha 220
Sthānaka 263
Sthāṇu 129
Sthāṇvīśvara 250, 251
Sthūlabhadra 124, 137
Stoler Miller, B. 207*
story
  fictive st. 159, 229
  mixed st. 267
  short st. 229
  subsidiary st. 243
  true st. 159, 229
stotra 4, 106, 211, 216
  st. literature 128ff., 209
strīnindā 261
style 8, 12, **13**, 17, 28, 34, **35, 48, 88, 207**
  Āvantikā 34*
  āviddha 257
  cūrṇaka 257
  descriptive st. 185, 189
  difficult, artificial st. 227, 256
  difficult prose st. 243, 258
  epic st. 167
  Gauḍa st., Gaudī 34f., 48, 138, **139, 144,** 170, 196, 198, 221
  Lāṭī 34*, 221
  Māgadhī 34*
  Pañcālī 34*
  prose st. 257
  rhetorical st. 185f., 189, 191
  utkalikāprāya 257
  Vaidarbha st., Vaidarbhī 18, 34f., **48,** 144, 170, 171, 196, 198, 218, 221
  vṛttagandhi 257
  yamaka st. 191
Subhadrā 215, 227
subhāṣita 75, 81, 99*, 106
subject (matter) 32, 177
Śuddhodana 166, 167
sudhī 41
Śūdraka 151, 253, 259
Sudṛṣṭi 248
Sugrīva 181
Suhma 240
suitability *see* aucitya
Śuka 128
Śukanāsa 254, 269
Śūlapāṇi 129
sulking 54
Sumanas 253
Sumantra 237
Sumati 237
Sumitra 237
summer 32, 105, 109, **110, 172, 217, 221**
Sunandā 35
Sundarī 166, 167, 169
Sundarī metre 169
Suprabhadeva 187
Suratha 215
Śūrpaṇakhā 181
Sūrya 129, 144
Suśruta 237
Sūtra 265
Suttapiṭaka 75
Suvarṇapura 199*, 254
Suvarṇapuravaṃśa 199*
Suyodhana 184*
svabhāvokti 102
Svāgatā metre 198
svastrī *see* nāyikā
svayaṃvara 176, 194, 217, 227, 261
Śvetaketu 254, 259
svīyā *see* nāyikā
synonym(s) 10, 20, 198
  s. books 20
  new s. 257

Tailaṅga 144
Takṣaśilā 267
Tamālikā 245
Tamil 22, 49, 50, 51, 82, **143**
  T. literature 115*
  T. literary criticism 85*
  T. lyrical poetry 28*, 82
  T. pirapantam poetry 59
  T. poetry 66, 71*, 73*, 82, **85, 110**
Tamilnad 50
Tanjore 210, 221

Tantrākhyāyika 89, 230
Tantric
  T. beliefs 30
  T. literature 130
  T. ritual 250
  T. text 134
  T. writer 140
Tāpī 82
Tārā 133, 134
Tāraka 174, 175
Taralikā 254
Tāranātha 89, 164
taraṅginī 88
Tārāpīḍa 254, 255
Tārāvalī 240
Tarka 272
Tathāgata 129, 166
tatpuruṣa 10
Tejaḥpāla 219, 220
tenses *see* grammar
Thailand 50, 51
Thana 263
Thanesvar 250
theme 22, 23, 27, 28, 31, 35, 45, 48, 49, 54, 55, 56, 59, 62, 63, 64, 67, 71, 86, 88, 105, 107, 109, 111, 119, 127, 151, 161, 162, 163, 168, 184, 189, 196*, 198, 202, 218, 220, 253, 260, 271
tikanipāta *see* nipāta
tilaka 232*
Tilakamañjarī 262
Tīrthaṃkara 124, 129, 135, 136, 137, 212, 213
Tiruccirappalli 273
Tirupati 221
Tirumala Nāyaka 210
Tirumoḷi 143
Tiṭibha 251
title (of works) 163
town-dweller 150
  See also: nāgara(ka)
tradition
  epic tr. 60, 62
  lyrical tr. 62, 63
  tr. of poetry 75
tragedy 161
  tragic ending 175
traveller, wanderer 23, 24, 86, 94, 127
Tribhuvanamalla *see* Vikramāditya VI
Trichūr 222
Tripāṭhī, V. 127
Tripura 203, 222
Tripurasundarī 140
trivarga 4*
turagapada 154
tūtu 115*
tuyiletainilai 59
two-consonant-poem 157

Udāna 166
Udayana 244, 245
Udayasundarī 263
Uddhava 126
Uddyotakara 244
Udgatā metre 186*
Ugra 141
Ugraśravas 58
Ujjayinī, Ujjain 115, 118*, 177, 237, 238, 242, 254, 255, 258, 259, 261, 262, 267
Umā 7*, 15*, 83, 172, 173, 174, 175, 178, 200, 249
unexpressed
  the u. (dhvani) 54
  the hitherto u. (apūrva) 22
Upahāravarman 237
  U.'s tale (Daśakum.) 239
Upajāti metre 169, 170, 178, 182, 195, 219, 227
upamā 26, 44, 153*, 190
Upaniṣad 97, 131, 164*
Upendravajrā metre 178
Urvaśī 112, 152
Uṣā 211, 173
Utkala 221
utprekṣā 26, 101*, 186

vāgīśvara 199
Vaidarbha style, Vaidarbhī *see* style
vairāgya 90, 99*, 103, 225
vairāgyaśataka 101
Vaiśampāyana 58, 253, 254, 255, 258, 259
Vaiṣṇava
  V. poet(s) 124, 126, 272
  V. poetry 126, 210
Vajrāṅkuśa 216
Vajrasvāmin 137
Vākāṭaka dynasty 83
Vākpatirāja 262
vākya 1*
Vākyapadīya 89
Valabhī 180
Vālin 181
Vallabhacārin 146, 204
Vallabhācārya 146
Vālukanadī 269
Vāmadeva 237, 242
Vaṃśastha metre 169, 170
vāṅmaya 1

Varadāmbikā 271
Vārāṇasī 97, 217, 267
Vararuci 140, 211, 234, 244
Vardhana dynasty 250
Varma, Varmala, Varmalāta 188
Varman dynasty 250
varṇa 1*, 207
varṇana 271
Vārttika(sūtras) 80, 234
vāsakasajjā *see* nāyikā
Vasantabhānu 241, 242
Vasantatilakā metre 95, 126, 142, 143, **200**
Vāsavadatta
  story of V. and Padmāvatī 213
Vāsavadattā 245, 246, 253
Vasiṣṭha 29, 172*, 176
vastu 32, 177
  vastunirdeśa 161
Vāsudeva (= Kṛṣṇa) 227
Vasumatī 237, 240, 260
Vasundharā 241, 242
Vatsabhaṭṭi 108, 168*, 180
Vatsagulma 83
Vatsarāja 263
Vātsyāyana 189, 248
Vāyupurāṇa 176
Veda 1*, 130, 164*
Vedānta 101, 139, 146, **209**
Vedic
  V. gods 58
  V. hymns 54
  V. period, V. era 55, 58, 61, **62, 74**
  V. poetry 55, 56, 57
  V. prose 55
  V. words 182*, 186, 257
  Early V. era 62
  Late V. period 55, 58, 61, 62, 74
  Post-V. era 62
Vemabhūpāla 263
vēṇiṉmalai 110
Veṅkaṭa 221, 225
veśyā 42, 74
Vetravatī 253
Vibhīṣaṇa 181
vidagdha 41
Vidarbha 241
Videha 239
Vidiśā 118*, 253
vidvat 41
Vidyā 96
vidyāvasatha 14
Vidyunmālā metre **150**
Vighnāntaka 129
Vighnarāja 129
Vijayabāhu 270
Vijayacandra 192
Vijayanagar 209, 220, 225, 271
Vijayapura 121
Vikaṭavarman 239
Vikrama, Vikramāṅka 217, 218
Vikramabāhu 199*
Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla 17, 97, 217
Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī 17*, 80, 89, 111, 115, 244
Vilāsavatī 254
viloma 224, 225
  vilomaracanākāvya 148*
Vimardaka 238, 239
vimarśa 161
Vināyaka 129
Vinayapiṭaka 75
Vindhya 118*, 237, 240, 241, 245, 251, 255
vipralabdhā *see* nāyikā
vipralambhaśṛṅgāra 71, 77, 84, 93, 94, 120, 162, 196, 206
Vīradhavala 215, 220
viraha 54, 71, 94, 114, 117, 120, 122, 124, 127, 206
virahotkaṇṭhitā *see* nāyikā
Vīranārāyaṇa 263
(Vīra)Rāghava 270
vīrarasa *see* rasa
Vīravarman 248
Vīreśvara 129
virodhābhāsa 168, 246
viśeṣaka 170, 219
Viṣṇu 18*, 98, 129, 142, 143, 145, **171, 176,** 181, 188, 203, 221, 252, 270
Viṣṇudharma 184
Viṣṇupurāṇa 176
Viśruta 237
  V.'s tale (Daśakumāracarita) 241f.
Viśvaprakāśakoṣa 234
Viśvāvasu 271
Viveka 272
Viyoginī metre 169, 195
vocabulary 20, 29
  charm of v. 190
  literary and non-literary v. 23
  poetic v. 55
  richness of v., rich v. 231, 257
  unusual v. 151
  v. of poetry 78
vowels in a compound 10
Vradhnapura 128
vrajyā 67, 71, 83*, 98, **105**
Vṛndāvana 125, 146, 206

vṛtta 207
Vyāsa 44, 58, 137, 184, **249**
vyutpatti 19, 21*

wanderer *see* traveller
Weber, A. 81, 85*
Winternitz, M. 76
women
  passages censuring w. 261
word(s)
  difficult w. 138
  variants for w. 7
  w.-play, play on w., verbal games 51, 60, 167, 168, 177, 257
  w. used in an ambiguous manner 85
writing materials 14

Yādava 148
Yakṣa 5, 6, 39, 116, 117*, 119, 122, 123, 124, 240, 241
Yama 251
yamaka 105, 111, 112*, 153, 181, 186, 187, 190, 194, 198, 199, 221, 222
  ayugmapādayamaka 183
  mahāyamaka 186, 187
  pādādiyamaka 183
  various types of y. 183
  y.-poem 200, 222ff.
  y.-style 200, 202, 223
  y.-writing 266*
yamakakāvya 203, 222ff.
Yamunā 98, 129, 144, 176, 206
Yaśodhara 212, 268
Yaśodharā 168
Yaśovarman 83, 199, 203
Yaśovatī 250, 251
yathāsaṃkhya 167
Yavana 241
Yodheya 268
Yudhiṣṭhira 184, 188, 222
yugma(ka), yugala(ka) 63, 64, **67**, **104**, **105**, 128, 162, 170, 219
Yusuf u Zuleikha 210

Zesen, Ph. von 158*
Zvelebil, K.V. 130