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Published by
VIJAYA BOOKS
1/10753, St. No. 3, Subhash Park,
Naveen Shahdara, Delhi-110 032,
Ph. : 22822514, 9910189445
Email : vijyabooks@gmail.com

© Author

First Edition : 2018

ISBN : 978-93-81480-76-2

Price : ₹ 1595/-

Printed by :
Vikas Computer & Printers
Naveen Shahdara, Delhi-110032

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PREFACE

It was late in the year 2008 that I had received an invitation from the National Autonomous University of Mexico to deliver eight lectures on the subject of the history of Sanskrit literature. There were two conditions for them. One, the lectures should cover the entire history and not only a period of it, ancient, medieval or modern. Two, the lectures should be in a written form, the written script to be made available to the University so that it could be translated in Spanish for the convenience of the listeners who though familiar with English may not have a thorough grasp of it. The Spanish translation could be brought out in a book form later. Realizing fully well the imponderability of the task, I, in keeping with my wont, not to shy away from undertaking the most difficult of the assignments, undertook it. I started working on it in right earnest. The lectures were to be delivered the year following the one the invitation for them came. I had only a couple of months to prepare them. By the time I had completed five lectures comprising 175 pages in print in demy size there came the news of the outbreak of swine flu in Mexico. The travel to and from it was banned. The ban lasted several months. There was terror all around. This proved the dampener. I lost interest in the work.There was no further writing. One precaution I took however. Whatever I had written up to that point, I kept secure in a file in my cupboard.

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The years rolled by. Age was overtaking me. That was propelling me to bring to completion as of my works as were unfinished. In that connection I remembered the script of the five lectures. I took out the file. The script was there. It dealt with a part of the classical Sanskrit literature. I thought of adding to it the Vedic literature, the remaining part of the classical Sanskrit literature that could also cover such topics as agriculture, gardening, sciences, physical and natural, aeronautics and environment. The work has now swelled to 626 pages. While planning and executing it I was acutely conscious of the fact that it is not the first work of its kind. A number of works had already made their appearance both in English and Hindi. It is quite a challenge for one to work on the same subject on which a number of authorities had worked earlier and still to claim originality. There are many areas I have visited the first time. And that is the justification for this work. Though I am humble to a fault, I would not feel chary of pinpointing some of the areas covered the first time.

No history of Sanskrit literature covers to my knowledge the modern Sanskrit literature and that too in its various dimensions, the more noteworthy of them being its assessment from the point of view of theme, vocabulary and style, the children's literature and the literature on Christianity and Sikhism. In the treatment of the Vedic literature there is demonstration in written form of the eight types of recitations, called vikṛti-pāṭhas resorted to for the preservation of the integrity of the Vedic text. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are two great epics belonging to two different aeons, Yugas, the former belonging to Tretā and the latter to Dvāpara. Yet the similarity both of them have with each other within all the dissimilarity subsuming them has been brought out in the write-up "Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata—A Study in Comparison". Scholars cannot but mark the deep insight and the diligence gone into its preparation. So also cannot they but mark the same in the

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detailed write-up on environment which this history of Sanskrit literature alone deals with. Readers may have heard of the various *citrabandhas*, fittings in pictorial form of Sanskrit verses but may not have actually seen any of them. This history will furnish them with instances of several of them from the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi and the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha. In the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa several characters assume different form and name in rebirth which could be quite confusing. Their original names and forms together with the changed names and forms are presented in the present history in the form of a graph for easy appreciation of readers. A verse from the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* called Pañcanalī in scholarly circles which has different connotations for each of the four deities who had assumed the form of King Nala to confuse Damayantī is reproduced in the present history with different interpretations meant for each as also the real Nala. The aerial car, the Puṣapaka, finds a detailed treatment in the present work as given in the Vālmīki-*Rāmāyaṇa* along with references to aerial cars in other later Sanskrit texts together with mention of seven Sanskrit texts, a number of them still in manuscript, on the science of Aeronautics. So gets the treatment of gardening with the mention of an important text on it. There is mention in the present work of a peculiar method called Dakārgalā for testing the soil as also the expertise of the ancients for water harvesting. The very introduction to the work seeks to break fresh ground by touching points like Sanskrit ever having been a spoken language, the presence of it in Indian languages with appropriate illustrations, its future in the present, 21st century and the centuries to follow and the ways to connect it with the common man.

The volume also has the unique distinction of having a rare text as an Appendix. The text is the *Kristusahasranāma* by I.C. Chacko.

I have referred to it in my treatment of the Christian Literature in Sanskrit. Till about the beginning of the last month

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of the present year (2018) I had only heard about it. A gentleman from Kerala Dr. David C. Kandathil who had been present at the Parikshit Varma Memorial International Lectures delivered by me at Tripunnithura on December 7 and 8, 2017 came to see me while on a short visit to Delhi. In the course of the conversation with him I came to know that the work had been published in 1966 in Malayalam characters and that he had transcribed it in Devanagari characters and that he had saved it in his computer. He readily agreed to make it available to me. On getting the text from him I thought of sharing it with readers so that they could have an idea of what kind of composition it is.

Iṣṭaṁ hi viduṣāṁ loke samāsavyāsadhāraṇam, the wise would like to follow (in their presentation) both the methods, they could be brief; they could be effusive, says the *Mahābhārata*. I have gone along with this saying of the great epic. The volume was getting bigger and bigger. Had I followed the *vyāsa* method all through it would have been unmanageable. I had to follow the *samāsa* method at places.

Before I close this *ātmanivedana*, I would like to place on record my high appreciation of the help and assistance in reading through the proofs by my esteemed friend Dr. Satya Vrat Varma of Sri Ganganagar, Rajasthan. He has been rather liberal in offering valuable suggestions.

Once in the course of conversation with Prof. Om Prakash Pandey of Lucknow while referring to this work which had been under preparation I happened to remark that it would be me my last work. He interrupted me and said : "I would like to correct you. You should have said this is my latest work." I accepted his correction. The present one is my latest work. The last one is yet to come.

Satya Vrat Shastri

New Delhi
18.July, 2017

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INTRODUCTION

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1

WAS SANSKRIT EVER A SPOKEN LANGUAGE?

There are certain misconceptions about Sanskrit that need to be straightened first, since they threaten to strike at the very root of the language. According to some, Sanskrit was never a spoken language. Even if it was, it was spoken by a stratum of society that occupied a higher position in it. It was considered pure and sacred and hence not fit to be used by the lower rungs of it, including women who also were equated with them. As evidence for it, they cite plays where priests, sages, kings and noblemen speak in Sanskrit while all other characters including jester, though of the higher caste (a Brāhmaṇa, probably because of his uncouth appearance and antics) speak in Prakrits of various kinds. This bilingual character of the plays shows that there was a clear cut linguistic divide in India since very early times, since the time of Bhāsa— the earliest known playwright whose all works have been discovered and who is generally assigned to the 4th cen. B.C.

To this it may be said that even though the lower rungs of society did not speak in Sanskrit, they did understand it. Otherwise communication between the two segments, the higher and the lower, would not have been possible. Further, Sanskrit literature does not begin with the 4th or the 5th cen. B.C. It goes much beyond it. Interestingly, there is no evidence in the earlier

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literature including the Vālmīki-*Rāmāyaṇa*, where a stanza is erroneously taken to refer to it, of the use of the word Sanskrit as the name of the language. It is invariably called Bhāṣā, vide Yāska : इवेति भाषायां चान्वध्यायञ्च (निरुक्त, 1.2.5), Pāṇini भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः (3.2.108), सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम् (4.1.62), Kātyāyana भाषायां धाञ्कृसृगमिजनिनमिभ्यः (under the sūtra आदृगमहनजनः किकिनौ लिट्, 3.2.171), भाषायां शासियुधिदृशिधृषिमृषिभ्यो युज् वाच्यः under the sūtra अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते (3.3.130). And Bhāṣā is the one which is spoken by people. For a thousand years and more the language was called just Bhāṣā. When the name Sanskrit came to be used for it, is still an open question. Had it been an artificial language, it would not have survived till the present day and would have died out as did Esperanto. Further, it would not have had dialectical variations. It is only a living expression that admits them. Pāṇini speaks of the addition of one kind of a suffix (*añ*) to a word on the northern side of the river Vipāś and another kind of it (*aṇ*) on the southern side of it, vide the sūtra *udak ca vipāśaḥ* (4.2.76). Further, it is only the spoken language that evolves due to the pronunciation vagaries of the people particularly the rustic and the uneducated ones, the evolution termed as *apabhraṁśa* in grammatical texts, vide Patañjalis's pointed reference to this phenomenon:

एकस्यैव शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः, गावीगोणीगोतागोपोतलिकेत्येवमादयः।

These *apabhraṁśas* being accepted back in the standard expression like *geha* for *grha*, *guccha* for *gutsa*, the interchanging termed *abheda* of certain sounds like *r* and *l*, *ḍ* and *l*, *v* and *b*. *y* and *j*, the insertion of a letter in a word or the omission of it or the inversion of the order of the sounds or change in their forms are all pointers to Sanskrit having been a live and vibrant expression. So are the admission in it of words from other languages like *kalama* for pen from Arabic, vide *Medinīkośa kalamaḥ puṁsi lekhanyām*, *rumā* for salt quarry from Rome, vide Amara *rumā syāl lavaṇākare*, *mleccha* as such from the Mesopotamian *yavanānī* formed from *yona* an evolute of

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Iona, for the script of the Yavanas, the inhabitants of Iona, an island near Greece, *javanikā* from *yavanikā* derived in the same way from Yavana for curtain and so on. As a matter of fact, a huge number of words of astronomy in Sanskrit are borrowed from Greek. It is the same for coins (*dīnāra, kārṣāpaṇa*, etc.), from Persian which had been Sanskritized as *pārasīka* since very early times. The Persian word *bandī* has become the base word for words like *gṛha, pāla* etc. and the roots *kṛ* and *bhū*. The Persian Shahanshah meets the eye in the form Ṣāhiṣāhānuṣāhi in the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. The Hebrew word *gamal* sneaked into Sanskrit via Arabic and Persian with the addition of *ka* in the form *kramela(ka)* in the sense of camel which itself is a modified form of its original. All this foreign content in Sanskrit shows its innate strength and vitality which did not allow its growth to be stunted by isolation. A more thorough study of this aspect of Sanskrit will throw up many more of such words. So will it throw up words from the Dravidian and Austric streams.

The Kṛt and Taddhita sections of Pāṇini's grammar contain, for purposes of explanation of their formation, words connected with the life of common people, the carpentry, the smithy, the weaving and dying of clothes, the agriculture, the dairy farming, the poultry farming, the architecture, the arms, ammunition and warfare, the forest produce and so on. So do the plethora of dictionaries and lexica. All this will militate against the theory—assiduously fostered by some of Sanskrit having been a language only of certain sections of society, invented by them to exercise their superiority over the less privileged ones with a halo going with it.

As it goes with any living expression, there are two forms of it, one literary which is more sophisticated and polished, and the other, colloquial, which is more rustic and crude. The former is governed by certain rules and conventions while the latter is rather freer to pursue its course. The former is standardized

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while the latter is not. The former is governed by the rules of grammar while the latter is not. In the case of English we see that one form of it is called "King's English" while the other is called "slang". "The same happened to Sanskrit. When the "Bhāṣā" turned into "sophistication" it became Sanskrit, "the polished" which the cultured ones, the *śiṣṭas*, would prefer. It could not be as free in its evolution as it was when it was colloquial. It was, however, well understood by all sections of society; the cultured and the un-cultured, the educated and the uneducated. That explains its use side by side with Prakrits that are its *evolutes, prakṛtiḥ saṁskṛtaṁ tata āgataṁ prākṛtam* in the dramatic literature. In no case should this use be stretched to infer the artificiality of the language and assigned the character of "oppressiveness" to it as do some of our fellow scholars.

Once given the standard form, the language by and large adhered to it, deviations in it from that form—not impossible in any living expression— were frowned upon, *yo hy utsūtraṁ kathayen nādo gṛhyeta*, though accepted grudgingly, because of their having been used by the cultured, the *śiṣṭas*, *śiṣṭaprayogāt sādhu*. In spite of the strict rules of Pāṇini and a host of other grammarians, the process of change in the language was on, again a proof, if that were still needed, of its having been a living expression. As a matter of fact, so numerous were these deviations that even Pāṇini had ultimately to throw up his hands in despair and declare that they be accepted as such: *pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam* (6.3.109).

As is common with any language, with the passage of time, the colloquial expression supplanted the polished one occupying thereby the position of the lingua franca. It did not mean, unlike its counterparts Greek and Latin, that the polished one, Sanskrit, went into oblivion. It continued as the medium of culture and higher thought, for centuries on end. For that reason it continued to be pursued by millions of people all over India, a good number of them also using it in their daily lives. That is the position even now. A good number of people still converse

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2

SANSKRIT AND MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES

The present day spoken languages of India can be divided into four families on the basis of their structure and vocabulary: Aryan, Dravidian, Austric and Mongoloid. The languages of north, west and eastern India except those of the Adivasi regions of Bihar, Chattisgarh and Orissa and those of the eastern states belong to the Aryan family. The languages beyond the Vindhyas, the southern peninsula belong to the Dravidian family. The languages of the Adivasi regions like Bhili, Koli, Mundari belong to the Austric family while the languages of the regions along the Himalayan Terai belong to the Mongoloid one. The languages of the Aryan family are direct descendants of Sanskrit through Prakrits and Apabhraṁśas. The languages of the Dravidian family have not come down from Sanskrit. Even with this difference the languages of both these families, the Aryan and the Dravidian, have strong presence of Sanskrit in them, the only dividing line from the point of view of Sanskrit in them being that in the languages of the Aryan family there is more of Sanskrit in Tadbhava, derivative form, while in the languages of the Dravidian family like Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam, there is more of Tatsama, the words in their original Sanskrit form. This difference is quite understandable. The languages of the Aryan family have evolved out of Sanskrit

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Brāhmaṇas, the rebuttal is that languages do not go with religious denominations or castes or communities. All sections of society including Muslims and Christians have substantially contributed to Sanskrit. Reference in this context could be made to two detailed write-ups, one, "The Contribution of Muslims to Sanskrit" in the work the *Discovery of Sanskrit Treasures*, Vol. 3, 2006[1] and the other, the "Modern Christian Literature in Sanskrit" in the work *Devavāṇīsuvāsaḥ* (Ramakant Shukla Felicitation Volume), Part II, 1993. Just as it is with the Muslims and Christians, so it is with the Dalits and OBCs. They have taken/are taking to Sanskrit in a big way. This, however, is not a recent phenomenon. Even earlier, there had been many great scholars of Sanskrit from the so-called lower castes. Under the sūtra *ajer vyaghañapoḥ* (2.4.56) the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali records an interesting conversation between a charioteer (a Śūdra by caste) and a grammarian where the charioteer floors the grammarian. Noticing a chariot but not the charioteer the grammarian calls out: *ko 'sya rathasya pravetā*, who is the driver of the chariot? The charioteer appearing there answers in such a way as to bring home to grammarian his error in the use of the word *pravetā*. Says he: *ayuṣmann aham asya rathasya prājitā*. Angered by the audacity of the charioteer in correcting him adroitly the grammarian blurts out *aho anena durutena bādhyāmahe*, Ah! this ignoble charioteer is troubling me. The charioteer again corrects him with the use of the correct form. Says he, *āyuṣman, duḥsūteneti vaktavyam*.

There is an old stanza where a Cāṇḍāla, of the name Divākara is equated with the celebrity poets Bāṇa and Mayūra:

अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्या यन्मातङ्गदिवाकरः।
श्रीहर्षस्याभवत् सभ्यः समो बाणमयूरयोः॥

O! the grace of the Goddess of learning that Divākara, a Cāṇḍāla, attained the position of courtier at Śrīharṣa's court, a peer of Bāṇa and Mayūra.

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while those of the Dravidian one have adopted Sanskrit words as borrowings, both Sanskrit and they being structurally entirely different. Among the Dravidian languages themselves the Sanskritic content varies language by language. While in Malayalam it is overwhelming, it is just strong in Telugu and Kannada, it is weak in Tamil. According to some specialists it is around 70% in Malayalam, 50 to 60% in Telugu and Kannada and 30% in Tamil. These percentages seem to be based on the very general assessment, not backed by any scientific study, of the strong and less strong presence of Sanskrit. Where it is felt that there is more of Sanskrit, the percentage flies up. It nosedives with the contrary feeling. So far no systematic analysis has been attempted of the total Sanskritic content in the entire vocabulary of any of the south Indian languages. This is a green area which scholars versed in both languages, Sanskrit and Telugu, Sanskrit and Kannada, Sanskrit and Tamil and Sanskrit and Malayalam need to visit. It is a daunting task worthy of being taken up as a national project underpinning the role of Sanskrit as a corridor to all the languages of India except those of the Adivasis and the upper Himalayan reaches which have continued to remain isolated and immune to outside influence and which have precious little literary activity in them to need larger vocabulary for more sophisticated thought.

The only notable attempt in this connection was that of the late Ratnamayi Devi Dikshit. Under the inspiration of Acharya Kaka Kalelkar she had undertaken a project of preparing a dictionary of the Sanskrit words figuring in major Indian languages in their original Sanskrit meanings or meanings that have strayed away from the original ones like the Sanskrit word *aṅśūdaka* meaning dew. It is found in Oriya, Gujarati, Telugu, Malayalam and Hindi, in Oriya, Gujarati and Hindi in the same form and in the form *aṅśūdakamu* in Telugu and *aṅśūdakam* in Malayalam. In Gujarati and Malayalam it has the same meaning. In Oriya it means either dew or water in contact with the rays

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of the sun or the water that is in full contact with the sunlight in the daytime and the moonlight in the night. In Telugu it means water offered (as *arghya*) to the sun. In Hindi it has the meaning water placed under the sun or the moon.

As a pilot project Dr. Ratnamayi Devi Dikshit took up a hundred words which she published in the *Indological Studies*, the journal of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Delhi, in its issue of Vol. II, No.2. Shortly after their publication she died and with her died the project. It is high time the project is revived and taken up in all seriousness with the Ministry of Human Resource Development providing the necessary funds for it. Needless to say that it will be of no less importance than the Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles under way in the Deccan College, Pune.

While speaking of the Sanskritic synonyms in Indian languages it may not be out of point to draw attention to the fact that what are listed as synonyms in Sanskrit lexicons were/are actually the words in use in different regions. For water the most common word in use in the north is *pānī*, Sanskrit *pānīya* or *jala* on more formal occasions or by more sophisticate classes or in association with sacred rivers like *gaṅgājala*, while it is *nīru*, Sanskrit *nīra* in the south. For milk while it is *dūdh*, Sanskrit *dugdha*, in the north, it is *khirā*, Sanskrit *kṣīra*, in the east. For egg the word in Hindi is *aṇḍā*, Sanskrit *aṇḍa* while it is *ḍima*, Sanskrit *ḍimbha* in Bengali and Oriya (the meaning has undergone change there. The meaning of the Sanskrit word is embryo). *Anna* in Hindi and some other languages means foodgrains; in Oriya it means rice. It is not implausible to claim that the synonyms were the words restricted to certain regions or areas only. What the lexicographers did was to pick them up, they, all of them being of Sanskrit stock, and list them as synonyms.

Sometimes one of these synonyms was to go with a particular object as per the usage. In this connection a comment of the Mahābhāṣyakāra is very significant: *niyataviṣayāś śabdā*

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dṛśyante. Tad yathā—samāne rakte varṇe gaur lohita ity ucyate aśvaḥ śoṇa iti, samāne ca kāle varṇe gauḥ kṛṣṇa iti bhavaty aśvo hema iti, samāne ca śukle varṇe gauḥ śveta iti bhavaty aśvaḥ karka iti. "(In usage) words are found to have their scope restricted. As for example, the red colour being common to both cow and horse, the same of cow is denoted by the word *lohita* while that of horse by the word *śoṇa*, similarly the black colour being common to both, cow and horse, the one of cow is denoted by the word *kṛṣṇa* while that of horse by the word *hema*. In like manner the white colour being common to both, cow and horse, the one of cow is denoted by the word *śveta* and that of horse by the word *karka*. In Punjabi the word *kakkā*, Sanskrit *karka*, white, is used with reference to hair only, *kakke bāl*, the grey hair. The word *keśa* is found there with reference to flowing male hair. It has association with sacredness as well. For the Sikhs the hair on the head is always *keśa* and never *bal* for it is how the Guru had addressed them.

Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas list a number of roots in the same meaning, *iti gatyarthāḥ, ity adane*, etc. At present some of the vast array of roots are of academic interest only. But a closer scrutiny of some of the languages and the dialects may reveal their actual use and justify the rationale of the compilers of the Dhātupāṭhas in including them. A few instances here will bear it out. Pāṇini Dhātupāṭha has *vañc* in the sense of movement, *vañcu gatau*. Sanskrit literature does not furnish a use of it. But it is found in the sense of *gati* in the form of *vaṅj* in Western Panjabi and Saraiki, *vaṅj, vaṅj*, go go. *Jam* is assigned there the meaning of eating,; according to some it is *jimi*, vide the *Siddhāntakaumudī: jimiṁ kecit paṭhanti*. In this very sense it is found in use in Western U.P., Rajasthan, etc. : *jīmana*, eating. *Cam* along with three others with minor initial variations is assigned the meaning *adana*, eating, *camu chamu jamu jhamu adane*. Now, *cam* or *camu* generally to be preceded by the preposition *ā̃n*, is restricted by usage to the sense of sipping

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only. Many of the variations initially or finally in the roots may be traced to the peculiar characteristics of pronunciation specific to certain areas like *s* being pronounced as *h* in Marwar, Sindh and regions beyond that.

During the early years the writer of these lines had to undertake lots of travel throughout the length and breadth of India and had varied experiences in the context of Sanskrit. Once he was travelling from Ootacomand, the Anglicized form of Tamil as well as Sanskrit Udakamaṇḍalam to Mettupalayam in a bus. The bus had an unscheduled halt at a wayside place. Noticing that, a few children came along to sell their wares. Among them were two small children, one boy of about 12 and the other, a girl of about 8. They were selling pineapple pieces. He bought some from them but they were too sour. He wanted salt to tone down their sourness. He did not know the Tamil word for salt. A co-passenger told him that it is *uppu*. Looking at the children he said *uppu*. The elder one asked the younger, probably his sister, *uppu, uppu, śīghra, śīghra*. Within seconds she brought a packet of salt to him. More than the pineapple pieces what whetted his taste were the words *śīghra, śīghra,* quick, quick. How pleasant it was to hear Sanskrit *śīghra* deep in the interior of Tamilnadu.

Once he was travelling from Kolkata to Puri. As soon as the train reached Bhubaneswar in the morning, a number of urchins with small baskets tucked in their arms barged into compartments shouting *ḍima siddha, ḍima siddha,* eggs boiled, eggs boiled. They were selling boiled eggs. The word *siddha,* pronounced impeccably, particularly struck him and reminded him of Patañjali's *siddha odanaḥ, siddhā yavāgūḥ* where it means cooked.

Once he was on a visit to Kashmir. He was in a village with a Kashmiri friend. There were lots of flies around. His Kashmiri friend was trying hard to drive them away and was saying *gaccha, gaccha,* go away, go away. He was quite

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surprised to notice the use of the typical Sanskrit verbal form as such in Kashmiri even at present.

After about a month or so of his joining the University at Puri as Vice Chancellor, he had to preside over the meeting of the Senate which is a bigger body with people from different disciplines and professions some of whom did neither know Sanskrit nor English and could express themselves through their native language Oriya only. At the end of the day when he had to sum up the discussion he touched all points, even the ones that had been made in Oriya much to the surprise and delight of everybody. After the meeting a number of people came to him and said *apan Oriya bujhanti*, "Do you follow Oriya?" He said, no but he does follow the Sanskrit ensconsed in it which is the common thread that runs through all major Indian languages and binds them together.

In the context of impact of Sanskrit on modern Indian langages it may not be out of point to mention that the first grammars of some of these languages like Marathi, Kannda and Telugu were written in Sanskrit. They all closely followed Pāṇini. The Marathi grammar is the Pañcavārtika, author not known, the Kannada grammar is the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* by Keśirāja and the Telugu grammar is *Āndhraśabdārthacintāmaṇi*, by Ādikavi Nannaya. Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* exercised such a powerful influence on the writers of these languages that the word *Kādambarī* became synonymous with novel. Novel is called Kādambarī in these languages.

In the early stages of the development of literature in modern Indian languages, the writers being good scholars of Sanskrit themselves used more of Sanskrit words in their writings. That was the case with writers like Jayashankar Prasad, Suryakant Tripathi Nirala, Maithilisharan Gupta, Siyaramsharan Gupta, Ramdhari Singh Dinkar, Chaturasen Shastri in Hindi, K.M. Munshi, Umashankar Joshi, Narendra Modi in Gujarati, Michael Madhusudan Dutta, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore, etc. in Bengali, Nannaya, Potana,

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Pedana, and Vishwanath Satyanarayana etc. in Telugu. Radhanath Ray in Oriya. Their writings were full of Sanskrit, so full that barring a few words here and there they all looked Sanskrit. A few passages from a few of such writers are reproduced here by way of illustration:

From Hindi:

First a few lines from the play *Candragupta* of Jaya Shankar Prasad, the doyen of Hindi literature:

हिमाद्रि तुंग शृंग से
प्रबुद्ध शुद्ध भारती–
स्वयं प्रभा समुज्ज्वला
स्वतन्त्रता पुकारती
अमर्त्य वीरपुत्र हो,
दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञ सोच लो,
प्रशस्त पुण्य पंथ है–
बढ़े चलो बढ़े चलो।।
असंख्य कीर्ति-रश्मियाँ
विकीर्ण दिव्य दाह सी।
सपूत मातृभूमि के–
रुको न शूर साहसी
अराति सैन्य सिन्धु में–
सुवाडवाग्नि-से जलो,
प्रवीर हो जयी बनो
बढ़े चलो बढ़े चलो।

A few lines now from the well-known poem *Himālaya* of Rāṣṭrakavi Ramdhari Singh Dinakar

मेरे नगपति मेरे विशाल
साकार दिव्य गौरव विराट
पौरुष के पुंजीभूत ज्वाल

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मेरी जननी के हिमकिरीट
मेरे भारत के दिव्यभाल
मेरे नगपति मेरे विशाल

.....

कैसी अखण्ड यह चिरसमाधि
यतिवर कैसा यह अमर ध्यान?
तू महाशून्य में खोज रहा
किस जटिल समस्या का निदान
उलझन का कैसा विषम जाल
मेरे नगपति मेरे विशाल

A few lines now from the legendary Suryakant Tripathi Nirala from his poem Rāma ki Śaktipūjā:

रवि हुआ अस्त : ज्योति के पत्र पर लिखा अमर
रह गया राम-रावण का अपराजेय समर।
आज का तीक्ष्णशरविधृतक्षिप्रकर वेगप्रखर
शतशैलसंवरणशील नीलनभगर्जितस्वर
प्रतिपल परिवर्तित व्यूहभेदकौशलसमूह
राक्षसविरुद्ध प्रत्यूह क्रुद्धकपिविषमहूह
विध्यक्षुरितवह्नि राजीवनयनहतलक्ष्यबाण
लोहितलोचनरावणमदमोचन महीयान।।

From Punjabi

बड़ा लोभी है रूह दा बाणियां मेरा
इहदेलईहौक्यांदाचनजकरदां
इहदेलईभालदाहारोंज़ूरां
किछ्नाकामदामैंरोंज़भरदां
मैंतम्मदांमंहककलियांकच्चियांदी
तेभौरांहोनतांथैंनालडरदां।

शिवकुमार बटालवी

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ईश्वर-स्तुति

चुक पंड टुरदे इक सिर उत्ते, उत्ते घोड़ऑं इक सवार बंदे।
जो ओ चाहे करे इक पल अंदर, लीला उस दी अपरंपार बंदे।।

पंजाबी रामायण, राम लुभाया आनन्द, दिलशाद

From Bengali:

One of the foremost of the Bengali poets Michael Madhusudan Dutta was of the firm view that without words from Sanskrit the Bengali language cannot flourish. Without these it will degenerate into a language of farmers and fishermen. No wonder his poems have a heavy sprinkling of Sanskrit vocabulary as can be seen from an excerpt from one of his poems:

सम्मुखसमरे पड़ि वीरचूड़ामणि
वीरबाहु चलि यबे गेला यमपुरे
अकाले हे देवि अमृतभाषिणि
कोन बीरबरे बरि सेनापतिपदे
पाठाइला रणे पुनः रक्षःकुलनिधि
राघवारि कि कौशले राक्षसभरसा
इन्द्रजित् मेघनादे अजेयजगते
ऊर्मिलाबिलासी नाशि इन्द्रनिःशंकिला।।

The same kind of Sanskritized Bengali is noticeable in the writings of Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar. As an illustration are reproduced a few lines from his Sītār Banabāsa:

एइ सेइ जनस्थानमध्यवर्त्ती प्रस्रवणगिरि। एइ गिरिशिखरदेश आकाशपथे सतत सञ्चरमाण जलधरपटलसंयोगे निबिडनीलिमाय अलंकृत।

The same is the case with Bankim Chandra Chatterji:

निदाघशेषे एक दिन एक अश्वारोही पुरुष विष्णुपुर हइते मान्दारणेर पथे एकाकी गमन करिते छिलेन। दिनमणि अस्ताचलगमनोद्योगी देखिया अश्वारोही द्रुतवेगे अश्वसञ्चालन करिते लागिलेन।

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The tradition continued even with Rabindra Nath Tagore whose following lines would make one think whether one is reading Sanskrit or Bengali:

अयि भुवनमनमोहिनी
अयि निर्मलसूर्यकरोज्ज्वलधरणी
जनकजननीजननी
नीलसिन्धुजल धौतचरणतल
अनिलविकम्पित श्यामल अञ्चल
अम्बरचुम्बितभाल हिमाचल
शुभ्रतुषारकिरीटिनी

From Oriya:

A few lines from the Oriya classic, the *Cilikā* of Radha Nath Ray

उत्कलकमलाविलासदीर्घिका
मरालमालिनी नीलाम्बुचिलिका
उत्कलर तुहि चारु अलंकार
उत्कलभुवने शोभर भण्डार।।
स्वभावे भावुकमानसउल्लासी
दिगन्तविसारि तीर वारि राशि
प्रसन्नवदनी उज्ज्वल वरणा
मुखश्री देखन्ति यहिँ दिगंगना।।
नील अंग तीर चित्र अन्तराले
नासि, नलबन शैल द्वीपमाले।
दक्षिणे मिशिछि तोर गर्भे आसि

From Assamese

सागरं संगमत

सागर संगमत
कतना सांतुचिलो
तथापितो होवा नाई क्लान्त
तथापि मनर मोर प्रशान्त सागरर उर्मिमाला अशान्त

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मनर प्रशान्त
सागरर वक्षत
जोवारर नाई आजि अन्त
अजस्र लहरे नव नव गतिरे आनि दिये आशा अफुरन्त
सेये हे मनर मोर प्रशान्त सागरर उर्मिमाला अशान्त।।

प्रशान्त पाररे
मह्य महा जीवनर
शान्ति आजि आक्रान्त
नव नव सृष्टिरे दैत्य दानवे करे निष्ठुराघात अविश्रान्त
सेये हे मनर मोर प्रशान्त सागरर उर्मिमाला अशान्त।।

ध्वंसर आघातक
दिछे आजि संघात
सृष्टिर सेनानी अनन्त
संघाते आने मोर प्रशान्त सागरत प्रगतिर नतुन दिगन्त
सेये हे मनर मोर प्रशान्त सागरर उर्मिमाला अशान्त।।

गभीर प्रशान्त
सागरर शक्तिमे
ध्वंसक करे दिग्भ्रान्त
अगजन मानवर शान्तिर समदल सृष्टिकामी जीवन्त
सेये हे मनर मोर प्रशान्त सागरर उर्मिमाला अशान्त।।

—भुपेन हजारिका

स्नेहे आभार शत श्रावणर

स्नेहेइ आभार शत श्रावणर
धारासार वृष्टिर प्लावन आने-
यौवन वासनार रिक्तोफूल
पूर्ण करे उन्मत्त वाने (वाणेइ)-

निर्जन स्वब्ध तिमिरर पार भांगि
उच्छल जीवनर जोयार आने

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अपरूप वारिधार तरंग राशिले
नाचे नव सृष्टिर गाने।

विद्युत् क्षिप्र नयने तोमार
मौन भाषार उन्मादना साने
निःश्वासे मोर आज्ञार आश्वासत
तृप्तिर परिधि नामाने-

प्रीति दिगवलयत गतिशील गीता गाऊँ
वज्रर गर्जनि ह्यर माने
वृष्टिर तृषाइ मौचुमी खेदि जाय
आभार दृष्टिये ओ लक्ष्य जाने।।

—भुपेन हजारिका

From Gujarati :

मंगल शब्द
त्यां दूरथी मंगलशब्द आवतो।
शताब्दीओ चा चिरशांत घुम्मटो
गजावतो चेतनमंत्र आवतो।
प्रकाशना घोध अमोघ झीलती
घपे धरा नित्य प्रवास पंथे,
झूमी रही पाछड अंधकारनी
तूती पड़े मेखड़ अर्ध अंगे

—उमाशंकर जोशी

अंतमा आरंभ अने आरंभमा अंत
पानखरना हैयामा टहुके बसंत
सोड बरसनी वय, कयांक कोयलनो लय,
के सूडंनो कोना पर ऊछड़े प्रणय?
भले लागे छे रंक पण भीतर श्रीमंत
पानखरना हैयामा टहुके बसंत

आजे तो वनमां कोना विवाह,
एक एक वृक्षमां प्रकटे दीक्षवा

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आशीर्वाद आपवा आवे छे सन्त
पानखरना हैयामा टहुके बसंत

—नरेन्द्र मोदी

From Marathi :

तीनी सांजा, सखे, मिलाल्या, देई वचन तुला
आजपासुनी जीवे अधिक तू माइया हृदयाला

कनकगोल हा मरीचिमाली जोडी जो सुयशा,
चकवाल हे पवित्र, ये जी शांत गभीर निशा,
त्रिलोकगामी मारुत, तैशा निर्मल दाहि दिशा-
साक्षी ऐसे अमर करुनि हे तव कर करि धरिला

स्वकरे तरुवर पफुले उधलती प्रीति-अक्षता या,
मंत्रपाठ ह झुलुझुलु गातो निर्झर या कार्या,
मंगलाष्टके गाति पाखरे मंजुल या समया
सहस्रकर हा दिनकर स्वकरे उधलि गुलालाला,

नाद जसा वेणूत, रस जसा सुंदर कवनात
गंध जसा सुमनात, रस जसा बघ या द्राक्षात
पाणि जसे मोत्यात, मनोहर वर्ण सुवर्णात,
हृदयी मी साठवी तुज जसा जीवित जो मजला।

ज्योस्तुतु

ज्योस्तु ते श्रीमहन्मंगले। शिवास्पदे शुभदे
स्वतंत्रते भगवति। त्वामहं यशोयुतां वंदे।।धृ।।
राष्ट्राचे चैतन्य मूर्त तूं नीतिसंपदांची
स्वतंत्रते भगवति। श्रीमती राज्ञी तू त्यांची
परवशतेच्या नभांत तूंची आकाशी होशी
स्वतंत्रते भगवती। चांदणी चमचम लखलखशी।।

गालावरच्या कुसुमी किंवा कुसुमांच्या गाली
स्वतंत्रते भगवती। तूच जी विलसतसे लाली

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तूं सूर्याचे तेज उदधिचे गांभीर्यहि तूंची
स्वतंत्रते भगवती। अन्यथा ग्रहण नष्ट तेंची।।

मोक्ष मुक्ति ही तुझीच रूपें तुलाच वेदांती
स्वतंत्रते भगवती। योगिजन परब्रह्म वदती
जे जे उत्तम उदात्त उन्नत महन्मधुर तेंतें
स्वतंत्रते भगवती। सर्व तव सहचारी होते।।

ज्योस्तुतु

कनकगोल हा मरिचिमाली जोडी जो सुयश
चक्रवाल हे पवित्र, ये जी शांत गभीर निशा
त्रिलोकगामी मारुत, तैशा निर्मल याहि दिशा-
साक्षी ऐसे अमर करुनि हे तव कर करि धरिला

—भा. रा. तांबे

हे अधम-रक्तरंजिते, सुजन पूजिते, श्री स्वतंत्रते
तुजसाठि मरण ते जनन, तुजवीण जनन ते मरण
तुज सकल चराचर शरण, चराचर शरण, श्री स्वतंत्रते
वदे त्वामहं यशोयुतां वदे

—स्वातंत्र्यवीर सावरकर

From Kannada:

First a few lines from the *Gadāyuddha* of Rāma who together with Pampa and Ponna forms the three gems of Kannada poetry:

रसेयं कालाग्निरुद्रं पोरमडुवोल्कंता सरोमध्यदिमअ।
साहसगर्वालंकृतं नट्टने पोरमट्टेल्लदं भीमनेंदेण्।।
देसेयं नोडुत्ते मत्तद्भुतनटनिटिलालोलकीलाक्षिवोतद-
लिमे कोपारक्तनेत्रं निभुजगदेयं तूगिदं धार्तराष्ट्रम्।।

Now a few lines from another great Kannada poet Kumāra Vyāsa who composed the immortal classic the *Karṇāta-Bhārata-kathā-Mañjarī* :

श्रीवनितेयरसने विमलराजीवपीनपितने जगकतिपावनने
सनकादिसज्जननिकरदातार

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रावणासुरमथन श्रवणसुधाविनूतन
कथनकारण कावुदामतजनवमदुगिन
वीरनारायण

From Telugu:

First a few lines from Ādikavi Nannaya's *Śrimadāndhramahābhāratamu*:

आदुथ्यन्तइनन्तसत्त्वुडु समस्ताशान्तमातंगमर्यादालंकृतनैन
भूवलयमात्मायतमै युडुंगान् आदित्यांशुसमीरदुर्गममहोग्रारण्य-
देशालिनोनादिक्षत्रचरित्रनेले नजितुडै बाहुवीर्याम्बुनन्।

A few lines now from another great Telugu poet Potana from his *Mahābhāratamu*:

शारदनीरदेन्दुघनसारपटीरमरालमल्लिकाहारतुषारफेनरजताचलकाशसुधापयोधि-
सिततामरसामरवाहिनी शुभाकारतनोप्पु निनु जूडगनेन्नडु कल्गु भारती।

Some lines from his *Śrīmadāndhramahābhāgavata*:

अन्धेन्दूदयमुल् महाबधिरशंखारावमुल् मूकसद्ग्रन्थाध्यापनमुल् नपुंसकवधूकांक्षल्
कृतघ्नावलीबन्धुत्वंबुलु भस्महव्यमुलु लुब्धद्रव्यसंकाशमुल् क्रोडसद्गन्धंबुलु
हरिभक्तिवर्जिततुलरिक्तव्यर्थसंसारमुल्।

A few lines from anther great Telugu poet Peddana from his *Manucaritra*:

आपुरि बायकुंडु मकरांकशशांकमनोज्ञमूर्ति, भाषापरशेषभोगि,
विविधाध्वरनिर्मलनित्यकर्मदीक्षापरन्त्रुहु अम्बुरुहगर्भकुलाभरणंबु, अनारताध्यापनतत्परुडु,
प्रवराख्युडु, अलेख्यतनूविलासुडै।

From Malayalam:

An excerpt from Ejuttaccana's *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*:

चिद्रूपद्वयन् मृत्युञ्जयन् परन् भद्रपदन् भगवान् भवभञ्जनन् रुद्राणियाकिम
देविक्कुटन् रामभद्र सारं कोदुत्तप्पोक् विद्रुम तुल्यधरियाय गौरियामद्रिसुतयुमानंद
विवशयाय् भर्त्तृपादप्रणामं चेयुतु संपूर्ण भक्तियोटुं पुनरेवमरुक् चेयुतु नारायणन्
नळिनायतलोचनन् नारीजनमनोमोहनन् माधवन् नारदसेव्यन् नळिनासनप्रियन् नारकाराति
नळिनशरगुरुनाथन् नरसखन् नाना जगन्मयन् नादविद्यात्मकन् नामसहस्रवान्

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नाळीकरम्यवदनन् नरकारि नाळीकबांधववंशसमुद्भवन् श्रीरामदेवन् परन् पुरुषोत्तमन् कारुण्यवारिधि कामफलप्रदनन् राक्षसवंशविनाशनकारणन् साक्षात् मुकुन्दमानन्दप्रदन् पुमान्।

आलोकनार्थं महामुनि नारदन् भूलोकमप्पोळलुकरिञ्चीटिनान्। मुग्धशरच्चन्द्रतुल्य तेजस्सोटुं शुद्धस्फटिकसुकाशरीरनाय सत्वरमंबरत्तिंकल् निन्तादरात् तत्रैव वेगालवतरच्चीटिनान्। श्रीरामदेवनुं संभ्रमं कैकोप्टु नारदनेक्कण्टे कुनेटु सादरं।

A stanza from *Śrīkṛṣṇacarita* of Nambiar:

परहरनमलन् मुरारिदेवन्
पुरमुरशासन सूनुभूतनाथन्।
धरणि सुरमहाजनक्कुं मे
वरमरुळीटुक वाञ्छितानुकूल।।

Of late writers in vernaculars are distancing themselves from Sanskrit, for one, that they are not as knowledgeable of Sanskrit as their predecessors were and for the other, they are being swayed by the mistaken notion that Sanskrit comes in the way of the natural evolution and growth of vernaculars which for that reason need to be freed from it. They have started using more of Desi words little realizing that their shortsightedness and parochial approach will deprive the vernaculars, which they so dearly love, of the inexhaustible store of vocabulary that Sanskrit provides. Moreover, it will result in course of time of schism in literature, one part of it in highly Sanskritized diction and the other inching away from it. But try as much as they can, they cannot take the vernacular writing away from Sanskrit. There is a large corpus of words that has passed into common use and is taken to be as much indigenous as the non-sanskrit one. Their writings have to have social matrix and it is society who owns these Sanskrit words as part of its ethos.

Like the perennial Gaṅgā Sanskrit continues to nourish the Indian languages by providing them with vocabulary, idioms, proverbs and themes. It courses through them all meandering its way from the lofty Himālayas to the sea-washed shores of this great multi-lingual, multi cultural and multi-ethnic country.

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3

SANSKRIT STUDIES IN INDIA

Sanskrit is pursued in India in two streams, the traditional and the modern. Pathashalas, Vidyalayas, Tols, Gurukulas, Vidyapithas, Sanskrit Universities follow the traditional stream while schools, colleges and general Universities follow the modern one. Post-independence period saw the strengthening of the traditional stream in India with the setting up of Sanskrit Universities to provide for higher teaching of different Śāstras and to determine courses of reading and syllabi for the large number of Pathashalas, Vidyalayas, Gurukulas and Tols affiliated to them and to conduct examinations for them to ensure uniformity of standards. The first such University to have been set up in India in 1958 was the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, named in 1974 after the Chief Minister of the State of Uttar Pradesh where it is located, the driving force behind its creation, the Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya. To be true to it, it is not a new institution to come up. It is more or less a renaming of the time-honoured institution, the Government Sanskrit College, of the British days with more or less the same functions with the more prominent difference in the form of the better salary scales available to its teachers graded as Professors, Readers, Lecturers and so on at par with those prevailing in other general Universities and the Departments being grouped into Faculties with the Deans presiding over

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them. The principal of the olden days now carries the more agreeable designation of Vice Chancellor, the institution being now called a University. Apart from the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, India now has fourteen other Sanskrit Universities, the Kameshwar Singh Darbhanga Sanskrit University, Darbhanga, Bihar, set up in 1961, the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha, Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh, set up in 1961, the Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha, New Delhi, set up in 1962, the Shri Jagannath Sanskrit University, Puri, Orissa, set up in 1981, the Sri Venkateswara Vedic University, Tirupati, set up in 1992, the Shankaracharya University of Sanskrit, set up in 1993 in Kalady, Kerala, the Kavikulaguru Kalidasa Sanskrit University, Ramtek (Nagpur), set up in 1997, the Shri Jagadguru Ramanandacharya, Rajasthan Sanskrit University, Jaipur, set up in 2001, Somnath Sanskrit University, Veraval, Gujarat, set up in 2005, the Uttarakhand Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Haridwar, set up in 2005, Maharṣhi Pāṇini Sanskrit Evam Vedic University, Ujjain, set up in 2008, Karnataka Sanskrit University, Bangalore, set up in 2010 and Kumar Bhaskar Verma Sanskrit Univeristy, Nalbari, Assam, set up in 2011. On 22nd March, 2015 the Chief Minister of Sikkim announced the setting up of a Sanskrit University in his State as also a Sanskrit Academy along with a Sanskrit Training Centre and a guest house for visiting Sanskrit scholars under the name Guru Ashrama. Of the universities mentioned above the Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha, New Delhi and the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha, Tirupati are Deemed Universities, to use the technical nomenclature of the University Grants Commission of India. Out of the total of fifteen Sanskrit Universities existing at present, except the two, the Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth and the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan are both teaching and affiliating Universities. Besides the Sanskrit Universities, the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, an autonomous institution set up by the Govt. of India runs twelve campuses with hundred per cent grant and

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sixteen Adarsh (Model) Sanskrit Mahavidyalayas and four Shodh Sansthanas with ninety per cent recurring and seventy five per cent non-recurring grant besides providing assistance in varying amounts to a large number of institutions throughout the length and the breadth of the country. Further, there are State Sanskrit Academies like the Uttar Pradesh Sanskrit Sansthan, Lucknow, the Bihar Sanskrit Academy, Patna, the Delhi Sanskrit Academy, Delhi, the Rajasthan Sanskrit Academy, Jaipur, the Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University, Hyderabad and the Madhya Pradesh Sanskrit Academy, Ujjain to promote Sanskrit, each in its own way, by providing grant to private Sanskrit Pathashalas, Vidyalayas and Gurukulas, by helping in the publication of Sanskrit works by providing publication grants, by awarding prizes on works by modern writers, by honouring the more distinguished of them, by organizing debates, declamations and other types of contests, by bringing out their own Sanskrit magazines and helping the ones brought out at private initiative. Most of the above objectives the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, referred to above, also fulfils. Apart from its schemes like the scheme for the publication grant for publishing manuscripts, old and new, the scheme for financial assistance to Sanskrit magazines, the three other schemes which are peculiar to it deserve special mention. They are the *Shastrachudamani* scheme under which distinguished retired Sanskrit teachers who are still fit enough are associated with Sanskrit institutions which need to benefit from their expertise and experience for two-three years on a modest stipend, the scheme of helping financially the traditional Sanskrit Pandits who are in indigent circumstances and the scheme of bulk purchase of Sanskrit books which are supplied free to Sanskrit institutions to build up their libraries. Since 1958 the Govt. of India had started honouring Sanskrit scholars, the outstanding ones among them ostensibly, with the conferment of the Certificate of Honour. The Honour also carries with it a cash award for life.

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Since 2002 the Government instituted a prize called Badarayana Puraskara for younger scholars under forty years of age.

There are sixty six periodicals in Sanskrit published in India at present, the weeklies, the fortnightlies, the monthlies and the quarterlies. There are some which make their appearance once a while. Attempts were made, which were very bold indeed, to publish daily newspapers. One of these, the *Sudharmā* of Mysore had a fairly long run but could not carry on and ultimately had to revert to the status of a weekly, that too not very regular. The other attempt, the *Navaprabhātam* from Kanpur petered out after a few issues.

With a few exceptions like the *Sārasvatī Suṣamā* of the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University and the *Vimarśaḥ* of the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan that limit themselves to research articles in Sanskrit, the Sanskrit periodicals contain a variety of matter, poems, small plays, short stories and one or two articles on śāstric subject/s with sections on book reviews and a report on the activities in the Sanskrit field in different parts of India. Quite a few of the periodicals maintain their regularity adhering by and large to their periodicity, a few are rather fitful not conforming to their publication schedule. They make their appearance every now and then.

Apart from the Sanskrit periodicals brought out by Sanskrit Universities and Sanskrit Academics which are backed by adequate financial resources, the other Sanskrit periodicals subsist on subscriptions, private donations and of course, on Govt. grants. They owe their existence to individual initiative and enterprise. So long as these last, last the periodicals.

Till better facilities for publication of Sanskrit works were available, as they are now, the periodicals served as the means for their publication which were generally serialized in them and were later brought out in book form. The method adopted was to arrange for additional prints, the prints in addition to the

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number of prints of a particular issue of a periodical, and then to have these additional prints of all the different issues bound together. Many Sanskrit works, old and new, have appeared in print in this manner. Moreover, these periodicals serve the useful purpose of providing the forum for writers, particularly the younger ones, for self-expression by publishing their write-ups in varied literary genrés. They also serve as channels for gathering information through their sections on book reviews about the latest publications in Sanskrit which would otherwise be not available, the Sanskrit works being published in a fairly large number of cases by the authors themselves with their own meagre resources in far-flung areas and not through well-established publishers who may have no interest in them, they being, generally speaking, not viable commercially. The example *par excellence* for providing this kind of information is the Sahitya Akademi half-yearly Sanskrit magazine the *Saṁskṛta Pratibhā* which has in it the section on book review, the biggest of all such sections in Sanskrit periodicals occupying as it does the one third of the total number of pages of its issue. It is really sad that after the death of Dr. V. Raghavan, its founder editor, the magazine had fallen on bad days with only a truncated issue, a pale shadow of its former self, making its appearance once a while. It is gratifying that it has been revived now.

There has been a tendency of late in keeping with the demand of the modern age to introduce modern subjects like English, Hindi, history, mathematics, civics and so on in the traditional Sanskrit curricula. This has equipped traditional Sanskrit students to keep pace with the present age and not appear as odd men out.

Of late decline in interest in Sanskrit education, traditional and modern, is noticeable in India, Sanskrit not being able to provide for livelihood for its votaries. It is a fact, though a sad one, that it is the poorer sections of society which opt for traditional Sanskrit education with the facility of free board and

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lodging going with it. This holds good in the case of modern Sanskrit education too. In the schools and colleges as also the Universities it is only the children of not so affluent parents who opt for Sanskrit. The creamy layer of society would like its wards to go in for such courses as sciences, natural and biological, commerce, medicine, engineering, technology, economics, business management, mathematics, computer science and so on. Even among languages English and Hindi would be preferred to Sanskrit which would be the lowest choice with the result that it is not always the best of the students who opt for Sanskrit. So great is the lure of lucre that even the Sanskrit Pandits who are the products of traditional Sanskrit institutions would not like their wards to study in them, thus depriving them of the benefit of Sanskrit learning which would have accrued to them through family tradition. The plain fact is that a majority of students who go in for Sanskrit education now have no tradition of Sanskrit in their families and consequently have no access to hereditary Sanskrit environment with all that goes with it. For them Sanskrit is something entirely new, something entirely distant.

Efforts are afoot to popularise Sanskrit at both private and Governmental levels. Grants, stipends and scholarships are now galore. There are voluntary Sanskrit organizations like the Lokabhasha Prachara Samiti of Puri and the chain of Sanskrit Bharati which organize Sanskrit teaching camps for non-Sanskrit-knowing people of India at different places. The Sanskrit missionaries in them nurse the hope that one day they would be able to revive Sanskrit to the extent that it may occupy the position of the lingua franca of the country. While hoping and praying for their success, we cannot shut our eyes against the prevailing situation which is anything but encouraging for Sanskrit, the social acceptability for it being at the lowest ebb.

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The ground realities are very different from our world of make-believe.

A word now for modern education in Sanskrit. It is pursued in schools, colleges and universities. This gives a student a basic knowledge of Sanskrit acquainting him with something of Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit grammar, besides equipping him in Sanskrit composition. Because of the diversification of the course content, a student has little opportunity to go in for an in-depth study of the Śāstras even if he opts for B.A. Hons. and M.A. in Sanskrit. Very generally in public mind the two systems of Sanskrit education are distinguished with one of them, the traditional one, leading to better command over the Śāstras or what is known as the *paṅktipāṇḍitya*, the line by line study of the texts, particularly the most authoritative and in most cases the most abstruse ones, the *Ākara-granthas*, while the other, the modern one, inculcating more of the critical faculty. This perception may not hold good in all cases. But those cases could be exceptions. Traditional Sanskrit Pandits may have more interest in the text, the understanding of its precise import— they may have much of it in memory which they may reproduce verbatim at any time. Till recently enough they did not have much interest in matters like who wrote the work, his date and time, his life history, his other works, the influence on him of his predecessors and, conversely, his influence on his successors, what the other scholars, Indian and foreign, think of him and his work/s and finally, whether he actually was the author or not and whether the work is just ascribed to him falsely or otherwise— all that goes under the term critical examination. Things are changing new. Even the products of traditional Sanskrit institutions are taking up critical edition of manuscripts, following decently enough the well-defined principles of critical text-editing involving examination of different manuscripts and submitting the same for research degrees.

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Both the systems of Sanskrit education are, everything said and done, complimentary to each other. That is why it was thought desirable in some universities to add an Oriental department or a faculty comprising traditional Sanskrit teaching with the modern Sanskrit department or the faculty so that as of the students as may desire to have the benefit of both may be able to do so. With Sanskrit Pandits by their side, even the Sanskrit teachers of various grades in general universities like Professors, Readers and Lecturers do find someone to fall back upon when running into difficulties in interpreting the Śāstras. One thing that is very clear is that both systems, the traditional and the modern, are complimentary to each other and have a role to play in the scheme of Sanskrit education in the country.

The position of Sanskrit studies in India varies from State to State. The States like Maharashtra and Tamilnadu are no longer the bastions of Sanskrit they once used to be. The number of local students in the Universities of Bombay. Poona, Kolhapur, Madras and Annamalai is very small, almost negligible. In the colleges in the above States the Sanskrit teachers to keep heads above water are switching to other subjects, particularly the regional languages by acquiring requisite qualifications in them. The position in the States like Delhi, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa is not that bad.

Sanskrit is still attracting a large number of writers, creative and critical. The number of publications in it testifies to its popularity as a medium of self-expression. Works appear in it in all types of literary forms, the time-honoured and the new. And all this in spite of the general apathy of the Oriental publishers and the non-existence of the sales network, should the authors decide to publish their works themselves, as they do in a large number of cases with or without help from the Govt. and other agencies and in isolated cases the philanthropists. The number of publications in Sanskrit compares very favourably with the

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same in any regional language in spite of all the disadvantages and disabilities proving thereby that Sanskrit still has space for itself in India belying the prophets of doom who predict its eventual disappearance from the soil of its birth. Till date the situation is not all that bad though worrisome certainly. It is too early to say as to how the onslaught of hi-tech lifestyle is going to affect it. One can nurse the hope that it will not affect it adversely.

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4

HOW TO CONNECT SANSKRIT WITH COMMON MAN

How to connect Sanskrit with common man is a question worth pondering. Social media, Radio and Television are important and effective means for it. Sanskrit programmes need to be broadcast and telecast by Radio and Television more frequently. For the television it is not only the Doordarshan and there too only its Bharati wing that should take the lead but also all other channels. Private sponsors may be persuaded for this laudable mission. With proper approach there may be no dearth of them. Love for Sanskrit is ingrained in people in all professions. Only that has to be channelized through proper and persistent motivation in favour of Sanskrit.

There should be more of variety in Sanskrit programmes in Radio and television—staging of one-act plays, putting on board satires, comedies and serials touching modern themes, introducing monologues, poetic recitations, Antyākṣarī contests, mono-acting, story-telling, declamations, debates, panel discussions, singing of Sanskrit songs individually and in chorus in classical and non-classical tunes like thumri, ghazal (Sanskritized as Kajjalikā), qawwali (Sanskritized as Kākalikā), as also in Western tunes (there is news recently of the coming up of a band under the name Dhruvā) and poetic symposia, the Kavi-sammelanas, or Kavi-goṣṭhīs, especially those with comic element, the Hāsya-

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rasa. These will be a hit with the people and will go a long way in popularizing Sanskrit. So will be the games in Sanskrit on computer and the mobile phones or the fun games played with dice, cards, spinning wheel and styled in the conventional Ludo and Snake and Ladder format. So will also be the animation CDs and the CDs of Sanskrit songs sung with orchestra. So will also be the street corner plays going by the name nukkad nāṭak in Hindi. So will also be documentaries on places of historical, cultural, religious and tourist interest and also places which are noteworthy for their unique feature like the villages where the entire population speaks Sanskrit, the villages Muttur and Hosahally in Karnataka and Jhiri, Mohad and Baghuwar in Madhya Pradesh. Documentaries could also be made on the life and work of prominent personalities that could include outstanding Sanskrit scholars and literary figures, past and present, the figures that have enriched the world of letters by their monumental creations. So could also be films with titles in Hindi/regional languages/English that can go down well with people. The classic example is the film Shankaracharya which not only won the hearts of the people but also Oscar because of its technical finesse. There is also a suggestion that Sanskrit programmes be organized in local art forms as also the folk tunes that strike a chord with the audience.

For small children comics and cartoon films in easy viewer-friendly Sanskrit with a few local words thrown in need to be telecast often enough. They will be drawn to them and through them to Sanskrit. For their theme they could well draw on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Vetālapañcaviṁśati*, the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitopadeśa* and other story books, ancient and modern. Apart from entertaining children, they will leave healthy influence on their impressionable minds. *Chandā Māmā*, the popular children's magazine had embarked on its Sanskrit edition. It is unfortunate that the same has now been discontinued due to lack of readership, the reason advanced for its discontinuation.

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It is a matter of utmost regret that instead of having more children's magazines the one already existing had to be closed down. It needs to be revived by encouraging public and private libraries and individuals and Primary Schools to subscribe to it and also to such other magazines should they be brought out. Words could also be taught to children in the preliminary classes with pictures illustrating them. The focus has always to be on making Sanskrit as interesting and attractive as possible to draw the children to it. Children's literature is particularly scanty in Sanskrit. More concerted efforts are needed to augment it.

This effort need not necessarily be limited to Lower K.G. and upper K.G. only but should stretch to all levels. It should be left to the ingenuity of teachers to devise their method/s to make the subject/texts appealing. The teaching of the Kāvyas need to be preceded by recitation of the verses in traditional mode going with the metres in which they are couched and not read like prose. The teaching of drama should be accompanied with a bit of acting going with the depiction of the scene, something tried very successfully by innovation-driven teachers.

While teaching Samāsas (compounds) an old stanza with a narrative preceding it could well be pressed into service:

द्वन्द्वोऽहं द्विगुरहं गृहे मे सदाऽव्ययीभावः।
तत्पुरुष कर्मधारय येन स्यामहं बहुव्रीहिः॥

The attempt on the part of the teacher should be to exorcise the mind of the learners of the feeling that Sanskrit is something very dull, a kind of burden to be carried willy-nilly.

For this are needed the right type of Sanskrit teachers. Apart from their being good in the subject, they have to have the proper motivation to carry it forward. For this short term courses or summer camps with financial incentives is the desideratum. The teachers must be enthused themselves before they can be expected to enthuse others. They do not have to take

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their work as mere vocation but as mission. They have to make their teaching so interesting that the students do not feel bored or burdened. Teach Sanskrit they must but teach in such a way that students get attracted to it. They have also to strive to pull through a coup of sorts to change the negative perception of people about Sanskrit. With that achieved, the Departments of Sanskrit that had to be closed down due to lack of students may be revived, so would a large number of Sanskrit Pathashalas in Punjab and Bihar (according to available information 80 Primary and Secondary Schools, more than 100 Senior Secondary Schools, 17 Govt. Sanskrit Vidyalayas have been closed down in Madhubani District alone in Bihar), the near-extinct Oriental Colleges in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, and a host of other institutions in the rest of the country. This may also result in the change in the attitude of some State Governments from apathetic to sympathetic.

Radio and television could also broadcast and telecast programmes on healthcare in simple, easy to understand, Sanskrit by competent Āyurvedic physicians. People suffering from ailments would have to turn to them which would act as a catalyst for them to learn Sanskrit.

Some of the popular serials in Hindi and regional languages could be dubbed in Sanskrit and shown on the television in prime time in all India channels. The story being already familiar to viewers, they would enjoy them.

There is a suggestion to set up a separate T.V. channel for Sanskrit. If it materializes, the spectacle of a live cricket commentary in Sanskrit could turn into a reality!

There should be a Sanskrit Website which may contain all the relevant information about Sanskrit language and literature.

There is a suggestion that public libraries and reading rooms should have Sanskrit periodicals, particularly those that may interest common people. That is one sure means of attracting people to Sanskrit.

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A couple of years back a Sanskrit book fair, pustakamela, was held at Bangalore which was a roaring success. Thronged by people from all walks of life it had helped create an atmosphere for Sanskrit. Such kinds of fairs need to be organized in different cities and towns at regular intervals.

There is a suggestion that small Sanskrit centres need to be set up in smaller towns as also in villages to teach people conversational Sanskrit with accent on inculcation of moral and ethical values. Resources for these could be mobilized locally by persuading the more affluent of the people.

In view of the rapid growth in the process of dependence on Computers and other electronic devices in the contemporary scenario, it is suggested that a well thought-out strategy needs be chalked out to generate e-learning materials and e-contents of reputed Sanskrit classics with hyperlinks for the benefit of a larger number of learners desirous of having access to Sanskrit. For this Sanskrit Post-graduates and research students need to be trained in preparation of e-books. It is not out of place to mention that the Govt. of India has already introduced a project entitled "National Mission for Information and Communication Technology" (NMICT) under which e-PG Pathashala Scheme has been formulated and a huge amount of fund is sanctioned based on the proposals for e-content generation in various subjects at PG level.

It is noticed that some NRIs, because of their love and respect for their motherland and her culture, are deeply interested to ensure the revival of ancient Indian traditional system of wisdom and for that purpose, have formed some organisations. Moreover, some foreign universities have established centres for learning Sanskrit and conducting research on Indology. It will be in the fitness of things if proper tie-ups can be had with those so that the Sanskrit learning process can get a boost in the country and abroad. It is further suggested that the activities of the NGOs committed to the cause of Sanskrit in the country be

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accessed and the best one among them be rewarded with an attractive cash prize.

Apart from television the Sanskrit programmes can be organized in community centres or the panchayat buildings in remote areas to draw people to Sanskrit. Classes for Sanskrit teaching could also be organised there. So could be organised the informal Sanskrit teaching in community centres in each district in each State. There is a suggestion that there should be a Sanskrit teacher in every village to be appointed by an NGO which merits serious consideration for he, in addition to inculcating in the rural folk human values, could also be helpful in settling many a dispute by referring to scriptures.

An important means to connect the common people with Sanskrit is to make them familiar with it. One way of doing this is to put Sanskrit one-liners on hoardings at road crossings, Govt. offices, courts, hospitals and other public places. In line with this is the laying of orchards in cities and towns of trees and plants with such flowers and fruits as find frequent mention in Sanskrit literature with their names both in Sanskrit and Hindi/regional languages. They could be, apart from their educative value, of tourist interest too being thus a good source of revenue.

Along with the entertainment media that could be profitably utilized for popularizing Sanskrit there could be the more serious efforts like organizing a series of lectures for introducing people to Sanskrit literature and all that it contains by eminent personalities from time to time to the accompaniment of slide shows. Along with this monographs can be prepared on Sanskrit literature through experts and distributed among the masses at nominal price. This will acquaint the present generation with the wealth of thought in Sanskrit literature that would instil in it national pride.

A Sanskrit scholar of Ahmedabad who is known for his innovativeness in Sanskrit poetry has to his credit in introducing

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innovativeness in connecting Sanskrit with common man. He, of the name of Harsh Dev Madhav, has started a Sanskrit Consultancy Service in his city. This needs to be emulated by others too. The Sanskritists should not always look up to the Govt. to do things for them. They should come forward themselves to help the cause of Sanskrit in their own way. They should mingle with the people, go to the parks, join the morning walkers, chat with them and tell them about the value of Sanskrit and provide them free coaching in Sanskrit, should some from among them show interest in learning it. That would be doing real service to Sanskrit. Sanskrit has to be made people friendly. In a competitive world Sanskrit has to create space for itself.

There has to start a Sanskrit movement in the country. Every votary of it has to offer his self to join it. He has to think of the ways to further it one of which could be to organize Prabhat Pheris, the lovers of Sanskrit roaming in groups in streets in their localities at regular intervals reciting Sanskrit verses early morning awakening the curiosity of the people about the language they have scanty knowledge of but for which have nevertheless great regard.

In General Knowledge questions in Public Service examinations there should be questions on Sanskrit which should not be limited to the titles of the books or the names of their authors but should also concern the content.

Every institution which has Sanskrit teaching should make it a point to observe Sanskrit Day or, preferably, Sanskrit Week to highlight its importance by organizing a variety of programmes to which common people may be invited. With the wards of quite a few of them being in active roles in these programmes, they would be interested in joining them. When they would go home after attending them (the programmes) they would carry something of Sanskrit with them.

As said earlier, there are fifteen Sanskrit Universities in the country at present with one of them, the Rashtriya Sanskrit

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Sansthan, having tweleve campuses while the sixteenth one is in the offing and eighteen Sanskrit Academies. It is time they move beyond their academics and take upon themselves the responsibility of reaching out to the common people by educating them about the great treasures of Sanskrit by organizing special awareness programmes and other activities that may be to their liking creating thus a favourable climate for the promotion and propagation of Sanskrit.

Sometimes even small gestures like sending invitations in Sanskrit for family functions like marriage can play a significant role in drawing people to Sanskrit. The writer of these lines had a glimpse of it some time back. He had composed a verse in Sanskrit for the marriage of his granddaughter:

सर्वैर्बन्धुजनैः पितामहमुखैर्याऽऽशीर्वचोवर्धिता
या पित्रोर्हृदयं द्वितीयमिव, या स्नेहेन सम्पोषिता।
भ्रात्रा तत्पथगामिना बहुतरं या सादरं वीक्षिता
श्वेता सा व्रजति प्रियं पतिगृहं सर्वैरनुज्ञायताम्।।

"Who is blessed by grandparents and all other relatives.

Who is brought up in all affection by her parents as if she were their second heart.

Who is looked upon with great respect by her brother who wants to follow in her footsteps.

That Shveta is leaving for her dear husband's home, may she have permission of all (of you) for it."

The stanza so caught the imagination of the people, most of them in different professions, the class fellows of his son of school days, the colleagues of his son in his engineering firm, in that that they chose to preserve the invitation card just for that verse only. Not only that, they approached his son to request the writer of these lines to compose a similar verse for the marriage of their son or daughter when the time came for that so that they could also have it in their invitation cards. Obviously, the Sanskrit composition had struck a chord with them.

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This is a recent occurrence. Earlier Ghulam Dastgir Birajdar, a Muslim scholar of Sanskrit had issued an invitation in Sanskrit for the marriage of his son. The invitation issued in the name of his mother Masum Bi Abbas Ali Birajdar for the sheer felicity of its expression, bears reproduction here:

अव्यक्तमेकं महम्मद अवतारः
इति गजनीमहमूदस्य नाणके
गमनागमने चापि भासो भवति यद्यपि।
संमानो वर्धते मम अवश्यमुपस्थातव्यम्।

(रचयिता गुलाम दस्तगीर)

मम चतुर्थपुत्र महम्मद इसहाक इत्यस्य शुभविवाहः श्रीगुलाबसाहिबशेख-महोदयस्य भूतपूर्व इन्दापुरनगराध्यक्षस्य कनिष्ठसुकन्या रशीदा इत्यनया सह सुनिश्चितः कृतः।

अयं विवाहसमारोहः अस्य डिसेम्बरमासस्य एकविंशतितमे दिनांके रविवासरे (21.12.1975) प्रातः सार्धदशवादनसमये (10.30) पोमलवाडी रेलयानस्थानकसमीपे विनिर्मिते मण्डपे समाराजितः भविष्यति इति समुदं निवेदये। अस्मिन् शुभावसरे भवद्भिः सपरिवारमागत्य शुभाशिषः समर्पयितव्या इति मनसा साग्रहं प्रार्थये।

भवदीया विनीता
मासूम बी अब्बास अली विराजदार

So does bear the reproduction here of the letter of invitation for the marriage of his niece by Shankar Prasad Mukherjee a senior I.A.S officer (Retd.)

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः॥

डॉ. शुक्ला, हरेन्द्रनाथमुखर्जी इत्यनयोः सुपुत्र्याः अतशी इत्यस्याः श्रीमतीवनिता-श्रीराजीवरंजनयोः सुपुत्रेण राहुलेन मङ्गलपरिणयानन्तरं सम्पत्स्यमाने प्रीतिभोजने श्रीशङ्करप्रसादः मुखर्जी दिसम्बरमासस्य नवमदिनाङ्के रात्रौ अष्टवादने दक्षिणदेहल्यां 'कालीबाड़ी'ति स्थले (मलाई-मन्दिरसमीपे) सेक्टर्, रामकृष्णपुरम्, बाहरीमुद्रिकामार्गः इत्यत्र भवतां/भवतीनां समुपस्थितिं सादरं प्रार्थयते।

उत्तरापेक्षी
शङ्करप्रसादः मुखर्जी, आई.ए.एस (रे.नि.)

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So also bears the reproduction here of the letter of invitation for the marriage of their son by Dr. Naheed Abidi and Ehtesham Abidi of his son Dr. Ali Imam Abidi:

डॉ. नाहीद आबिदी एहतेशाम आबिदी च स्वात्मजस्य आयुष्मतः डा. अलीइमामआबिदीवरस्य शुभविवाहोपलक्ष्ये समायोजिते प्रीतिभोजे स्वकीयया गरिममयोपस्थित्या स्नेहाशिषां मृदुलज्योत्स्नया च नवदम्पत्योर्भाविजीवनं ज्योतिर्मयं विधातुं साग्रहमामन्त्रणं स्वीकुर्वन्त्विति प्रार्थयेते।

If the Sanskritists are really interested in the spread of Sanskrit, they should undertake a vow to speak and correspond with each other in Sanskrit. They should also put their wards, their sons and daughters, to Sanskrit. There is no point in preaching to others what they themselves do not practice.

Sanskrit news is broadcast by All India Radio. It also needs to be broadcast by F.M. Radio. It is telecast at present by only Doordarshan. Other channels like India TV, Zee News, NDTV, AAJ TAK, India News, IBN7, ABP News, DNA etc. which have wide viewership also need to introduce this. For Doordarshan as also other channels it may not have to be just notional, only for five minutes, but for as much time and as many times as is given to news telecast for other languages. It is a national task to be tackled nationally.

It may also be emphasized that the news be broadcast or telecast at prime time along with Hindi/regional languages and English. Further, proper care should be exercised in the correctness of the language. The news translators should strive to maintain quality format.

For generating interest in Sanskrit the educational institutions may be encouraged to organize Talent Festivals periodically on the lines of the one organized annually by the Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati and the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan where students from different educational institutions of India engage themselves in competitions of various

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kinds, like the quiz competition, mono-acting competition, *śāstrārtha* competition, competition in short-skits and so on. For a few days of the festivals the entire atmosphere gets surcharged with Sanskrit. It should be made mandatory that during these festivals the participants would speak in Sanskrit only, not only at the formal events but even while interacting with each other. This will generate a kind of enthusiasm for Sanskrit speaking which they can pass on to their classmates when they go back to their respective institutions.

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5

TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY AND SANSKRIT

It is a little over sixteen years that the twentieth century came to an end. With that was born a new millennium and a new century. We know something of the past but have no idea as to how future is going to shape up. It is only a matter of conjecture now as to what is going to be the map of the world in the coming decades and what is going to be the place of Sanskrit in it. About this we can only speculate on the basis of the trends and tendencies noticeable in the last century. Since speculation or inference is also a *pramāṇa*, means of valid knowledge and figures among the four *pramāṇas*, a picture of the future on that basis cannot necessarily be viewed with suspicion and disbelief.

Food, clothing and shelter are the basic needs of man. Human life is not possible without them. It is human tendency that one would be tempted to be inclined to those areas which would have the potential to provide him with these. That is why Computer Science is the craze now. Next in preference is Business Management and Economics. Once Sciences, physical and natural, were the main attractions. So were Engineering and Medicine. Journalism is the area which is attracting the youth now, for the greater opportunities and prospects that it has. Languages occupy the lowest rung of the ladder. Even among them English, though foreign, steals the palm, the more brilliant

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of the students opting for it. In the midst all this where Sanskrit stands is a matter of serious thought of all right thinking people.

Those who are committed to learning Sanskrit would learn it any way. But the question is as to how to take Sanskrit to the common man. That was the problem of the twentieth century and that is also going to be the problem of the twenty-first century. A long time back the writer of these lines was in Germany. He spent about a week in Berlin. One day while having an evening stroll along the sea coast with the renowned German Sanskritist Claus Brühn the conversation switched to the future of Sanskrit In India. The views that Brühn had expressed at that time had greatly touched him. He had said that for the greater spread of Sanskrit it is necessary to teach it as an additional subject. It is a common enough practice in Europe, he had pointed it out, for students to learn a subject as per their interest in the evening or in their spare time as a hobby. Some start learning gardening, some photography, some a foreign language. In this way they acquire additional knowledge which along with helping them to spend their time usefully and productively also provides them mental and intellectual satisfaction. Their material needs they fulfil through their main subject only. The additional knowledge is a part of their private life. If the same method were to be adopted in the case of Sanskrit In India, many people may feel attracted to it and it may gain in popularity.

The veracity of Brünh's statement is proved by a new experiment in New Delhi's Jawaharlal Nehru University. There students of B.A. and M.A. have to study three optional courses of three credits or two tool courses of two credits in addition to their main subject. These courses could be of any subject or language including Sanskrit. Last year as many as 180 students opted for Sanskrit!

The need for simplifying Sanskrit to make it easy of access to common man, has been felt for long. A number of experiments

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have been carried out in this connection which include its teaching through conversational and/or audio-visual method/s. A number of Primers and Readers have been written with this end in view as also the works like *Sanskrit in 30 Lectures* of Dharmendra Nath Shastri. In the West *Perry's Sanskrit Grammar* is the main work through which people learn Sanskrit. The process of simplifying Sanskrit language learning which began with Ishwarchandta Vidyasagar and was fostered by such celebrities as R.G. Bhandarkar, Vaman Shivaram Apte, M.R. Kale and Shripad Damodar Satvalekar and a host of others needs to be carried forward with greater vigour and innovation in the present century.

A number of attempts were made in the last century for teaching Sanskrit to little children. A number of Sanskrit votaries like Y.M. Nanal, Kapil Dev Sharma, Anant Shastri Phadke, L.M. Chakradeo, Malati Chakradas and others took this up as a mission. Chakradeo set up a children's Sanskrit school under the name Shrivatsa Bala Mandiram on Churny Road in Mumbai where Lower and Upper Kindergarten students are taught Sanskrit under a special programme devised by him. Similarly, the International Teaching Centre of Pondicherry has devised a new system to teach Sanskrit to pre-school students. The Centre has also brought out children's books in Sanskrit of which there is real dearth. A number of organizations like the Samskrita Bharati which has an all-India presence, the Lokabhasha Prachara Samiti, Puri and the Sharada Jnanapitham, Pune organize Sanskrit conversational camps. Some of the Sanskritists are writing poems in Sanskrit and setting them in popular film tunes, the more notable of them being the late A.N. Jani, Subhash Vedalankar and Jayadev Jani. They have prepared cassettes of them as well. The late Vasudev Dwivedi of the Sarvabhuma Sanskrit Prachar Karyalaya of Varanasi had devoted his whole life to this task. Further attempts in this direction would be welcome in this century.

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Now a look at the present-day Sanskrit writing. It is a peculiar situation with Sanskrit literature in that while it is very rich in certain genrés, it is very poor in others. While there is surfeit of writing in poetry, drama, prose of all varities, short story, novel and criticism, there is precious little of autobiography in Sanskrit. The two of the works that are available are just translations of those in English. Satyadeva Vasishtha has renderd in Sanskrit Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography in Sanskrit *My Experiments with Truth* under the title *Satyasaṁśodhana*. Similarly, has rendered Amir Chandra Shastri Nehru's autobiography under the title *Nehrūcarita*. There is reported to be one independent autobiography *Iśvaradarśanam* by one Vana Maharaja but nobody has seen it. It is not even known whether it has appeared in print or not or whether it is still in manuscript. It is not that there were no people important enough who were well-versed in Sanskrit and could have penned an autobiography. There were people like Madhav Shrihari Aney who were in the thick of the freedom struggle and were direct participants in or witnesses to the momentous events taking shape in the country and were at the same time good writers in Sanskrit having the guts to compose a three-volume biography of the redoubtable freedom fighter Bal Gangadhar Tilak under the title *Tilakayaśornava* but they did not pay attention to it. It is high time the Sanskrit writers in the present twenty-first century devote themselves to this genré in their Sanskrit writings so that what is lacking in Sanskrit literature is added to it. It is with this idea in view that the writer of these lines has published his autobiography in two volumes under the title *Bhavitavyānāṁ dvārāṇi bhavanti sarvatra* detailing many of the unforeseen and unexpected happenings crowding in his life of eight and a half decades and his rich and varied experiences during his worldwide travels that are a mine of valuable information, interesting and educative.

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Letter-writing also is an area which is very much under neglect while it is widely practised in other languages, the more noteworthy example of it nearer home being Letters to the Daughter of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which have appeared in a big volume titled *Glimpses of the History of the World*. In Sanskrit there are only some two or three works, one *Vipanmitraṁ patram*, an imaginary long letter exhorting the depressed and the dejected to face adversity with fortitude and courage, of Shankarlal Maheshwar of Morvi, Gujarat, two, a corpus of letters in prose of Naval Kishore Kankar of Jaipur, Rajasthan and three, the corpus of letters in verse, the *Patrakāvya* in two volumes of the writer of these lines. It is not that the Sanskritists do not write letters in Sanskrit but they do not make copies of them and preserve them. Even the writer of these lines did not do so. He could not trace any letter written by him, in prose or verse, of the first decade, 1955-1965, of his teaching career. Even after that he could preserve only those written in verse. Those in prose he could not trace. He would have written hundreds of them but there is no trace of them now. They would be the addresses' property now, if only they would have cared to preserve them! Just as he did not preserve the Sanskrit letters the others would have written to him thus losing a big slice of potential Sanskrit literature. In this context he would like to recall here his meeting with the wellknown Sanskrit playwright Leela Row Dayal at Mumbai many years back where she had shown him a bulky album containing letters other Sanskritists of the time had written to her mother the eminent Sanskrit litterateur Kshama Row and herself neatly arranged. It was from that album that he was able to recover a letter his revered father Charu Deva Shastri had written to Kshama Row which for its sheer felicity of expression bears reproduction here:

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लवपुरीय

श्रीदयानन्दकालेजतः
कार्तिकेऽसितचतुर्थ्याम्।

विपश्चिदपश्चिमे सुगृहीतनामधेये! नमस्ते। यद्गुण्याऽत्रभवती सत्याग्रहगीताख्यपुस्तिकानिर्मितौ स्वं व्यापारितवती तन्नाम नितरां प्रसादयति नश्चेतः। अद्यत्वे विरला एव जनाः श्रेयस्कामा ईदृक्षेषु पुण्येषु यशस्येषु च कर्म्मसु प्रवर्तन्ते। नहि महात्मनां चरितस्तवनादृतेऽपरमाभ्युदयिकं किञ्चित्। प्रायेणार्थमुद्दिश्यैव प्रवर्तते लोकः, सुधीरिति च व्यपदिश्यते। परमल्पा एव सुकृतिनो मानवाः परेषां शर्म्मणे यतन्ते, स्वकमर्थञ्च विनियुञ्जते, कष्टानि च सहन्ते। अतः प्रकृतया कृत्या सर्वथा मान्यासि नः। अवन्ध्यं ते जन्म। कृतिरपीयं बहुगुणा। एष हि प्रसत्तिमानुदात्तार्थगुम्फः पद्यरचनायामसामान्यां नैपुणीं भावत्कीं विद्योतयति। निःश्वसितप्रायश्च वाक्प्रसरः सुतरां हारी। इमं प्रबन्धं प्रत्यहमालोचयामि। क्वचित् पदानि परिवृत्तिसहानि प्रत्यवभासन्ते तानि तथा निर्देक्ष्यामि। इतरदपि यच्छोधनार्हं तदपि साधूकृत्याचिरेण पुस्तिकां प्रत्यावर्तयिष्यामि। आशासे पुण्यकर्मनिरता सर्वथा कुशलिनी श्रीमतीति।

अनुग्रहमभिलाषुकः
चारुदेवशास्त्री।

Since Leela Row Dayal had no descendants, what happened to that album, nobody knows. If it is lost, it will be a big loss to world of letters.

In the case of letters, there are at least three or four works but in the case of diary in Sanskrit there is none except the one of the writer of these lines under the title *Dine dine yāti madīyajīvitam* while there is a good number of them in other languages.

Even travelogue is scarce in Sanskrit, particularly accounts of foreign travels which could claim only some four or five works and that too of very small size dealing with visits to some cities and towns.

Though there has been considerable activity in the field of short story, there is nothing by way of detective story or comics

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in Sanskrit. Mini-story is also in its nebulous stage, only a few in this genré crossing the eye in some magazine or periodical once a while.

There is a form of writing going by the name of Malfuzat which is a sort of record of the daily life of the teachers penned by their pupils. This comprises a huge literature in Persia. The writer of these lines has made a pointed reference to it in the closing stanzas of his *Patrakāvya:*

प्रत्येकमहो घटते गुरोर्यद्
यज्जीवने कस्यचनापि तत्तत्।
तदीयशिष्याः क्रमशः स्ववाचा
पारस्यदेश्या उपवर्णयन्ति।।
यद्यच्च तेषां गुरवो ब्रुवन्ति
यद्यच्च तेऽन्यैः सह चर्चयन्ति।
हितेच्छया वोपदिशन्ति यद्यत्
लिखन्ति शिष्याः स्वगिरा हि तत्तत्।।
पारस्यदेशे सुतरां प्रसिद्धः
प्रवर्त्तिऽद्यापि शुभः क्रमोऽयम्।
प्राक्कालिकानामपि येन बोधः
संजायते नैकबुधाग्रगाणाम्।।
एतद्विधा पद्धतिरस्मदीये
न सांस्कृते वाङ्मय इत्यतो नः।
न नामबोधोऽपि पुरातनानां
सहस्रशः संस्कृतपण्डितानाम्।।
शिष्यै रचितमेतादृग् गुरुसम्बन्धि वाङ्मयम्।
पारस्यां कीर्त्यते वाचि मल्फूज़ातेतिसंज्ञया।।

There have been sporadic attempts in writing works in Sanskrit on science and technology. Concerted and vigorous efforts are needed to enrich Sanskrit literature with works of quality in this genré.

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The lopsided development of Sanskrit literature needs a corrective now so that the areas so far not covered or covered perfunctorily also receive the notice that is their due. That is the call of the twenty-first century. That will complete the Sanskrit literature allowing it a place of pride in modern day world literatures.

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VEDIC LITERATURE

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6

INTRODUCTORY

In its character and form the Vedic literature is very different from the Classical Sanskrit literature. Its expression differs materially from its later evolute. It is no wonder, therefore, that it is treated by scholarly community, both eastern and western, as a separate discipline. The community has continued to engage itself for the past century and a half in delineating its history, writing the grammar of its language, describing its mythology and preparing its word concordance. Though broadly confined to include in its connotation the Mantra meaning the Saṁhitās, the *Ṛg*, the *Yajus*, the *Sāma* and the *Atharva* and the Brāhmaṇas, the exegetical texts thereon, *mantrabrāhmaṇayor vedanāmadheyam*, it stretches to include the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads too, the last one carrying the alternate name of Vedānta, signaling the end of the Veda, the sense in which it is used by such celebrities as Kālidāsa : *Vedānteṣu yam āhur ekapuruṣaṁ vyāpya sthitaṁ rodasī*. Contentwise it is divided broadly into two, the first three, the Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas forming one set and the last one, the Upaniṣads, forming the other one. The first three form the Karmakāṇḍa, the Ritual and the fourth one the Jñānakāṇḍa, the Knowledge, the Philosophy.

The term Veda literally means knowledge, the knowledge, as the tradition has it, that was revealed to seers. It is this

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knowledge that became the source of *dharma*, the conduct, the ideal and pristine, *vedo 'khilo dharmamūlam*, the mainstay of society.

Though the Veda is an umbrella term for all of its four stages, as enumerated above, in different periods of time it stood to denote just the Saṁhitās, the term meaning literally the compilations. The Vedas are to be recited in strict accentuation, the three accents, the udātta, the higher pitch, the anudātta, the lower pitch and the svarita, the mixture of the two, with no deviation permissible, for that could be disastrous, sometimes leading to meanings exactly opposite to those intended.

There are strict rules for accentuation. Take compounds, for instance. The general rule is that they have to have accent on the final vowel. But in the case of Bahuvrīhi compound the rule is that its first member will retain its accent. The classic example of wrong pronunciation of accent that just reverses the meaning intended is provided by the word *indraśatruḥ*. Now, as it is, it can be dissolved in its Tatpuruṣa form as *Indrasya śatruḥ*, the enemy of Indra or in its Bahuvrīhi form, *Indraḥ śatruḥ (=śatayitā*, destroyer) *yasya*, whose destroyer is Indra. Now, it is the accent that is to decide as to how it is to be interpreted. If it is pronounced with accent on the last vowel, it would be Tatpuruṣa meaning, the enemy (the destroyer) of Indra, if it is pronounced with the accent on the initial of the compound, it is Bahuvrīhi meaning whose destroyer is Indra. As the story goes, the Asuras, the demons wanted a being to be created that could destroy Indra. They approached the divine architect Tvaṣṭṛ for the purpose. He performed a sacrifice for them. In the sacrificial pit a being, the destroyer of Indra, was taking shape and was in the process of coming out. At that point of time Tvaṣṭṛ addressing the being said, O ye, the *Indraśatru*, grow. It is here that he mispronounced the word, the mispronunciation relating to the use of the wrong accent

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according to which the word meant, the one whose destroyer is Indra with the result that the being that was coming out of the sacrificial pit perished in the pit itself thus defeating the very purpose of the demons who had organized the sacrifice.

All efforts were made therefore to preserve the purity of the text. Since it was Śruti, to be handed down orally, great care was taken in its transmission in the correct form. Several, eight to be precise, ways of its recitation, Pāṭhas, technically called Vikṛtis, some of them rather intricate, were invented. These are Jaṭā, Mālā, Śikhā, Ratha, Dhvaja, Daṇḍa, Rekhā and Ghana. Generations after generations of reciters devoted themselves to practicing these recitations. There are families that specialize in a particular type of recitation out of these eight. They carry/ carried their identification thereby, the Ghanapāṭhins, the Jaṭāpāṭhins and so on.

By way of illustration the eight Vikṛtis are reproduced hereunder :

अष्टौ विकृतयः।

संहितामन्त्रः।

ओषधयः संवदन्ते सोमेन सह राज्ञा। यस्मै कृणोति ब्राह्मणस्तं राजन् पारयामसि॥

(ऋ. अष्टक ८, अ. ५, व. ११; मं. १०, सू. ९७, मं. २२)

विकृति-लक्षणानि।

शैशिरीये समाम्नाये व्यालिनैव[1] महर्षिणा।

जटाद्या विकृतीरष्टौ लक्ष्यन्ते नातिविस्तरम्॥१॥

जटा माला शिखा रेखा ध्वजो दण्डो रथो घनः।

अष्टौ विकृतयः प्रोक्ताः क्रमपूर्वा महर्षिभिः॥२॥

अष्टौ विकृतयः क्रमपूर्वा भवन्ति। तासु जटा-दण्डसंज्ञके द्वे विकृती मुख्ये। यत एताभ्यामेवान्या विकृतयः संभवन्ति। तत्र जटां शिखाऽनुसरति। तथा च दण्डं माला-रेखा-ध्वज-रथा अनुसरन्ति। घनस्तु जटादण्डावनुसरति।

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1 व्यालिना=व्याडिना।

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(१) जटा।

प्रथमं जटालक्षणम्

अनुलोमविलोमाभ्यां त्रिवारं हि पठेत् क्रमम्। विलोमे पदवत्संधिः अनुलोमे यथाक्रमम्॥

द्वितीयं जटालक्षणम्।

क्रमे यथोक्ते पदजातमेव द्विरभ्यसेदुत्तरमेव पूर्वम्।

अभ्यस्य पूर्वं च तथोत्तरे पदे ऽवसानमेवं हि जटाभिधीयते॥

जटा = अनुलोमः १-२ + विलोमः २-१ + अनुलोमः १-२ ॥ (क्रमः १-२ + व्युक्रमः २-१ + संक्रमः १-२)

जटापाठः।

ओषधयस् सं, समोषधय, ओषधयस् सम्॥ सं वदन्ते, वदन्ते, सं, सं वदन्ते॥
१ २ २ १ १ २ २ ३ ३ २ २ ३

वदन्ते सोमेन सोमेन वदन्ते, वदन्ते सोमेन॥ सोमेन सह, सह सोमेन, सोमेन सह॥
३ ४ ४ ३ ३ ४ ४ ५ ५ ४ ४ ५

सह राज्ञा, राज्ञा सह, सह राज्ञा ॥ राज्ञेति राज्ञा ॥
५ ६ ६ ५ ५ ६ ६ ६

यस्मै कृणोति, कृणोति यस्मै, यस्मै कृणोति ॥
७ ८ ८ ७ ७ ८

कृणोति, ब्राह्मणो, ब्राह्मणः कृणोति कृणोति ब्राह्मणः ॥
८ ९ ९ ८ ८ ९

ब्राह्मणस्तं, तं ब्राह्मणो, ब्राह्मणस्तं॥ तं राजन्, राजंस्तं, तं राजन्॥
९ १० १० ९ ९ १० १० ११ ११ १० १० ११

राजन्पारयामसि, पारयामसि राजन्, राजन्पारयामसि॥ पारयामसीति पारयामसि॥1॥
११ १२ १२ ११ ११ १२ १२ १२

(२) माला

मालाया द्वौ भेदौ पुष्पमाला-क्रममाला चेति। तत्र क्रममालायाः लक्षणम्—

क्रम-मालालक्षणम्।

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ब्रूयात्क्रमविपर्यासावर्धर्चस्यादितोऽन्ततः। अन्तं चादिं नयेदेवं क्रममालेति गीयते।

(१ क्रम-माला)

ओषधयः सं। राज्ञेति राज्ञा॥ सं वदन्ते। राज्ञा सह॥ वदन्ते सोमेन। सह सोमेन॥

१ २ ६ ६ २ ३ ६ ५ ३ ४ ५ ४

सोमेन सह। सोमेन वदन्ते॥ सह राज्ञा। वदन्ते सं॥ राज्ञेति राज्ञा। समोषधयः॥

४ ५ ४ ३ ५ ६ ३ २ ६ ६ २ १

यस्मै कृणोति। पारयामसीति पारयामसि॥ कृणोति ब्राह्मणः। पारयामसि राजन्॥

७ ८ १२ १२ ८ ९ १२ ११

पारयामसीति पारयामसि॥ कृणोति यस्मै॥

\+ क्रम-माला

ओषधयः सं। १
सं वदन्ते। ३
वदन्ते सोमेन। ५
सोमेन सह। ७
सह राज्ञा। ९
राज्ञेति राज्ञा। ११
यस्मै कृणोति। १३
कृणोति ब्राह्मणः। १५
ब्राह्मणस्तं। १७
तं राजन्। १९
राजन् पारयामसि। २१
पारयामसीति पारयामसि। २३

२ राज्ञेति राज्ञा
४ राज्ञा सह।
६ सह सोमेन।
८ सोमेन वदन्ते।
१० वदन्ते सं।
१२ समोषधयः।
१४ पारयामसीति पारयामसि।
१६ पारयामसि राजन्।
१८ राजँस्तं।
२० तं ब्राह्मणः।
२२ ब्राह्मणः कृणोति।
२४ कृणोति यस्मै।

(क्रम-माला)

(आदितोऽन्ततः) = (अन्तं चादिं नयेत्)

(१) ओषधयः सं — राज्ञेति राज्ञा ६
सं वदन्ते — राज्ञा सह ५

\+ क्रममालायाः पठनक्रमोऽत्राङ्कैः प्रदर्शितः।

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	वदन्ते सोमेन	–	सह सोमेन	४
	सोमेन सह	–	सोमेन वदन्ते	३
	सह राज्ञा	–	वदन्ते सं	२
	राज्ञेति राज्ञा	–	समोषधयः	१

(आदितोऽन्ततः) = (अन्तं चादिं नयेत्)

(२)	७	यस्मै कृणोति	–	पारयामसीति पारयामसि	१२
	८	कृणोति ब्राह्मणः	–	पारयामसि राजन्	११
	९	ब्राह्मणस् तं	–	राजँस्तं	१०
	१०	तं राजन्	–	तं ब्राह्मणः	
	११	राजन् पारयामसि	–	ब्राह्मणः कृणोति	८
	१२	पारयामसीति पारयामसि	–	कृणोति यस्मै	७

(२ पुष्पमाला)

पुष्पमाला-लक्षणम्

मालेव पुष्पाणां पदानां ग्रन्थिनी हि सा। आवर्तन्ते त्रयस्तस्यां क्रमव्युत्क्रमसंक्रमाः॥

जटावदेव पुष्पमाला भवति। तत्र प्रतिपदं विराम इतिकारश्चेति विशेषः। केचिच्च पुष्पमालायाकारं पदसन्धिस्थानेऽपि वदन्ति। यथा—"समोषधय" इति 'सम् ओषधयः'। 'सम् ओषधयः'। "ब्राह्मणस्तं" ब्राह्मणः तम्'। "राजँस्तं" इति राजन् नम्। इत्यादिः।

(क्रमः) विरामः	(व्युत्क्रमः) विरामः	(संक्रमः)		
ओषधयः सं	समोषधयः	ओषधयः सं।	इति।	(विरामः)
सं वदन्ते	वदन्ते सं	सं वदन्ते	"	"
वदन्ते सोमेन	सोमेन वदन्ते	वदन्ते सोमेन	"	"
सोमेन सह	सह सोमेन	सोमेन सह	"	"
सह राज्ञा	राज्ञा सह	सह राज्ञा	"	"
राज्ञेति राज्ञा				
यस्मै कृणोति	कृणोति यस्मै	यस्मै कृणोति	"	"
कृणोति ब्राह्मणः	ब्राह्मणः कृणोति	कृणोति ब्राह्मणः	"	"
ब्राह्मणस्तं	तं ब्राह्मणः	ब्राह्मणस्तं	"	"
तं राजन्	राजँस्तं	तं राजन्	"	"
राजन्पारयामसि	पारयामसि राजन्	राजन्पारयामसि	"	"

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पारयामसीति पारयामसि।

(३) शिक्षा।

शिक्षा-लक्षणम्।

पदोत्तरां जटामेव शिक्षामार्याः प्रचक्षते।

ओर्षधयः सं, समोषधय्, ओर्षधयुः सं, –वंदन्ते।

१ २ २ १ १ २ ३

सं वंदन्ते, वदन्ते सं, सं वंदन्ते, –सोमेंन।

२ ३ ३ २ २ ३ ४

वदन्ते सोमेंन, सोमेंन वदन्ते, वदन्ते सोमेंन, – सह।

४ ५ ५ ४ ४ ५ ६

सोमेंन सह, सह सोमेंन्, सोमेंन सह – राज्ञा।

४ ५ ५ ४ ४ ५ ६

सह राज्ञा, राज्ञा सह, सह राज्ञा।

५ ६ ६ ५ ५ ६

राज्ञेति राज्ञा।

६ ६

यस्मैं कृणोतिं, कृणोति यस्मै, यस्मैं कृणोतिं,–ब्राह्मणः।

७ ८ ८ ७ ७ ८ ९

कृणोतिं ब्राह्मणो, ब्रांह्मणः कृणोतिं, कृणोतिं ब्राह्मणस् – तम्।

८ ९ ९ ८ ८ ९ १०

ब्राह्मणस्तं, तं ब्रांह्मणो, ब्रांह्मणस्तं, – रांजन्।

९ १० १० ९ ९ १० ११

तं रांजन्, राजंस्तं, तं रांजन्, – पारयामसि।

१० ११ ११ १०११ १२

राजन्पारयामसि, पादयासि राजन, राजन पारयामसि।

११ १२ १२ ११ ११ १२

पारयामसीति पारयामसि।

१२ १२

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(४) रेखा

क्रमाद् द्वित्रिचतुष्पञ्चपदक्रममुदाहरेत्। पृथक्पृथग्विपर्यस्य लेखामाहुः पुनः क्रमात्॥

पूर्वार्धस्य–

२ (पदद्वय) = ओषधयुः सं। समोषधयः। ओषधयुः सं॥

३ (पदत्रय) = सं वदन्ते सोमेन। सोमेन वदन्ते सं। सं वदन्ते॥

४ (पदचतुष्क) = वदन्ते सोमेन सह राज्ञा। राज्ञा सह सोमेन वदन्ते। वदन्ते सोमेन॥ सोमेन सह। सह राज्ञा। राज्ञेति राज्ञा।

उत्तरार्धस्य–

२= यस्मै कृणोति। कृणोति यस्मै। कृणोति॥

३= कृणोति ब्राह्मणस्तं। तं ब्राह्मणः कृणोति। कृणोति ब्राह्मणः॥

४= ब्राह्मणस्तं राजन् पारयामसि। पारयामसि राजंस्तं ब्राह्मणः। ब्राह्मणस्तं॥ तं राजन्। राजन् पारयामसि। पारयामसीति पारयामसि॥

(यद्वा सर्वस्य मन्त्रस्य)

२ (पदद्वय) = ओषधयः सं। समोषधयः। ओषधयः सम्॥

३ (पदत्रय) = सं वदन्ते सोमेन वदन्ते सं। सं वदन्ते॥

४ (पदचतुष्क) = वदन्ते सोमेन सह राज्ञा। राज्ञा सह सोमेन वदन्ते। वदन्ते सोमेन सह।

५ (पदपञ्चक) = सोमेन सह राज्ञा यस्मै कृणोति। कृणोति यस्मै राज्ञा सह सोमेन सह।

६ (पदषट्क) = सह राज्ञा यस्मै कृणोति ब्राह्मणस्तं। तं ब्राह्मणः कृणोति यस्मै राज्ञा सह। सह राज्ञा॥

७ (पदसप्तक) = राज्ञा यस्मै कृणोति ब्राह्मणस्तं राजन् पारयामसि। पारयामसि राजंस्तं ब्राह्मणः कृणोति यस्मै राज्ञा। राज्ञा यस्मै॥ यस्मै कृणोति। कृणोति ब्राह्मणः। ब्राह्मणस्तं। तं राजन्। राजन् पारयामसि। पारयामसीति पारयामसि॥

(५) ध्वजः

ध्वज-लक्षणम्

ब्रूयादादेः क्रमं सम्यगन्तादुत्तारयेद्यदि। वर्गे च ऋचि वा यत्र पठनं स ध्वजः स्मृतः॥

: वर्गे वा ऋचि वा यः स्यात्पठितः ह [illegible]

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(आदेः क्रमः) (अन्तादुत्तारणं)

१ ओषधयः सं। २ पारयामसीति पारयामसि।

३ सं वदन्ते। ४ राजन् पारयामसि।

५ वदन्ते सोमेन। ६ तं राजन्।

७ सोमेन सह। ८ ब्राह्मणस्तं।

९ सह राज्ञा। १० कृणोति ब्राह्मणः।

११ राज्ञेति राज्ञा १२ यस्मै कृणोति।

१३ यस्मै कृणोति १४ राज्ञेति राज्ञा

१५ कृणोति ब्राह्मणः १६ सह राज्ञा।

१७ ब्राह्मणस्तं। १८सोमेन सह।

१९ तं राजन्। २० वदन्ते सोमेन।

२१ राजन् पारयामसि। २२ सं वदन्ते।

२३ पारयामसीति पारयामसि। २४ ओषधयः सं।

अत्र विशेषः

१अत्र ध्वजस्य पठनक्रमोऽङ्कैः प्रदर्शितः।

२यथा मन्त्रस्यैकस्यैवं ध्वजो भवति, तथैव पञ्च-षट्-सप्त-मन्त्रसंख्याकस्य वर्गस्याप्येवमेव ध्वजो तत्र वर्गादिस्थितस्य पदद्वयस्य वर्गान्तस्येन पदेन द्विरुक्तेनेतिकारसहितेन च संबंधो ज्ञातव्यः। यथा 'अग्निमीळे...आ गमदिति आ गमत्' इति प्रथमस्य वर्गस्य ऋग्वेदस्य ध्वजो बोद्धव्यः।

(६) दण्डः

दण्ड-लक्षणम्

क्रममुक्त्वा विपर्यस्य पुनश्च क्रममुत्तरम् अर्धचदिवमुक्तोऽयं क्रमदण्डोऽभिधीयते॥

पूर्वार्धस्य—

ओषधयः सं॥ समोषधयः।

ओषधयः सं। सं वदन्ते॥ वदन्ते समोषधयः।

ओषधयः सं। सं वदन्ते। वदन्ते सोमेन॥ सोमेन वदन्ते समोषधयः।

ओषधयः सं। सं वदन्ते। वदन्ते सोमेन। सोमेन सह। सह सोमेन वदन्ते समोषधयः।

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ओषधयः सं। सं वदन्ते। वदन्ते सोमेन सह। सह राज्ञा॥

राज्ञा सह सोमेन वदन्ते समोषधयः।

ओषधयः सं। सं वदन्ते। वदन्ते सोमेन। सोमेन सह। सह राज्ञा॥ राज्ञेति राज्ञा।

उत्तरार्धस्य–

यस्मै कृणोति॥ कृणोति यस्मै।

यस्मै कृणोति॥ कृणोति ब्राह्मणः। ब्राह्मणः कृणोति यस्मै।

यस्मै कृणोति॥ कृणोति ब्राह्मणः। ब्राह्मणस्तं॥ तं ब्राह्मणः कृणोति यस्मै।

यस्मै कृणोति॥ कृणोति ब्राह्मणः। ब्राह्मणस्तं। तं राजन्। राजन् परयामसि॥

पारयामसि राजंस्तं ब्राह्मणः कृणोति यस्मै।

यस्मै कृणोति॥ कृणोति ब्राह्मणः। ब्राह्मणस्तं। तं राजन्। राजन् पारयामसि॥

पारयामसीति पारयामसि।

(७) रथः

रथ-लक्षणम्

पादशोऽर्धर्चशो वापि सहोक्त्या दण्डवद्रथः।

रथस्त्रिविधः। द्विचक्रस्त्रिचक्रश्चतुश्चक्रश्चेति। तत्र द्विचक्रो रथोऽर्धर्चशो भवति। त्रिचक्रस्तु रथः प्रतिपादे समसंख्यायुतस्य गायत्रीछन्दस्कस्यैव मन्त्रस्य भवति। चतुश्चक्रो रथस्तु पादश एव भवति।

(१) द्विचक्रो रथः (अर्धर्चशः)

(पूर्वार्धः) (उत्तरार्धः)

(१) (१) ओषधयः सं। यस्मै कृणोति। (प्रथम एकपाठः)

समोषधयः। कृणोति यस्मै। (व्युत्क्रमः)

(२) (१) ओषधयः सं। यस्मै कृणोति। (द्वितीयो द्विपाठः)

(२) सं वदन्ते। कृणोति ब्राह्मणः। (द्विपाठः)

वदन्ते समोषधयः। ब्राह्मणः कृणोति यस्मै। (व्युत्क्रमः)

(३) (१) ओषधयः सं। यस्मै कृणोति। (तृतीयश्चिपाठः)

(२) सं वदन्ते। कृणोति ब्राह्मणः। (")

(३) वदन्ते सोमेन। ब्राह्मणस्तं। (")

सोमेन वदन्ते समोषधयः। तं ब्राह्मणः कृणोति यस्मै।(व्युत्क्रमः)

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(४) (१) ओषधयः सं। यस्मै कृणोति। (चतुर्थश्चतुष्पाठः)

(२) सं वदन्ते। कृणोति ब्राह्मणः। (")

(३) वदन्ते सोमेन। ब्राह्मणस्तं। (")

(४) सोमेन सह। तं राजन्।(")

सह सोमेन वदन्ते समोषधयः। राजंस्तं ब्राह्मणः कृणोति यस्मै।

(व्युत्क्रमः)

(५) (१) ओषधयः सं। यस्मै कृणोति। (पञ्चमः पञ्चपाठः)

(२) सं वदन्ते। कृणोति ब्राह्मणः। (")

(३) वदन्ते सोमेन। ब्राह्मणस्तं। (")

(४) सोमेन सह। तं राजन्।(")

(५) सह राज्ञा। राजन् पारयामसि। (")

राज्ञेति राज्ञा। पारयामसीति पारयासि। (समाप्ति)

(८) घनः

घनश्चतुर्विधः। घनो घनवल्लभश्च। तौ च प्रत्येकं द्विधा भवतः।

(१) प्रथमं घन-लक्षणम्

अन्ताक्रमं पठेत्पूर्वमादिपर्यन्तमानयेत्। आदिकर्म नयेदन्तं घनमाहुर्मनीषिणः॥

(१) पूर्वार्धस्य (अन्तादादिपर्यन्तम्)

(१) राज्ञेति राज्ञा। सह राज्ञा। सोमेन सह। वदन्ते सोमेन। सं वदन्ते। ओषधयः सं– (आदितोऽन्तपर्यन्तम्)

सं वदन्ते। वदन्ते सोमेन। सोमेन सह। सह राज्ञा। राज्ञेति राज्ञा।

(२) उत्तरार्धस्य (अन्तादादिपर्यन्तम्)

(२) पारयामसीति पारयामसि। राजन् पारयामसि। तं राजन्। ब्राह्मणस्तं। कृणोति ब्राह्मणः। यस्मै कृणोति–

(आदितोऽन्तपर्यन्तम्)

कृणोति ब्राह्मणः। ब्राह्मणस्तं। तं राजन्। राजन् पारयामसि। पारयामसीति पारयामसि।

(२) द्वितीयं धनलक्षणम्

शिखामुक्त्वा विपर्यस्य तत्पदानि पुनः पठेत्। अयं धन इति प्रोक्तः (इत्यष्टौ विकृतीः पठेत्)॥

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(१)

शिखापाठः तस्य विपर्यासः तत्पदानां पुनःपाठः

ओषधयुः सं समोषधयु ओषधयुः सं वदन्ते वदन्ते समोषधयु ओषधयः सं वदन्ते॥

सं वदन्ते वदन्ते सं सं वदन्ते सोमेन सोमेन वदन्ते सं सं वदन्ते सोमेन॥

वदन्ते सोमेन सोमेन वदन्ते वदन्ते सोमेन सह सह सोमेन वदन्ते वदन्ते सोमेन सह॥

सोमेन सह सह सोमेन सोमेन सह राज्ञा राज्ञा सह सोमेन सोमेन सह राज्ञा॥

सह राज्ञा राज्ञा सह सह राज्ञा॥ राज्ञेति राज्ञा॥

(२)

यस्मै कृणोति कृणोति यस्मै यस्मै कृणोति ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणः कृणोति यस्मै यस्मै कृणोति ब्राह्मणः॥

कृणोति ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणः कृणोति कृणोति ब्राह्मणस्तं तं ब्राह्मणः कृणोति कृणोति ब्राह्मणस्तं॥

ब्राह्मणस्तं तं ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणस्तं राजन् राजंस्तं ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणस्तं राजन्॥

तं राजन् राजंस्तं तं राजन् पारयामसि पारयामसि राजंस्तं तं राजन् पारयामसि॥

राजन् पारयामसि पारयामसि राजन्। राजन् पारयामसि॥ पारयामसीति पारयामसि।

Earlier the young ones were imparted training in Vedic recitation in keeping with the specialization going with their family by fathers and grandfathers early on in life who took it their sacred duty to keep up the tradition. Joint family being the norm in India, the young ones from the extended family also were introduced to Vedic recitation which they had to practice rigorously. If willing, young ones from other families would also join them forming a sort of a class. Their physical needs were taken care of by their teachers who were their family elders by and large or by the rich philanthropists in the villages or the towns or by the income from the land grants provided by the Rajas and the Maharajas. Now it is the Govt. which provides

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them scholarships and stipends through its statuary body set up for the purpose called Maharshi Sandipani Veda Vidya Pratishthan with its headquarters at Ujjain in the central State of Madhya Pradesh. It also provides assistance towards the salary of the teachers engaged by the Vedic schools (Pāṭhaśālās). Apart from one Vedic University, the Sri Venkateswara Vedic University, Tirupati, the Vedic teaching forms a part of the curriculum of every existing Sanskrit University in India which has a separate Department of Veda providing exclusively the Vedic education. Apart from that, there is special Vedic group available to M.A. Sanskrit students in general universities.

For Vedic research, there are two prominent institutions in India at the moment, one, the Vedic Sanshodhana Mandala at Pune and the other, the Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, the former also having a Vedic museum with exhibits of all the necessary equipment and wherewithal for performing Vedic sacrifices which can and should serve as the laboratory for acquiring practical experience of Vedic sacrifices in all their elaborate processes requiring extreme precision and finesse. What is the norm now-a-days is learning the theory. This needs to be supplemented with practice. That will complete the ritualistic knowledge.

Just as the Vedas have been the devoted pursuit in India since time immemorial, so have they been in the West for the past two centuries or so. A galaxy of scholars has dedicated its life-time to their study and interpretation. This galaxy had its own approach to them armed as it was with the knowledge of newly-developed disciplines, the disciplines of Comparative Linguistics and Comparative Mythology. Its approach, therefore, to Vedic interpretation was refreshingly original and not restricted by tradition.

There is a tendency sweeping across the country at the moment which may not find much merit in this approach. It may denigrate it as motivated to misinterpret Vedic knowledge to

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belittle it, to belittle the upholders of it, the Indians. This tendency makes the present generation of Vedic scholars in India look suspiciously at the approach of the galaxy of Western Vedic scholars and some of their Indian followers without even bothering to examine what it has said, let alone refuting it with cogent arguments.

Even in India in earlier times the Vedas were interpreted by specialists in different disciplines, the etymologists, the Nairuktas; the Paurāṇikas, experts in Purāṇic lore and so on. They were quoted as members of Schools by interpreters like Yāska in his *Nirukta*, Śaunaka in his *Bṛhaddevatā* and others under the terms *iti nairuktāḥ, iti paurāṇikāḥ, iti naigamāḥ*. If their interpretations were given due consideration, there is no reason why interpretations of Western scholars be not shown that consideration. It is very unkind to dismiss their interpretations as motivated. The Western scholars of the Veda apart from their original and innovative approach had the added benefit of the knowledge of Comparative Philosophy and Comparative Philology which their Indian counterparts before the introduction of Western system of education did not have. With their knowledge of Greek and Latin which share with Sanskrit and Pali the family relationship they were able to solve many a mystery of the Vedic lore.

An outline of Vedic literature

The Vedic Saṁhitās : The *Ṛgveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda*, the *Atharvaveda*. Of 1127 Śākhās of the Vedas the *Ṛgveda* has two : *Śākala and Bāṣkala*.

The *Yajurveda* has six : *Mādhyandina, Kāṇva, Taittirīya, Kāṭhaka, Kapiṣṭhala, Maitrāyaṇī*

The *Sāmaveda* has three Śākhās : *Rāṇāyanīya, Jaiminīya, Kauthumī*

The Atharvaveda has two : *Śaunaka, Paippalāda*.

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Of the available Śākhās the *Śākalaśākhā* is *Ṛgveda*, the *Mādhyandina* is *Yajurveda*, the *Rāṇāyanīya* is *Sāmaveda* and the *Śaunaka* is *Atharvaveda*.

The Padapāṭha is an important segment of Vedic literature. In this the words of each Mantra are shown separately. The break-up of the compounds is shown with the sign *s* called Avagraha. As separate entities the words have their own accentuation system which the Padapāṭha shows and which gets influenced by succeeding words in the running form. The Padapāṭha also is helpful in determining which *visarjanīya is* original and which is resultant. The *visarjanīya* in *punaḥ* is original while the same in Rāmaḥ is resultant, the original one being *s*. The original one is indicated in the Padapāṭha with the use of the word *iti* with the word of which it is part like *punar iti*.

The available Padapāṭhas and their authors :

Ṛgveda Padapāṭha—Author : Śākalya

Ṛgveda Padapāṭha—Author : Rāvaṇa

Padapāṭha of Taittirīya Śākhā of Yajurveda—Author : Ātreya

Sāmaveda Padapāṭha—Author : Gārgya

Padapāṭha of Kāṇva Śākhā of Yajurveda—Author : Anonymous

Though Veda is one, it is termed three because of the difference in the nature and the purpose of each. Every Mantra of the Veda is divided in quadrants, Pādas, a division conditioned by meaning: *teṣām ṛk yatrārthavaśena padavyavasthā* which gives the name Ṛk to it. The Mantras that are sung are Sāmans. The rest of them that are used for sacrificial purposes are called Yajus. This division of the Vedic Mantras gave them the names *Ṛgveda*, *Sāmaveda* and *Yajurveda* called the Vedatrayī or simply Trayī.

While referring to the Trayī, the three ever present, *śāśvata* Vedas, called *Ṛk*, *Yajus* and *Sāman* the *Manusmṛti* says Lord

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Brahmā in the beginning of the aeon, *kalpādau*, drew forth, *dudoha*, them from fire, wind and sun, *agnivāyuravibhyaḥ*, for purposes of performance of sacrifices, *yajñasiddhyartham* (1.22).

For long it was only the three Vedas, the Trayī or Trayam, *Ṛk, Yajus* and *Sāman*. The fourth one, the *Atharvaveda*, was added to them later.

The word Veda is derived from √*vid* 'to know'. Veda, therefore, means 'knowledge'. It has seeds in it of every kind of literary writing. Drama had its origin from it. Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* has said that all the four principal components of a play, the script, the song, the acting and the sentiments he drew from the Vedas; the script from the *Ṛgveda*, the song from the *Sāmaveda*, the acting (theatrical actions) from the *Yajurveda* and the sentiments from the *Atharvaveda:*

jagrāha pāṭhyam ṛgvedāt sāmabhyo gītam eva ca/
yajurvedād abhinayān rasān ātharvaṇād api//

and created thereby a new Veda, the Nāṭyaveda, the fifth Veda. The Vedas have episodes like the battle of ten kings, *dāśarājña*, the battle between Indra and Vṛtra which are forerunners of the later Kathās and Ākhyāyikās. They have highly poetic descriptions of dawn embellished with figures of speech which could well be taken to be the harbingers of later classical poetry, the Mahākāvyas, Khaṇḍakāvyas, Gītikāvyas. The *Atharvaveda* has hymns for cure of diseases. It also mentions herbal medicines for treatment of them which are the precursor of Āyurveda. There are hymns there for longevity called Āyuṣyāṇi. There is mention of a leg being implanted to one Viṣpalā which is indicative of the existence of some system of surgery which Suśruta later carried forward. Rightly has it been said that the Veda comprises all kinds of knowledge, *sarvajñānamayo hi saḥ* and that it is a source of everything, past and future, *bhūtaṁ bhavyaṁ bhaviṣyac ca sarvaṁ vedāt prasidhyati*. Sāyaṇa in his introduction to the

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Taittirīyasaṁhitābhāṣya gives the etymology of the word as that text which conveys to one the supernatural/uncommon means to gain what is desirable and to avoid what is not so, *iṣṭaprāptyaniṣṭaparihārayor alaukikam upāyaṁ yo grantho vedayati sa vedaḥ*. Others though tracing the word to √*vid*, 'to know' have a different explanation for it. To them it is Veda because it makes one know all the objects, *vedayati viśvapadārthān avagamayati iti vedaḥ*. Still others include the same root with a different meaning 'to attain', *vid(l) labhe* along with the root meaning 'to know' to explain the word. To them it is Veda because through it the aims of life like *dharma* are known or attained, *vidyante jñāyante labhyante vā anena dharmādipuruṣārthāḥ*. Swami Dayananda Saraswati presses into explaining all the four *vid* roots of different meanings (*vid jñāne, vid sattāyāyam, vidḷ lābhe, vid vicāraṇe)*, and of different conjugations in explaining as to why Vedas are called so: *vidanti jānanti, vidyante bhavanti, vindanti labhante, vindanti* (?) *vicārayanti sarve manuṣyāḥ satyavidyāṁ yair yeṣu va tathā vidvāṁsaś ca bhavanti te vedāḥ*, Vedas are those (texts) through which or in which all the people acquire true knowledge by finding it therein and become enlightened. Some connoisseurs find in the Veda the means of true knowledge which cannot be attained either through perception or inference:

pratyakṣeṇānumityā vā yas tūpāyo na budhyate/
etaṁ vidanti vedena tasmād vedasya vedatā//

The *Śrīmadbhāgavata-purāṇa* declares Veda to be Nārāyaṇa incarnate, *Vedo Nārāyaṇaḥ sākṣāt*. It is known to be *svayambhū*, self-born, *svayambhūr iti viśrutaḥ*. Whatever is enjoined by it is *dharma*, the reverse of it is *adharma*. According to the *Āpastamba Saṁhitā* it is present in all beings *sarveṣu bhūteṣu tathā 'sti yo vai* as is present fragrance in flowers, *kusumeṣu gandhaḥ;* tree in seeds, *bījeṣu vṛkṣaḥ*; gold in rocks, *dṛṣatsu hema*. The great grammarian-philosopher Bhartṛhari declares it as the means to

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attain Brahman, *prāptyupāyaḥ*, it is its visible form, *anukāraḥ*. Since Brahman is one, Veda is one. It is a different matter that the sages have been reciting it taking it to be of different forms, the four forms, *Ṛk, Yajus, Sāman* and *Atharvāṅgirasa*. That is what explains the use of the term Veda both in singular and plural, *itihāsapurāṇābhyāṁ Vedaṁ samupabṛṁhayet (Mahābhārata,* 1.1.68), *Brāhmaṇena niṣkāraṇaḥ ṣaḍaṅgo vedo dhyeyo jñeyaś ca*, a Brāhmaṇa should learn and grasp the meaning of Veda together with its six auxiliaries (*aṅgas)* for no extraneous consideration, *niṣkāraṇaḥ* (=just as a matter of duty), *Vedo 'khilo dharmamūlam*, the Veda is source of *dharma* in its entirety, *anadhītya dvijo vedam anyatra kurute śramam* '(if) a Brāhmaṇa without studying Veda puts in efforts (to pursue other discipline/s), *bibhety alpaśrutād vedo mām ayaṁ praharişyati*, 'Veda is afraid of one of little knowledge lest he were to hurt it', *Vedānāṁ Sāmavedo 'smi* (Lord's statement in the *Bhagavadgītā*), 'I am *Sāmaveda* among the Vedas', *ekataś caturo Vedā Bhāratam caitad ekataḥ*, (one side of the scale) the four Vedas and the other side *Bhārata (=Mahābhārata)*, the *Bhārata* (outweighs the Vedas).

Originally the Veda was one but was later split up into four. There are several references to this in ancient literature:

caturhotraṁ karmaśuddhaṁ prajānāṁ vīkṣya vaidikam/
vyadadhād yajñasantatyai Vedam ekaṁ caturvidham//
(Bhāgavata-purāṇa)

Vedam ekaṁ catuṣpādaṁ caturdhā vyabhajat prabhuḥ/
(Vāyu-purāṇa)

ekasya Vedasyājñānād Vedās te bahavaḥ smṛtāḥ/
(Sanatsujātīya).

The word Veda has been in use both for Mantra and Brāhmaṇa: *mantrabrāhmaṇayor vedanāmadheyam*. By reciting the Mantras the sacrifices are performed and the deities invoked are eulogized. The treatises that explain the sacrificial ritual and

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its purpose are termed Brāmaṇas. Brāhmaṇas are marked by three divisions, the Brāhmaṇas themselves, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. The Āraṇyakas describe the life of the noble souls who free from attachment to worldly objects live their life in forest, *araṇya*. They are *āraṇyakas*, forest-dwellers, the term that also applies to the treatises composed by them. Vedic literature thus has four divisions: the Mantra or the Saṁhitā, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣads form the philosophical treatises.

There is another section of the Vedic literature which deals with sacrifices. It goes by the name Kalpa-sūtras. The description of the sacrificial ritual in the Brāhmaṇas had become so elaborate and complicated that it was felt necessary to abridge it and present it in an handy format. For this was invented the sūtra style. The texts describing the sacrifices and the rituals connected with such ceremonies as marriage were given the name Kalpa-sūtras which are of four types : Śrautasūtras that deal with the rules governing the performancne of the sacrifices as described in the Brāhmaṇa texts, the Gṛhyasūtras that record the instructions about the sacrifices to be performed in home fires, the *gṛhya agni* and the ceremonies, the Saṁskāras, the forty of them with a focus on the sixteen prominent ones among them like the sacred thread ceremony, the marriage ceremony, the funeral rites, the Śrāddha and so on. The Dharmasūtras deal with the duties of the different castes and the stages of life with particular reference to the duties of a king. The Śulba-sūtras deal with such matters as the selection of the proper place for putting up the sacrificial altars, their size as per the requirement of the sacrifice and the planning for conducting it. Śulba literally means rope or thread. The Śulba-sūtras represent the earliest form of Indian Geometry.

Besides the Trayī, there is another Veda too and that is the Atharvaveda. Atharvan means 'the worshipper of fire'. The *Atharvaveda* is a compendium of Mantrras that have both the

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fierce and the benevolent forms. The benevolent ones cure ailments. The fierce ones kill, *māraṇa*, stupefy; *mohana*, confuse, do away with concentration, *uccāṭana*, and so on. With the *Atharvaveda*, also called on the basis of the different nature of its Mantras, *ghorāṅgirasaḥ*, the number of Vedas goes up to four.

Saṁhitās

The collection of the Mantras is called Saṁhitā. As remarked earlier, there are four such collections : the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, the *Yajurveda Saṁhitā*, the *Sāmaveda Saṁhitā* and the *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā*. Due to the difference in collection, the inclusion/non-inclusion of the Mantras and the difference in pronunciation the Saṁhitās came to have many Śākhās, Branches. With Śākhā came to be connected the word Caraṇa. It means the group of learners restricted only to a particular Śākhā. Patañjali in the Paspaśāhnika of his *Mahābhāṣya* records 21 Śākhās of the *Ṛgveda*, 100 of the *Yajurveda*, 1000 of the Sāmaveda and 9 of the *Atharvaveda*. A large number of the Śākhās listed by Patañjali have disappeared.

Ideally each Śākhā should have its own Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad. In that case the number of the Vedic texts would have been enormous which is not the case at present. Obviously, the Vedic literature has suffered huge loss with the passage of time. The number of the adherents of the Śākhās and the allied literature has dwindled, the dwindling coming to a point of extinction over a period of time.

Ṛgveda Saṁhitā

Of all the Vedic Saṁhitās it is the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* which holds the pride of place. The Western scholars take it to be older than the other Saṁhitās in language and thought. According to the *Caraṇavyūha* its main Śākhās are five though Patañjali mentions

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21 of them. These five are: Śākala, Bāṣkala, Āśvalāyana, Śāṅkhāyana and Māṇḍūkya. These are found at present in the region south of the Vindhyas. The Śākhā of the *Ṛgveda* currently in vogue is the Śākala.

The burly text of the *Ṛgveda* is divided in two forms, in the form of Aṣṭakas and in the form of Maṇḍalas. In the Aṣṭaka form each Aṣṭaka is divided in eight Adhyāyas while each Adhyāya is divided in Vargas. The entire *Ṛgveda* in this division therefore has 8 Aṣṭakas, 64 Adhyāyas and 24006 Vargas.

The division into Maṇḍalas is more scientific. According to it the entire Ṛgveda is divided in 10 Maṇḍalas which accounts for its name Dāśatayī in such texts as the *Nirukta*. Each Maṇḍala has a number of Śūktas and each Sūkta has a number of Ṛks. Kātyāyana in his *Sarvānukramaṇī* gives the figure of each one of them. According to him the 10 Maṇḍalas have 1017 Sūktas, the Maṇḍalawise figure of them being 191+43+62+58+87+ 75+104+92+114+191. Besides these there are 11 other Sūktas called Vālakhilya which occur amidst Sūktas 49 to 59 that comprise 80 Mantras. Vāla means supplement, an addition. The main Sūktas in the eighth Maṇḍala are 92. With the Vālakhilyas the figure goes up to 103. The Vālakhilyas are not accompanied by the Padapāṭha nor are their syllables included in the count of the total number of them of the Veda.

According to Western scholars the *Ṛgveda* comprises both the type of Mantras, older and newer. From Maṇḍala two to seven forms the older part of the *Ṛgveda*. Each Maṇḍala in this group is connected with some sage, *ṛṣi* or the other or his descendants. The *ṛṣi* of the second Mandala is Gṛtsamada, of the third Viśvāmitra, of the fourth Vāmadeva, of the fifth Atri, of the sixth Bhāradvāja and of the seventh Vasiṣṭha. Their being associated with some family or the other, these Maṇḍalas are also called Family Books. The *ṛṣis* of the eighth Maṇḍala are Kaṇva and Aṅgiras. The peculiarity of the ninth Maṇḍala is that it is only one deity in it that is eulogized. That deity is Soma.

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Another name for Soma is Pavamāna. Hence the Maṇḍala has come to be known as Pavamāna Maṇḍala in addition to Somamaṇḍala. A School of Vedic scholars is of the view that after the main compilation in the form of Mandalas 2 to 9 had been completed, Maṇḍalas 1 and 10 were added. In this way the Veda came to have 10 Maṇḍalas. That the Maṇḍalas 1 and 10 were later additions is proved by their expression, metres, the new deities and the new strand of thinking. Both these Maṇḍalas, Maṇḍala 1 and 10, have the same number of Sūktas. This number is 191.

According to Śaunaka the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* has 10580 Mantras, 153826 words and 432000 syllables. The Mantras are in 14 different metres.

The expression in the *Saṁhitā* itself gives indication as to which of its portions are older and which are newer. A comparative study of the occurrence of *r* and *l* and the occurrence of the words ending in *i* and *u* would help in determining their chronology.

The *Ṛgveda* furnishes instances of beautiful poetry embellished with figures of speech, the secondary and the figurative mode of expression and other poetical appurtenances. It represents the earliest stirrings of the human mind.As instances could be memtioned the following :

rayir na citrā sūro na sandṛg āyur na prāṇo nityo na sūnuḥ/
takva na bhuṇir vana siṣakti payo na dhenuḥ śucir na vibhāvā//
dādhāra kṣemam oko na raṇvo na pakvo jetā janānām/
ṛṣir na stubhrā dikṣu praśasto vājī na prīto vayo dadhāti//

The *Ṛgveda* is a bulky collection of prayers addressed to different deities by different *ṛṣiṣ*. Of these deities the following three are prominent: 1. Agni 2. Varuṇa. 3 Indra. Of these Indra claims the largest number of hymns though Varuṇa is the older deity who is said to be the upholder of eternal order, *ṛta*, while the beginning and the closure of the *Ṛgveda* is with hymns for Agni. Indra, being the powerful deity of victory, claims the

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largest number of hymns. Here a point to be noted is that the hymns were revealed to the seers at different periods. There is a reference in the *Ṛgveda* to the earlier seers, *purāṇā ṛṣayaś ca te*, which presupposes the existence of the later *ṛṣis*. That is why the importance of the deities fluctuated. Varuṇa who was all-important at one point of time yielded place to Indra who in turn yielded place to Agni which accounts for the beginning and the end of the Saṁhitā with hymns devoted to that deity. The worship of Agni gained the upper hand and he came to serve as a 'witness' for individual and social relationships and was prayed to lead to people to good path, *agne naya supathā*. Savitṛ has a special place among the deties in the *Ṛgveda*, he being the infuser of life, the one who impels one to activity. The next deity invoked was Viṣṇu whose third foot is the spring of honey, *'madhu'* (the best things) the attainment of which is the aim of life. Marut, Rudra, Vasu, Aryaman are the other deities who are invoked in this Veda. Of them Rudra occupies a higher place for, apart from his being Rudra he is *Jalasabheṣaja*; while his one hand holds a whip the other hand holds herbs that provide relief. It is not difficult to surmise that it is Rudra, the malevolent and the benevolent, that makes his appearance in the form of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva in the later period.

Just as men and women form a unit in the mortal word so do they form in the world of deities. Indra has Śacī with him. So has Savitṛ Uṣas and Varuṇa Varuṇānī.

In the Tenth Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda*, along with the eulogies and prayers to deities, new topics like Śrāddha, a ceremony performed in honour of the spirits of the departed relatives, the marriage ceremony, the gambling and the lament of the gambler, the eulogy for charity, *dānastuti*, the polity, the Mantric cure of the diseases and so on come to the fore. The most remarkable part of this Maṇḍala is the dialogue hymns that apart from being highly poetic, could be taken to be the forerunners of the dialogues in the Sanskrit drama. Of particular

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interest among these dialogue hymns are the dialogue between Yama and Yamī, Purūravas and Urvaśī and Saramā and Paṇis. Smitten with passion Yamī speaks out to Yama in the course of the conversation that the Creator who is Tvaṣṭṛ and Savitṛ and is present in all forms had made us husband and wife in the womb itself. Who will break his rules? O Yama! The earth knows this kinship of ours. So does the sky:

garbhe nu nau janitā dampatī kar devas tvaṣṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ/
nakirasya pra minanti vratāni veda nāv asya pṛthivī uta dyauḥ //

How touching are Yamī's words! She wants sexual gratification, even if it is from her brother. But Yama is a true man, an embodiment of restraint. Says he, "O Yamī! Who knows that first day , who has seen that, who will be able to tell about that? Why do you utter untoward words, O Yamī, the follower of the dirty path? You leave philosophy to itself. Do not bring it in personal relations. We are what we are: brother and sister. That is the command of Varuṇa. That is the rule that Mitra has laid:

ko asya veda prathamasyāhnaḥ ka īṁ dadarśa ka iha pra vocat/
bṛhan mitrasya varuṇasya dhāma kadu brava āhano vīcyā nṝn//

The 95th hymn of the Tenth Mandala relates the dialogue of Purūravas and Urvaśī which is remarkable. Though couched in abstruse terms, it is clear in its implication and hits the head and the heart straight. Says Purūravas

haye jāye manasā tiṣṭha ghore vacāṁsi miśrā kṛṇavāvahai nu/
na nau mantrā anuditāsa ete mayaskaran paratare canāhan/

"O ye my cruel wife, wait awhile. Come, let us have talk for a while. We have not had it openly till now. We have not had peace of mind till now." Urvaśīs's response to this is:

kim etā vācā kṛṇavā tavāhaṁ prākramiṣam uṣasām agriyeva/
Purūravaḥ punar astaṁ parehi durāpanā vāta ivāham asmi//

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"What have I to do with these words O Purūravas! From your house I have come out as does the first dawn. Get back to your house O Purūravas. Like wind I am out of your reach". These harsh words break the heart of Purūravas. In agony he cries out

sudevo adya prapated anāvṛt parāvataṁ paramāṁ gantavā ū/
adhā śayīta nirṛter upasthe 'dhainaṁ vṛkā rabhasāso adyuḥ/

"Urvaśī, today your lover will go far away, that far that from there he will never return. He will then have his bed in the lap of death. There ferocious wolves will devour him." Urvaśī still does not relent. In brazen disregard of Purūravas's entreaties she blurts out

Purūravo mā mṛthā mā prapapto mā tvā vṛkāso aśivāsa u kṣan/
na vai strāiṇāṇi sakhyāni santi sālāvṛkāṇāṁ hṛdayāny etāḥ//

"Purūravas, do not court death, nor run away afar. Do not fall prey to inauspicious wolves. Remember. Friendship of women is no friendship. They have the heart of wolves".

Among other dialogues in the *Ṛgveda*, the more noticeable is the one between the divine bitch Saramā and Paṇis, the impious men who had stolen the cows of Indra. She wants them back from them. Instead of coming to the point they engage her in sweet talk addressing her as 'sister.' Failed in her mission she reports the matter to Indra.

Though all the dialogues in the *Ṛgveda* have deep connotation, the one between Urvaśī and Purūravas, reproduced above, is the most touching bringing to the fore the agony of a true lover at the cruel indifference of the beloved. The echo of this dialogue is heard in later works like the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* also seems to be inspired by it.

Early on in India had been discovered unity in the midst of diversity. What exists is one, *ekam sad*, the wise call it by

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different names, *bahudhā vadanti,* like Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan, *agniṁ yamaṁ mātariśvānam āhuḥ.*

Many of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* are distinguished by winsome philosophic overtones. These hymns are the Nāsadīya, the Hiraṇyagarbha, the Vāk and the Puruṣa of which the last proclaims Puruṣa himself as the present, the past and the future, *puruṣa evedaṁ sarvaṁ yad bhūtaṁ yac ca bhāvyam* (X.902). The Sāṁkhya took this Puruṣa as the base of its philosophy. The Nāsadīya hymn reflects the earliest churning in the mind of the ancients about the appearance of the creation. Whence it has come is the question! There has to be a period when it did not exist. There was at that period neither non-existence nor existence, no air, no heaven, no death, no immortality, no night, no day. Was there water in the beginning, water unfathomable, profound?. From water evolved intelligence through heat. And that must have been the starting point of creation. The question still remains. What did it contain, what did it cover up? In whose protection was it then? The question still remains unanswered. May be the surveyor stationed in the highest heaven knows it but it is equally possible that even he does not know it. This is an innocent query of a sensitive mind. There are, however, more complex thought processes as well exemplified by such sūktas as the Asyavāmīya deriving its name from its initial words *asya vāmasya.* (1.164) whose deep philosophy is beyond the reach of ordinary minds. It is a bunch of riddles.

Yajurveda

The aim of the mantras of the *Ṛgveda* is to invoke deities while those of the *Yajurveda* is the employment of them in various sacrifices. This Veda is a compendium of Mantras that are to be recited in the course of the performance of the sacrifices. The *Yajurveda* has two parts, *Śukla* and *Kṛṣṇa,* the former comprises Mantras to be used for performance of such sacrifices as Darśapaūrṇamāsa while the latter has along with the Mantras

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the relevant Brāhmaṇa portions as well indicating their recitation at the relevant sacrifices. At the back of the designation Kṛṣṇa, dark, lies the admixture of Mantras and Brāhmaṇas and that of Śukla, white, is their being in their pure form with no admixture of Brāhmaṇa portion. The main Śākhā of the Kṛṣṇa *Yajurveda* is *Taittirīya*. About its name there is a story in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. Once Vaiśampāyana in a fit of rage asked his pupil Yājñavalkya to give him back the Veda that he had learnt from him. Yājñavalkya in obedience to his preceptor vomited it out. At the behest of the preceptor his other pupils assumed the form of the francoline partridges, Tittiris, and licked it. Hence its name *Taittirīya*. Later Yājñavalkya propitiated the sun god and obtained the *Yajus* through his grace. While dealing with the Schools of Yajurveda Mahīdhara in his *Bhāṣya* says that because of the dullness (*mandatā*) of the intellect (*buddhi*) a School of *Yajurveda* came to have the name *Kṛṣṇa*. The *Yajurveda* that Yājñavalkya got through the grace of the bright sun came to acquire the name Śukla.

Caraṇavyūha records 85 Śākhās of the *Yajurveda* of which only four along with the relevant texts are available now. They are *Taittirīya, Maitrāyaṇī, Kaṭha,* and *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha*. The Mantras in the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* number 18000. It has seven Kāṇḍas divided in Prapāṭhakas.

The *Śukla Yajurveda* is called *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, the name owing itself to its having been revealed to Yājñavalkya, the son of Vājaseni. It has 40 Adhyāyas, of which the last one is Khila which is taken to be of a later date. The main Śākhās of this Veda are *Mādhyandina* and *Kāṇva* of which the former is in vogue in Maharastra and the latter in North India. In ancient period Kāṇva was current in North India. Its Mantra 11.11 records the names of the rulers of the Kuru and Pāñcāla countries. It has 111 Mantras in excess of those in the *Mādhyandina-saṁhitā*.

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Sāmaveda

It means the Veda of Sāmans. Sāman means song. Literally it means 'that which one enjoys'. Music and song are those that one enjoys the best. Hence Sāman has come to mean song. The singer, the priest, in this Veda is called Udgātṛ which literally means 'one who sings aloud'. In the *Sāmaveda* the Mantras are put in a particular musical mode and are sung. The musical mode of the first Mantra of the *Sāmaveda* would be as under:

४ २ २२ १ २
आग्नाई। आयाइहीऽइ वीइ वो याऽ २ इ। तौ या २ इ।
१२२२ ११ १
गृणनीह। व्यदातोयाऽ २ इ। तोया ऽ २ इ।
१ २२१ १
नाइ होतासा ऽ २ इ। त्सा ऽ २ ई।
३ ५ २ २ ३
वा ऽ २ ३ ४ औहोवा। ही ऽ २ ३ ४ षी।

The collection of the hymns in the musical mode the *Sāmaveda* has in two divisions called the Pūrvārcika and the Uttarārcika. All the Mantras in the *Sāmaveda* with the exception of 78 are from the *Ṛgveda*.

The *Sāmaveda* is divided into two: Ārcika and Gaṇa. Ārcika is divided into two, Pūrvārcika and Uttarārcika. Pūrvārcika has six Prapāṭhakas, chapters. Each Prapāṭhaka has two parts called Ardha. Each Ardha has one Daśati, a certain number of Mantras, not necessarily ten though the term literally denotes 'a group of ten', which might have been the case originally. The Daśatis go with the sameness of the metre and the deity. The Mantras revealed to different seers in different Maṇḍalas of the *Ṛgveda* have been put together in the Daśatis if they refer to the same deity. The first Prapāṭhaka of this Veda is called Āgneya-kāṇḍa (Parvan) because the Mantras referring to Agni in the *Ṛgveda* are all put together here. The portion from Adhyāya two

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to four is called Aindra Parvan because in it are collected Mantras in praise of Indra. The fifth Adhyāya goes by the name of Pavamāna Parvan comprising as it does the Mantras drawn from the nineth Maṇḍala called the Pavamāna Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda*. The sixth Prapāṭhaka has the name Āraṇyaka Parvan which in spite of its different seers and metres has a commonality in having the same mode of singing. The Ṛcās (Mantras) from Prapāṭhakas 1—5 are called Grāma-gāna while those of the sixth Prapāṭhaka are called Āraṇyaka for having been sung in forest, *araṇya*.The Veda closes with an appendix which has ten Ṛcās (Mantras) called Mahānāmnī. The number of Mantras in the Pūrvārcika is 650.

The Uttarārcika has nine Prapāṭhakas where the first five divided in two parts each go by the name Prapāṭhakārdha. The last four Prapāṭhakas have three Ardhas each. This is In the Rāṇāyaṇīya Śākhā. In the Kauthuma Śākhā the Ardhas are called Adhyāyas and Daśatis Khaṇḍas. The number of Mantras in the Uttarārcika is 1225. Put together the number of Mantras in both the Pūrvārcika and the Uttarārcika is 1875.

Though the *Prapañcahṛdaya*, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Caraṇavyūha* and the *Jaiminigṛhyasūtra* record thirteen Śākhas of *Sāmaveda*, only three of them, the *Kauthumī*, the *Rāṇāyanīya* and the *Jaiminīya* are available at present. There is mention in the Purāṇas of the Northern and the Eastern singers of Sāman. At present there are hardly any Sāman singers in the East and the North.

The Sāman singing requires hard and prolonged practice. It is quite a task to achieve proficiency in it. There is an interesting acknowledgement of it, of all the treatises, in a grammatical one. The Pāṇini sūtra *kṛcchragahanayoḥ kaṣaḥ* (7.2.22) enjoins the absence of augment *iṭ* to the root *kaṣ* when followed by suffixes *kta* and *ktavatu* (technically called Niṣṭhā) provided the word so formed has the senses of difficult and abstruse, *kṛcchragahanayoḥ*. The word so formed is *kaṣṭa*. The

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Kāśikā illustrates the use of it with reference to two lores, one grammar and the other the Sāmans. First grammar, *kaṣṭaṁ vyākaraṇam*, Vyākaraṇa, grammar is difficult and next it is the Sāmans which are more difficult than even grammar, *tato 'pi kaṣṭatarāṇi sāmāni*. No wonder the Lord chose the *Sāmaveda* of all the Vedas as his *'vibhūti': Vedānāṁ Sāmavedo 'smi* (*Bhagavadgītā*, 10.22).

The sage Jaimini says that the songs are given the name Sāman, *gītiṣu sāmākhyā*. The life breath of *gīti* is *svara*, which signifies the accent, the pitch and the note of the musical scale. The accent or pitch is divided in three, udātta, the higher, anudātta, the lower, and the combination of the two svarita. In the *Ṛgveda* udātta does not carry any sign while anudātta and svarita carry horizontal bar (—) below and perpandular bar (|) at the top. The anudāttas coming after svarita do not carry any sign, e.g., *agnimile*. In the Sāmaveda udātta is represented by the figure 1, svarita by 2 and anudātta by 3. The anudātta following svarita does not carry any figure. It is called pracaya, e.g., $a^{3}gni^{1}$ $mile^{2}$. The portion of the Mantra *agnimile* written in the Sāma system would be $\overset{3}{a}gni\overset{1}{mi}l\overset{2}{e}$. In music the notes of the scale are the following seven: *Niṣādaṛṣabhagāndhāraṣaḍjamadhyamadhaivatāḥ, pañcamaś cety amī sapta tantrikaṇṭhotthitāḥ svarāḥ* (*Amarakośa*, 1.6.1), niṣāda (ni), ṛṣabha (re), gāndhārī (ga), ṣaḍja, (sa), madhyama (ma), dhaivata (dha), pañcama (pa). To meet the musical requirements the Mantras are reworded. This re-wording is called Sāmavikāra. This is of six types:

1. Vikāra, change
   This pertains to the pronunciation of the word. Agni would be pronounced as ognāyi.
2. Viśleṣaṇa, separation
   Word is split up. Vītaye is spoken as voyi toyāyi.
3. Vikarṣaṇa, stretching
   A vowel is spoken for a longer time. $\bar{a}gn^{i3}$

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4. Abhyāsa, repetition
   A word is repeated e.g., toyāyi toyāyi.
5. Virāma, pause
   For convenience there is a pause in one word itself, e.g., havyadā taye.
6. Stobha, addition of words like ho, au, hovā, hāuā, hāvu, rāyi.
   The Ṛk Mantra
   agna āyāhi vītaye gṛṇāno havyadātaye
   is sung in the Saman system as
   ognāyi ā yāhī³ voyi toyāyi toyāyi gṛṇāno havyadā taye

While *Sāmaveda* may not have much of literary merit, it has its merit from the point of view of sacrifices. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* a sacrifice is incomplete without singing of Sāman, *nāsāmayajño bhavati.* The success of sacrifice depends on recitation of Mantras in a proper way. It appears the time-honoured practice of the recitation of the Mantras in proper accentuation and in proper mode and melody with ascending, *āroha* and descending, *avaroha,* scale of notes needed to be preserved. For that purpose a majority of Mantras from the *Ṛgveda* and some –78 to be precise—from other sources were compiled which needed to be sung according to the prescribed mode. The Mantras of the *Sāmaveda* are called by the names of Chandas, Chandasi, Chāndasika and so on. This Sāman musical mode was the seed that sprouted forth in the form of the Gandharvaveda, which, as says the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* was the source of 16000 Rāginīs .There are six primary Rāgas, Bhairava, Kauśika, Hiṇḍola, Dīpaka, Śrīrāga and Megharāga and the same number of their consorts, the Rāginīs. Their union led to hundreds of modes.

Atharvaveda

The priest connected with the *Atharvaveda* is called Brahmā. He is the head of the sacrificial ritual. His main task is to supervise

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the sacrificial ceremony. It is he who keeps an eye on everything that goes on in the sacrifice. He has to have sound knowledge of all the Vedas, still his main Veda is the *Atharvaveda* which is called by different names like *Atharvaveda, Brahmaveda, Aṅgiroveda, Atharvāṅgirasaveda.* The commentators derive *atharva* from the root *tharv*—there is no such root in the *Pāṇinīya Dhātupāṭha*—meaning crookedness, *kauṭilya* and violence, *himsā* with the negative particle *nañ (a)* preposed to it, the resultant meaning of it being a person who has achieved stability of mind by means of straightforwardness and non-injury to beings. This gets support from the references to Yoga (Sūktas 6.11; 10.2.26-28). Because Atharva Mantras speak of Para Brahman, the Supreme Being, it is called *Brahmaveda.* It is called *Atharvāṅgirasa* because several of its Mantras were revealed to seers called Ātharvaṇa and Āṅgirasa. Scholars in the West attribute the nomenclature to the nature of its Mantras, Atharvan and Āṅgirasa, the former used as magical formulae for benevolent and the latter for malevolent purposes like killing, *māraṇa,* expulsion, *uccāṭana,* subduing, *vaśīkaraṇa.* There are Mantras in it for cure of diseases, as mentioned earlier, as also for curses for opponents and adversaries.

The *Atharvaveda* has 20 Kāṇḍas, 731 Sūktas and 5789 Mantras. The Sūktas in the first seven Kāṇḍas are small. As a rule each Sūkta of Kāṇḍa I has four Mantras, of Kāṇḍa II five Mantras, of Kāṇḍa III six Mantras, of Kāṇḍa IV seven Mantras, of Kāṇḍa V eight Mantras. Kāṇḍa VI has 142 Sūktas each of which has the minimum of three Mantras. Kāṇḍa VII has 118 Sūktas of which a majority has a Mantra or two. Kāṇḍa VIII-XII have bigger Sūktas wherein there is variety of subject matter too. In Kāṇḍas XIII—XVIII there is uniformity of subject matter. Kāṇḍa XII begins with Pṛthvīsūkta which has 63 Mantras. Kāṇḍa XIII deals with spiritualism. Kāṇḍa XIV describes the marriage ceremony. Kāṇḍa XV describes the sacrifices of the Vrātyas. Kāṇḍa XVI has Mantras for the elimination of bad

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dreams. Kāṇḍa XVII has one Sūkta of 30 Mantras where prayers are offered for prosperity. Kāṇḍa XVIII deals with Pitṛmedha which gives it the character of Śrāddha, the ceremonies for the departed souls. The last two Kāṇḍas, Kāṇḍas XVIV and XXV, are Khila Kāṇḍas and are accepted to be of a later date. Kāṇḍa XVIV has 72 Sūktas with 453 Mantras which deal with such diverse matter as medication, national progress and spirituality. Kāṇḍa XXV has 958 Sūktas which deal with Somayāga. They are drawn from the *Ṛgveda*. This Kāṇḍa also contains the Kuntāpasūktas which number ten. According to the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* Kuntāpa means Mantras that burn sinful acts. From the *Aitareya* and the *Kauṣītaki* Brāhmaṇas it is known that these Sūktas were used for sacrifice. They have an historical value as well. There is mention of King Parīkṣit and his country.

One-fifth portion of the *Atharvaveda* comprises Mantras drawn from the *Ṛgveda*.

In the Paspaśāhnika of his *Mahābhāṣya* Patañjali records nine Śākhās of the *Atharvaveda*; *navadhā 'tharvaṇo vedaḥ*, the figure upheld by *Prapañcahṛdaya*, *Caraṇavyūha* and the Introduction to Sāyaṇa *Bhāṣya*. There is difference, however, in their names. A comparative analysis would give the following names: Pippalāda, Stauda (or Toda), Mauda, Śaunaka, Jājala, Jalada, Brahmavada, Devadarśa, and Cāraṇavaidya.

The subject matter of the *Atharvaveda* can be divided in the following thirteen categories :

1. Bhaiṣajyāni: diseases, their symptoms and prayers for their cure.
2. Āyuṣyāṇi: Prayers for long life and good health.
3. Ābhicārikāṇi-Kṛtyāpratikaraṇāni: Magical spells against demons, evil spirits, enemies and those who use such spells.
4. Śtrīkarmāṇi: Magical spells against women.
5. Sāñjasyāni: Magical spells for bringing about consistency and increasing effectiveness in an assembly.

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6. Rājakarmāṇi: Magical spells for kings.
7. Prayers for the wellbeing of Brāhmaṇas.
8. Pauṣṭikāni: Spells for nourishment, invigoration.
9. Prāyaścittāni: Mantras for expiation, atonement for some wrong committed.
10. Cosmology and spiritual upliftment.
11. Sacrifices and general matters
12. Matters pertaining to an individual (Kāṇḍas 13—18)
13. Kuntāpa-sukta

By way of specimen a couple of Mantras are reproduced below for cure of leucoderma. A herb is invoked here

naktaṁ jātāśyoṣadhe rāme kṛṣṇe asikni ca/
idaṁ rajani rajaya kilāsaṁ palitaṁ ca yat//
kilāsaṁ ca palitaṁ ca nirito nāśayā pṛṣat/
ā tvā svo viśatāṁ varṇaḥ parā śulkāni pātaya//

"O herb, you are born in the night, O ye of dark and dusky colour, O ye the colouring agent, colour this white leprosy, colour this yellow spot.

Drive away this leprosy spot, this yellow spot, this spot of variegated colour. Fill it with your colour. Drive away these white spots".

Date of Vedas

To the faithful in India the Vedas were not created or composed by man, they are *apauruṣeyas*. They were revealed to the *ṛṣis*, they were the 'seers' of Mantras, *mantradraṣṭāraḥ* and not the authors of them, *na tu mantrakartāraḥ*. In that eventuality there should be no question of their date. They are *anādi*, beginningless and would continue till the end of creation. But the Western scholars of the Veda who are not bound by tradition treating them to be revealed texts, have ventured to determine their date treating them to be pieces of literature like any other. Some Indians too followed them and then a view after view supported

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by arguments well presented started tumbling out of the cupboard. Since the two other Vedas, the Yajus and the Sāman—Atharva is a category in itself having earned for itself the position of Veda later—comprise most parts of the *Ṛgveda*, it is pertinent to examine the question of its date as it has been handled by a galaxy of Vedists for the past century and a half.

The first Western scholar to approach this question was Max Müller. On the twin basis that there is nothing of Buddhism in the Vedic literature and that Buddhism arose as a reaction to the elaborate Vedic ritual Max Müller considers it pre-buddhistic. The Vedic literature Max Müller has divided in four periods, the Chandas period, the Mantra period, the Brāhmaṇa period and the Sūtra period. For each of the periods he has assigned 200 years. Sūtra texts he considers to have been written close to the Buddhist period. Lord Buddha had died in 477 B.C. Max Müler assigns the period 600—200 B.C. to the composition of the Sūtra texts. The period for the composition of the Brāhmaṇa texts according to him could be 500—600 B.C. For the compilation of the Mantras in four compendiums the period according to him could be 1000—800 B.C. The period before that was the one the seers had composed the Mantras which could be 1200—1000 B.C. That was the period when the *Ṛgveda* would have been 'composed'.

In opposition to Max Müller's view it is said that to assign a period of 200 years to each stage in the process of evolution of the Vedic literature is arbitrary with no scientific basis. It was severely contested by a number of scholars. It has lost relevance now.

On the basis of some astronomical references in the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇa texts, particularly the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* the Maharashtrian astronomer Shankar Balakrishna Dikshit assigns 3000 B.C. as the period for the composition of the said Brāhmaṇa. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* is older than the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Ṛgveda* is older than that. If a

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period of 250 years is assigned to the evolution of each, the date of the *Ṛgveda* would be 3500 B.C.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak on the basis of the astronomical references in the *Ṛgveda* divides the Vedic period into four (1) the Aditi-period—Before 6000—4000 V.S. (Vikrama Saṁvat). In this period were composed the statements about rituals called Nivid which described the names, the qualities, the special characteristics of the deities worshipped some of which were in prose and some in verse. (2) Mṛgaśirā period—(approximately before V.S. 4000—2500) It saw the composition of a majority of Mantras of the *Ṛgveda*. (3) Kṛttikā period—(approximately before 2500—1400 V.S. This saw the composition of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* and the older Brāhmaṇa texts like the *Śatapatha*. Jyotiṣa, one of the auxiliaries of the Veda also made its appearance in this period for there is description of the sun and the moon going round the north in the beginning of Śraviṣṭhā, a situation that prevailed in 1400 V.S. The last period—(1400—599 V.S.) saw the composition of the Śrautasūtras and the Gṛhyasūtras. In the last part of this period arose Buddhism as a reaction to the excesses of the sacerdotal procedures.

The German scholar Jacobi drew attention to the word *dhruva* in the Kalpasūtra sentence *dhruva iva sthirā bhava*. He studied *dhruva* from the standpoint of Astronomy. According to him the position of the planet Dhruva which is pressed as Simile in the sentence reproduced above belonged to the period anterior to 2780 B.C. The naming of the planet as Dhruva and the custom of viewing it at the marriage ceremony could be assigned to the first half of B.C. 3000. According to Jacobi the hymns of the Veda were composed in the period 4500—2500 B.C.

A Vedic scholar Dinanath Chulet has tried to prove on astronomical ground as recounted in his book *Vedakālanirṇaya* that the Vedas were composed three hundred thound years back!

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There is mention of certain geological and geographical events in the *Ṛgveda* which can throw light on its date. Avinash Chandra Das has drawn attention to such events in his book *Ṛgvedic India*. The *Ṛgveda* (7.95.2) says that the sacred river Sarasvatī flows down the lofty hills and joins the ocean. Another Mantra from the same Veda refers to the rivers Sarasvatī and Śutudri entering into the ocean with loud roar. It appears in the time of the *Ṛgveda* the present desert of Rajputana was a vast ocean into which flowed certain rivers. It appears due to some geographical convulsion the ocean got converted into desert and the river Sarasvatī got lost in it. The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa has a clear reference to its disappearance at Vinaśana and reappe arance at Plakṣa-prasravaṇa.

It is known from the *Ṛgveda* that in its time the area of Saptasindhu, the habitat of the Aryans was surrounded by four oceans. A Mantra (10.136.5) refers to two oceans to the east and the west of Saptasindhu. In another Mantra, 9.33.6, Soma is prayed to bring four oceans from four directions. The reference to four oceans is more clear and direct in Mantra 10.40.2. This shows that in the hoary past the Aryans had four oceans near their habitation. Of these the eastern ocean was in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and the southern ocean in the present desert area of Rajasthan. The western ocean was where it is at present. The northern ocean was to the north. Geologists are of the view that in ancient times to the north of Balkh and Persia was a vast ocean which could be called Asian Mediterranean. The modern Black sea, the Ural sea and the Balkan Lake are its remnants. That geographical state is assigned the period 50000—25000 B.C. On the basis of the above geological-geographical considerations the date of the *Ṛgveda* and the Vedic civilization can be carried back at the minimum to 25000 years back. The Westrn Vedic scholars do not accept this. It has no scientific basis, they say.

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In 1907 at the time of the excavations in the village Bogaz-koi in the eastern part of Anatolia, modern Turkey, Hugo Winkler had discovered an inscription which refers to a treaty between the Hittites and the Mitanese in the beginning of the 14th cen. B.C. where while pledging to honour the treaty the rulers of both had invoked along with the deities of Old Babylonia and Hittis the deities Mithra (Mitra), Varuṇa, Indra and Năsatyau (Aśvinau) who are Vedic deties. Now, the question is as to how could the deities of the Mitanese find a place among those of the Hittites. This shows that even before the 14th cen. B.C. there was contact between the people of Asia Minor and the Vedic Aryans. This proves this much at least that by the 14th cen B.C. the Aryan deities had come to be worshipped . It is possible that a branch of the Aryans would have migrated from India and settled there or the Mitanese would have been a branch of the Vedic Aryans. The inscriptional evidence would push the date of the composition of the Vedas to pre-14th cen. period. This has led the Vedic scholars to assign the period 2500—2000 B.C. to the composition of the Vedas.

There are hymns in the Vedas in praise of a number of deities. A careful examination of them would invite attention to the fact that in totality it is Agni that steals the thunder. Though it is Indra that excels Agni in the number of hymns, it is Agmi that occupies the centre stage. Practically every Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda* begins and ends with a hymn to Agni. The *Ṛgveda* begins with Agni; its first sūkta is Agni sūkta; it closes with Agni, the last sukta of its tenth Maṇḍala is Agni sūkta.

The worship of Agni not remained confined to any specific country. It has been prevalent in most countries in some form or the other. Around 800 years before Christ Zoroaster had laid emphasis on Agni worship. He described Agni as the symbol of truth and assigned it a central place in his religious ritual.

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A comparative study of the Veda and the *Avesta* shows that Varuṇa, Ourunos of the Indo-European period, the great upholder of the principle of *ṛta*, loses his shine in the *Ṛgveda*. It almost disappears in *Avesta* or gets identified with Ahura. There is close similarity between ancient India and ancient Iran not only in terms of religion but also in language. The similarity is so close that with minor changes in sounds the Vedic Mantras can be converted into Avestan Gāthās and vice versa. If the Avesta would have been composed around 1500 B.C. he difference in the language of the two works the Veda and the Avesta, would have been just negligible. That supports the view of the Vedic scholars who are inclined to assign the date 2000 B.C. to the composition of the Veda.

Everything said and done, it is not possible to assign a particular date or period to the Vedic literature. It must have evolved in different stages, the first when the Mantras were composed or revealed, the second stage when they were compiled in the form of Saṁhitā, the third stage when they were 'united with sacrifices' and the fourth stage when they were interpreted and expounded. The Vedas represent a culture, a civilization, a body of thought that has regulated life in India for millennia with an authority which is unique in itself in inviting spontaneous acceptance of it to the extent that one speaking ill of it, *Vedanindakaḥ*, is termed *nāstika*, a term every right-thinking person liked to shun.

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7

BRĀHMAṆAS

Next to Saṁhitās it is the Brāhmaṇas that occupy the most important place in the Vedic literature. They, together with Mantras, form the Veda, *mantrabrāhmaṇayor vedanāmadheyam*. Though the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas are two separate entities; the former are the base and the latter their explanations, still they are spoken of in the statement reproduced above as constituting together the Veda. The reason: The Brāhmaṇas are indispensable for the proper understanding of the meaning of the Mantras underpinning the recitation of certain sets of them in the course of specific sacrifices. Since the sacrifices and the Mantras have to go together their inter-relation is beyond question. It is their being complimentary to the Saṁhitās that invests the Brāhmaṇa texts with the sobriquet of the Veda.

The Brāhmaṇa is explained variously:

(i). The word Brāhmaṇa is formed from √*bṛh*, 'to spread, to extend,' *bṛhū vardhane*. Brāhmaṇas constitute those texts that describe in detail the ritual that goes with the performance of the sacrifices enjoined in the Saṁhitās: *Brāhmaṇaṁ nāma karmaṇas tanmantrāṇāṁ vyākhyānagranthaḥ*, "Brāhmaṇa is a text that explains the Mantras and the ritual (*karmaṇaḥ*) that goes with them.

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(ii). Brahman means Mantra too. That would lead to Brāhmaṇa signifying that text that explains the Mantras and their application (which Mantra/s to be applied (=recited) in which sacrifice.

(iii). Āpastamba defines Brāhmaṇas as the (texts) that explain systematically the ritual: *karmacodanā brāhmaṇāni.*

(iv). According to some Brāhmaṇas represent the cumulative views of the scholars of the Brāhmaṇa caste.

(v). The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali accepts the words Brahman and Brāhmaṇa as synonyms: *samānārthāv etau brahmanśabdo brāhmaṇaśabdaś ca* (5.1.1.). According to it Brāhmaṇa would signify the Veda as explained by the Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedic lore.

According to Vācaspatimiśra the subject matter of the Brāhmaṇas is to give etymologies of words (*nairuktyam),* to indicate the application of the Mantras that are to go with each sacrifice (*viniyogaḥ),* the purpose (*prayojanam)* [of performing a sacrifice], speech or assertion that recommends a *vidhi,* a precept by stating the benefit from its proper observance and the harm from its omission, and also adducing historical instances in its support (*arthavāda)* and the ritual (*vidhi) :*

nairuktyaṁ yasya mantrasya viniyogaḥ prayojanam/
pratiṣṭhānaṁ vidhiś caiva Brāhmaṇaṁ tad ihocyate//

It is the Brāhmaṇas that specify as to when and how sacrifices are to be performed, who have the requisite quality to perform them, what is needed to perform them. If there is any contradiction in the Saṁhitās with reference to a sacrifice it is the Brāhmaṇa that resolves it. Śabaraṣvāmin in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Jaimini-sūtra* records the following ten as the functions of a Brāhmaṇa :

hetur nirvacanaṁ nindā praśaṁsā saṁśayo vidhiḥ/
parakriyā purākalpo vyavadhāraṇakalpanā//
upamānaṁ daśaite tu vidhayo brāhmaṇasya tu/

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"Logical reasoning, etymology, finding fault with (if there is something wrong), speaking well (if there is something good), doubt, ritual, performing for others, (reference to happenings in) earlier age, to supply where something is missing, (offering of) analogy ——these ten are the functions of a Brāhmaṇa (text)."

Date and Place of Composition of Brāhmaṇas

There is no indication in the Brāhmaṇa texts about the place of their composition. From the geographical data therein it could be surmised that it might have been the Kuru-Pāñcāla region. Just as in the case of the Saṁhitās so in the case of the Brāhmaṇas it is difficult to decide about the date of their composition. Since they are the expository texts of the Saṁhitās, they are posterior to them. It must have taken centuries for them to come into being. The *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda* records the names of fifty teachers and pupils who followed each other. Macdonell places the Brāhmaṇas in the period 800—500 B.C. Almost the same is the view of Max Müller with the difference of a century in the lower limit; instead of 500 B.C. he makes it 600 B.C. S.B. Dikshit in his *History of Indian Astronomy* places the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* on the basis of the situation of the Kṛttikā Nakṣatra in 3000 B.C. Bal Gangadhar Tilak assigns the period 2500—1500 B.C. to the composition of the Brāhmaṇa texts. All the available evidence would make them *pre-buddhist*. The Buddha was born in 500 B.C. The terminus a quem for the Brahmaṇa texts has to be, therefore, 500 B.C. The terminus ad quem nobody knows.

Number of Brāhmaṇa Texts

Scholars are almost unanimous on the point that the number of Brāhmaṇa texts must have been far larger than that that have come down to us. The extant Brāhmaṇa and Gṛhya texts refer to a number of writers whose works are not available now. Still whatever has survived of them is fairly copious. Each Veda and

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its Sākhā/s have their own Brāhmaṇa texts. Earlier it were the Kṛṣṇa and the Śukla Yajurveda that had their Brāhmaṇa texts but later it was made a sort of a rule that each Veda has to have its own Brāhmaṇa text. The result: the later portions of the Veda were assigned the Brāhmaṇa designation. Along with this some new Brāhmaṇas also came into being.

The Brāhmaṇas attach the highest importance to sacrifice. They say *yajño vai śreṣṭhatamaṁ karma*, sacrifice is the best form of activity. It is spoken of as the festivity for the gods, *yajño vai devānāṁ mahaḥ*. These equated the gods with sacrifices, *yajño 'sau sa ādityaḥ*, it is sacrifice that is Āditya. What was in the Saṁhitās the means to attain the desired object became the end in itself in the Brāhmaṇas. It was mandatory for every one to perform sacrifice. In the Saṁhitās the deity was at the top and the sacrifices had to be performed to propitiate him. In the Brāhmaṇas the sacrifice occupied the top place, as the be end and all end of life. It was thought that it would wash away all of one's sins. According to Winternitz in the Brāhmaṇas sacrifice is one and the only theme from which all discussions start, on which everything hinges. "They reflect the spirit of an age in which all intellectual activity is concentrated on the sacrifice, describing its ceremonies, discussing its values, speculating on its origin and significance."

Though sacrifice is the pivot on which the Brāhmaṇa literature hinges it would be doing injustice to it if its importance from many other points of view is not duly appreciated. It is rich in etymologies providing the source material for the science of etymology which came to be pursued as a discipline by many an etymologist later. It is replete with episodes and sub-episodes, the genealogies of seers and master teachers, cosmological speculations, the history of words, the views about hells and heaven, the caste system and the stages of life providing thus a real insight into contemporary social life.

Of the four castes, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, it was Brāhmaṇa who occupied the top place. As the importance

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of sacrifice went up, the position of the Brāhmaṇa who was to officiate at it went up many notches high. He was held as pure and lustrous as fire, *āgneyo vai Brāhmaṇaḥ*, He was not to be awarded death sentence. The king could not confiscate his property. He was the god on the earth, *bhūmideva*. The only mission of his life was to be sanctified by spiritual pre-eminence: *Brāhmaṇanenaiṣṭavyaṁ brahmavarcasī syād iti*. Singing and dancing for him were taboo, *Brāhmaṇo naiva gāyen na nṛtyet*. Kṣatriyas provided strength to the nation, *kṣatraṁ hi rāṣṭram*. The Vaiśyas brought prosperity to it through trade and commerce, *rāṣṭrāṇi vai viśaḥ*. Śūdras were charged with *tapas* which probably meant physical activity. All of these four thus contributed to the well-being of the nation.

With all the emphasis on the all-important sacrifice there was less scope for ethical or moralistic statements in the Brāhmaṇa texts. Still, some of them do pop out. There is emphasis on truth. Gods are united with truth, so one should not speak untruth, *satyasaṁhitā vai devāḥ. Tasmān nānṛtaṁ vadet*. A person who utters a lie is impure, *amedhyo vai puruṣo yad anṛtaṁ vadati*. One who tells a lie loses his inner strength with each passing day; he turns a sinner and sinner day by day; so one should speak truth only; *tasya kanīyaḥ kanīya eva tejo bhavati, śvaḥ śvaḥ pāpīyān bhavati, tasmād u satyam eva vadet*. Nobody liikes to go to hell. Heaven is one aspires. Knowing this weakness of man the Brāhmaṇa says that it is truth only that would lead one to heaven, *ṛtenaiva svargalokaṁ gamayanti*.

The importance of the Brāhmaṇa texts from the point of view of etymology has been spoken of earlier. A few of these are taken up here by way of illustration. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* gives the etymology of *ulūkhala*, mortar, as *uru kara; uru me 'karad iti urukaram. Urukaraṁ ha vai tad ulūkhalam ity ācakṣate* (VII.5.1.22). Originally it was *urukara*. From this form it changed to *ulūkhala*. This is one of the countless examples where the Brāhmaṇa text keeps in view the import of the word while

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tracing its etymology. The principle of etymology going with the meaning of the word; something the etymologist is to keep in view; *arthanityaḥ parīkṣeta*, the authors of the *Brāhmaṇa* texts had already kept in view. Urukara means 'that which widens' (by way of pounding). Yāska adopts this etymology apart from two others which also go well with the function of a mortar; *urukaraṁ vā, ūrdhvakhaṁ vā, urkakaraṁ vā (Nīrukta*, IX. 20). The etymology of *duhitā* in the *Brāhmaṇa texts as dūre hitā*, sent afar, from the parental house to that of the in-laws, or *dogdhi gām*, milks the cow, a function that the daughters are expected to perform in a predominantly agrarian society. Both of these etymologies have been adopted by Yāska in his *Nirukta* with the omission of *gām* of the *Brāhmaṇa* texts : *duhitā, durhitā, dūre hitā, dogdher vā (Nīrukta III.1.4)*, giving the leeway to Durgācārya, the commentator of the *Nīrukta*, to connect the act of milking with father *sā nityam eva pituḥ sakāśād arthaṁ dogdhi prārthanāparatvāt*, she constantly milks the father for money, always asking for it, the explanation is reminiscent of the decadence in society by the time of the commentator when daughters had begun to be treated as burden on parents who were expected to shower them with presents whenever they would visit them or were expected to meet the demand for dowry, an obnoxious practice plaguing society even now. A scholar, Nargis Verma, had carried out a detailed and systematic study of the etymologies in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which she had submitted as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Delhi. Similar studies on other *Brāhmaṇa* texts is a desideratum.

Connected very often with etymologies is the question of episodes and sub-episodes, very imaginative and fanciful sometimes, which the Brāhmaṇa texts introduce to explain as to why a particular word should have come to be used for a particular deity. In the word *rudra* the author of the Brāhmaṇa text notices the root *rud* meaning 'to cry', *rudir aśruvimocane.*

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yad arodīt tad rudrasya rudratvam, says the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā.* The same etymology the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* follows; *yad arodīt tasmād rudraḥ* (VI.1.3.10) apart from the two other explanations, *tad yad ruditāt samabhavan tasmād rudrāḥ* (IX.1.1.6) and *yad rodayanti tasmād rudrā iti* (XIV (b).3.9.5) though sticking to the derivation of the word from the root *rud.* The story here is that Indra once pierced his father Prajāpati with an arrow. He felt remorse thereafter and cried aloud. That is how he came to be known as Rudra.

Why Prajāpati is known as Ka is explained by the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (II.2.10.1-2) as follows: Prajāpati created Indra after he had created the gods. After creating him he said, 'go and rule over the gods'. Indra went to the gods. They said,'who are you? We are elder to you.' Indra went back to Prajāpati and asked from him his intrinsic strength for himself so that he could be the lord of gods. To this Prajāpati said, 'if I give you my strength what will I be (what will be left of me), *kaḥ syam.* Indra said you will be *ka* only. Since then Prajāpati came to be known as 'Ka'.

There is a very interesting episode in the 33rd Chapter of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.* King Hariścandra of the Ikṣvāku family had a number of queens but none of them bore him a son. Once he spoke to Nārada about it who asked him to worship Varuṇa. The worship meets with success. He gets a son whom he names Rohita. There is, however, one condition. The son will have to be sacrificed to Varuṇa when the time comes. Varuṇa started asking Hariścandra to fulfil the condition but the latter continued postponing it. Time passed. Rohita grew into a young man. Varuṇa's patience was wearing thin. He gave an ultimatum. The time of sacrifice was approaching. Rohita in scare repaired to a forest and engaged himself in meditation on Varuṇa who getting annoyed with Hariścandra inflicted the disease of dropsy on him. Coming to know of his father's disease Rohita felt very bad. He tried many times to come back to him. Every time he

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did so, Indra, in the guie of a Brāhmaṇa, turned him back. When the king's disease became terminal, Rohita could not control himself and unmindful of anything else just turned back. As he was on the way he met with the sage Ajīgarta who was extremely poor. He had three sons. Rohita gave him hundred cows and had from him his son Śunaḥśepa to serve as his proxy at the sacrifice. He brought him to the royal court. The ceremony for his sacrifice *(bali)* began. Now the question was as to who was to tie him to a sacrificial pole. For this nobody came forward. Ajīgarta was offered another herd of hundred cows and he tied his son to the pole. Now was the question as to who was to strike him with a sword. A gift of another herd of hundred cows and Ajīgarta got ready to strike down his son. Noticing his father rushing towards him with a sword in hand, Śunaḥśepa got scared. He prostrated before Prajāpati who advised him to worship Agni, he being the foremost of the gods. Agni told him to worship Savitṛ who told him to approach Varuṇa, he alone being charged for awarding punishment for offences. Varuṇa told him to approach Agni who in turn asked him to approach Viśve devāḥ, all the gods who in turn asked him to approach Indra. This met with success. Indra gave him his golden chariot. Śunaḥśepa was released of all bonds and earned for himself Indraloka. Rohita prayed to Indra to cure his father who was in the grip of the dreaded disease. Indra told him to pray to Aśvin duo which he did with the result that the king was completely cured and was restored back to his normal health.

The above episode is very important both from the point of view of mythology and sociology, mythology, because it shows the pre-eminence of Indra that he had acquired among all the gods, every god pointing to the other god for redemption till the buck stopped at him, and sociology as to how a poor Brāhmaṇa, a *ṛṣi* at that, could be bribed successively to part with his son in exchange for a prince to be offered as a proxy to Varuṇa, he even readying himself to slaughter him, a task none among the people assembled was willing to undertake, and the deity in all

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cruelty agreeing to accept him as an offering in place of the prince ! The story stops, as far as Śunaḥśepa is concerned, at the golden chariot making its appearance in the assembly and his (Sunaḥśepa's) repairing to Indraloka. He is said to have been absolved of all the bonds. The poor fellow is not freed but transported to a different world to enjoy its bounties!

The Brāhmaṇa texts record two paths. *mārgas*, for the dead, the pitṛyāna, the path of the manes and the devayāna, the path of the gods. There is emphasis in them on attaining heaven with the performance of the sacrifices. To have a son was the prime consideration of the people at that time. There is a clear statement in them that there is no *loka*, the place where he is to go after death, for him who does not have a son, *nāputrasya loko 'sti* . A son is needed for the offering of obsequial rice-balls, *piṇḍa-dāna*, after death. It looks the people in the time of the Saṁhitās were more concerned with life here, they prayed for riches, *rāyaspoṣam*, milch cows, bumper crops while in the time of the Brāhmaṇa texts they had come to think more of life hereafter. This was in keeping with the spirit of the *yajñas*, they serving as means to go to heaven—*agniṣṭomena yajeta svargakāmaḥ*, "one who aspires for heaven should perform Agniṣṭoma".

As remarked earlier, the Brāhmaṇa texts are full of information about a number of things. There is something of science too. The sun, the moon, the higher regions, the mid-regions, the earth—all are round, they say: *parimaṇḍala ādityaḥ, parimaṇḍalaś candramāḥ, parimaṇḍalā dyauḥ, parimaṇḍalam antarikṣam, parimaṇḍalā iyam pṛthivī*, the knowledge that the West came to acquire much later and that too after a great struggle.

Being active is what the Brāhmaṇa texts preach. Says the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, one who is active attains excellence (lit. honey), he gets the delicious udumbara fruit. Behold the exertion of the sun who does not tire even while on the move. (So) do move on:

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caran vai madhu vindati caran svādum udumbaram/
sūryasya paśya śremāṇaṁ yo na tandrayate caran, caraiveti
(33.3.6)

Emphasizing an active life it further says that the fate of the one who sits gets stationary, of the one who stands up it stands up, of the one who sleeps, it sleeps, of the one who moves, it moves. (So) move on:

āste bhaga āsīnasya ūrdhvas tiṣṭhati tiṣṭhataḥ/
śete nipadyamānasya carati carato bhagaś caraiveti//
(33.3.3)

It compares a sleeing person to Kaliyuga, to the one got up (from sleep) to Dvāpara, the one standing to Tretā and the one moving on to Kṛta(yuga), so move on:

Kaliḥ śayāno bhavati saṁjihānas to Dvāparaḥ/
uttiṣṭhaṁs Tretā bhavati kṛtaṁ sampadyate caraṁś caraiveti/

The position of women seems to have been fairly good in the time of the Brāhmaṇa texts. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of wife as friend, *sakhā ha jāyā*. She has to be by the side of the husband at the time of the sacrifice. If she is no more, *śraddhā*, faith has to be accepted as wife for the purpose of performing sacrifice. Says the Brāhmaṇa; *apatnīkaḥ katham agnihotraṁ juhoti*, how is a person whose wife is not with him to perform a sacrifice. The answer is *śraddhā patnī, satyaṁ yajamānaḥ, śraddhā satyaṁ tad ity ubhayam mithunam*," *śraddhā* is wife and *satya*, truth the sacrificer. Both these form a couple". The significance of the above statement needs to be properly grasped here. The position is that a sacrifice is no sacrifice without wife, *ayajña eṣa yo 'patnīkaḥ*. But what has a person to do if he has lost her. It is the faith that even though she is not present physically but is present spiritually tantamounts to her presence. In no case has the sacrifice to be given up because the wife does not accompany the husband who has organized it. The presence

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has not to be counted in visible form, it could well be in the invisible form as well. This faith itself that the wife is present will act as the wife.

Description of the Brāhmaṇas

Brāhmaṇas of *Ṛgveda*

There are two of them, the *Aitareya* and *Kauṣītaki* (also called *Śāṅkhāyana)*. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,* as available now, has forty Adhyāyas which are divided in eight groups of five Adhyāyas each called Pañcakas. Its author and compiler is Aitareya Mahīdāsa. According to Sāyaṇa he was the son of a Śudra maid Itarā. This gave him one part of his name. Itarā worshipped the earth. Through her grace he became a scholar. This gave him the second part of his name Mahīdāsa. With both parts joined he came to be called Aitareya Mahīdāsa.

This Brāhmaṇa mainly describes the Soma sacrifice. Adhyāyas 1—16 deal with the Somayāga called Agniṣṭoma to be completed in a day. Adhyāyas 16 and 17 describe the Somayāga called Gavāmayana to be completed in 360 days. Adhyayas 19—24 describe Somayāga called Dvādaśāha to be completed in 12 days. Adhyāya 25 lays down the rules for expiation for any lapse or impropriety, and the duties of priests conducting the sacrifices. Adhyāyas 26—30 speak of the family priests, the Kula-purohitas. Adhyāyas 30—40 deal with royal coronation, the position of the royal priest and his rights. Scholars take these Adhyāyas to be later interpolations on the basis of their distinct contents that do not go with those of the first 30 Adhyāyas and on the basis of their language and style. There are forms in the work which have resonance with classical Sanskrit. Moreover the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* which is closer to this Brāhmaṇa (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa)* makes no reference to the matter dealt with in these Adhyāyas.

The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* carries Bhāṣyas by Govindasvāmin and Sāyaṇa.

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The other Brāhmaṇa on the *Ṛgveda*, the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* has close connection with the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. It has 30 Adhyāyas of which the first six deal with such activities as the piling of the sacrificial wood, *agnicayana*, the lighting of that pile, *agnyādhāna* and such sacrifices as Darśa and Paurṇamāsa. Adhyāyas 7 to 30 deal with the Soma sacrifices much in the same way as does the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* with the difference that the descriptions of these sacrifices in it are a little more detailed than those in the former. Kauṣītaka, the son of the seer Kuṣītaka is its author. Vināyaka Paṇḍita, the son of Mādhava has written a Bhāṣya on it.

Brāhmaṇas of *Yajurveda*

The Brāhmaṇas of the *Maitrāyaṇī* and the *Kāṭhaka* Saṁhitās of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* are in a way their spplements. The Brāhmaṇa of the Āpastamba and the Āitareya recensions, Śākhās, is an independent treatise called the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*. It has 3 parts, 25 Prapāṭhakas and 304 Anuvākas which describe the human sacrifice, *puruṣamedha* and the caste system and the stages of life, *varṇāśramavyavasthā*. Sāyaṇa and Bhāskara have written Bhāṣyas on it.

The *Śukla Yajureda* has two recensions, *Mādhyandina* and *Kāṇva*. Each of them has its own Brāhmaṇa which goes by the name *Śatapatha*. These Śatapathas, even though having the same subject, differ in the order of descriptions and the number of Adhyāyas. The *Mādhyandina Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* has 14 Kāṇḍas, 100 Adhyāyas, 68 Prapāṭhakas, 438 Brāhmaṇas, and 7624 Kaṇḍikās. The *Kāṇva* recension does not have the Prapāṭhakas. It has 17 Kāṇḍas, 104 Adhyāyas, 435 Brāhmaṇas, and 6806 Kaṇḍikās. The first five Kāṇḍas and the fourteenth Kāṇḍa are said to have been authored by Śāṇḍilya while the rest of the Kāṇḍas are authored by Yājñavalkya. The *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* carries the subject matter of the first Adhyāya of the *Mādhyandina Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in the second Adhyāya and that of its second Adhyaya in the first Adhyāya. In this way there is a lot of inversion of the order.

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The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* occupies a very prominent place among the Brāhmaṇa texts. It has a number of episodes, interesting and educative, some of which have great historical significance. The episode of Deluge for its sheer novelty of narration bears reproduction here. Once Manu was washing his hands to get ready for the sacrifice. A fish jumped into his hand. Manu took pity on it and took it as a pet. The fish grew up in the course of time. Feeling obliged to him for the care that he was bestowing on him, the fish one day said to him, O Manu, there is going to be a Deluge after some time. This will wash away the entire creation. Before it overtakes, you with my help climb the highest peak of the mountain. You will be safe. Everything happened the way the fish had said. Nothing of the creation was left except Manu who felt forlorn. But he continued engaging himself in sacrifice. Through that there appeared a girl called Iḍā. Manu begot children on her. In this way a new creation came into being. The episode points to the belief that at the end of each aeon (Kalpa) there is partial annihilation of a big segment of creation, Khāṇḍa-pralaya. God then incarnates himself as a human being. He creates a woman through austerities. And then starts the cycle of creation.

The basic idea behind the flood legend reproduced above is the same as that of the Puruṣa-sūkta of the *Ṛgveda*. There the primeval man reduces himself to ashes in the sacrifice and with his remains sanctified by sacrifice creates the different elements and objects of the world. In the *Śatapatha* legend Manu does not burn himself to ashes in the sacrificial fire but pours nourishing oblation in the fire which produces a girl of the name of Iḍā (literal meaning nourishing element).

The flood legend is met with in the literatures of a number of countries. In India it first occurs in the *Śatapatha* from where it gets transformed and appears in new garb in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. In the latter Viṣṇu replaces Manu who taking Mārkaṇḍeya in the cavity of his stomach makes him see the whole world in its all-encompassing form.

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The American archaeologists in the course of excavations at Nippur had come across a form of the episode which might have been inscribed by Emperor Hammurabi. More well-known is the Gilmagesh episode of 688 B.C. In this episode an ancestor Umnapishtam of Gilgamesh narrates the flood legend. This Babylonian legend is in all probability the source for the flood legend appearing in the *Genesis*. The world being submerged in deluge is common enough motif in legends in Persia, Greece, Lithuania, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Bali, Phillipines and so on. Frazer has dealt with them all at length in his book *Flood Legends in New Testament.*

Of other notable episodes in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mention may be made of the episode of Purūravas and Urvaśī to which reference has already been made, the Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā episode, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra episode and Vāṇī and Soma episodes. Some of these episodes were adopted as themes for their works by later writers like Kālidāsa who took up the Duṣyanta-Śakuntalā episode for delineation in his *Abhijñānaśākuntala*. His *Vikramorvaśīya* also is inspired by the Purūravas-Urvaśī episode of this *Brāhmaṇa*.

It was in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* that there is mention the first time of the great exponents of Sāṁkhya philosophy like Kurupati Janamejaya and of kings with Janaka as the title. It is again the first time that the words like Arhat, Śramaṇa and Pratibuddha in use in Buddhist literature meet the eye though their conventional meaning they came to acquire later.

Brāhmaṇas of Sāmaveda

Sāmaveda has nine Brāhmaṇas : *Tāṇḍya, Ṣaḍviṁśa, Sāmavidhāna, Ārṣeya, Daivata, Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, Saṁhitopaniṣad, Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa,* and *Jaimīniya Brāhmaṇa.*

Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa

It is the main Brāhmaṇa of the *Sāmaveda.* It is called Tāṇḍya because it is connected with its recension called Taṇḍi. Since it

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is divided in 25 Adhyāyas, it is also called *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*. Because of its bulk it also is called *Mahā Brāhmaṇa* or *Prauḍha Brāhmaṇa*. It describes sacrifices that can be completed in one day or go on upto a thousand years. It is notable for its episodes and information about contemporary social life. There is mention in its 33rd Adhyāya of the Vrātya sacrifice to help the Vrātyas integrate in Aryan society by uplifting them to be at par with them.

The *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* is a part of the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*. It is divided in five Prapāṭhakas. Its fifth Prapāṭhaka is called *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa* because it prescribes propitiatory rites for such public calamities as earthquake, the appearance of unseasonal fruits and flowers and such unusual happenings as sinking of a female elephant, a mule becomimg pregnant which give an idea of the then prevailing beliefs.

The subject matter of *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* is different from that of the other extant Brāhmaṇa texts. It prescribes the singing of the appropriate Sāmans and performing rites and ceremonies for alleviating the evil effects of public calamities. It has three Prakaraṇas.

The *Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa* is divided in three Prapāṭhakas and 82 Khaṇḍas. It records the names of the *ṛṣis* who invented Sāmans. It differentiates between the Sāmayoni Ṛks and the Sāmans. This Brāhmaṇa, therefore, has its great utility in scientific study of the Sāma-singing.

The Daivata Brāhmaṇa has three parts of which the first one has 26, the second 11 and the third 25 Kaṇḍikās which describe the deities, and the castes respectively. The third Khaṇḍa is important from the linguistic standpoint in view of the many original and authentic etymologies it offers.

The *Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* has ten Prapāṭhakas and includes in its body two works the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa* and the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, the former comprising two Prapāṭhakas with

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each divided in eight Khaṇḍas that comprise a collection of Mantras to be used in the Gṛhya ceremonies. Śaṅkarācārya in his *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya* quotes both from the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa* and the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* and connects them with the Tāṇḍya recension. *Chāndogyopaniṣad* constitutes the last eight Prapāṭhakas of the *Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa.*

The *Saṁhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* is a small Brāhmaṇa text which has five Khaṇḍas that describe the impact of the Sāman-singing and the mutual relationship between Sāma and the Sāmayoni Mantras.

The *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* is a record of the genealogies of the Ācāryas of the Sāmaveda

The Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, like the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* is a bulky work useful for understanding the sacrificial ritual. The *Gāyatryupaniṣad* is a part of it.

Brāhmaṇa of Atharvaveda

The *Atharvaveda* has only one Brāhmaāa, the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.* It is divided in two parts, the Pūrva Gopatha and the Uttara Gopatha, the former having five Prapāṭhakas and the latter six. Prapāṭhakas are divided in Kaṇḍikās which number 258. The first Prapāṭhaka of the Pūrva Gopatha describes the power of Om and Gāyatrī. The second Prapāṭhaka lays down rules for a Brahmacārin, the third the duties of the priests who conduct the sacrifice, the fourth their initiation and the fifth the Saṁvatsara-satra and other miscellaneous sacrifices.

Gopatha Brāhmaṇa is generally accepted to be a later work. The *Nirukta* quotes it.

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8

ĀRAṆYAKAS

Deived from the word *araṇya,* 'forest', the Āraṇyaka means the text which was studied and taught in a forest. That is how Sāyaṇa explains it:

araṇyādhyayanād etad āraṇyakam itīryate/
araṇye tad adhīyetety evaṁ vākyam pracakṣyate//
(*Taittirīyāraṇyakabhāṣya*, verse 6)

Āraṇyakas follow the Brāhmaṇas. The Upaniṣads follow the Āraṇyakas. The Āraṇyakas, as can be seen from the order, form the link between the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. There are two strands, the ritualistic and the philosophical, termed Karmakāṇḍa and Jñānakāṇḍa. The Brāhmaṇas represent the ritualistic while the Upaniṣads the philosophical. The Āraṇyakas represent both. They form the last leg of the Brāhmaṇas and the first leg of the Upaniṣads. While the Brāhmaṇas deal with the sacrifices, their rituals and ceremonies which a householder is enjoined to perform, the Āraṇyakas deal with the sacrifices, the austerities and other such activities of the Vānaprastha stage of life. But the Āraṇyakas are not just the ritual texts for the sacrificial rites for the Vānasprasthins, they have in them the spiritual explanation of the sacrifices and philosophical thinking as well. The quest for the Supreme Self and the high philosophy

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that evolved in the Upaniṣads have their roots in the Āraṇyaka texts.

Normally it is expected that the number of Āraṇyakas should match that of the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. But that is not the case. Not all the Āraṇyakas are found at present as are not all the Brāhmaṇas and the recensions of the Saṁhitās. Only eight Āraṇyakas are available now : the *Aitareya* and the *Sāṅkhāyana* Āraṇyakas of the *Ṛgveda;* the *Jaiminīyopaniṣadāraṇyaka* and the *Chandogyāraṇyaka* of the *Sāmaveda;* the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka,* the *Kāṇva Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Mādhyandina Bṛhadāraṇyaka* of the *Śukla Yajurveda* and the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda.* There is no Āraṇyaka of the *Atharvaveda.* Probably no need was felt for it for the *Atharvaveda* is primarily concerned with matters material.

The Āraṇyakas comprised that knowledge whose transmission was considered harmful to the uninitiated. The Knowledge was meant only for the forest-dwelling sages and seers. Probably it was too much for the ordinary householders who needed to have first the proper mindset to grasp it. Karmakāṇḍa was yielding place to the Jñānakāṇḍa. And that came with the Upaniṣads.

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9

UPANIṢADS

Life of a human being can broadly be divided in two, the first when he grows, receives education, acquires skill in arts and vocations, engages himself in some vocation or the other, marries, raises family, settles it and the second when he thinks of leading a retired life when he would have time to think of something spiritual, the mystery whose name is life. He seeks to delve deep into this mystery. Thoughts start crowding in his mind. He wants answers to questions that trouble him. Who could be that person who could provide answers to those questions? He mulls and finding that there are some realized souls approaches them, listens to their discourses; has discussions with them; seeks enlightenment from them. All his life he had been chasing matters ephemeral. He has found that they are illusory. He wants to be transported from non-existence to existence, from darkness to light and from mortality to immortality. The Upaniṣads provide him that which he would have got from the *ṛṣis* in direct contact for they contain the essence of what his ancestors thousands of years back had got with that direct contact. And then he decides to turn to them to satisfy his spiritual quest.

The knowledge that the ancestors of modern man had acquired through direct contact with the sages and seers, the realized souls is embodied in the Upaniṣads. The word Upaniṣad

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is a combination of three components *upa, ni* and *sad* of which the first two are prepositions and the last the root. It means literally 'to sit,' *sad*, (mark the Indo-European connection—*sit<sad)* steadfastly (*niścayena*) or in all faith (*niṣṭhayā*) near, *upa* the master who is to transmit the most secret of the secret knowledge, *guhyād guhyataraṁ jñānam*, the *rahasya*, the word that has given a new name to the Upaniṣad–the Upaniṣad is also called Rahasya—apart from the third one the Vedānta, forming as they do the last part of the Vedic lore (*Vedānteṣu yam āhur ekapuruṣam*).

Pāṇiniś *Dhātu-pāṭha* records three meanings of √*sad* the third component of *upaniṣad*; *ṣadḷ* (*sad*) *viśaraṇagatyavasādaneṣu* each one of which the connoisseurs have shown to go well one way or the other with the spirit, the purpose, the thrust of the Upaniṣadic texts. Viśaraṇa means 'to be broken to pieces', 'to be destroyed'. The Upaniṣads contain in them that knowledge that destroys ignorance. The second meaning is *gati* which means 'to obtain', 'to know'. Upaniṣads are the ones by which one is able to know, to realize Brahman, the Supreme Reality. *Avasādana* means 'to get loosened'. Upaniṣad is that by which sorrows get loosened, i.e. they lose their grip. Taking all these three meanings together Śaṅkarācārya explains Upaniṣad as that knowledge which destroys ignorance, helps in the realization of Brahman and helps overcome sorrows.

The following are the three traditional explanations of Upaniṣad:

i. nihanty avidyāṁ tajjaṁ ca tasmād upaniṣad bhavet.

It destroys ignorance and what goes (lit. arises from) with it—so it is upaniṣad :

ii. nihatyānarthamūlaṁ tv avidyāṁ pratyaktayā param/
nayaty apāstasaṁbhedam ato vopaniṣad bhavet//

That which completely destroys, throws away, smashing to smithereens ignorance which is the root cause of evils—that could be the reason why Upaniṣad is called so.

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iii. *pravṛttihetūṅ niḥśeṣāṅs tanmūlocchedakatvataḥ/*
yato 'vasādayed vidyāṁ tasmād upaniṣad bhavet//

That which roots out all the causes that propel one to engage in worldly activities and imparts (true) knowledge—that could be the reason as to why Upaniṣad is called so.

The Upaniṣads are connected with one Veda or the other.

Number of Upaniṣads

According to the *Muktikopaniṣad* the Upaniṣads are 108 in number. The Upaniṣad records their names as well. Of the 108 ten are connected with the *Ṛgveda*, nineteen with the *Śukla Yajurveda*, twelve with the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*, sixteen with the *Sāmaveda* and thirty one with the *Atharvaveda*. The Adyar Library, Madras has brought out a collection of Upaniṣads in several volumes. This collection has 189 Upaniṣads. The *Upaniṣadvākyamahākośa* has the names of 223 Upaniṣads. There is difference of opinion about the number of early Upaniṣads. Up to the time of Śaṅkara, Vācaspatimiśra and Rāmānuja it was thirty. By the time of Śaṅkarānanda, the author of the Dīpikā and Nārāyaṇa (12—14th cen. A.D.) it got doubled. In this period itself a collection of the Upaniṣads connected with the three Vedas was prepared which also included 52 Upaniṣads of the *Atharvaveda*. The Śaivites, the Vaiṣṇavites and the Śāktas wrote their own Upaniṣads for the propagation of their ideology for one and lending dignity to that for the other. In this way the number of Upaniṣads went up and up.

The ten Upaniṣads on which Śaṅkarācārya wrote his *Bhāṣya* are:

Īśa-kena-kaṭha-praśna-muṇḍa-māṇḍūkya-tittirīḥ/
Aitareyaṁ ca chāndogyaṁ bṛhadāraṇyakaṁ daśa//

These ten are attached to different Vedas as per the table:

Īśa	Yajurveda
Kena	Sāmaveda
Kaṭha	Yajurveda

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Muṇḍaka	Atharvaveda
Māṇḍūkya	Atharvaveda
Praśna	Atharvaveda
Aitareya	Ṛgveda
Taittirīya	Yajurveda
Chāndogya	Sāmaveda
Bṛhadāraṇyaka	Yajurveda

These ten Upanisads are taken to be the oldest and the most authentic. Apart from these the *Kauṣītaki*, the *Śvetāśvatara* and the *Maitrāyaṇīya* Upaniṣads are also counted among the old ones. Of these three Śaṅkarācārya has quoted from the first two in his *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya*. Though there is Bhāṣya on the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* which goes by the name of *Śāṅkarabhāṣya*, it is written not by the first (Ādya) Śaṅkarācārya but by some later one who bore the title.

The description of the thirteen Upaniṣads considered to be the principal ones is as under:

Īśopaniṣad

It forms the 40th Adhyāya of the *Mādhyandina* recension of the *Śukla Yajurveda*. It derives its name from the first component of the first word in its first verse *īśa; īśāvāsyam idaṁ sarvam*. A small Upaniṣad it has just 18 stanzas. The very first stanza sums up its philosophy. Whatever is in this world is covered with the Supreme Power. The Upaniṣad addresses the problem of human existence and its harmonization with the Reality of Immutable Brahman.

Kenopaniṣad

The ninth Adhyāya of the Brāhmaṇa text of *Jaiminīya* recension of the *Sāmaveda* is the *Kenopaniṣad*. Like the *Īśopaniṣad* it derives its name from the first word *kena* with which it starts—*keneṣiaṁ patati*. On the basis of its recension it is also called *Tavalakāra Upaniṣad*. It has four Khaṇḍas, divisions. The first

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Khaṇḍa is devoted to differentiating the Brahman with attributes, *saguṇa* and the Brahman without attribute, *nirguṇa*. The second Khaṇḍa describes the mystical form of Brahman. The third and the fourth Khaṇḍas have the interesting episode of Umā Haimavatī (treated under the section Upaniṣadic Episodes) which underlines the all-powerfulness of the Supreme Reality, Parabrahman and the limited power of the gods.

Kaṭhopaniṣad

This is connected with the *Kaṭha* recension of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*. It has two Adhyāyas divided in three Vallis each. It has the beautiful episode of Naciketas and Yama through which the knowledge of the Supreme Brahman is imparted.

Praśnopaniṣad

This Upaniṣad comprises the answers by the sage Pippalāda of the questions of six sages, Sukeśa, the son of Bharadvāja; Satyavān, the son of Śivi; Āśvalāyana, the resident of Kosala; Bhārgava of Vidarbha, Kātyayāna and Kabandhī. Since it is in the form of questions and answers, it is called *Praśnopaniṣad*. The questions are about the comimg into being of people, the deities that sustain them, the coming into being of the vital airs, their entry into and the exit from the body, sleep, awakening, dreams, the worship of Om and the attainment of the Lokas thereby, a person endowed with sixteen kalās and so on. Akṣara-Brahman is said here to be the mainstay of the world.

Muṇḍakopaniṣad

It has three Muṇḍakas with two parts in each. The origin of the creation and the discussion on Brahman, the Supreme Reality is its subject matter. It carries some influence of Sāṁkhya and Vedānta thought. The word Vedānta occurs the very first time in this Upaniṣad (3.2.6).The main Mantra of Dualism 'dvā

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suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā samānaṁ vṛkṣaṁ pariṣasvajate' (3.1.1) occurs in this Upanisad.

Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad

It has 12 Khaṇḍas or Vākyas. It has minute discussion on Om and Catuṣpād Ātman. Gauḍapādācārya has written Kārikās on it which are divided in four parts. His work is called *Māṇḍūkyakārikā.*

Taittirīyopaniṣad

Prapāṭhakas seven to nine of the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* are called *Taittirīyopaniṣad.* These three Prapāṭhakas are called Śikṣāvalli, Brahmānandavalli and Bhṛguvalli respectively. The Śikṣāvalli highlights the importance of Om and records religious rituals. The well-known parting advice of the teacher to his pupil on the completion of his education when he is to leave to lead a householder's life [it can very well match the present day Convocation Address] occurs in this Valli. The Brahmānandavalli deals with the Brahmavidyā. In the Bhṛguvalli there is reference to and explanation of the 'Pañcakośa-viveka', the primary means for the realization of Brahman in the form of a dialogue between Varuṇa and Bhṛgu.

Aitareyopaniṣad

The portion from the fourth to the sixth Adhyāyas in the second Āraṇyaka of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* is called *Aitareyopaniṣad.* In its three Adhyāyas it discusses Creation, Jīva and Brahman respectively. Its first Adhyāya has two parts while Adhyāyas two and three have one part each.

Chāndogyopaniṣad

It is connected with the *Kauthuma* recension of the *Sāmaveda.* It has eight Adhyāyas or Prapāṭhakas of which the last three are particularly noteworthy for the spiritual knowledge. The first

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two Adhyāyas have discussion in them of the different lores, Sāman, Udgitha, Om and the like and the description of the three stages of life, Brahmacarya, Gṛhastha and Vānaprastha. The third Adhyāya has the description of the worship of the sun in the form of Devamadhu, the Gāyatrī, the instruction to Kṛṣṇa in spiritualism by Ghora Āṅgirasa (3.117). This very Adhyāya has the well-known assertion of Advaita that 'all this is Brahman,' *sarvaṁ ḳhalv idaṁ brahma*. The fourth Adhyāya has Raikva's philosophy, the story of Satyakāma Jābāla (4.4.9) and the acquisition of the knowledge about Brahman by Upakosala from Satyakāma Jābāla and so on. Fifth Adhyāya has the discussion on Jaibali's philosophy and the cosmological views of Kekaya Aśvapati. The seventh Adhyāya reproduces the view of the sage Āruṇi about unity into which all diversity dissolves itself. The seventh Adhyāya recounts the story of Nārada approaching Sanatkumāra for acquiring spiritual knowledge. Eighth Adhyāya has the story of Indra and Virocana. It also details the practical means of self-realization.

Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad

It is the biggest Upaniṣad. The last six Adhyāyas of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* constitute the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*. As the name itself shows there is an admixture in it of both the Āraṇyaka and the Upaniṣad. The Upaniṣad portion is bigger than the Āraṇyaka portion. The Upaniṣad has six Adhyāyas. The first Adhyāya has the story where the destruction of all the objects, the excellence of the vital breath and the cosmological principles are described. The second Adhyāya has the interesting dialogue between the proud Gārgya and the fully composed Ajātaśatru, the ruler of Kāśī. This Adhyāya has also the story of Yājñavalkya dividing his property between his wives Kātyāyanī and Maitreyī and repairing to the forest. The third Adhyāya describes the defeat by Yājñavalkya of all the exponents of Brahman in the royal court of Janaka while the following one, the fourth one describes

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the acquisition of knowledge of Brahman by Janaka from Yājñavalkya. The fifth Adhyāya has miscellaneous matter which includes ethics, cosmology and the other world. The sixth Adhyāya contains the philosophical dialogue between Pravahaṇa Jaibali and Śvetaketu Āruṇeya in the course of which the former explains the Pañcāgnividyā.

Śvetāśvataropaniṣad

A part of the *Śvetāśvatara Brāhmaṇa* is the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*. It has six Adhyāyas and 110 verses. The purpose of it seems to be to expound Śaivism. The second Adhyāya carries a lucid explanation of Yoga. Adhyāyas 3—5 explain the Śaiva and Sāṁkhya doctrines. In Adhyaya 6 there is description of the greatness of devotion to Guru. In many places Śiva is delineated as the highest principle. It appears that the Upaniṣad had come into being in the period when the Sāṁkhya and Vedānta doctrines had not got separated and a mixed form of both was in vogue. Sāṁkhya at that time was theistic and the Māyā theory of Vedānta had not made its appearance.

Kauṣītakyupaniṣad

The third and the sixth Adhyāyas of the *Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka* are called *Kauṣītakyupaniṣad*. In volume it comes next to the *Chāndogya* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣads*. It has four Adhyāyas. The first Adhyāya deals with the Devayāna and the Pitṛyāna. Second and third Adhyāyas have philosophical discussions. In the third Adhyāya Pratardana is shown receiving instruction from Indra about Brahman.

Maitrī or Maitrāyaṇyupaniṣad

The Upaniṣad is in prose with an occasional sprinkling of a verse here or a verse there. It has eight Prapāṭhakas. It gives in a nutshell the main points of the Upaniṣadic philosophy and the main doctrines of such orthodox systems as Sāṁkhya and Yoga

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and the unorthodox ones as Buddhism. Yoga of this Upaniṣad is Ṣaḍaṅga, of six forms, which was later developed by Patañjali as Aṣṭāṅga Yoga. Haṭha Yoga too figures in it. It is a comparatively later Upaniṣad because it includes in it excerpts from the *Īśa, Kena, Muṇḍaka, Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and other Upaniṣads.

Episodes in the Upaniṣads—The Method for Introducing High Philosophy

It is human nature that but for some enlightened souls, there is general indifference towards subjects abstruse and abstract. Realizing this the sages and seers, the thinkers and philosophers of the ancient times made liberal use of tales or fables to drive home their abstruse precepts. These tales are a queer mix of real, imaginary, mystical, supernatural. They thus have far greater appeal than the ordinary tales. With interest generated by the contents and sustained by the particular mode of story-telling, the listener's mind gets attuned to absorbing what is to come— the nectar of knowledge that would uplift him from the ordinary plane and transport him to the spiritual. The story acts as the transiting mechanism for this. Some of them do it with a vengeance.

Nacicetas-Yama Episode

There was a sage, the son of Vājaśravas (Name Uddālaka Āruṇi) who wanted to perform a sacrifice (Viśvajit) to earn for himself name and fame. The condition of the sacrifice was that one wanting to perform it had to give away his entire property. A poor Brāhmaṇa, he had with him only cows emaciated, dry, and barren. He was giving them away in charity. He had a son Naciketas who noticing this and filled with filial anxiety that such hollow gifts lead only to joyless worlds approached his father and thinking himself to be his property that could also be given away, enquired of him as to whom he could give him.

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Thinking the question to be too silly to be answered, he kept quiet. The young one repeated the question. To this too there was no reponse. He repeated the question the third time. Now this was too much for the father. He burst out in anger "Unto death I give thee" *mṛtyave tvā dadāni*. The young innocent lad could not make out as to what Death, God Yama, had to do with him. He went to him. The god was away. The young one waited at his house for three nights without food. On return when the god noticed the young one, a Brāhmaṇa at that, with no food for three nights, he was filled with remorse. As recompense for the trouble he had underwent he offered him three boons. The first boon the young one asked was that his father should have his anger subsided and that he should receive him, freed from the jaws of death, *mṛtyumukhāt pramuktam*, in all happiness. Yama granted this boon. The second was related to the explanation of some mystic fire-sacrifice. Yama told him all about it, the number of bricks to be placed on the altar and the Mantras to be recited for the sacrifice. Naciketas repeated exactly what Yama had told him which pleased him to the extent that he said that thenceforth the sacrifice and the sacrificial fire would be known after him. Now was the time for the third boon. Naciketas said that there is doubt about the dead person. Some say that he exists, some say he does not, *astītyeke nāyam astīti caike* Naciketas wants a definite answer about this. Yama first evades the answer. He wants to dissuade him by tempting him with all kinds of allurements, which fail to deflect him from his resolve to know the answer. Ultimately Yama yields. It is here that the philosophy comes in. Yama tells the young one that death does not mean the end. The soul is deathless, eternal, permanent. One has to concentrate on it, the Puruṣa, the Supreme Person, who is far greater than the manifest and the unmanifest as it is the synthesis of both integrally.

"That great Immanence is speechless and touchless and formless and deathless. It has neither beginning nor end. It is

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smaller than the smallest and bigger than the biggest. It is the great truth, the great Reality. One who knows this goes beyond death."

Yājñavalkya-Gārgī Vācaknavī Episode

King Janaka organized a sacrifice to which he invited great scholars. He wanted to utilize the occasion for discussion on some high points of thought. He had a thousand cows stationed with gold coin fastened to each of their horns near the venue of the sacrifice as prize for one who would prove himself as the best among knowers of Brahman, *brahmiṣṭha*. He could carry them away. Nobody had the heart to start the discussion. Yājñavalkya then asked his pupil Somaśravas to take away the herd which he did. The (other) Brāhmaṇas present in the assembly took offence at this. Āśvala, the priest of Janaka asked Yājñavalkya "Do you think you are the best among those who know Brahman?" "No," said Yājñavalkya, "but I would bow to him who knows it." Āśvala put to him a number of questions about Vedic sacrifices, the way they are performed, the Mantras that are relevant to them, the deities to whom they are dedicated which all he answered correctly. Then a few other Brāhmaṇas mustered courage to ask similar questions. They were also answered satisfactorily. There was silence again. Then arose a lady, Gārgī Vācaknavī, who asked the sage "all things are pervaded by water. By what is water pervaded?" "By wind" said the sage. And then start questions and answers flying thick and fast :

Q By what is wind pervaded?
A. By mid-regions.
Q. By which are pervaded the mid-regions?
A. By Gandharvalokas.
Q. By which are pervaded Gandharvalokas?
A. By Ādityalokas.

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Q. By which are pervaded Ādityalokas?
A. By Candralokas.
Q. By which are pervaded Candralokas?
A. By Nakṣatralokas.
Q. By which are pervaded Nakṣatralokas?
A. By Devalokas.
Q. By which are pervaded Devalokas?
A. By Indralokas.
Q. By which are pervaded Indralokas?
A. By Prajāpatilokas.
Q. By which are pervaded Prajapatilokas?
A. By Brahmalokas.
Q. By which are pervaded Brahmalokas?

By this time Yājñavalkya's patience wore thin. He told the lady "Do not ask me too much (too many questions) (*mā 'tiprākṣīḥ*). Her head would split (*mūrdhā te vidalişyati)*, said he. She was asking questions about a deity about whom not many questions need to be asked (*anatipraśnyā devatā*). There are certain things that cannot be explained through words. It is esoteric knowledge wherefrom speech turns back *(yato vāco nivartante)*. The lady was quiet for a while afraid to incur the wrath of the sage but got up agin to ask questions, just the two, this time with the permission of the Brāhmaṇas, thinking that that may not enrage the sage. Her question: By what is pervaded that which is up the heaven and below the earth, yet in between the heaven and the earth—that which is past, present and future?" "By Ākāśa", ether, said the sage. "And what is finer than Ākāśa, that pervads the ether itself", asked the lady. "By the All-supreme Spirit, the creator and supporter of all things, the all-pervading and the immanent without beginning and without end," replied the sage. At this Gārgī admitted defeat and addressing the assembly said "none of us can defeat this great sage". Everybody was all appreciation of the courage of Gārgī to stand up against the mighty *ṛşi*!

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Umā Haimavatī episode

The deities overcame Brahman. That went in their head. They thought it was their victory, it was their prowess. Brahman came to know of their pride. He appeared before them in the form of a Yakṣa. They could not make out as to who he was. They asked Agni (fire) to find out as to who he was. Agni rushed to him. The Yakṣa asked him as to who he was. Agni said he was Agni, the Jātavedas. "What is your prowess," asked the Yakṣa. "I can burn all that is on the earth", said Agni. The Yakṣa placed before him a straw and said "burn it". Agni rushed towards it in force but could not burn it. The dities then asked Vāyu (Wind) to find out as to who he was. Vāyu rushed to him. The Yakṣa asked him as to who he was. Vāyu said he was Vāyu, the Mātariśvan. "What is your prowess", asked the Yakṣa. "I can sweep away everything that is on the earth", said Vāyu. The Yakṣa placed a straw before him and asked him to sweep it away which he could not. The gods then approached Indra to find out as to who he was. When Indra came to him, the Yakṣa disappeared. In the same place where the Yakṣa was he, Indra, saw a beautiful lady Umā Haimavatī by name and asked her as to who that Yakṣa was. She said it was Brahman. It was victory achieved by Brahman which the deities were claiming as theirs. They should feel that it is their victory in the sense that it is the victory of their Inner Spirit.

There are four principal sentences *mahāvākyas*, in the Upaniṣads that sum up their entire philosophy. One is *sarvaṁ khalv idam Brahma*, all this is Brahman. The second is *satyaṁ jñānam anantaṁ Brahma*, Brahman is truth, knowledge and infinite. The third is *ekam evādvitīyam*, it is one with no second. The fourth is *tat tvam asi* which occurs in an episode related to Śvetaketu who prompted by his father took to studies on the completion of which he returned home, proud of the knowledge he had acquired. That prompted his father to ask him whether he

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knew that by which what is not heard becomes heard, not grasped beomes grasped, not known becomes known. On his saying no and asking him to tell him about it, he set forth the above dictum which has caught the imagination of the people the world over.

Self-realization is the goal of the Upaniṣads. The soul, Ātman, is the Inner Reality. This Inner Reality is non-distinct from the Supreme Reality, Paramātman. Both are the same. The Reality is just one. When one has realized this oneness, *ekatvam anupaśyataḥ*, there can be no sorrow, no delusion, *kaḥ śokaḥ, ko mohaḥ*. That is the state which is beyond mind and speech, *yato vāco nivartante aprāpya manasā saha*. On attaining that state vanishes all ingnorance, *bhidyate hṛdayagranthiḥ* and are set at rest all doubts, *chidyante sarvasaṁśayāḥ*. It is all bliss. No bondage. It is release, *mokṣa*, from all attachments. No need for the soul to hop on to another body like a caterpillar, lūtā, which jumps up to another blade of grass.

The Upaniṣads enjoin hearing about Ātman, thinking about it, meditating on it, *ātmā vā re śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyaḥ*. On account of meditation the ancient seers saw a divine power, *devātmaśakti* which was permeated by its own qualities, *te dhyānayogānugatā apaśyan devātmaśaktiṁ svaguṇair nigūḍhām*. They called it by the name Brahman. This Brahman is self-existent, *svayambhuḥ*; is all-pervasive, *paryagāt*; pure, *śuddham*; without muscels/veins, *asnāviram*; untainted by sin/ignorance, *apāpaviddham*; radiant, *śukram*; omniscient, *kaviḥ*; ruler of the mind, *manīṣī*; transcendent, *paribūḥ*. Since it permeates everything it has everything in it, it is both moving and unmoving, *tad ejati tan naijati; it is afar*, it is near, *tad dure tadv antike*; it is minutest of the minute, *aṇor aṇīyān*; it is biggest of the big, *mahato mahīyān*. It is from him that all beings come out, through him they live and into him they enter. (*Taittiriyopaniṣad, Bhṛguvalli, Anuvāka I*). All this is eternal Brahman, it is in front, it is at the back, it is to the south, it is

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to the north, it is the top, it is the bottom (*Muṇḍakopaniṣad, 2.2.11*).

There is nothing of negativity in the philosophy of the Upaniṣads. It is robust. The ancient *ṛṣis* struggled to describe the Supreme Reality which was visible to their inner eye. That was obvious. They could only go up to the point to say, it is not this, not that, *neti, neti,* or it is truth, it is of the form of knowledge, it is infinite. It is simply impossible to describe the infinite through words that are finite.

The Upaniṣads with all their disjointed thoughts, plethora of repetitions, mystic terminology have held through centuries an appeal of their own. The appeal has transcended the borders of India, it has wafted across to the West where scholars and thinkers like Deussen have said that "on the tree of Indian wisdom, there is no fairer flower than the Upaniṣads with Schopenhauer going a step further saying "the Upaniṣads have been the solace of my life, they will be the solace of my death."

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10

VEDĀṄGAS

Introductory

For the proper understanding of the Veda need was felt for some disciplines, six in number, which came to be known as its *aṅgas*, limbs. These six are enumerated in the following verse

śikṣā kalpo 'tha vyākaraṇaṁ niruktaṁ chandasāṁ cayaḥ/
jyotiṣām ayanaṁ caiva vedāṅgāni ṣaḍ eva tu//

Another verse also enumerates them much in the same way with a change of a word here and there

śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇaṁ niruktaṁ jyotiṣāṁ gatiḥ/
chandovicitir ity eṣa ṣaḍaṅgo veda ucyate//

Superimposing on the great Veda the human figure and treating it as the Lord incarnate, Veda Bhagavān, the *Pāṇinīya Śikṣā* describes each of these six disciplines as forming a particular limb of His body. Metres are His feet, Kalpa hand, Astronomy/Astrology, (Jyotiṣa) His eyes, Nirukta His ears, Śikṣā His nose and Vyākaraṇa His face (*mukha*). These six *aṅgas* find mention in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (1.27), *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (2.142), and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I.7.15). The need for proper rendering of the Vedic Mantras in correct pronunciation of Sikṣā, for proper ritual for sacrifices of Kalpa, for word-construction and word forms of grammar, for derivation of

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words for apprecaition of their meanings of Nirukta, appreciation of Vedic metres of Chandas, Prosody and determining the right period for sacrifices of Astronomy (Jyotiṣa) is just obvious.

Śikṣā

Śikṣā concerns itself with the pronunciation system. Each Veda has its Śikṣā text which lays down rules for its recitation. The first effort in this connection was in the Saṁhitā-pāṭha where rules for Sandhi, euphonic combination, are given. The Śikṣās encompass in them the Prātiśākhyas also which have direct relation with the Saṁhitā and the Pada-pāṭha. Each principal recension of Saṁhitās has its own Prātiśākhya. The name Prātiśākhya denotes this Śākhā connection–*śākhāṁ śākhāṁ prati iti pratiśākham, pratiśākham idam iti prātiśākhyam.*

The *Ṛkprātiśākhya* of Śaunaka is an old and authoritative text. It has 18 Paṭalas which deal with vowels, consonants, possible inaccuracies in their pronunciation, the system of Vedic recitation and metres. This follows the *Saṁhitopaniṣad* (Āraṇyaka 3) of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* and refers in its Karikas 2 and 3 to old authorities like Māṇḍūkeya, Mākṣavya, Āgastya, Śūravira and so on mentioned in Āraṇyaka 3.1.1 of the same Āraṇyaka.

Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana is connected with the *Śukla Yajurveda*. It has eight Adhyāyas which discuss such topics as accent, Sandhi, the rules of Pada-pāṭha, the number of letters and their form and so on.

The *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* is connected with the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. Divided in two parts called Praśnas it deals with the alphabet, the origin of sounds, the Svara and the Visarga sandhis, the change of *n* to *ṇ*, Anusvāra and Anunāsika, the divisions of Anunāsika, the divisions of Svarita etc. Among its commentaries the *Padakramasadana* is the oldest.

Of the *Sāmaveda* Prātiśākhyas the prominent ones are the *Puṣpasūtra* and *Ṛktantra*. Written by the sage Puṣpa the *Puṣpasūtra* has ten Prapāṭhakas. It is connected with the

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Gaṇasaṁhitā. *Ṛktantra* of Śākaṭāyana is the Prātiśākhya of the *Kauthuma* recension of the *Sāmaveda* which has 287 Sūtras divided in five Prapāṭhakas or Adhyāyas. It deals with the origin, the place of articulation of the letters, the euphonic combinations, the accentuation and the explanation of the technical terms. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* carries on it its great impact. Yāska too refers to it.

Of the *Atharvaveda* only three Prātiśākhyas are available at present. They are: *Śaunakīya Caturadhyāyikā*, the *Atharvaveda-Prātiśākhya-sūtra* and the *Atharvaprātiśākhya*. Of these the last is more important and useful in understanding the text of the Veda.

Kalpa-Sūtras

As has been said earlier, the Kalpa-sūtras give a systematic description in the Sūtra style of the Vedic rituals and ceremonies and sacrificial performances. Kalpa means Vidhi, a religious ceremony, Niyama, rule/s governing the ceremony, Nyāya, customs and traditions, Karma, the ritual, Ādeśa, the instructions (for the conduct of the sacrifices). The Kalpa-sūtras describe in brief the longwinded descriptions of sacrificial rites and ceremonies and the rules governing them in the Brāhmaṇa texts so that they could easily be committed to memory. Without these Sūtras it is difficult to keep in mind the elaborate sacrificial procedure. Kumārilabhaṭṭa while highlighting the importance of the Kalpa-sūtras goes to the extent of saying that the priests with the help of the Kalpas (Kalpa-sūtras) perform sacrifices with no (help from) Veda but without (the help of) Kalpas, they, some of them, cannot perform them, with just the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas:

Vedād ṛte 'pi kurvanti kalpaiḥ karmāṇi yājñikāḥ/
na tu kalpair vinā kecin mantrabrāhmaṇamātrakāt//

In his *Ṛgvedabhāṣyabhūmikā* Sāyaṇa has used the etymology of the word (kalpa) for highlighting its importance:

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kalpyate samarthyate yāgaprayogo 'treti kalpaḥ, Kalpa is so called because it lays down, *samarthyate=pratipādyate*, the sacrificial ritual. There is another explanation of Kalpa and that is that it is a discipline that provides a description in due order of rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Veda, *kalpo vedavihitānāṁ karmaṇām ānupūrvyeṇa kalpanāśāstram.*

The Kalpasūtras are divided in four: Śrautasūtras, Gṛhyasūtras, Dharmasūtras and Śulbasūtras.

1. Śrautasutras—Śrauta means found in Śruti, *Śruter idam*. The Śrautasūtras give a systematic description of the sacrifices prescribed in the Vedas. These include such sacrifices as Agnihotra, Paurṇamāsya, Somayāga, Rājasūya, Sautrāmaṇi and so on. These also have the description of threefold fires, the Dakṣiṇāgni, the Gārhapatyāgni and the Āhavanīyāgni. The following table gives the connection of the Śrautasūtras with the respective Vedas:

(i) Śāṁkhāyana and Āśvalāyana—Ṛgveda
(ii) Ārṣeya/Maśaka, Lāṭyāyana, Drāhyāyaṇa and Jaiminīya—Sāmaveda
(iii) Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra—Śukla Yajurveda
(iv) Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, Bodhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Vaikhānasa, Mānava, Vārāha—Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda
(v) Vaitāna—Atharvaveda

2. Gṛhyasūtras—These describe domestic, *gṛhya*, sacrifices, rituals and festivals and the Saṁskāras, the rites, from the purificatory ones preceding conception to the funeral ones with the sacred thread and marriage ceremonies claiming more details. So also they describe the five daily sacrifices enjoined for a householder, the *devayajña*, the *pitṛyajña*, the *bhūtayajña*, the *manuṣyayajña* and the *atithiyajña* as also the sacrifices to be performed every morning and evening. They also lay down the ritual for building of house, for housewarming, for upkeep of animals, for cure of diseases, as also the magical

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formulae and the beliefs about heaven and hell. Śrāddhas, the ceremonies performed in honour of the spirit of the departed rtelatives also get a detailed treatment in them.

Gṛhyasūtras of the respective Vedas

(i) *Āśvalāyana, Śāṁkhāyana, Kauṣītaki—Ṛgveda*
(ii) *Drāhyāyaṇa, Gobhila, Khādira, Jaiminīya—Sāmaveda*
(iii) *Pāraskara—Śukla Yajurveda*
(iv) *Āpastamba, Bodhāyana, Hiraṇyakeśin, Bhāradvāja, Mānava, Kāṭhaka—Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*
(vi) Kauśika—Atharvaveda

3. Dharmasūtras—These are treated as part of the Gṛhyasūtras. These lay down rules for the daily life of an householder, how he is to conduct it, what he should eat, what he should not, in what way he should eat and in what way he should not, with whom he should tie the marriage knot and with whom not. These also lay down the rules for different castes and different stages of life. They also describe the duties of a king towards his subjects and vice versa. They lay down expiatory rites for different types of sins and offences along with prescribing punishment for them.While prescribing punishment the caste was kept in view. The Brāhmaṇas were let off with mild punishment while the Śūdras had to suffer hard. There was no capital punishment for the Brāhmaṇas even for the most heinous crimes.

The Dharmasūtras go in detail into duties of man, woman, husband, wife, son and so on and the rules of succession. *Dharma* in them means following the code of conduct laid down in the scriptures. The highest of the scriptures is the Veda which as a whole is the source of *dharma, Vedo 'khilo dharmamūlam.* As their name itself specifies, the Dharmasūtras emphasise ethics and morality. Their clarion call is, follow *dharma,* not *adharma;* speak truth, not untruth; be farsighted, not shortsighted, see the Supreme and not the lower Deity.

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dharmaṁ carata mā 'dharmaṁ satyaṁ vadata mā 'nṛtam/
dīrghaṁ paśyata mā hrasvaṁ paraṁ paśyata mā 'param//

Which Dharmasūtra connected with which Veda :

(i) Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu—Ṛgveda

(ii) Gautama—Sāmaveda

(iii) Hārīta, Śaṅkha—Śukla Yajurveda

(iv) Bodhāyana, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin—Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda

4. Śulbasūtras—They describe rituals in connection with the construction of altars. Śulba means 'thread for measurement'. The Śulbasūtras are connected with the Śrautasūtras for these also have their connection with sacrifices. They have detailed description of measurement of altars, selection of proper place for them and the methods of their construction. Apart from their utility for proper performance of sacrifices, they have their utility in giving an idea of the knowledge of ancient Indians in the field of Geometry.

Vyākaraṇa (Grammar)

Since the Vedic language differs considerably from the classical Sanskrit in vocabulary, word-formation and accentuation, the most glaring one pertaining to the last eliciting the remark *laukikanaye svaro na gaṇyate,* in classical Sanskrit *svara*, accent, does not count, though initially it did count as can be inferred from Pāṇini's sūtras *anudāttañita ātmanepadam (*1.3.12), *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* (1.3.72) where roots did carry the accentuation, that determinming their use in Ātmanepada. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* does contain rules for formation of Vedic words which occur here and there but his grammar is premarily concerned with classical Sanskrit. Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita put together all the Pāṇini-sūtras dealing with accentuation and Vedic word-formation in a section called the Svara-Vaidiki

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Prakriyā in his *Siddhānta-kaumudī*. That is about the traditional grammatical notice of Vedic words in India.

The Western scholars were more comprehensive and thorough in their approach in dealing with Vedic grammar. They, especially Macdonell among them, took to Vedic grammar as a separate discipline. Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar* and its concise version *A Vedic Grammar for Students* are path-breakers in the field. The writer of these lines while translating in Hindi the concise version of Macdonell's work referred to above had the feel of the depth of his scholarship of Vedic diction which simply is unbelievable. Pāṇini mentions *leṭ* as one of the *lakāras*, the tenses. This Macdonell divides in two, Subjunctive and Injunctive, which he terms moods. He notices a number of Infinitive forms apart from those ending in *tum*, the one which only came to have its presence in classical Sanskrit, as did Pāṇini, vide his sūtra *se asen ase asenadhyai adhyain...* (3.4.9) but in the case of some like *tave, adhyai, gantave, gamadhyai, dṛśe*, he pre-positions the adjective Dative to Infinitive. In these forms he seems to sense the Dative form like *gurave*. Similarly, in forms like *neṣaṇi, gṛṇīṣaṇi* he seems to sense the presence of Locative like *mātari, pitari* which prompted him to term the forms as Locative Infinitive. The *t* in Gerund forms like *prakṛtya, prahṛtya* which Pāṇini terms as the augment (*tuk*) vide *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* (6.1.71) he terms as phonetic *t*, the *t* whose insertion is due to phonetic reason, the reason of convenience in pronunciation, which in the words of Patañjali would be *mukhasukha, mukhasukhārthas takāraḥ*. In analyzing accentuation Macdonell's mastery is phenomenal.

Before closing discussion on Vyākaraṇa as Vedāṅga it may be pertinent to mention that it developed in India in the context of the Vedic studies. As a proof for it could be mentioned the words which recount the purpose, *prayojana*, of its study: *rakṣohāgamalaghvasandehāḥ prayojanam*. Vyākaraṇa is to be

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studied for the protection of the Vedas, for it is only he who has the correct knowledge of the elision, the augmentation and the substitution of the sounds is thoroughly capable of protecting the Vedas. For instance, in the expression *devā aduhra* the regular form *aduhata* is replaced by *aduhra* where *ta* is elided and *r* is added. The other advantage of the study of Vyākaraṇa is the modification, *ūha*. Mantras are not mentioned in the Vedas in all genders and cases. The words therein have to be modified as per context. In the Mantra *agnaye tvā juṣṭaṁ nirvapāmi* the deity is Agni and the oblation is offered to him. But if one wants *Brahmavarcasa*, the lustre of Brahman, the oblation will be offered to Sūrya, *sauryaṁ caruṁ nirvaped brahmavarcasakāmaḥ*. In that case the priest will have to replace the word *agnaye* with *sūryāya*. He should have the knowledge—that is possible only with the study of Vyākaraṇa—to frame the word. The tradition is that a Brāhmaṇa has to study and understand the Veda together with its six auxiliaries one of which is Vyākaraṇa termed the foremost among them, *pradhānaṁ ca ṣatsv aṅgeṣu vyākaraṇam*. The effort put in for the foremost one bears rich fruit. There is no other way of learning words than Vyākaraṇa which a Brāhmaṇa has got to know. And finally, for removal of ambiguity, *asandeha*, is necessary the study of Vyākaraṇa. The scripture says *sthūlapṛṣatīm agnivāruṇīm anaḍvāhīm ālabheta*. Now, *sthulapṛṣatīm* is a compound which can be dissolved both ways, *sthūlā cāsau pṛṣatī ca*, which is stout and spotted, Karmadhāraya-Tatpurusa compound; or *sthūlāni pṛṣanti yasyām*, which has big spots, Bahuvrīhi compound. The ambiguity can be resolved here through notice of accentuation. If the accent is on the final syllable, it is Tatpuruṣa and the meaning would be 'stout and spotted.' If it is on the initial syllable it will be Bahuvrīhi and the meaning would be 'with big spots'. This who is not a Grammarian,

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avaiyākaraṇa cannot do. In the Vedas there would be many such places. For ascertaining the correct meaning the study of the Vedāṅga Vyākaraṇa cannot be overemphasized.

Nirukta

There is only one Nirukta—that of Yāska—which is available at present though he refers to a number of them in his work. There were Schools of etymologists as is known from reference to them by the words *iti nairuktāḥ* by Śaunaka in his *Bṛhaddevatā* and by Yāska in his *Nirukta*. The *Nirukta* deals with the etymology of words as compiled in the *Nighaṇṭu*, an old dictionary of Vedic words. But before proceeding with the subject matter it lays down rules in all elaboration of tracing the etymology the most important of which is special attention to meaning, *arthanityaḥ parīkṣeta*. Some scholars are of the opinion that Yāska authored both the *Nirukta* and the *Nighaṇṭu* while others on the authority of the *Mahābhārata* accept Kāśyapa Prajāpati to have compiled the *Nighaṇṭu*. Still others ascribe its compilation to earlier authorities, *pūrvācāryas*.

The *Nighaṇṭu* has thirteen Adhyāyas twelve of which are divided in three Kāṇḍas. The first three are called the Naighaṇṭuka Kāṇḍa, the fourth to the sixth Adhyāyas form the Naigama Kāṇḍa and the Adhyāyas seventh to twelfth the Daivata Kāṇḍa. The thirteenh Adhyāya is Pariśiṣṭa, supplement.The first three Adhyāyas, the Naighaṇṭuka Kāṇḍa, comprise synonymous words, *ekārtham anekaśabdam*, a word having a number of synonyms, like *pṛthvī* which has 21, *megha* 30, *suvarṇa* 15, *vāyu* 16, *jala* 1000 and *vega* 26 synonyms. Adhyāyas fourth to sixth called Naigama Kāṇḍa with an alternate name of Aikapadika comprise homonyms. Adhyāyas seventh to twelfth forming the Daivata Kanda comprise names of deities.

The sole commentator of the *Nighaṇṭu* is Devarājayajvan, a South Indian. The title of his Bhāṣya is *Nighaṇṭunirvacana* which is more centred on the Naighantuka Kānda than the other

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Kāṇḍas. The introduction to this Bhāṣya carries a history of Vedic commentators. The well-known Tantric Bhaskara Rai has put the words included in the *Nighaṇṭu* in the form of verse in the style of the *Amarakośa*, making them easier to be committed to memory.

Durgācārya, the commentator of Yāska's *Nirukta* has referred to fourteen Niruktas; *Niruktaṁ caturdaśaprabhedam*. Yāska mentions by name twelve authors of Niruktas and reproduces their views. These are: Āgrāyaṇa, Aupamanyava, Audumbarāyaṇa, Aurnavābha, Kāṭṭhakya, Krauṣṭuki, Gārgya, Gālava, Taiṭiki, Vārṣyāyaṇi, Śākapūṇi, Sthaulāṣṭhīvi. Today it is only Yāska's *Nirukta* which represents this Vedāṅga. It has thirteen Adhyāyas of which the last one is in the form of supplement, as mentioned above. He has referred to eight principles or methods for the appreciation of the meanings of the Veda: ādhidaivata, ādhyātma, ākhyāna-samaya, aitihāsika, naidāna, nairukta, parivrājaka and yājñika. Later interpreters of the Veda carry on them deep imprint of Yāska. By saying that all nouns are derived from verbs (1.14) is the doctrine of the etymologists which also is the view of Śākaṭāyana, *tatra nāmāny ākhyātajānīti Śākaṭāyano nairuktasamayaś* ca, Yāska shows himself in agreement with the upholders of the above view though as an honest researcher he does not shy away in reproducing the views of those also who are not wholly in agreement with the above. Not all nouns are derivable from verbs say Gārgya among the etymologists and some among the grammarians, *na sarvāṇīti Gārgyaḥ, vaiyākaraṇānāṁ caike*. There are grammarians who say that the Uṇādis, the words sought to be formed with suffixes like *uṇ* etc. are actually underivables *uṇādayo 'vyutpannāni prātipadikāni*.

Before proceeding with the work of tracing the etymology of words Yāska draws attention to the importance of etymology. Why should one take to etymology? The reasons are

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1. Etymology is essential for the proper understanding of the text of the Veda.
2. Etymology is the complement of grammar, *vyākaraṇasya kārtsnyam.*
3. Etymology is necessary for the analysis of the Saṁhitās into Pada-pāṭha, and of words into their component elements.
4. Etymology has practical utility, for it enables one to discover the primary deity of a stanza which bears the characteristic marks of more than one deity, and thus helps perform the sacrifice with perfection.
5. Etymology is a science, and should be studied for its own sake, for knowledge is commended, (Chapter 1. Sec. 15-17).

Yāska has laid down the principles of etymology. One of them to which reference has been made briefly in the preceding paragraphs is that all words can be reduced to their primordial elements. With this idea in view every word can be traced back to an original root and should never be given up as underivable. This decided, the principles for derivation should be

1. One should give the etymological explanation of words whose accent and grammatical form are regular, *svarasaṁskārau samarthau,* and are accompanied with a radical modification in the usual manner, i.e. in accordance with the laws of phonology.
2. In case the accent and the grammatical form are not regular, and are not accompanied with a radical modification, one should always take the stand on the meaning of the word, *arthanityaḥ parīkṣeta,* and endeavour to derive it from some similarity of form, or if there is no such similarity of form, even from the similarity of a single letter or syllable.
3. One should derive words in accordance with their meanings. If the meanings are the same, their ety-

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mologies should be the same, if the meanings are different, the etymologies should also be different, *tani cet samānakarmāṇi, samānanirvacanāni, nānākarmāṇi cen nānānirvacanānīti.*

An etymologist while deriving words comes across five types of anomalies in them. Sometimes he will find a sporadic letter appearing in them as in the word *haṁsa* which formed from the root *han* has *s* appearing in it, sometimes he will find the order of the letters disturbed by their interchange, as in *simha* formed from *himsa—hims>simha*, sometimes he will find the letters deformed as in *gūḍhotmā (na prakāśate)* which should have been *gūḍha ātmā, śṁaśāna* which should have been *śavaśayana*, sometimes he will find the letters missing as in *pṛṣodara* which should be *pṛṣadudara* or *patañjali* which should be *patadañjali* where *t* in both is missing (dropped). Yāska gives a number of instances of interchange of letters and their loss—*ādilopo bhavati staḥ santīti, antalopo bhavati gatvā gatam iti; ādyantaviparyayo bhavati stokā rajjuḥ sikatā tarkviti*, 2.1.3. He should also have to be keen enough to mark that the meaning of the root in some cases has changed as in *mayūra* which is derived as *mahyāṁ rauti*. Here the original well-known meaning of the root *ru*, 'to give out a sound', *ru śabde*, is changed to 'take delight', *ramaṇārthena yogaḥ*, vide *Nyāsa* under the sūtra *pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam (*6.3.109)*: dhātos tadarthātiśayena yogaḥ, arthātiśayaḥ=arthaviśeṣaḥ, prasiddhād arthād arthāntaram.* It is the function of the etymologist to go back to the original form of the words and derive them. This is a part of the science of etymology. The following Kārikā which has wide circulation in the circles of the grammarians/etymologists sums up the above:

varṇāgamo varṇaviparyayaś ca
dvau cāparau varṇavikāranāśau/
dhātos tadarthātiśayena yogas
tad ucyate pañcavidhaṁ niruktam/

(Kāśikāvṛtti, under the sūtra *pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam, 6.3.109)*

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The illustrations of the four tendencies referred to above are from the Kārikā:

bhaved varṇāgamād dhaṁsaḥ siṁho varṇaviparyayāt/
gūḍhotmā vraṇavikṛter varṇanāśāt pṛṣodaram//

given in the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* under the same sūtra, (6.3.109)

This is a tough demand on the etymologist but that should in no case deter him from attempting the derivation of the words. He is required to pursue his mission doggedly, *na tv eva na nirbrūyāt.*

The *Nirukta* is not easy to divine at places. The reader finds it hard to get at the root of what the author is aiming at. The oldest commentary on the work is that of Durgācārya called the *Durgavṛtti.* In his commentary he describes himself as the reciter of the *Kapiṣṭhala* recension and of the Vasiṣṭha Gotra. There are more of quotations in his commentary from the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā.* He cannot be placed later than the 7th cen. A.D. since Ācārya Udgītha seems to be aware of his *Vṛtti.* The *Nirukta* had another commentary called *Niruktavārtika.* Durgācārya refers to it in his commentary. It is not available at present. A commentary that is available, however, is that of Skanda Maheśvara who is also credited with a Bhāṣya on the *Ṛgveda.* He belonged to Valabhī in Gujarat. Some one of the name of Vararuci had written a work *Niruktanicaya* which though not a direct commentary on the *Nirukta* is an independent work in hundred stanzas expounding its doctrines.

Chandasāṁ Cayaḥ /Chandovicitiḥ (Prosody)

It is necessary to have knowledge of this discipline for the rhythm of the Vedic Mantras. In the *Sarvānukramaṇī* Kātyāyana bases metres on the number of syllables: *yad akṣaraparimāṇaṁ tac chandaḥ.* The word is derived differently. One derivation is *chandayati prīṇāti rocate iti chandaḥ* 'what pleases is chandas'.

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Yāska derives it from the root *chad*, 'to cover', *chadir ācchādane chādayati mantrapratipādyayajñādīn iti chandaḥ*, 'which protects or insulates the sacrifices prescribed in the Mantras from the attacks of the obstructionists is *chandas*. Or *chādayanti ha vā enaṁ chandāṁsi pāpāt karmaṇa iti chandaḥ (Aitareya Āraṇyaka)*, Chandas-s are called so because 'they cover (=keep away) a person from sinful activity'.

This Vedāṅga is represented by Piṅgala's *Chandaḥsūtra* in eight Adhyāyas of which Adhyāyas 1-4 up to the 4th Adhyāya's seventh sūtra give definitions of Vedic metres. Besides Piṅgala's *Chandaḥsūtra* Vedic metres find treatment in the Prātiśākhyas, especially the *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* (Paṭalas 15—18) as well. The main Vedic metres are Gāyatrī, Uṣnik, Purā Uṣnik, Kakubh, Anuṣṭubh, Bṛhatī, Satobṛhatī, Paṅkti, Prastārapaṅkti, Triṣṭubh, Śakvarī and Jagatī. The Vedic metres do not follow, like the classical Sanskrit metres, the *guru-laghu* system but only the number of syllables. From these metres evolved later some of the classical ones like the eleven-syllabic Indravajrā and Upendravajrā from Triṣṭubh, twelve-syllabic Vaṁśastha from Jagatī, the fourteen-syllabic Vasantatilakā from Śakvarī of *Sāmaveda*.

Jyotiṣām Ayanam /Jyotiṣam (Astronomy)

For the performance of sacrifices the knowledge of proper time and auspicious planetary position is a desideratum. It is here that Astronomy comes in. Time calculation, Gaṇita is an important part of it. An ancient Kārikā very effectively underlines its importance describing it as being at the head of Vedāṅgas :

yathā śikhā mayūrāṇāṁ nāgānāṁ maṇayo yathā/
tadvad vedāṅgaśāstrāṇāṁ gaṇitam mūrdhni saṁsthitam//

"Just as the crest of the peacocks and the jewels of the serpents in the same way Mathematics stands at the head of the Vedāṅga lores".

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The ancients have walked the extra mile in highlighting the importance of Astronomy, which they term *kālavidhāna-śāstra*, the science that determines the period, by saying that he who knows it knows the sacrifice—*tasmād idaṁ kālavidhānaśāstraṁ yo jyotiṣaṁ veda sa veda yajñam.*

For this the known authoritative text is the *Vedāṅgajyotiṣa* of Lagadha which Śaṅkara Bālakṛṣṇa Dīkṣita assigns to 1400 B.C. It has two readings, the Yājuṣa Jyotiṣa and the Ārca Jyotiṣa. The former with its 432 verses is connected with the *Yajurveda* and the latter with its 36 verses with the *Ṛgveda*. The *Vedāṅgajyotiṣa* carries a Bhāṣya on it by a South Indian Pandit Somākara who resided at Kāśī.

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EPICS AND PURĀṆAS

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11

RĀMĀYAṆA

Introductory

One of the most popular of the Sanskrit epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* as per tradition is the *ādikāvya*, the first kāvya of the post-Vedic period. The word *ādi* has two meanings, one, the first and the second, the best. Both the meanings go well with it. It has its presence in large parts of the world. Apart from India where it had its origin its story has travelled to large swathes of territory called Southeast Asia where it has its presence in all forms, in literature, in art, in folklore justifying the prophecy about it in the work itself that so long as there would be mountains and rivers on the earth, the Rāma story will last in the worlds. A Western scholar has rightly said that if there is any truly Asian epic, it is the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Before taking up the work in its different facets it will be worth its while to note as to how it came into being. Vālmīki, its author had no idea of it. He did not mean to compose the work unlike the author of the sister epic, the *Mahābhārata* who had composed his work on his own. Vālmīki was commissioned to compose it. How and by whom is something which needs a recount here. Vālmīki with his pupil Bharadvāja in tow, was on his way to take a bath in the river Tamasā. He saw the ghastly spectacle of a male Krauñca bird soiled in blood, having been shot at by a hunter while it was in

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the act of mating with its female companion, in heart-rending cries. Overwhelmed by this sight he pronounced a curse. He returned from the river with the ghastly sight still hanging heavy on his mind, *tam eva cintayann artham*. He entered his Āśrama, took his seat and engaged himself in some other talk. Just at that time Lord Brahmā descended on his Āśrama, *ājagāma tato Brahmā*. After pronouncing the curse Vālmīki did not feel easy. Was it proper for an ascetic to do so, was his worry but he somehow convinced himself that since it had sprung out of him under the stress of grief, *śokārtasya pravṛttaḥ*, the verse in which was couched the curse will meet with approval, *śloko bhavatu* and would not be taken amiss (lit. will lead to my glory and not otherwise {= ill-fame}). Even in the presence of Brahmā with his mind still intent on the sight, he mentally recited the verse that couched the curse, which amused Him (Brahmā), *prahasann iva*, in that that he (Vālmīki) was oblivious of the fact that it was because of His wish that the words, *sarasvatī* (of the curse), had escaped his lips; *macchandād eva te Brahman nirgateyaṁ sarasvatī*. He asked him (as expiation perhaps for the indiscretion on his part in doing something inappropriate for an ascetic) to describe the life story of Rāma in full, *Rāmasya caritaṁ kṛtsnaṁ kuru tvam ṛṣisattama* (1.2.32) also promising His grace by which all the happenings in the life of the latter, whether public or private, *prakāśaṁ yadi vā rahaḥ*, would come to be known to him, *sarvaṁ viditaṁ te bhaviṣyati*. With this disappears Brahmā and Vālmīki's composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* begins.

Though popular all over India the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not have the same reading in all its regions. On the basis of different readings it is divided in four recensions:

Bombay recension : It was published by the Nirnaya Sagar Press in 1900. It carries on it a commentary called *Tilaka* by the famous grammarian Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa known as Rāma after the name of his patron King Rāma. It also has the commentaries

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Śiromaṇi by Śivasahāya and *Rāmāyaṇabhūṣaṇa* by Govindarāja. There is another edition of this recension which was brought out from Mumbai in Saṁvat 1992, A.D. 1935 by Lakshmi Venketeshwar Press, Kalyan, Mumbai. It carries on it four commentaries – *Rāmāyaṇabhūṣaṇa* by Govindarāja, *Tattvadīpikā* by Maheśvara Tīrtha, *Taniślokī* by Ahobala Ātreya and *Viṣamapadavivṛti* by Rāmānujācārya.

Bengal Recension: Published by Stamperia Reale, Paris it was brought out by Gaspare Gorresio with the commentary of Lokanātha called *Manoratha* in the period 1843-1870 in 12 volumes, six of the original and six of the translation in Italian. A shorter edition of it was published in Milan during the period 1869-1870 and also in 1945. In the period 1980-1982 the antistatic of the Sanskrit text was published in seven volumes by Indian Heritage Trust. In 1986 Oscar Botto brought out as volume eight of this text under the title Preface to the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* by Gaspare Gorresio with English translation of the Introduction and the notes in Italian of Gorresio. Some years back a group of scholars under the direction of Oscar Botto prepared a new translation for UTET publications of the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* which is to carry the introduction to it by Brockington. It is awaiting publication.

The Kashmir Recension: It was published from the Research Department of the DAV College, Lahore in 1923 with the commentary *Kataka* by Rāma.

South Indian Recension: It was published in 1929-30 by Madhya Vilasa Book Depot, Kumbhakonam. The first three recensions differ from each other to a considerable extent while in the Bombay recension and the South Indian recension the difference is not that marked. It is very difficult to determine as to in which of the recensions the text is closer to the original. While Schlegal has preference for the Bengal recension, Bohthlingk favours the Bombay recension. There is more of similarity in the references to the *Rāmayaṇa* in the *Harivaṁśa-*

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purāṇa (chapter 236) with the text of it as found in the Bengal recension while the quotations from it in the texts of the eighth and the ninth centuries are closer to the text of the Bombay recension. The *Rāmāyaṇamañjarī* of Kṣemendra, a Kashmirian author, pre-supposes the existence of the Kashmirian recension while *Rāmāyaṇa-campū* of Bhoja of the eleventh century A.D., follows the Bombay recension. It appears that the recensions had assumed their present form fairly early. Since then they have been maintaining their independent existence.

Rāma story is the subject matter of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is divided in seven Kāṇḍas; Bāla Kāṇḍa, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Sundara Kāṇḍa, Yuddha Kāṇḍa and the Uttara Kāṇḍa. The Bāla Kāṇḍa describes the childhood and the adolescence of Rāma, his accompanying Viśvāmitra to ward off the demons disturbing his sacrifice, the breaking of the bow at the Sītā Svayaṁvara and his marriage with her. The Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa describes the events in the Royal Palace, the preparations for the installation of Rāma as the Heir Apparent, Mantharā's instigation of Kaikeyī to ask for the two boons promised to her by King Daśaratha, the boons being the coronation of her son Bharata and the exile for Rāma for fourteen years to forest, Rāma's leaving for the forest, Daśaratha's losing life being unable to bear separation from him, Bharata's arrival in Ayodhyā from maternal uncle's house, his unsuccessful effort to bring Rāma back from Citrakūṭa to assume the reins of the kingdom, his bringing the sandals of Rāma, installing them on throne and administering the kingdom from a village Nandigrāma close to Ayodhyā. The Araṇya Kāṇḍa gives the account of Rāma's coming to Daṇḍakāraṇya, the killing of demons like Virādha, his stay in Pañcavaṭī, the encounter with Śūrpaṇakhā, the chopping off of her ears and nose by Lakṣmaṇa, her approaching her brothers, Khara and Dūṣana, their killing by Rāma along with their fourteen thousand soldiers, Śūrpaṇakhā's approaching

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Rāvaṇa, the abduction of Sītā by him, killing of Jaṭāyu who had obstructed his path and the assumption by Mārīca of the form of a golden deer and flitting in the vicinity of Rāma's cottage, Sītā's taking fancy to it and asking Rāma to bring it to her, his chasing it, his shooting an arrow at it and his giving out a fake distress cry O Lakṣmaṇa, O Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa leaving to help Rāma, the golden deer (Mārīca in that form) falling dead, Rāvaṇa taking it an importunate moment to abduct Sītā approaching her in the guise of an ascetic and abducting her, Jaṭāyu coming in his way and his killing him. The Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa describes the friendship with Sugrīva, the killing of Vālin and the search for Sītā by Hanumān. In the Sundara Kāṇḍa is described Hanumān's reaching Laṅkā, meeting Sītā, delivering Rāma's message, his destruction of the Aśoka Vāṭikā where she is lodged, and the burning of Laṅkā by him and so on. The Yuddhakāṇḍa, as the name itself makes it clear, describes the fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa where the latter loses all his principal warriors and ultimately his own life, Rāma's recovery of Sītā, his return to Ayodhyā and assuming the reins of the kingdom. The Uttarakāṇḍa has disperate matter. It traces the genealogy of Rāvaṇa and the monkeys. It also refers to the public calumny about Sītā in Ayodhyā, she having stayed in the house of the demon, Sītā's banishment, her being provided shelter by sage Vālmīki, her giving birth to Kuśa and Lava in his Āśrama, Rāma's organizing the Aśvamedha sacrifice, the singing of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by the two young sons of Sītā referred to above in the intervals to its performance, their coming to the notice of Rāma, his coming to know that Sītā is alive, his asking her to appear before the assembly to prove her chastity, Vālmīki's vouchsafing it, Sītā's asking for the earth to part, the earth doing the same and Sītā's entombment in it. Certain other subjects that are taken up for description are the killing of Śambūka, a Śūdra who had been practicing penance.

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Source/s of the Rāmāyaṇa Story

It is very difficult to pin-point work/s as the source/sources of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story. The earlier literature does have the names of some of the *Rāmāyaṇa* characters. There is reference to Ikṣvākus in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. Daśaratha figures along with some other kings in the Dāna-stuti hymns of the *Ṛgveda*. A king of a branch of the Aryan race called Mitani had the name Daśaratha whose date could be 1400 B.C. The word Rāma occurs in the Brāhmaṇa texts and the Upaniṣads apart from the Vedas. Aśvapati Kekaya figures in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*. He is described as the ruler of the Kekaya country, who would share with the Brāhmaṇas the supreme knowledge and is said to be the contemporary of Janaka Videha who is referred to in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. He is said to have been a realized soul. Apart from him there is another Videha Janaka who is said to be the son of Mithi in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the son of Indra Pradyumna in the *Mahābhārata*. Sītā also finds mention in the Vedic literature as the presiding deity of agriculture. Carrying another name Sāvitrī she also figures there as the daughter of Sūrya. This Sītā, however, has no connection with the Sītā of the Rāma story. It must have been due to the creative genius of Vālmīki that he picked up this name from the old literature and gave it to the lady who was to wed Rāma.

Early on the Rāma story was told in the form of poems and lyrics by reciters, the Sūtas. By the time the *Mahābhārata* it must have assumed a definite shape because it occurs there in the form of an episode, the *Rāmopākhyāna* in the Vana-parvan. Even prior to Vālmīki the sage Bhṛgucyavana, the son of Bhṛgu, had prepared a compendium of Rāma stories. He also is said to have given this compendium the form of a poem as hinted in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa. This was the first attempt at the retelling of the Rāma story. Later, the author of this poem and that of the one that goes by the name

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Rāmāyaṇa were identified. It could well be that Vālmīki depended upon this *ādi-kāvya* for telling the story in his own way and gave it the name *Rāmāyaṇa*. The work was sweet in recitation and singing and had the three measures (*pramāṇas*) and the seven primary notes that could be reclaimed to the accompaniment of the stringed instruments (1.14.8). This work Vālmīki taught to young sons of Sītā who were well-versed in the Vedas, *Vedeṣu pariniṣṭhitau* and the intricacies of music, *Gāndharvatattvajñau* and endowed with sweet voice, *svarasampannau*. Once these two sang the poem in an assembly of ascetics. This swept them all completely off their feet. With tears welled up in their eyes they were all appreciation for the young ones exclaiming 'well done' 'well done', *sādhu, sādhu* and presented them with whatever they had with them, the water-picher, the bark garments, the deer skin, the holy thread, the Kamaṇḍalu, the seat of Kuśa grass, the loin cloth and so on. They blessed them with long life. Though the text does not mention it specifically; it only says that Śatrughna during the halt for the night in Vālmīki's Āśrama on the way back from Mathurā to Ayodhyā listened to the Rāma story being sung (VII.71.14), the context would lead to its rendering by the young ones who had been taught it by Vālmīki The third time they sang it was when Rāma had organized the horse sacrifice. They went about singing it in the lanes and the bylanes of Ayodhyā, particularly nearer the venue of the sacrifice and at the time of the intervals between the sacrificial rituals when Rāma would be taking rest so that he could hear them as per the plan of Vālmīki.

Is the Rāmāyaṇa a Work of a Single Author?

On the basis of the inner evidence as found in the present text it appears that the *Rāmāyaṇa* was not composed by one single individual in the same period of time. It looks of the seven Books (Kāṇḍas), the last one the Uttarakāṇḍa and some portions of the first one the Bālakāṇḍa, are interpolations because they

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relate some incidents that contradict what is said in the intermediate Kāṇḍas (Ayodhyā-Yuddha Kāṇḍas). The language and the style of these Kāṇḍas is also of inferior quality than that of the other Kāṇḍas. In the original portion (Kāṇḍas 2-6) there are several portions that have not been mentioned in the first Kāṇḍa or contradict the facts related there. The subject index given in the first and the third cantos of the first Kāṇḍa does not refer to the first and the seventh Kāṇḍas. Moreover, the description of Rāma in these Kāṇḍas differs from that found in the intermediate Kāṇḍas. In the intermediate Kāṇḍas he is described as an ideal hero while in the first and the seventh Kāṇḍas he is elevated to the position of an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

A striking fact that needs mention here is that there is Phala-śruti (the recount of the good or the benefit that may accrue to a person who may recite the work or organize its recitation) at the end of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa indicating that Vālmīki had composed the work up to the point only, i.e. up to that point where Rāvaṇa was killed, *Rāvaṇasya vināśam*, Sītā was rescued, *Sītāvāptim*, the coronation of Vibhīṣaṇa, *Vibhīṣaṇābhiṣekam*, return to Ayodhyā through Puṣpaka, the aerial car, provided by Vibhīṣaṇa and the installation of Rāma on the Ayodhyā throne. Whatever was yet to happen to Rāma he described in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, *anāgataṁ ca yat kiñcid Rāmasya... tac cakārottare kāvye Vālmīkir bhagavān ṛṣiḥ (1.4.39)*. In the same, Uttara Kāṇḍa there is a number of episodes that are not directly connected with the main narrative. Same is the case with genealogies. The German scholar Jacobi is on fairly sound ground when he says that the portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the sixth Kāṇḍa onwards was not composed by Vālmīki but added later. Even in the portion from Kāṇḍa II—VI there would have been interpolations. Since for a long period the text was passed on by word of mouth or by the actors who performed it on the stage, interestingly called Kushavas, the text went on undergoing

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change incorporating into it much that was not a part of it originally.

An attempt had been made to constitute the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by the Oriental Institute, M.S. University, Baroda on the basis of the available manuscripts on the line of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* brought out by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institue, Pune.

The interpolations, it may be pointed out, in passing, had found their way into the *Rāmāyaṇa* very early for, its recitation as recorded in one of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Indonesia, does mention the Bāla Kāṇḍa and the Uttara Kāṇḍa. As a matter of fact, the Uttara Kāṇḍa was treated as á separate text with a different title, the *Serat Kāṇḍa*.

Date of the Rāmāyaṇa

To decide about the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is very tricky, as tricky as in the case of many other Sanskrit works particularly in view of the additions to and accretions in the text for well over several centuries but this much can be said for sure that it precedes the *Mahābhārata* where its genuine portion under the title Rāmopākhyāna figures in the Vana-parvan. The *Mahābhārata* has nothing from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The seventh Parvan of the *Mahābhārata* has two verses from the sixth Kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in exactly the same form they are found in its present text. The eminent Sanskritist Winternitz is of the view that the *Mahābhārata* had assumed its present shape by about the 4th cent. B. C. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, therefore, would have to be placed a century prior to it. The Buddhist literature also helps in deciding the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Daśaratha Jātaka has the Rāma story. One verse there is exactly the same as in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Sāma Jātaka carries a story of an ascetic boy which Daśaratha describes in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Some other incidents too are reminiscent of Vālmīki's work. Since Sylvain Levi is of the view that the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna*, a Buddhist work is

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certainly indebted to Vālmīki because the description of Jambu-dvīpa in it is very close to that of the description of the quarters, the *digvarṇana*, of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The description of the rivers, oceans, countries and islands and so on therein tallies with that given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The linguistic evidence, according to Jacobi, too would make the *Rāmāyaṇa* a pre-Buddhist work. Scholars like Winternitz are chary of accepting the presence of Buddhist elements in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. A verse which mentions the Buddha in it is treated by scholars as an interpolation. There are two verses in the *Rāmāyaṇa* where there is mention of Yavanas. On that basis Weber has tried to prove that the *Rāmāyaṇa* carries the influence of the Greeks but Jacobi's view is that both these were added by someone after 300 A.D. . The inner evidence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* also would be helpful in deciding about the date of the work. In the genuine portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kāṇḍas 2-6, the capital of the Kosala country is called Ayodhyā. In the later period the Buddhist, Jain and Greek writers refer to it by the name Sāketa. According to the seventh Kāṇḍa, Lava is said to have set up his capital at Śrāvasti which was ruled in the times of the Buddha by the Kosala king Prasenajit. In the genuine portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kāṇḍas 2-6, there is no mention of Śrāvasti. This shows that the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed when Ayodhyā still was known by its original name (of Ayodhyā) and had not assumed the new name of Sāketa and the city of Śrāvasti had not come into existence. In the 35th canto of the first Kāṇḍa, Rāma is shown to pass through that stretch which is now called Pāṭaliputra while the name Pāṭaliputra does not figure there. This shows that the *Rāmāyaṇa* had been composed before the name Pāṭaliputra was given to that stretch around 500 B.C. The Bāla Kāṇḍa referes to Mithilā and Viśālā as two separate cities ruled by different rulers while in the time of the Buddha both the cities had become one under the name Vaiśālī. In the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa* India had small kingdoms ruled by princelings. That was the political situation

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of India before the time of the Buddha. All the facts mentioned above would point to the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* before B. C 500. The existence of the larger number of un-pāṇinian forms would not make the work pre-pāṇinian for a good number of works posteror to Pāṇini also have a fairly large sprinkling of un-pāṇinian forms. Since the *Rāmāyaṇa* formed part of that literature which can be placed in the category of the popular one, the existence in it of un-pāṇinian forms or certain other anomalies cannot be cited as evidence in deciding about its date.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* in whatever form it is available now is a part of India's precious heritage. It has served as the source for a large number of works; poems, plays, Kathās, Ākhyāyikās, Campūs. Almost all Indian languages have works on it. This is about literature. The *Rāmāyaṇa* has its presence even in folklore. It has inspired folk art and folktales and has served as the source for them. The Rāmalīlā performed in every village in India and the cities and the towns is an evidence of its having been owned as a part of Indian ethos.The *Rāmāyaṇa* is not confined now to India, it has become a part of world heritage. It is found in multiple versions in Southeast Asia with depictions of its story in literary works and works of art; paintings, sculptures, bas reliefs, wood carvings and performing arts; ballets, dance dramas, pantomimes and stage presentations like Nang Yai, Nang Talung, Wayang Kulit Purwa and so on.

Different Interpretations of the Rāmāyaṇa

Apart from the old commentaries to which reference has been made earlier, some modern scholars, particularly the Western ones, tried to interpret it in their own way. Lassen was of the view that the *Rāmāyaṇa* symbolizes the victory of the Aryans over the southern part of India. This did not hold water because Rāma did not bring under subjugation any part of South India or established his rule over there. He had no intention of setting up an empire. He did not even accept the rulership of Laṅkā offered

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to him by Vibhīṣaṇa after the killing of Rāvaṇa. He installed instead Vibhīṣaṇa on the Laṅkā throne. Similarly, did he install Sugrīva on the throne of Kiṣkindhā after killing Vālin. Jacobi traces the similarity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme with that of the theme of the Vṛtra episode in the *Ṛgveda*. He has tried to postulate that since the Vṛtra episode is mythical so is the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The demon Vṛtra was an enemy of Indra. Once he had stolen his cows. Indra had sent the divine bitch Saramā to trace their hide out. She discovered the same and passed on the information to Indra who with the help of Maruts invaded Vṛtra and killed him. According to Jacobi, Rāma is Indra. Sītā in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is described to have been discovered by king Janaka while tilling the land. Sītā is so called because she means literally furrow. The son of Rāvaṇa is called Indrajit which is significant because it is indicative of Vṛtra who defeated Indra. Like Saramā, Hanumān had discovered Sītā. Further, the birth of Hanumān from wind God is indicative of the victory of Indra over Vṛtra with the help of Marut, the wind God. The apparent similarity between the two episodes which culminate in the death of Vṛtra and Rāvaṇa has a number of lacunae. Vṛtra had indeed the alternative name Indrajit but it is not possible to specify the identity of the son of Rāvaṇa with Vṛtra. Vṛtra did steal the cows of the deities but Sītā was abducted by his father Rāvaṇa. Saramā, the divine bitch and the Maruts were different from each other. Hanumān and the monkeys of the *Rāmāyaṇa* come from the same stock even if the identity of Hanumān with the wind god cannot be established conclusively because all those who had helped Rāvaṇa in the battle for Laṅkā were not the offsprings of Indra. The kind of similarity that Jacobi seems to discover between the episode of Vṛtra in the *Ṛgveda* and the episode of Hanumān tracing Sītā in Laṅkā in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is very superficial and certainly not conclusive.

Talboy's view that the *Rāmāyaṇa* depicts the conflict between Brāhmanism and Buddhism can also not stand scrutiny,

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since Buddhism could spread its wings after a lapse of considerable time after the birth of the Buddha. A scholar has made bold to propound the view that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a Kāvya based on the victory of the people who had laid the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire over South India. Indian history doesn't support this view. According to another view the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the depiction of the conflict between the nomadic tribes inhabiting the mountains and forests of South India and the Aryans subsisting on agriculture but there is nothing in the *Rāmāyaṇa* which would make Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa advancing towards South India for spread of agriculture. Weber is of the opinion that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is indicative of the spread of Indian culture towards South India particularly towards Laṅkā but that does not hold water because with Rāma's visit to the South, no change is described to have taken place in the cultural ethos of the people there. A point that needs to be specially noted here is that the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself describes the process of its origin. The verse: *mā niṣāda pratiṣṭhāṁ tvam agamaḥ śāśvatīḥ samāḥ/ yat krauñcamithunād ekam avadhīḥ kāmamohitam*; became the theme verse for the entire work. The seer Vālmīki was proceeding towards the bank of the river Tamasā, accompanied by his pupil Bharadvāja. He noticed on the way a male Krauñca bird soiled in blood, having been hit by an arrow of a hunter while it was in the state of mating with its female companion, in all agony. The ghasly sight so touched the tender heart of the seer that the above verse came out of him of itself. This verse set the tone for the entire Rāma saga which is nothing but pathos personified. The two main symbols of it are Rāma and Sītā. Bhavabhūti is very right when he makes Rāma utter the words, weighed down as he is by a series of unfortunate happenings, the latest being the slander of Sītā for having lived in the house of some one else which makes him take a decision (of sending her in exile under a pretext) that rends his heart asunder and forces him to cry in agony: *duḥkhasaṁvedanayaiva rāme caitanyam ānītam*

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(*Uttararāmacarita*, I.47), "it is for the full perception of pain indeed, was consciousness instilled in him." As normalcy had returned to Sītā's life after all the suffering with its high point of the fire ordeal came another blow, the most shattering at that, of her being sent in exile when in the family way. Threre is only a flicker of joy and happiness in the life of the two principal characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. After that it is all darkness. That was their destiny. The *śoka*, the grief that started with the sight of the blood-soaked Krauñca permeated the whole work.

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12

MAHĀBHĀRATA

Introductory

The *Mahābhārata* is the most voluminous work in the world literature. It is so big that some parts of it have come to assume the character of independent works most important of which is the *Bhagavadgītā* which represents the dialogue between Lord Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in the battlefield of Kurukṣetra when the two armies of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas were stationed face to face and the strike order was imminent. Arjuna requested the Lord who was acting as his charioteer to station his chariot in the midst of the two armies, *senayor ubhayor madhye ratham sthāpaya me'cyuta*, so that he could see for himself as to with whom he had to fight; *kair mayā saha yoddhavyam asmin raṇasamudyame*. Noticing his near and dear ones arrayed against him he felt diffident, so diffident that he gave up his bow and arrow and took the seat in the rear part of the chariot. To lift him up from this spirit of diffidence the Lord delivered him the sermon which represents the essence of the Upaniṣads, *sarvopaniṣado gāvo dogdhā gopālanandanaḥ*, all the Upaniṣads are cows and the one who milks them is the son of a cowherd, Kṛṣṇa. The other portions of the work which have assumed an independent character as mentioned above are *Viṣṇusahasranāma*, the *Anugītā*, the *Bhīṣmastavarāja* and the *Gajendramokṣa*. All these

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are collectively called *Pañcaratna*. Apart from these there are works like the *Viduranīti* which form part of the *Mahābhārata*. It represents the quintessence of dharma, righteousness, artha, the material prosperity, kāma, the desires and mokṣa, salvation. Anything concerning these can be met with in this work. It is said with uncanny effectiveness that whatever pertaining to them as available in this work can be found elsewhere as well but whatever is not here that cannot be found elsewhere; *dharme cārthe ca kāme ca mokṣe ca bharatarṣabha/ yad ihāsti tad anyatra yan nehāsti na tat kvacit*. The work is called *Mahābhārata* because of its large size and substance: *mahattvāt bhāravattvāt ca mahābhāratam ucyate*. It is elevated to the position of the fifth Veda: *Bhāratam pañcamo vedaḥ*.

Its Authorship

It is composed by the sage Vedavyāsa, the son of the sage Parāśara and Satyavatī who was born as the daughter of Vasuparicara, the ruler of the Cedi country, in an island of the river Yamunā. A chief of the fishermen had adopted her as his daughter and brought her up. The sage Vedavyāsa has different names. He was called Dvaipāyana for taking birth in a Yamunā island, was called Kṛṣṇa on account of his dark complexion and Vedavyāsa for dividing the Vedas in four Saṁhitās. He had sired Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu on the wives of Citrāṅgada and Vicitravīrya, the sons of Śantanu who had died issueless, at the behest of his mother Satyavatī who wanted the perpetuation of the Ikṣvāku race as per the custom of *niyoga*, the custom that permitted a childless widow to have a child with contact with the brother or any near relative of her deceased husband. Vedavyāsa was also the son of Satyavatī. The wives of Vicitravīrya have the son from him. Bhīṣma, another son of Śantanu apart from Citrāṅgada and Vicitravīrya, had vowed that he would not marry and thereby not to come in the way of the promise that his father Śantanu had made to the fisherman, the adoptive father of Satyavatī that it would be her son who would

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be his successor. Vedavyāsa had also sired Vidura on a palace maid whom one of the wives of Vicitravīrya (Ambālikā) not wanting to face him on account of his repelling appearance had sent to him as her replacement.

The *Mahābhārata* was composed by Vedavyāsa in three years of constant application. There are two recensions of it, the northern and the southern. The northern one was published from Calcutta in the period 1834-39 in four parts with no commentary. The second edition of this recension was published in 1875 from Calcutta again with the commmentaries of Arjunamiśra and Nīlakaṇṭha. Still another edition of it was published with the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha from Bombay in 1863. This does not include the Harivaṁśa. The Bombay edition from the point of view of the text is superior to the Calcutta editions.

The Southern recenssion was published from Madras in four parts during the period 1855-60 in Telugu characters. It has the Harivaṁśa and excerpts from the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha. The most authentic critical edition of the work was brought out by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune which is the brightest feather in the cap of Indian scholarship.

Its Subject matter

The *Mahābhārata* is divided in eighteen Books called Parvans named Ādi, Sabhā, Vana, Virāṭa, Udyoga, Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karṇa, Śalya, Sauptika, Strī, Śānti, Anuśāsana, Aśvamedha, Āśramavāsin, Mausala, Mahāprasthānika and Svargārohaṇa. The Ādiparvan describes in detail the history of the lunar race, the Candravaṁśa and the birth of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. In *Sabhāparvan* is described the game of dice, in the *Vanparvan*, the exile of the Pāṇḍavas for twelve years, in the *Virāṭaparvan*, the life of the Pāṇḍavas as servants in the palace of king Virāṭa of Matsya country in the thirteenth year of incognito exile, in the *Udyogaparvan* Kṛṣṇa's visit to Kaurava court as the emissary of Yudhiṣṭhira to sue for piece, in the *Bhīṣmaparvan*, the sermon of Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna, the start of the fight, Bhīṣma

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bringing death and destruction to Pāṇḍava forces, his laying down of arms on account of his resolve not to pick up fight with a eunuch or one who had been a eunuch earlier and his lying on the bed of arrows, in the *Droṇaparvan*, the killing of young Abhimanyu under attack by all the Kaurava warriors in the Cakra-vyūha formation of the army, the fierce fight put up by Droṇa and his getting killed because of his laying down arms by being told falsely that his son Aśvatthāman had died, the information vouchsafed by a person no less than Yudhiṣṭhira, though ambigously, the ambiguous part of his statement not audible to him, in the *Karṇaparvan*, Karṇa's fight and death, in the *Śalyaparvan*, fight by Śalya and his death, in the *Sauptikparvan*, the killing of the sleeping sons of Pāṇḍavas by Aśvatthāman, in the *Strīparvan* the cremation of the dead heroes and the lamentations of their female relatives, in the *Śāntiparvan*, the instruction of Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira in Mokṣa-dharma, in the *Anuśāsanparvan* the episodes highlighting ethics and morality, in the *Āśvamedhikaparvan*, the coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira and the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, in the *Āśramavāsiparvan*, the entering into the Vānaprasthāśrama of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī, in the *Mausalaparvan*, the mutual destruction by the Yādavas through Musala, a mace and the death by chance of Kṛṣṇa by an arrow discharged by a hunter, in the *Mahāprāsthānaparvan*, the losing of interest in life of Pāṇḍavas and their handing over the reins of kingdom to Parīkṣit, the grandson of Arjuna and finally in the *Svargārohaṇaparvan*, the ascent of Pāṇḍavas to svarga, heaven. Besides these the *Mahābhārata* has a large number of interesting and educative episodes of which the following are more noteworthy:

1. Śakuntlopākhyāna
2. Matsyopākhyāna
3. Rāmopākhyāna
4. Śivyupākhyāna
5. Sāvitryupākhyāna

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Its Date

The *Mahābhārata* has assumed its present form with all accretions, additions, and changes from time to time. It is in no case easy to decide about its date of composition. For that purpose some of the following facts would have to be kept in mind. In the eleventh century Kṣemendra in his *Bhāratamañjarī* has presented a synopsis of the work which according to Bühler is not much different from the vulgate *Mahābhārata*. Kumārilabhaṭṭa of the eighth century has referred to at least ten Parvans out of eighteen of the *Mahābhārata* and has reproduced quotations from them. Śaṅkarācārya of the second half of the eighth century has spoken of the *Mahābhārata* as the *Smṛti* for the womenfolk and the Śūdras who do not have the right to study the Vedas. Subandhu of the sixth century and Bāṇa of the seventh one have referred to the episodes of the *Mahābhārata*. They were all too familiar with the *Harivaṁśa*. There is reference to the copies of the epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, having been presented to a temple in a Cambodian inscription of circa 600. The person offering the copies had also arranged for their non-stop recitation proving thereby that these two works are certainly of the period prior to the sixth century A. D. The same century, the *Mahābhārata* was well known in the islands of Java and Bali. Before that it had been translated in Tibetan. The inscriptions recording the donation of land of the fourth and the fifth century A.D. refer to the *Mahābhārata* as Smṛti and Dharmaśāstra; *śatasāhasryāṁ saṁhitāyāṁ vedavyāsenoktam*; Vedavyāsa had said in the Saṁhitā with hundred thousand (verses), the reference to the *Mahābhārata* as *Śatasāhasrī* is very important in that that as early as the fourth century A.D the *Mahābhārata* had assumed its present form of hundred thousand verses. On the basis of the three chapters of the Syrian translation of the Śāntiparvan, Hurtle has proved that the *Mahābhārata*, as early as 500 A. D., was not much different from the *Mahābhārata* as available at present. On the basis of the researches in Chinese

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Turkistan and Chinese literatures, the date is pushed back to several centuries. According to Deon Chrysostom, the *Mahābhārata* in hundred thousand verses was known to South India in 50 A. D. Aśvaghoṣa of the first century A.D. has reproduced a stanza from the *Harivaṁśa*. Bhāsa of the pre-Christian centuries has composed some of his plays on the themes of the *Mahābhārata* episodes. In the *Āśvalāyana-gṛhyasūtra* (3.4.4) the works *Bhārata* and *Mahābhārata* are referred to separately. The *Baudhāyana-gṛhyasūtra* includes stanzas from the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* and the *Bhagavadgītā*. 400 B. C. is the period of the *Āśvalāyana* and the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtras*. From what has been said above it would be clear that the *Mahābhārata* had assumed its present enlarged form as early as 400 B.C. Further, the *Mahābhārata* was a pre-Buddhist work. In its Śāntiparvan where the incarnations of Viṣṇu are mentioned, the Buddha does not figure.

Like the *Rāmāyaṇa* the *Mahābhārata* also has been a source of many a work which has drawn their themes from it. Like its counterpart the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it has exercised deep and abiding influence on art, culture and tradition of the country. In popularity of course its rating is a couple of notches below of that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It has not been translated in as many languages as has been the Vālmīki's work. Maybe, its theme is partly responsible for it. In view of all the death and destruction and the internecine quarrels, strifes and dissensions, it has come to be associated with unease and disturbance and in popular imagination, mistaken of course, it is identified with what disturbs peace. Hence, the disinclination of the people in India to keep a set of it at home. The *Mahābhārata* in popular imagination has become a synonym of conflict, which really is unfortunate, ignoring as it does the fact that it is a great storehouse of knowledge, the cumulative wisdom of India that it embodies.

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RĀMĀYAṆA AND MAHĀBHĀRATA— A STUDY IN COMPARISON

Both the *Ramāyāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are equally revered in India. Both have exercised in equal measure profound influence on the life, the thinking and the religious beliefs of the people since generations. In both battles are fought though with different purpose; in the *Ramāyaṇa* to avenge the wrong done by Rāvaṇa in abducting Rāma's wife, in the *Mahābhārata* for deciding about the rightful heir to the throne which had been appropriated by Duryodhana leaving the eldest one, Yudhiṣṭhira, among the cousins, high and dry. In both the heroes are anointed as kings after the conclusion of the battle. Both are tragedies. In both there is instruction in State Polity. In both that instruction is from the adversaries; in the *Ramāyāṇa* from Rāvaṇa who instructs Lakṣmaṇa before breathing his last and in the *Mahābhārata* from Bhīṣma lying on the bed of arrows (waiting for his preferred period of death), to Yudhiṣṭhira against whom he had fought in the battle as the commander-in–chief of the army of the latter's adversary (Duryodhana). In both the texts were passed on to their disciples by thir composers, the *Rāmāyaṇa* to Lava and Kuśa, the sons of Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* to Sauti and Lomaharṣaṇa not connected with any of the characters of the epic. In both the heroines, Sītā and

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Draupadī have supernatural birth; Sītā is born from the earth, Draupadī from the sacrificial pit. Both choose their husbands, *svayaṁvara*, in a contest where the heroes win them for themselves through display of superiority in archery. Both get abducted, Sītā by Rāvaṇa and Draupadī by Jayadratha.

In both the heroes obtain divine weapons which they use in battle, Rāma from Viśvāmitra and Arjuna from Śiva (he obtains from him the Pāśupatāstra by placating him in a contest). Exile is further a common feature in both, the period is one year short in one; it is fourteen years for Rāma and thirteen years for Pāṇḍavas. In both a ruler of a country is made friends with, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is Sugrīva, the ruler of Kiṣkindhā, in the *Mahābhārata* it is Virāṭa, the ruler of the Matsya country. In both alliances are forged for the battle royal, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* with the monkeys and in the *Mahābhārata* with other monarchs of the time. In both the authors figure as characters and have important roles to play in the unfolding of events, Vālmīki provides shelter to the forsaken Sītā, arranges for her delivery, teaches her sons his work and takes her to Rāma and vouchsafes her purity in an open assembly, Vyāsa in the *Mahābhārata* sires sons on deceased Vicitravīrya' wives and saves the Kuru race from extinction as also assists in the birth of hundred sons from the ball of flesh delivered by Gāndhārī after she had hit her belly. The finale in both is tragic.

Anuṣṭubh is the dominant metre in both. A number of similes and sayings are common to both. There are as many as three hundred such cases where the same or similar words are used. The expression *notkaṇṭhāṁ kartum arhasi* figures in both time and again.

Both have the Phalaśruti, the benefits resulting from the recitations of them. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* one who reads the holy history of the life of Rāma which destroys sins would be purged of all of them; he would be honoured after death in

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heaven; a Brāhmaṇa reading it would attain excellence in speech, a Kṣatriya would attain lordship over landed possessions, a Vaiśya would get abundance of wealth in trade and a Śūdra would achieve greatness (1.2.98—100). There is Phala-śruti again at the end of Kāṇḍa VI which says that by hearing the story of Rāma deities and manes get pleased. Those who write the story as recorded by the sage—the word saṁhitā is used here for the same— will have their abode in heaven. They will attain long life, health, fame, intellect, prowess and good brothers. Therefore those good people who aspire for their well-being should listen to it regularly. There is Phala-śruti in the *Mahābhārata* in the second Adhyāya of the Ādiparvan. According to it there is no use for bath in the water of the sacred Puṣkara lake for the one who has thoroughly imbibed (the teachings) of the Bhārata epic that emanated from Vyāsa's mouth, which one is fathomless, pure, purifying, auspicious and (assuredly) drives away sin. Further, similar reward accrues to them both; he who presents hundred cows with their horns adorned with gold to the learned Brāhmaṇa well-versed in the Vedas and he who regularly listens to the sanctifying recital of the Bhārata story.

Having analysed the similarities between the two immortal works it is time now to take a pause and have a look at dissimilarities too. The first dissimilarity pertains to the very size of the works. The *Mahābhārata* with its hundred thousand verses is four times bigger than the *Rāmāyaṇa* of twenty-four thousand verses.

Both the works proclaim themselves to be both *kāvya* and *itihāsa*. *Rāmāyaṇa* calls itself *kāvya* repeatedly in çanto 4 of the Bālakāṇḍa, verses 7, 9, 12, 15 and canto 128 of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa, verses 111,128. In one of the verses, verse 105, of the same canto of the same Kāṇḍa it goes to the extent of proclaiming itself as *ādikāvya* : *ādikāvyam idaṁ cārsaṁ purā Vālmīkinā kṛtam*. In the same canto and the same Kāṇḍa there is mention

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of it, the only one in the whole work, as *itihasa: pūjayaṅś ca paṭhaṅś cainam itihāsaṁ purātanam* (VI.128.114). The *Mahābhārata* four times calls itself *itihāsa*

Bhāratasyetihāsasya (1.1.19)
ācakhyuḥ kavayaḥ keci sampraty ācakṣate' pare/
ākhyāsyanti tathaivānye itihāsam imaṁ bhuvi (1.1.26)
tapasā brahmacaryeṇa vyasya vedaṁ sanātanam/
itihāsam imaṁ cakre puṇyaṁ satyavatīsutaḥ//(1.1.54)
itihāsottamād asmāj jāyante kavibuddhayaḥ / (1.2.85)

and once *kāvya*

asya kāvyasya kavayo na samarthā viśeṣaṇe,
viśeṣaṇe gṛhasthasya śeṣās traya ivāśramāḥ// 1.1.73.

"which poets are not capable enough to excel like the householder's stage the other stages of life," Though both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* could be *kāvyas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* has far better claim to this designation than the *Mahābhārata*. Even Lord Brahmā seems to be hesitant to accord this appellation to it by permitting himself the remark that 'since you have called it *kāvya*, so will it be; *tvayā ca kāvyam ity uktaṁ tasmāt kāvyaṁ bhaviṣyati*. He does not seem to be very forthcoming in this though he qualifies his statement that it will serve as the source for poets to derive material for their writings (1.1.92), a statement reinforced with a like statement *tad etad bhāratam nāma kavibhis tūpajīvyate* (1.2.89). Though both could be *kāvyas*, there is a structural difference between the two. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is divided in Kāṇḍas and the *Mahābhārata* in Parvans. The Kāṇḍas are divided in Sargas, the Parvans in Adhyāyas. The very division in Sarga would point to the *Rāmāyaṇa* having been designed as *kāvya* since that forms one of its prominent characteristics, vide, *sargabandho mahākāvyam*, Rasa being the other one, vide *vākyaṁ rasātmakaṁ kāvyam* (*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, II.2.) which the *Rāmāyaṇa* has in full measure in all its varities as it itself says:

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rasaiḥ śṛṅgārakaruṇaraudravīrabhayānakaiḥ/
vīrādibhī rasair yuktaṁ kāvyaṁ etad agāyatām// (1.4.9)

There are far more of picturesque descriptions in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in a variety of metres in a racy style characterized by jingling alliteration, particularly in drawing the word picture of the rainy season in Sundara Kāṇḍa with all that goes with it, which cannot but remind us of similar descriptions by later classical poets than in the *Mahābhārata*. In the latter the expression is more prosaic and lack-lustre. Further, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is more of a song than just a poem. It was sung not just once but three times, the first time when Vālmīki after having composed it up to the point of Rāma occupying the throne, *prāptarājyasya Rāmasya cakāra caritam* (1.4.1.) was thinking of a suitable person who could render it. Just at that time Kuśa and Lava, the young sons of Sītā happened to come to him. He took them to be the right ones for the job and taught it to them, *tāv agrahāyata prabhuḥ*. The sweet-voiced twins well-versed in music and dancing and cognizant of *sthāna* and *mūrcchanā* rendered it to the accompaniment of stringed instruments in an assembly of sages and seers. So thrilled were they with their rendering that they showered them, as mentioned earlier, with all sorts of gifts. The second time it was sung was when Śatrughna returning from Mathurā to Ayodhyā had a night halt at the Āśrama of Vālmīki. The third time it was sung was when Rāma was performing the Aśvamedha sacrifice.

A point that should not go unnoticed in the case of both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* is that while the former proclaims itself to be equal to the Vedas, *Vedaiś ca sammitam* (1.1.98), the latter proclaims itself to be Veda itself; the Kārṣṇa Veda (1.1.68), the Veda composed by Kṛṣṇa which means Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa. Not only that, it goes further in claiming superiority for itself (the Veda) by referring to an old tradition according to which in earlier times when the gods placed all the four Vedas along with the Upaniṣads on one side of the scale

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and the *Mahābhārata* on the other, it was the *Mahābhārata* that proved weightier, the weight being in substance and import, *mahattvād bhāravattvāc ca*:

ekataś caturo vedā bhāratam caitad ekataḥ/
purā kila suraiḥ sarvaiḥ sametya tulayā dhṛtam//
caturbhyaḥ sarahasyebhyo Vedebhyo hy adhikam yadā/
(1.71-72)

with the disclosure that since that time onwards it came to be known as *Mahābhārata*. One thing both the works share with each other and that is that both proclaim themselves to be expounding the Veda, vide the *Rāmāyaṇa Vedopabṛṁhaṇārthāya tāv agrāhayata prabhuḥ* (1.4.6), the Lord (the sage Vālmīki) taught them (Lava and Kuśa) his work, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, for expounding or interpreting the Vedas which is possible with the aid of Itihāsa and Purāṇa as says the *Mahābhārata*, *itihāsapurāṇābhyām Vedam samupabṛṁhayet*, that providing the necessary insight into it.

The author of the *Mahābhārata* was conscious of the vast sweep of his work covering every discipline— he recounts those disciplines to Lord Brahmā to give him an idea of his work— like Dharma, Artha and Kama, the histories and discourses and various Śrutis. This Vālmīki had not done. He had no idea even that he was to compose a work till Lord Brahmā had asked him to do so.

The very start of the story varies in both the works. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* account it had come into being, as pointed out above, at the instance Lord Brahmā who had made a surprise appearance in the hermitage of sage Vālmīki when he was distraught at the heart-rending cries of the female of the Krauñca couple mourning the death of her spouse for no reason at the hands of a hunter in the act of mating. The *Mahābhārata* was composed by the sage Vyāsa on his own. It was when he was looking for a scribe to put it in writing that Lord Brahmā

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had appeared and had directed him to approach Gaṇeśa who could do the job. Lord Brahmā is there in both the epics but for a different purpose. He appears in the *Rāmāyaṇa* when it was yet to be conceived and composed. He appears in the *Mahābhārata* when it had been conceived and had only to be given a formal shape, the mass of matter stored in memory to be put in writing. And that forms the great divide between the two. The diction for the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* owes itself to the grace of Lord Brahmā. The words of the curse for the hunter that had forced themselves out of Vālmīki had a peculiarity in them; they were of equal bound and metre and were capable of being sung according to measure to the accompaniment of stringed instruments: *pādabaddho 'kṣarasamas tantrīlayasamanvitaḥ* (1.2.18) which he recited mentally when the Lord was in the hermitage. They owed themselves to the grace of the Lord: *macchandād eva te Brahman nirgateyaṁ sarasvatī*. There is an exuberance of blessings for the master poet to the extent that he would continue to live in this world and that of His till the Rāma story would last in the worlds which it is destined to till exist on the earth rivers and mountains. The grace the Lord extends to the theme of the work too. All events connected with the life of the hero, whether public or private, would reveal themselves to him, says He. There is no such blessing for Vyāsa in the *Mahābhārata*. No superlatives for his work. The only thing is the endorsement by Him of the terming of the former (Vyāsa) of his work as *kāvya*: *tvayā ca kāvyam ity uktaṁ tasmāt kāvyaṁ bhaviṣyati*. Another marked difference in the two epics lies in the one, the *Mahābhārata*, having versions longer and shorter, detailed and condensed, *vistāryainaṁ mahaj jñānam ṛṣiḥ saṁkṣipya cābravīt*; (1.1.11) the wise appreciating both the detail and the summary: *iṣṭaṁ hi viduṣāṁ loke samāsavyāsadhāraṇam* (1.1.11). There is reference in the work itself to the different texts with huge variation in the number of stanzas. There is no such thing in the case of the

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Rāmāyaṇa; no longer and shorter versions prepared by the author himself.

The plot in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is more compact than that in the *Mahābhārata* where it is more diffused giving the impression of a conglomerate of themes. The *Mahābhārata* is in conversational or question-answer style with the speech of the characters introduced by such expressions as Sautir uvāca, Jaratkāru uvaca, Devā ūcuḥ, etc. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is in narrative style. The *Rāmāyaṇa* uses only the classical metres while the *Mahābhārata* uses occasionally the Vedic metres too. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is all in verse. The *Mahābhārata* has prose passages too which occasionally have a tinge of Vedic expression. The *Mahābhārata* was both written and transmitted orally while the *Rāmāyaṇa* was transmitted only orally. At least there is no record in the text of its having been committed to writing. In the *Mahābhārata* the author is shown assailed with worry as to how he is to teach it to his pupils, *katham adhyāpayānīha śiṣyān ity anvacintayat* (1.1.56) of which Lord Brahmā took notice *suo moto, taccintitāṁ jñātvā*, which prompted him to make his appearance in his Āśrama, *ājagāma svayam* (1.1.57). This unexpected visit surprised him (Vyāsa). *vismito bhūtvā* and after giving the Lord an idea of the vast sweep of his work he told him of his worry of not finding any one on the earth who could commit it to writing, *paraṁ na lekhakaḥ kaścid etasya bhuvi vidyate* (1.1.70). The Lord advised him to think of Gaṇeśa who could act the scribe. Gaṇeśa when remembered appeared before him and agreed to do the job on the condition that his pen would not have to stop (in the course of the dictation) to which Vyāsa added that he would not write anything without grasping its meaning. To gain time to compose Vyāsa added to his text as of the verses as would make Gaṇeśa pause to think of their import allowing Vyāsa the time to compose a fresh set of verses. The text of the *Mahābhārata* gives the figure of such verses as eight thousand eight hundred! There is nothing of the kind in the

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Rāmāyaṇa. The worry of the author about his work therein is as to who could render it, *ko nv etat prayuñjīyāt* (1.4.3) and not who could write it.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is a work anterior to the *Mahābhārata* which has in it the story of Rāma, the Rāmopākhyāna. It mentions Vālmīki by name. The story of the *Mahābhārata* is not as cohesive as that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and is interspersed with myriad episodes and sub-episodes with tenuous link with the main narrative. The analysis of the narratives of the two shows difference in the ethical and the moral standards in vogue in their times. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* when Hanumān offers to carry Sītā on his back to take her to Rāma (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Sundara Kāṇḍa, 37.21), she refuses the offer on the ground that it would be improper for her to have contact with a person other than her husband, *parapuruṣasparśa*.

The story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is rather smooth and cohesive but that of the *Mahābhārata* is not so. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is the creation of one poet, Vālmīki while the *Mahābhārata* though originally of Vyāsa carries on it the imprint of Vaiśampāyana and Sauti who had recited it on different occasions. Though the bulk of the composition of both is in the Anuṣṭubh metre, other classical meters have also been used, particularly in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Mahābhārata* has Vedic meters too, while there is nothing of them in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The dissimilarity in the two is marked in the case of the heroes as well. While it is Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa* unquestionably, in the *Mahābhārata* it is difficult to pinpoint one among the many who may claim the honour. Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira gain the throne after victory in the battle. While Rāma was assigned the exalted status of a deity and came to be worshipped, the status eluded Yudhiṣṭhira. It instead was accorded to Kṛṣṇa, the Yādava scion who had acted as a charioteer of Arjuna. While in the case of Kṛṣṇa, a cult developed around him, there was no such status in the case of Rāma. Among the victor kings Rāma

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and Yudhiṣṭhira there is a sea of difference. While Rāma is brave and bold, Yudhiṣṭhira is timid and weak leaning heavily on his brothers Arjuna and Bhīma, particularly Arjuna, who was his main troubleshooter. Yudhiṣṭhira was more of a seer than a doughty warrior. Both had different personalities.

There is perceptible difference in moral standards in the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Sītā refuses the offer of Hanumān to carry her on his back to Rāma to avoid contact with a person other than her husband, explaining away her contact with Rāvaṇa were Hanumān to raise this as a rejoinder, that she was helpless at the time of her abduction with nobody to help her : *anāthā vivaśā satī* (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Sundara Kāṇḍa, 37.63). In the *Mahābhārata* Draupadī is not *anāthā* and *vivaśā* when she is disrobed. She is in the court where such standard-bearers of morality as Bhīṣma were present who just keep looking down and permitting themselves the word *dhik*, shame—and that too in whispers— and not coming out openly in support of the helpless lady. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Sītā had to prove her chastity through the fire ordeal while in the *Mahābhārata* no such need was felt after Draupadī's abduction by Jayadratha and her subsequent recovery. She was accepted back in the family with no questions asked. There is no public calumny in her case as in the case of Sītā. In the *Mahābhārata* Draupadī has five husbands. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura are born through the custom of *niyoga* to save the Kuru race from extinction. The obsession to have sons to carry on the family line was so deep-rooted that not only the widows, even the ladies with their husbands alive but not in a position to impregnate them, as in the case of Pāṇḍu, could have them not from the younger brother/s of their husbands or close relatives as per the system of *niyoga* as encoded in the texts on law but from any good or decent Brāhmaṇa (1.120.41).

The two epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, belong to two different aeons, Yugas, the *Rāmāyaṇa* to Tretā and the

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Mahābhārata to Dvāpara. While the former depicts a society which is more governed by ethics, the latter shows a slide towards laxity. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Rāma does not attack Rāvaṇa or even chase him while he, under stress, withdraws from the battlefield. In the *Mahābhārata* the young adolescent son of Arjuna, who was all by himself is attacked by all the senior Kaurava commanders like Droṇa, Karṇa, Duryodhana and so on in unison. In the *Mahābhārata* the end seemed to have an upper hand over the means. All kinds of tricks were employed to defeat the enemy; the trick of building a lack-house (*lākṣā-gṛha*) to burn the Pāṇḍavas; the game of dice to wrest everything from them including their own freedom with the infliction of the punishment of exile for thirteen years; (the thirteenth year had to be in their being incognito); the killing of Karṇa in the act of his pulling out the wheel of the chariot sunk in the earth; planting Śalya as the charioteer of Karṇa tasked to demoralize him by speaking ill of him all the time and denouncing him with a barrage of damning words; killing of Duryodhana in the mace-duel (*gadā-yuddha*) by hitting his thigh much against the contemporary rules of warfare and finally the raining of death on the sleeping sons of Draupadī by Aśvatthāman.

In the *Mahābhārata* the art of warfare had got highly developed as evidenced by the different army formations like Krauñca-vyūha, Padma-vyūha, Candra-vyūha, Makara-vyūha, Śyena-vyūha and the most sophisticated of all the Cakra-vyūha, the absence of the knowledge of the exit from which had proved fatal to the indomitable young warrior Abhimanyu. In the battle in the *Rāmāyaṇa* the monkeys, the bears and the demons formed the army while in the *Mahābhārata* it was mostly the human beings except the demons like Ghaṭotkaca, Bhīma's son born of Hiḍimbā.

The geographical situation in both the epics was also different. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* South India is depicted as a vast forest inhabited by various tribes who in all probability on

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account of their peculiar features looked like monkeys, bears and demons as also ascetics who had their hermitages constantly under threat from their more fearful compatriots. They had their own spheres, their own territories which they commanded and their own armies which fought with primitive weapons. Some of these tribes had well developed cities like Kişkindhā of Vālin and Sugrīva. There were ferocious demons like Kabandha, Virādha, Khara and Dūşaṇa all of whom together with the ten thousands soldiers of the last two were done to death by Rāma and Lakşmaṇa.

There does not seem to be much of the presence of the foreigners, the mlecchas or the demons in the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the mainland while in that of the *Mahābhārata* they had made their presence felt there. The lac house, the *lākṣā-gṛha* was built by Vilocana, the mleccha while the glass house was built by Maya, the dānava,

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* there are descriptions of the demons variously called rākşasas, asuras, daityas, dānavas assuming any form at will, this is how Śūrpaṇakhā describes herself: *aham Śūrpaṇakhā nāma rākşasī kāmarūpiṇī* (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Araṇya Kāṇḍa, 17.20). It is because of this guile of theirs that Mārīca assumed the form of golden deer bedecked with all kinds of jewels:

sa rāvaṇavacaḥ śrutvā mārīco rākşasas tadā/
manoharasnidghavarṇo ratnair nānāvidhair vṛtaḥ//
kşaṇena rākşaso jāto mṛgaḥ paramaśobhanaḥ//

(*Araṇya Kāṇḍa*, 42.14—19)

Again, it is because of this guile of theirs that Hanumān is assailed with apprehension in speaking to Sītā in chaste expression of being mistaken by the latter as Rāvaṇa disguised as a monkey and get scared:

yadi vācaṁ pradāsyāmi dvijātir iva saṁskṛtām /
Rāvaṇaṁ manyamānā māṁ sītā bhītā bhaviṣyati //

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There is no such reference in the *Mahābhārata*. Both the works, however, are common in describing the architectural skill of demons. Laṅkā, as described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is one of the most developed of the cities with high rise buildings, long highways and roads lined with shady trees, surrounded by a golden wall filled with edifices and elevated with heights. Situated at the top of mountain it was filled with yellow-white palaces. It appears that the Rākṣasas had developed high technology in guarding the city with every gate of it manned by armed personnel. There is a reference in the *Rāmāyaṇa* to an aerial car of the name of Puṣpaka acquired by Rāvaṇa from Kubera after defeating him in a battle. Adorned with golden paintings and having upper rooms, containing as it did excellent seats, it was capable of carrrying the entire monkey army as well as the demon lord Vibhīṣaṇa along with his ministers. It was unbreakable and would course at will. With pleasing whirrring it could cover the long distance from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā in a single day, a marvel of technology indeed. In the *Mahābhārata* the technological advance is met with in the construction of a glass house not by an Aryan but by Maya, a demon, which made even a clever ruler like Duryodhana mistake it for a pool of water, readying to take off his clothes to jump into it, eliciting by now the notorious derisive remark from Draupadī that the sons of the blind are also blind which became the source of all the troubles for the Pāṇḍavas later.

For long both the works, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, were transmitted orally. With the passage of time they underwent change and admitted into themselves a lot of extraneous matter with the result that it has become difficult now to determine their original content though laudable efforts were made in this direction in the form of their critical edition brought out by the Oriental Institute, Vadodara and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, respectively. Both the works have different recensions. Both have new deities

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Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Durgā, unlike the Vedas which have the natural phenomena like Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, Āditya, Uṣas etc. as the deities. The new deities were worshipped in temples dedicated to them which had in them idols made either of metal or clay or stone.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* there is emphasis on Dharma. Its hero is described as Dharma in human form or Dharma incarnate: *Rāmo vigrahavān dharmaḥ*. It is natural that the other characters that take his side or help him should also be pure in conduct and behaviour as he was. His righteousness goes to the extent of self-denial. Rāma readily agrees to go to the forest, taking cognizance of the circumstances explained to him by Kaikeyī. His father Daśaratha had not asked him to go in exile. But when Kaikeyī told him that were he not to do so – go in exile— it will prove his father to be untrue to his word. He had promised two boons to her when she had saved his life in a battle which she had said that she would ask for whenever she would feel the need to do so. It is them that she was asking for now. The boons are the coronation of her son Bharata and exile for Rāma for fourteen years in a forest. Her remark directed at Rāma assumes significance. The remark is that he should unite his father, the king, with truth: *satyena yojayasva nareśvaram* and this is precisely what he did despite all the dissuations of his brother Lakṣmaṇa and mother Kausalyā, the latter going even to the extent of pointing that her status as mother was higher than that of the father and it was she who was commanding him not to go in exile. For Bharata, for whose sake Kaikeyī had made all efforts to gain the throne, the kingdom without Rāma had no meaning. Transgression of the age-old practice of the eldest of the sons of the king succeeding him was to him inviolable and he was therefore not willing to accept the throne. He went all the way to Citrakūṭa where Rāma was camping to persuade him to come back and accept the throne. When he failed in his mission, he took his sandals from him and put them on the throne,

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managing the affairs of the State in the form of an ascetic not from the capital but from a village, Nandigrāma in its vicinity. Lakṣmaṇa, the other brother simply chose, as a mark of filial devotion, self-exile, preferring wilderness to all the comforts of the palace life. So did Sītā who insisted on accompanying her husband to the forest much against his wishes who pointed out to her all the hardships that life in the forest would entail.

In the forest Sugrīva, Hanumān, and all others of his allies courted death in the fight with Rāvaṇa. They used all their skills and hard labour in building the causeway for their armies to reach Laṅkā— all this for upholding Dharma. Except for one or two instances like the sly killing of Vālin there is little or no deviation from Dharma. In the *Mahābhārata*, there is a good number of cases where righteousness is given the go by for temporary gain. There is battle both in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. While in the former it is between different races- as a matter of fact, between strangers, in the latter it is between the members of the same family. While in the former the battle was simply fortuitous, a chance occurrence, the events spinning themselves to leading to it–[Śūrpaṇakhā noticing Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, her taking fancy to them, their showing no interest in her, she assuming Sītā to be the root cause for this disinterest, her pouncing on her to kill her, Lakṣmaṇa chopping off her nose and ears, her approaching her brothers Khara and Dūṣaṇa to avenge her mistreatment, their picking up fight with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, their getting killed in battle together with ten thousand soldiers, her approaching her other brother Rāvaṇa, he abducting Sītā partly out of lust and partly out of the feeling of taking revenge, Rāma invading Laṅkā to recover her resulting in a bloody war] while in the *Mahābhārata* it was culmination of the bitter family feud, and was meticulously planned.

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14

PURĀṆAS

Introductory

The use of the word Purāṇa in Indian literature goes back to great antiquity. It denoted old stories or narratives. Purāṇas are said to be as old as the Vedas. According to the *Atharvasaṁhitā* the *Ṛk*, *Sāman*, *Chandas* and *Yajus* were revealed simultaneously[1]. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[2] indicates their having been very ancient texts. It called them the Veda. The *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*[3] describes them as the life breath of the Great Being, Mahābhūta along with the *Ṛgveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda*, the *Atharvāṅgirasa*, Itihāsa, Vidyā, Upaniṣad, Śloka, Sūtra, Anuvyākhyāna and Vyākhyāna. In the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*[4], the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa are said to be the fifth Veda. The *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*[5] assigns them a prominent place among the fourteen Vidyās. It also speaks of them as the abode, *sthānāni* of Vidyā and Dharma along with Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, Dharmśāstras and the Veda with its six auxiliaries.

According to modern scholars the eighteen Purāṇas as available now are not as old as the Veda. The Purāṇas which the Vedic literature mentions are not available at present. But it can definitely be said that they must have been in existence in the Vedic period itself and would have contained information about cosmology and genealogies. It could be that old Purāṇas were the source of the now available ones.

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The Purāṇas as Available Now

The Purāṇas that are available now number eighteen. The *Viṣṇu-puāṇa* enumerates them as under :

Brāhmaṁ pādmaṁ vaiṣṇavaṁ ca śaivaṁ bhāgavataṁ tathā/
tathānyan nāradīyaṁ ca mārkaṇḍeyaṁ ca saptamam//
Āgneyam aṣṭamaṁ proktaṁ bhaviṣyaṁ navamaṁ tathā
daśamaṁ brahmavaivartaṁ liṅgam ekādaśaṁ tathā //
Vārāhaṁ dvādaśaṁ proktaṁ skāndaṁ cātra trayodaśam/
caturdaśaṁ vāmanañ ca kaurmaṁ pañcadaśaṁ tathā//
Mātsyaṁ ca gāruḍaṁ caiva brahmāṇḍāṣṭādaśaṁ tathā/[6]

A stanza enumerates them by grouping them on the basis of the first syllable in their names:

Madvayaṁ bhadvayaṁ caiva bratrayaṁ vacatuṣṭayam/
ānāpaliṅgakūskāni purāṇāni pracakṣate//[7]

The two beginning with *ma*, the two beginning with *bha*, the three beginning with *bra*, the four beginning with *va*, those beginning with *a, na, pa, liṅ, ga, kū* and *ska* are called Purāṇas:

Madvayam – *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, Matsya-purāṇa.*

Bhadvyam – *Bhāgavata-purāṇa, Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*

Bratrayam – *Brahma-purāṇa, Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa, Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*

Vacatuṣṭayam – *Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Varāha-purāṇa, Vāmana-purāṇa, Vāyu-purāṇa*

Anāpaliṅgakūskāni –

A - *Agni-purāṇa,*

Nā - *Nāradīya-purāṇa,*

Pa - *Padma-purāṇa,*

Liṅ - *Liṅga-purāṇa,*

Ga - *Garuḍa-purāṇa*

Kū - *Kūrma-purāṇa,*

Ska - *Skanda-purāṇa*

In the first enumeration there is omission of *Vāyu-purāṇa*, in the second that of the *Śiva-purāṇa*. These Purāṇas have been

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divided into a group of six each on the basis of the deities they are associated with. The first group of six dedicated to Viṣṇu and placed in the category of the Sāttvika, includes the *Viṣṇu*, the *Nārada*, the *Bhāgavata*, the *Garuḍa*, the *Padma* and the *Varāha-purāṇas*. The second group of six dedicated to Brahmā and called the Rājasika, includes *Brahmāṇḍa, Brahmavaivarta, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhaviṣya, Vāmana* and *Brahma-purāṇas*. The third group of six dedicated to Śiva and placed in the category of Tāmasa, includes *Matsya, Kūrma, Liṅga, Śiva, Skanda* and *Agni-purāṇas*. This division on the basis of the association with particular deities cannot be termed very scientific because there are some Purāṇas which deal with a particular deity prominetly but contain description of other deities as well. It may not be proper to tag them with a particular *sampradāya* going with a particular deity. As examples could be mentioned the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and the *Bhaviṣya* which cannot be confined to a particular sect. Similarly, the *Brahma-purāṇa* has in it the eulogies of Sūrya and other deities along with those of Brahmā.

The authorship of the Purāṇas

The Indian tradition credits Lord Brahmā with the origination of the mass of the knowledge called the Purāṇas. The *Vāyu-purāṇa* records that Lord Brahmā recited the Purāṇas, that He was the first to recite them to Mātariśvan (Vāyu). The poet Uśanas got it from Vāyu. The *Vāyu-purāṇa* also mentions that Yama had instructed Indra in the Puranic lore. From Indra it came down to Vasiṣṭha. The *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* was recited by Parāśara in the time of Parīkṣit. The *Vāyu-purāṇa* describes Jatukarṇa as the author of the Purāṇas. The *Sūta-Saṁhitā* records the names of Akṛtavraṇa Kāśyapa, Kapila and other sages and seers who had recited the Purāṇas.

According to the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, the sage Vedavyāsa had composed the Ākhyānas, Upākhyānas and the Gāthās. The

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Kalpa-śuddhi has also the *Purāṇa-saṁhitā* which he (Vedavyāsa) had taught to his intelligent pupil of the Sūta-caste, Lomaharṣaṇa. From him it had passed to Akṛtavraṇa of the Kāsyapa family, Sāvarṇi and Śaṁśapāyana. These three had prepared on the basis of the original work three Purāṇa compendia. Later, the pupils of these three had composed eighteen Mahāpurāṇas and several Upa-purāṇas. The earliest of the Purāṇas was the *Brahma-purāṇa.*

According to the *Vāyu-purāṇa* there was only one Purāṇa initially which was called the *Purāṇa-saṁhitā.* The *Śiva-purāṇa* says that at the end of the aeon (Kalpa) there was only one Purāṇa which Brahmā had recited to the sages. After that Vedavyāsa for the convenience of the people had divided that big *Purāṇa-saṁhitā* in eighteen parts and had recited them. The reference to the division of one original Saṁhitā into eighteen Purāṇas and their recitation is found in the *Devī-bhāgavata*, the *Varāha*, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Padma-purāṇas* also.

The *Matsya-purāṇa* says that of all the śāstras it is the Purāṇa that first was created by Brahmā. It is after that the Vedas came out of his mouths:

> *Purāṇaṁ sarvaśāstrāṇāṁ prathamaṁ brahmaṇā smṛtam/*
> *anantaraṁ ca vaktrebhyo Vedās tasya vinirgatāḥ//*

Earlier, in another aeon, there was only one Purāṇa, the sacred one, the means for (the attainment of) the threefold aim of life. It comprised of hundred million (verses). Noticing with the passage of time that it was not (possible) to grasp it, it was divided into eighteen parts. And it is this which is followed in this world:

> *Purāṇaṁ ekam evāsīt purā kalpāntare 'nagha/*
> *trivargasādhanaṁ puṇyaṁ śatakoṭipravistaram//*
> *kālenāgrahanaṁ dṛṣṭvā purāṇasya tato nṛpa/*
> *tad aṣṭādaśadhā kṛtvā bhūloke 'smin prakāśate//*

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According to the *Bṛhannāradīya-purāṇa* the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* had four lacs (of verses) which were arranged and narrated separately in eighteen texts:

Brahmāṇḍaṁ ca caturlakṣaṁ purāṇatvena paṭhyate/
tad eva vyasya gaditam atrāṣṭādaśadhā pṛthak//

Vedavyāsa had acquired the knowledge of the Purāṇa-lore of the Vedic period that had continued to be handed down from generation to generation. This lore he systematized and brought forth in the form of a Saṁhitā. This Saṁhitā he taught to his pupil Lomaharṣaṇa. After Lomaharṣaṇa his pupils composed eighteen Mahāpurāṇas and the same number of Upa-purāṇas. The Purāṇas mention the names of those pupils. They were Sumati, Agnivarcas Mitrāyu, Suśarman, Akṛtavraṇa and Saumadatti. The credit for composing the Purāṇas and the Upa-purāṇas does not rest with Vedavyāsa only but also with his disciples and the disciples of those disciples every one of whom has referred to the original guru Vyāsa as the composer of the Purāṇa/s. It could be that Vedavyāsa would have been a title like Śaṅkarācārya that could be conferred on those who would have composed the Purāṇas, corrected them, prepared summaries of them and would have re-edited them. That would explain the use of the term Vedavyāsa as the composer of the eighteen Puranas: *aṣṭādaśapurāṇānāṁ kartā satyavatīsutaḥ*, the writer of eighteen Purāṇas is the son of Satyavatī (Vedavyāsa).

Date of the Purāṇas

It is very difficult to determine the date of the Purāṇas with any measure of certainty. There are some portions in the vast Purāṇic literature which are very old but there are also some which seem to have been composed fairly late. In the Royal dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas, there is no mention of King Harṣa and kings after the sixth century A.D. On this basis some scholars are of the opinion that up-to the fifth century A.D. or

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even some time before it the Purāṇas had acquired their present shape. Scholars differ on this point. According to Lokamanya Tilak, the Purāṇas cannot be placed later than the second century A.D. According to Pargiter the Purāṇas in their original form cannot be placed before the initial centuries of the Christian era. R. C. Hazra who devoted much of his life to the study of the Purāṇas acccepts the following as the older of the Purāṇas– *Mārkaṇḍeya, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Matsya, Bhāgavata* and *Kūrma*. The first two of these he accepts to be older than the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. The date of the other older Purāṇas according to him is 400 A.D. Of Vāyu, it is 500 A.D; of *Bhāgavata*, 600-700 A.D. and Kūrma 700 A.D. The *Harivaṁśa* belongs, according to him, to 400 A.D. and *Agni-purāṇa* to 800 A.D, but in his view some matter in the latter is of an earlier date and some of a later date. About the date of the *Agni-purāṇa*, there is no unanimity among scholars. According to S K. Dey, its treatment of the Alaṅkāras is of the period posterior to Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin and prior to Ānandavardhana of the ninth century A.D. About the *Nāradīya-purāṇa*, in the form it is available now the view is that it had been composed in the tenth century A.D. Later its size was magnified by interpolating in it some material. Of the *Skanda-purāṇa* some matter in it belongs to the eighth century but the larger portion of it belongs to a period later than that.The *Garuḍa-purāṇa* was composed in A.D. 700 though the form in which it exists now was given to it in the 16th century A.D.

The Subject matter of the Purāṇas

An old Sanskrit verse records, the following five that constitute the subject matter of the Purāṇas: *sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṁśo manvantarāṇi ca vaṁśānucaritaṁ caiva purāṇaṁ pañcalakṣaṇam*; the creation, the dissolution, the genealogies, the manvantaras and the history of the dynasties are the distingshing marks of a Purāṇa. A verse from the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*

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also records these characteristics with the change in wording in the second hemistich of the verse quoted above: *sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṁśo manvantarāṇi ca sarveṣv eteṣu kathyante vaṁśānucaritaṁ ca yat* (*Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, 3.6.24).

Purāṇas—A Brief Survey

Of all the Purāṇas it is the *Brahma-purāṇa* that seems to be the oldest because it is referred to in all the Purāṇas which scholars consider as the older ones. It also has the other name *Ādi-purāṇa*. It is believed that it was the first of the Purāṇas composed by Vyāsa. It contains a detailed description of the holy places of the Oḍra (Odisha) country. In it there is a hymn of praise of the sun god who is equated with Śiva. It has a supplement called *Saura-purāṇa* which has in it the description of the sun temple built at Konark near Puri in 1241 A.D. The *Viṣṇu*, the *Śiva*, the *Bhāgavata*, the *Nārada*, the *Brahmavaivarta*, the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and the *Devībhāgavata-purāṇas* record the number of verses in this Purāṇa as ten thousands but according to the *Liṅga*, the *Varāha*, the *Kūrma*, the *Matsya* and the *Padma-purāṇas* the number is thirteen thousand. The edition published from Mumbai contains thirteen thousand seven hundred and eighty seven verses.

The *Padma-purāṇa* has five divisions, khaṇḍas; *sṛṣṭi* (creation), *bhūmi* (earth); *svarga* (heaven), *pātāla* (the nether world) and *uttara*, the later. It is said to contain fifty five thousand verses but the edition published from Mumbai has verses that number forty eight thousand. Though primarily dedicated to Viṣṇu, it propounds the oneness of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. It describes Rādhā as the beloved of Kṛṣṇa. It has a number of stories that include those of Śakuntalā and Rāma which in their delineation are close to the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* and the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa than the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* respectively.

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The *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* in order of composition occupies the third place among the Purāṇas. Howevęr, the *Devī-bhāgavata* assigns it the tenth place. All the Purāṇas record 23000 as the number of its verses while the Bombay edition of it has only 16000 verses. In the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, Viṣṇu is eulogized in the course of the description of His incarnations. It is noteworthy that there is no mention in the work of the observance of the vratas, the holy rituals by a devotee or the rites and festivals to be observed by him as also a temple of Viṣṇu.The genealogy of the Maurya dynasty in it differs from that known from other sources. Of all the Purāṇas it is the only one which answers its traditional definition.

The *Śiva-purāṇa* has seven divisions, khaṇḍas comprising 24000 verses. The second chapter of its first khaṇḍa records hundred thousand to be the number of its verses. There it is said that this text of hundred thousand verses was summarised in 24000 verses in seven Books which were given the name *Śaiva-purāṇa*, the fourth one among the Purāṇas. Generally it is viewed as a part of the *Vāyu-purāṇa*. The reality, however, is that it is an independent text which is an Upa-purāṇa and not the Mahā-purāṇa. It is referred to in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa*. Its text as currently available has 12000 verses. There is no reference to Buddhism and Jainism in it. It describes the Gupta Empire which would place it in the fourth century A.D. It has a number of episodes in addition to the description of creation etc. found in the other Purāṇas as well but the purpose of all these is the eulogy of Śiva. Two of its chapters however are dedicated to Viṣṇu. There is description of the Pitṛs, the manes and the Śrāddha ceremony. One of its chapters is devoted to the science of music. Its Gayā-māhātmya glorifying the holy place of Gayā is certainly a much later addition.

Of all the Purāṇas the most well known and popular is the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. The followers of Vaiṣṇavism call it the fifth Veda. It is known for its artistic presentation. According to an

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old saying it is the touchstone (for testing the learning) of the learned: *vipaścitāṁ bhāgavate parīkṣā*. It has twelve Books called Skandhas with twelve thousands verses. It contains a detailed description of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. A number of episodes have been added to it to describe the glory of Viṣṇu. The delineation of the Dhruva and Prahlāda episodes in it closely resembles that of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. The most well-known and popular Book, Skandha of it is the tenth one, the *Daśama-skandha* which apart from describing the playful activities of Kṛṣṇa describes in detail the Rāsalīlā with the Gopīs. A fact that should not go unnoticed is that there is no mention in it of Rādhā who came to be associated with Kṛṣṇa in countless stories.

The *Nāradīya-purāṇa* describes the glory of Viṣṇu and the devotion to Him. It doesn't even touch the topics like creation which form the genius of a Purāṇa. It has two broad divisions, the first one comprises 125 chapters while the second one comprises 28 chapters. Its main theme is the description of the religious observances and the festivals of Vaiṣṇavism. The other topics dealt with in it are the sins and the punishment for them, the Varṇa and the Āśrama systems, the expiations, the sorrow in the world and the salvation that could be achieved through Yoga and Bhakti.

The most important of the Purāṇas from the point of view of subject matter is the *Agni-purāṇa*. Its 15000 stanzas contain the summary of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa*, matter on the science of archery (Dhanurveda), the science of music, Gāndharva-veda, the science of medicine, Āyurveda, the disciplines of state-craft, philosophy, grammar, lexicography, poetics and the basic features of Indian culture. It, in a way, is a veritable encyclopeadia.

Like the *Bhāgavata* and the *Nāradīya-purāṇas* the *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa* is also a Vaiṣṇava-purāṇa. It has 18000 stanzas divided in four Books each dealing with Brahmā, Prakṛti,

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Gaṇeśa and Kṛṣṇa-janma (the birth of Kṛṣṇa). Its Brahmakhaṇḍa describes the creation. The Prakṛti-khaṇḍa, the Book that deals with Prakṛti propounds the view that under the orders of Kṛṣṇa, Prakṛti assumes the form of Durgā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī and Rādhā. The third Book, Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa, recounts the episodes connected with Gaṇeśa who also is referred to here as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. The Kṛṣṇajanma-khaṇḍa describes the birth of Kṛṣṇa, his victory in battles and his Rāsalīlā, the dance form practiced by Him with Gopīs of Vṛndāvana. It mentions Rādhā as the Śakti, the active power, of Kṛṣṇa. It accords the highest place to Kṛṣṇa among all the deities.

Like the *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa*, the *Varāha-purāṇa* is also a *Vaiṣṇava-purāṇa* dealing with the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu. Though it has the description in it of creation, *sṛṣṭi*; the genealogies, *Vaṁśānukrama* and such other subjects, it does not answer fully the traditional definition of Purāṇa. In reality it is a compilation of the eulogies and the observances of the Viṣṇu-worshipers. Though a Vaiṣṇava-purāṇa, it has in it matter connected with Śiva and Durgā. So has it the story of Gaṇeśa and a hymn of praise to him. Besides, it has the story of Naciketas as also the description of *śrāddha*, a ceremony performed in honour of the departed spirits of dead relatives, Prāyaścita, the expiatory rites, the idols of deities and their consecration, and the glory, the *māhātmya* of Mathurā.

The biggest Purāṇa in terms of volume is the *Skanda-purāṇa*. It has six Saṁhitās called Sanatkumarīya, Sūta, Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī, Śāṅkarī and Saurī. Originally it had 8, 11, 100 verses. Its Venkateswer Press edition has however only 81000 verses. Of its Saṁhitās, the Sūta-saṁhitā is the most well-known. It contains matter for devotion to Śiva, Śiva-bhakti, yoga, varṇāśrama-dharma, the rules for the Varṇas, the castes and the stages of life, mokṣa, salvation and the Vedic ritual as also the Śaivite *Brahma-gītā* and the Vedantic *Sūta-gītā*. The Sanatkumārīya-saṁhitā contains the Śaivaite episodes and a

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description of the holy sites (*tīrthas*) at Kāśī. The Saura-saṁhitā deals with the Sun deity. The Śāṅkarī or the Agastya-saṁhitā describes the incarnation of Viṣṇu in the form of Rāma. Its Kāśī-khaṇḍa describes Kāśī and the Śiva temples near it. This Khaṇḍa also has the Gaṅgāsahasranāma-stotra, the thousand names of the river Gaṅgā.

According to the *Matsya*, the *Brahmavaivarta*, the *Nārada*, the *Bhāgavata* and the other Purāṇas the original number of the verses in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* was 9000 but in the edition currently available, the figure is 6900. It looks a part of it was lost. In it prominence is given to such deities as Indra, Brahmā, Agni and Sūrya. Besides some stray topics it attempts to answer some of the questions raised about the characters of the *Mahābhārata*. A part of it comprises the *Devī-mahāpurāṇa* which describes the mighty power of goddess Durgā who is said to be the Ādyāśakti.

The *Vāmana-purāṇa* describes the incarnation in the form of a dwarf, Vāmana of Viṣṇu. Interestingly, it also has the description of the worship of Liṅga and the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. In its 95 chapters it has 10000 verses.

The *Kūrma-purāṇa* is not available in its complete form. It did contain the four Saṁhitās, Brāhmī, Bhāgavatī, Saurī and Vaiṣṇavī of which only Brāhmī is available now. It has 600 verses. The *Nārada* and other Purāṇas give the figure 17000. Its subject is the assumption of the form of Kūrma, tortoise by Viṣṇu but along with that there is description of the incarnation of Śiva as well. According to it Viṣṇu and Śiva are identical. So are Lakṣmī and Devī. The Purāṇa has the Kāśi-māhātmya and the Prayāga-māhātmya as also Īśvara-gītā and Vyāsa-gītā. There is a story in it of Agnideva providing protection to Rāvaṇa which does not figure in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The *Matsya-purāṇa* describes the well-known story of the Deluge. At the end of the aeon Lord Viṣṇu had assumed the

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form of fish and had saved Manu from being carried away by the flood waters. This Purāṇa answers fairly well the traditional definition of Purāṇa. The description of the Andhra dynasty in it is quite reliable. It has in it the description of the religious observances, *vratas*, the cities of Prayāga, Vārāṇasī and Avimukta as also the description of the greatness of the river Narmadā, the royal duties, the ritual to be performed at the time of the building of the house, the consecration of the idols of gods and goddesses and the story of Yayāti and Sāvitrī. The work is both Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite because it details the religious observances of the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas and contains stories related to both Viṣṇu and Śiva.

The *Garuḍa-purāṇa* is a *Vaiṣṇavite-purāṇa*. Viṣṇu had recited it to Kāśyapa. Along with the Pauranic themes it has in it such matter as the devotion to Viṣṇu, the Vaiṣṇavite religious observances, expiatory rites, glorification of holy places, astrology, medical science, prosody, grammar, examination and evaluation of gems, and polity. The second part of this Purāṇa is called Pretakalpa. It contains diverse matter such as the state of soul after death, karman (actions), rebirth and the release from it, the purpose of creation of the universe, the symptoms of approaching death, the path of Yama, the state of the dead, the rites for the dead, the worship of manes etc. Among the Māhātmyas its Gayā-māhātmya is worthy of note. To perform śrāddha at Gayā according to it is very important.

The *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* is a collection of Māhātmya stotras (hymns of praise) and upākhyānas (episodes). The traditional Pauranic form wears thin in it. One of its portions is *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* which in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī has the trappings of a charming poem. According to it non-duality, being one with the Supreme Being and the devotion to Rāma are the means for attaining salvation.

The *Liṅga-purāṇa* deals with the worship of Śiva especially in the form of Liṅga. It describes the twenty-eight incarnations

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of Śiva. The rituals connected with worship occupy a prominent place in it.

The *Bhaviṣya* or the *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa* foretells the coming events. Its description of creation is based on the *Dharmaśāstra* of Manu. A large part of it deals with Brahmanism, the Vratas and the Varṇa-dharma etc. It also has some episodes. The Nāgapañcamī–vrata description included in it mentions the Sarpadaityas, the snake demons and a few episodes connected with snakes. In a part of it is given the description of the Sun-worship as prevalent in the Śaka-dvīpa.

The *Devī-bhāgavata* is also included among the Mahāpurāṇas. It describes the consort of Śiva.

Besides the 18 Mahāpurāṇas there are some Upa-purāṇas as well. They number thirty. Their authorship is also ascribed to Vyāsa. They are: *Sanatkumara, Narasiṁha, Brhan-nāradīya, Śiva-dharma, Durvāsas, Kapila, Mānava, Uśanas, Varuṇa, Kālikā, Sāmba, Nandikeśvara, Saura, Parāśara, Āditya, Brahmāṇḍa, Mahīśvara, Bhāgavata, Vasiṣṭha, Kaurma, Bhārgava, Ādi, Mudgala, Kalki, Devī, Mahābhāgavata, Bṛhaddharma, Parānanda, Paśupati, Harivaṁśa.*

The *Harivaṁśa* is a supplement to the *Mahābhārata*. It is believed to have been added to the *Mahābhārata* later. Besides the Purāṇas mentioned above there are certain works which carry the word Purāṇa with them but which are not listed as Purāṇas. Such works are the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* and the *Nīlamata*, the former deals with Vaiṣṇavism as prevalent in Kashmir while the latter propounds the principles enunciated by King Nīla. It gives the history of Kashmir.

The Jain Acaryas also wrote Purāṇas. Of them the *Padma-purāṇa* of Raviṣeṇācārya and the *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa* and the *Ādi-purāṇa* of Jinasenācārya, the *Uttara-purāṇa* of Guṇabhadrācārya are more well-known. The *Padma-purāṇa* describes the story of Rāma while the *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa* that of

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Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. The *Ādi-purāṇa* of Jinasena and the *Uttara-purāṇa* of Guṇabhadra together are known by the name of *Mahā-purāṇa*. The actual position is that Guṇabhadra had brought to completion, the *Ādi-purāṇa* of his preceptor Jinasena which had been left incomplete, by composing the *Uttara-purāṇa*. The importance of the *Mahā-purāṇa* lies in the description in it of the life of sixty-three Śalākāpuruṣas, the personalities who are the ultimate in perfection, in Jainism.

The Word Purāṇa: its Etymologies

The most popular etymology of the word Purāṇa is:

1. *purā navam* which was new earlier. This seems to indicate the new approach in composing a body of texts for the reinterpretation of the Vedas. A popular saying is *itihāsapurāṇābhyāṁ vedaṁ samupabṛṁhayet*, that one should supplement the Veda with *itihāsa* and *purāṇa*.
2. According to the *Mahābhārata* the old narrative is Purāṇa: *purāṇam ākhyānam*
3. The *Vāyu-purāṇa* gives the following two etymologies of the word:
   a. Which was alive earlier *yasmāt purā hi anati idaṁ purāṇam* (1.203)
   b. Which describes the old tradition: *purā paramparāṁ vakti purāṇam tena vai smṛtam* (1.2.53) The *Padma-purāṇa* also has the same explanation.
4. According to Sāyaṇa the texts that describe creation beginning with its early stages of development are called Purāṇa: *jagataḥ prāgavasthāṁ anukramya sargapratipādakaṁ vākyajātaṁ purāṇam* (introduction to *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*).
5. According to Madhusudana Sarasvati, the history of the creation of the world is Purāṇa: *viśvasṛṣṭer itihāsaḥ purāṇam*.

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These etymologies point to the fact that the Purāṇas represent the age old tradition with regard to the history and the origin of the world which would be in broad agreement with the fivefold characterization of it as recorded in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, the creation, its development, the genealogies, the Manvantaras and the dynasties.

The importance of the Purāṇas

The Purāṇas have great importance from the point of view of history and religion. They are veritable encyclopaedias encompassing in them everything that comes under culture and civilization. The description of the dynasties therein furnishes a mass of material for tracing the political history of India. In the last few decades of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th. scholars initially did not attach much importance to the Purāṇas for tracing the history of India. They took them to be a queer mix of myths, legends and historical events but when Captain Speke traced the origin of the river Nile in Rubia, the Śakadvīpa and this was corroborated by the statements in the Purāṇas, they started having some faith in the authenticity of the statements in them. Later their authenticity came in question when the facts recorded in the inscriptions and seals did not match with those recorded in the Purāṇas. Further, the Buddhist texts also did not agree which some of the facts mentioned in the Purāṇas. That was the initial stage. As the study of the Purāṇas picked up, the scholars came to see in the Purāṇic literature much that was of value. In the beginning of the 20th century Pargiter presented before the scholarly community an authoritative study of the Purāṇas through his work *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*. His work was a turning point in changing the mindset of scholars about the unreliability of the Purāṇas about historical facts. The Purāṇic studies like those by A.D. Pusalkar, R. C. Hazra and others proved that the Purāṇas were not mere myths. They do contain information that could be used for

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unraveling history. According to Vincent Smith, the description of the Maurya dynasty in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* is of great value. He also proved through other corroborative evidence that the description of the Āndhra-dynasty in the *Matsya-purāṇa* is quite dependable and faultless. Scholars have come to accept now that the description of the first few Gupta emperors in the Purāṇas is quite reliable. The Purāṇas therefore drew the attention of scholars to further study of them to trace historical facts. That is why E.J. Rapson, Vincent Smith, K.P. Jaiswal, A.S. Altekar, D.R. Bhandarkar, Ray Chaudhury and R.C. Majumdar and a host of other historians drew for their writings on the vast wealth of the Purāṇic literature. The real aim of the Purāṇas was to pass on to the common people, the complex and the philosophical material of the Vedas through historical facts and popular narratives, myths and legends. That apart, the Purāṇas have valuable information about polity, sociology, philosophy, law, jurisprudence, poetics, grammar, lexicography, art and architecture.

Since the Purāṇas comprise a vast literature composed in different periods of time, it was not unexpected that they should have in them some—occasionally glaring— incongruities. There is lack of order in them. They suffer from repetitions. It is not uncommon to see one Purāṇa lifting chapter after chapter from the other Purāṇa. The story of Satī in the 13th chapter of the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* figures verse for verse, letter for letter in the 33rd chapter of the *Brahma-purāṇa*. The story of Śiva and Pārvatī as described by Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhava* figures in much the same form, verse for verse, word for word in the *Śiva-purāṇa* which puts one in doubt as to who borrowed from whom. According to some it is Kālidāsa who drew the storyline from the *Śiva-purāṇa* and gave it a polished form in the *Kumārasambhava* while according to others it is the *Śiva-purāṇa* which reproduced in its more simple and insipid form, the story of the *Kumārsambhava*. These incongruities apart, the Purāṇas

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constitute a huge literary material which encompasses a vast number of disciplines in an expression at once simple and intelligible. Like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* the Purāṇas need their text to be constituted so that what is genuine is sifted from the non-genuine. The work undertaken in this direction by the All India Kahiraj Trust, Varanasi which has been moving at a snail's pace needs to pick up speed because it has to deal with a literature which runs into millions of verses. This is a national task that needs to be accomplished nationally.

Footnotes

1. *ṛcaḥ sāmani chandāṁsi purāṇaṁ yajuṣā saha*, 11.7.24.
2. *Adhvaryutārkṣye vai paśyato rayajayety āha....purāṇaṁ veda/ so 'yam iti kiñcit purāṇam ācakṣīta, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 14.3.3.13.
3. 2.4.10.
4. 7.1.1
5. *Purāṇanyāyamīmāṁsādharmaśāstrāṅgamiśritaḥ/ Vedaḥ sthānāni vidyānāṁ dharmasya ca caturdaśa//Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, 1.3.
6. 3.6.21
7. *Devī-bhāgavata-purāṇa*, 1.3.2.

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15

POETRY

Mahākāvyas

Poetry has been a part of Sanskrit literature since a hoary past. But the great literary works came to be produced only in the post-vedic period. The most noticeable *kāvya*—its being regarded as the first one has justly earned for itself the appellation of Ādikāvya—is the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki which unlike its counterpart the *Mahābhārata* is divided in cantos and has all the trappings of a *kāvya*. The works on Rhetorics define Mahākāvya as a composition in cantos the hero whereof being a deity or a Kṣatriya of noble family is characterized by firmness and generosity of heart. It can also have a number of kings as heroes belonging to the same noble family. It should have the five Junctures, Sandhis. Its story should be from history such as the *Mahābhārata* or from any other source. It should have for its fruit all the four aims of life like Merit, Wealth, Enjoyment and Liberation. It should begin with a salutation to a deity, or a benediction or simply with the mention of the matter leading to the main story. It should consist of cantos more than eight in number, neither too long, nor too short comprising stanzas composed in some particular metre but ending in those of a different one. At the end of each canto is to be hinted the subject of the succeeding one. Sun and moon, day and night, morning and evening, twilight and darkness, ocean and mountains, woods

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and hunting, seasons, enjoyments, separation of lovers, saints, heaven, city, sacrifices, military march, counsel, marriage, birth of a son, etc. should be described in it according to occasion together with their attendant incidents and circumstances. It is to be named after the poet, the story, the hero or the like whilst the designation of a canto is to be after the principal subject matter contained therein.

According to tradition there are five best Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit collectively called the 'Great Five' *Bṛhatpañcaka*. They are the *Raghuvaṁśa*, the *Kumārasambhava*, the *Kirātārjunīya*, the *Śiśupālavadha* and the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*. Of these the first two are of Kālidāsa and the remaining three are each of Bhāravi, Māgha and Śrīharṣa respectively.

Before the treatment of these 'Great Five' is taken up, it would be worth while to say something about two other great works, though not designated as such, of Aśvaghoṣa who occupies a prominent place among Buddhist Sanskrit poets. According to tradition he was the preceptor and court-poet of Kaniṣka who is assigned to 78 A.D. thus settling his date to the 1st cen. A.D. From the colophon of his three works, the *Buddhacarita*, the *Saundarananda*, the two Mahākāvyas, and the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*, a drama of the Prakaraṇa variety, it is known that he was the son of Suvarṇākṣī and a resident of Sāketa and carried on him the titles Ācārya and Bhadanta: *āryasuvarṇākṣīputrasya sāketakasya bhikṣor ācāryasya bhadantasyāśvaghoṣasya mahākaver mahāvādinaḥ kṛtir iyam.* The epithet *mahāvādin* makes it clear that he was a great logician. He was equally at home in Brahmanical and Buddhist practices. The general inference is that he was born a Brahmin but got converted to Buddhism later. He had studied thoroughly the Vedic literature, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and the orthodox philosophical systems, the Sāṁkhya, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and so on apart from Buddhist scriptures. It was he who had organized the Greart Buddhist Council in the time of Kaniṣka.

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Though there is no dispute about his authorship of the *Buddhacarita*, the *Saundarananda* and the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*, the authorship of some other works like the *Vajrasūci*, the *Gaṇḍistotra*, *Sūtrālaṅkāra* and the *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda* also ascribed to him is not beyond question.

The *Buddhacarita*, as the name itself would make it clear, is an account of the life of Lord Buddha. Originally it had twenty-eight cantos but of these only seventeen are available now. Its Chinese translation in the 5th cen. A.D. and the Tibetan translation in the 7th cen. A.D. have twenty-eight cantos. In its present vulgate edition the last four cantos of the seventeen ones available are said to have been added by one Amṛtānanda Nepālī in 1830 A.D. Its edition based on Haraprasada Sastri's manuscript has fourteen cantos only.

The *Buddhacarita* is based on the Buddhist work the *Lalitavistara*. Its subject matter is quite well-connected and coherent. Its first five cantos describe the birth of the Buddha in supernatural manner and his renouncing the householder's life, while the sixth and seventh his going to forest. Canto eight describes the lamentation of his wife Yaśodharā at his forsaking her, canto nine to the efforts to trace his whereabouts, canto ten to his obtaining enlightenment and visit to Magadha, canto eleven to the denunciation of Kāma, canto twelve to his approach to Maharsi Arāḍa and the discourse by the latter to him about Dharma, canto thirteen to the obstruction by Kāma in his penance and his defeat and canto fourteen to his achieving the Buddhahood.

The *Saudarananda* has eighteen cantos. It deals with the life of Buddha's step-brother Nanda and his (Nanda's) wife Sundarī. Starting with the depiction of their love sports and Nanda's too much involvement with them, the work goes over to his coming under the influence of the Buddha and renouncing the pleasures of mundane life and taking to the life of a recluse to realize the Ultimate Truth.

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Aśvaghoṣa's style is simple and direct and has consequently great appeal. Nowhere does he indulge in long compounds and involved construction that became the hallmark of the later poets. How the conflicting emotions pull a person, each to their own way, is beautifully described by the poet in the following verse which is now among the very popular ones in Sanskrit literature:

taṁ gauravaṁ buddhagataṁ cakarṣa
bhāryānurāgaḥ punar ācakarṣa/
so 'niścayān nāpi yayau na tasthau
taraṅs taraṅgeṣv iva rājahaṁsaḥ// (Saundarananda, 4.42)

"(On the one side) the regard for the Buddha pulled him, on the other, the attachment for his wife drew him to her. In a state of indecision he could neither step forward nor could he stay put like a flamingo swimming on the waves."

The expression *na yayau na tasthau* bears remarkable similarity with that of Kālidāsa in the *Kumārasambhava* at the sight of young Brahmacārin turning into Śiva.

Aśvaghoṣa embellishes his poetry with very pleasant alliteration at places. An example or two would bear it out:

sā rodanāroṣitaraktadṛṣṭiḥ santāpasaṁkṣobhitagātrayaṣṭiḥ/
papāta śīrṇākulahārayaṣṭiḥ phalātibhārād iva cūtayaṣṭiḥ//
(Saundarananda, 6.25)

"She, with eyes exuding resentment and gone red by crying, her whole body agitated because of anguish and her garland withered and dishevelled, dropped down like a branch of a mango tree with excessive weight of fruits."

sā padmarāgaṁ vasanaṁ vasānā
padmānanā padmadalāyatākṣī/
padmā vipadmā patiteva lakṣmīḥ
śuśoṣa padmasrag ivātapena//
(Saundarananda, 6.26)

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"Putting on the ruby-coloured dress she of lotus-like face with eyes as wide as lotus leaves got dried up like a garland of lotuses in the sun dropping down like Lakṣmī with no lotus (to stand on)."

Yaśodharā's lament at her husband's repair to forest is as heart-rending as anything could be:

mamāpi kāmaṁ hṛdayaṁ sudāruṇaṁ
śilāmayaṁ vā 'py ayaso 'pi vā kṛtam/
anāthavac chrīrahite sukhocite
vanaṁ gate bhartari yan na dīryate//

(Buddhacarita, 8.69)

"Surely my heart too is very hard made as it is of stone or steel in that it does not rend with my husband deserving of comforts having repaired to dreary forest like an orphan."

Now we take up the discussion of the 'Great Five'. The first of these is the *Kumārasambhava*, which, as it is available now, has seventeen cantos but according to a large body of scholars its genuine portion is up to the 8th canto only on the ground of the commentary of Mallinātha not going beyond it and clear linguistic and stylistic differences in the two portions, the portion up to Canto 8 and the cantos beyond that. Other scholars take the whole of the work to be that of Kālidāsa on the ground that the birth of Kumāra (Kārttikeya) after which the work is named takes place in Canto XI. And that there are no glaring linguistic and stylistic variations in cantos subsequent to Canto 8, a point not easily sustainable on close scrutiny. According to a legend it is through the elaborate description by Kālidāsa of the sexual play of Śiva and Pārvatī that he had invited on himself the curse for which reason he could not complete the work.

The Mahākāvya begins with the highly poetic and elaborate description of the mount Himālaya and passing on from there goes to the mention of severe penance by Pārvatī thereon to

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obtain Śiva for her as her husband, the burning of Kāma, the god of love who was directed by Indra, the lord of gods, to kindle passion in Śiva so that he begets a son who alone would have the capacity to destroy the demon Tāraka wreaking havoc in heaven, the putting to test by Śiva of the devotion to himself of Pārvatī by disparaging his own self in front of her by assuming the form of a young Brahmacārin provoking her thereby to try to leave the place and his appearance before her in his true form, the marriage of her with Śiva, the sexual play of the couple, the birth of Kumāra, his fight with the demon Tāraka and his destruction by him.

In the *Kumārasambhava* both Śiva and Pārvatī are shown engaged in penance, Śiva for some reason best known to him, *kenāpi kāmena tapaś cacāra*, and Pārvatī for obtaining Śiva for herself, which she could not achieve earlier by mere service to him—the service had not been able to prevent Kāma, the god of love, being burnt to ashes for his audacity in trying to arouse passion in her object of love in her very presence, the prime cause of the frustration of her desire, *tathā samakṣaṁ dahatā manobhavaṁ pinākinā bhagnamanorathā satī*. It was her hard penance that could win Śiva for her: *adyaprabhṛty avanatāṅgi tavāsmi dāsaḥ krītas tapobhiḥ*.

Though Śṛṅgāra, Erotic is the principal sentiment of the poem, it has a good dose of Pathos also in the lamentation of Rati, at the loss of her husband Kāma and Heroic in the fight of Kumāra with Tāraka.

The *Raghuvaṁśa*, the other Mahākāvya of Kālidāsa, describes the life-story of the kings of the Raghu's race. In its nineteen cantos it deals with nineteen kings. Beginning with Dilīpa, the father of Raghu after whom the work is named because of his unique exploits in fighting even Indra who had carried away the horse for the hundredth horse sacrifice, the Aśvamedha with which the former (Dilīpa) could have snatched the title of 'performer of hundred sacrifices' from him (Indra),

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the fight wherein he could withstand even the terrible blow of his thunderbolt and the victory of the quarters, the *digvijaya* followed by the Viśvajit sacrifice wherein he had given away in charity all the wealth acquired as booty in vanquishing kings from all over winning for himself thus an all-time fame, the work goes over to the description of Agnivarṇa who had courted premature death by his over-indulgence in sensuous pleasures leaving his pregnant wife to rule over the kingdom.

Out of the nineteen kings of the race, the description of first six kings is rather detailed occupying as it does the first nine cantos. Rāma's life occupies six cantos, cantos ten to fifteen. The rest of the cantos, cantos sixteen to nineteen, just the four ones, deal with the life-story of as many as twelve kings thereby giving the impression that the poet was in a hurry to complete his work

It is very difficult to surmise the exact motive that led the poet to choose the Raghu dynasty as the subject of his poem. One conjecture could be that in describing the solar race he was describing a Kṣatriya king of his time who might have belonged to this race. The list of the kings given by him in the poem is in general agreement with the one given in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* and more or less preserved in other Purāṇas. Unfortunately these lists end with a king who is said to have died in the *Mahābhārata* war, and the names of his successors are not available. The lists do not end there as in the case of the *Raghuvaṁśa* with a worthless libertine whose excesses had the merit of hastening his death with his widowed queen ascending the throne as regent on behalf of her unborn son.

It seems the poet wanted to form the story of Rāma as delineated by Vālmīki as his central theme that he dealt with so elaborately, a fact to which he was probably referring in first speaking of his ambition, ridiculous as it may appear on the face of it because of the limited range of his intellect, *alpaviṣayā matiḥ*, to strive to give an account of the sun-descended race, a

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task in which he could hope to succeed only by entering into it through the door opened by ancient poets: *athavā kṛtavāgdvāre vaṁśe 'smin pūrva-sūribhiḥ*, the commentator Mallinātha taking the ancient poets as referring to poets like Vālmīki, *kavibhir valmīkādibhiḥ*.

According to critics it is with the appearance of a Mahākāvya like the *Raghuvaṁśa* that the rhetoricians like Viśvanātha included in their definition of a Mahākāvya a composition that can have even more than one person as heroes, as an alternative to the one/s that has/have only one hero. The principal sentiment in it is Vīra, Heroic of both of its varieties of Yuddha and Dāna noticeable in Raghu's fight with Indra, his victory expedition, Aja's fight with the rejected suiters at the end of the Svayaṁvara, the choice by the bride of the groom for herself, Rāma's fight with Rāvaṇa and so on and Dānavīra as exemplified by the giving away of his entire wealth by Raghu in the Viśvajit sacrifice and the entire haul of gold showered in his treasury by Kubera, the god of wealth, to the young graduate Kautsa to be offered by him to his teacher by way of *dakṣiṇā*, fee and the rich gifts by King Atithi, one of the descendants of Rāma in the course of the numerous sacrifices that made him synonymous with god Kubera and so on. There are, however, delineations of other sentiments also, particularly Pathos in the lamentations of Aja at the loss of Indumatī and of Sītā at her exile and so on. There is Śṛṇgāra, Erotic in the dalliances of Aja and Indumatī and in the excessive escapades bordering on grotesqueness of the last of the rulers of the dynasty, the infamous Agnivarṇa.

The third of the five great Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit is the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi who must have belonged to a period earlier than 634 A.D. because of his name figuring along with that of Kālidāsa in the Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II of that date. According to the *Avantisundarīkathā* he was from South India and was the court poet of Viṣṇuvardhana, the younger

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brother of Pulakeśin II who is assigned to 615 A.D. The *Kāśikā* of Vāmana that is assigned to circa 660 A.D. quotes from the *Kirātārjunīya*. From all this evidence it is safe to place Bhāravi in a period around 600 A.D.

Bhāravi carries on him the influence of Kālidāsa and has himself profoundly influenced his illustrious successor Māgha.

The theme of the Kāvya owes itself to the Vanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. After the defeat in the game of dice the Pāṇḍavas went to the Dvaitavana. A spy there informs Yudhiṣṭhira of the good governance of Duryodhana on hearing which Draupadī, the Pāṇḍava queen and Bhīma, the younger brother of Yudhiṣṭhira provoke him (Yudhiṣṭhira) to wage a war against the Kauravas right then, before the expiry of the stipulated thirteen year period of exile to which he does not agree. Just as the conversation is on, there appears the sage Vyāsa at whose instance Arjuna leaves for the Indrakīla mountain to practice hard penance to obtain from Śiva the Pāśupatāstra, the Pāśupata missile. So hard is the penance that even the nymphs fail to disturb it. Ultimately Śiva appears before him in the form of a Kirāta (a member of a a tribe in the mountains that makes living by hunting) and engages him in a fight over the killing of a boar with both claiming credit for it. He is able to satisfy Śiva with his valour and succeeds in obtaining the Pāśupatāstra from him. This small theme the poet has elaborated in his Mahākāvya in eighteen cantos which are embellished with graphic descriptions of the seasons, the mountains, the sun-rise, the sun-set, the moon-rise, the twilight, the water-sports, the drinking bouts, the fights and so on. Vīra, Heroic is the principal sentiment of the Mahākāvya which starting with the forceful words of Draupadī and Bhīma has its culmination in the fierce combat of Śiva in the form of Kirāta and the Pāṇḍava hero Arjuna.

The fourth big Mahākāvya is the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha who, from the genealogy as given by him in the closing stanzas of his work, was the grandson of Suprabhadeva and son of

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Dattaka Sarvāśraya. An Inscription of King Varmalāta of 625 A.D. refers to the mutual connection of Suprabhadeva and Varmalāta. If Suprabhadeva belonged to 625 A.D., it would be in order to assume his grandson to belong to a period around 700 A.D. Somadeva (950 A.D.) in his *Yaśastilakacampū* refers to him (Māgha) while the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana (850 A.D.) and the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* of Vāmana (800 A.D.) quote from his *Śiśupālavadha*. It would be safe, as has been done above, to place Māgha around 700 A.D. In one of his stanzas Māgha through pun compares the science of polity with that of grammar. The stanza in question is:

anutsūtrapadanyāsā sadvṛttiḥ sannibandhanā/
śabdavidyeva no bhāti rājanītir apaspaśā// (2.112)

"That statecraft in which no spies are employed would never succeed, though no step is taken in it that is not in accordance with the maxims of politics, though it may give good salaries and grants of property (to the king's servants), just as the science of grammar, with the Paspaśā (the first Āhnika of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali or the text propounding the utility of it; (*paspaśaḥ prayojana-granthaḥ*) removed from it, would lose its importance, even though it may have the *Nyāsa* which does not leave out the words of the sūtras (of Pāṇini) or where the *Bhāṣya* and *Nyāsa* (of Jinendrabuddhi) follow the sūtras, the excellent *Vṛtti*, and the learned *Bhāṣya* or the auxiliaries (like the Dhātupāṭha, the Uṇādis, the Śikṣā, etc.)

The pun in the stanza is on the adjectives *apaspaśā, anutsūtrapadanyāsā, sadvṛttiḥ* and *sannibandhanā* that go with both *rājanīti*, the statecraft and *śabdavidyā*, grammar. In the case of *rājanīti apaspaśā* means which has no spies *apaspaśā*, *spaśa*=spy. In the case of grammar it means which has no Paspaśā the name for the first Āhnika, the chapter of the *Mahābhāṣya*. *Anutsūtrapadanyāsā* in the case of *rājanīti* means where no steps are taken (*pada*=step, *nyāsa* =taken) in accordance

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with the maxims (*sūtra=maxim*), of politics. In the case of grammar it means *Nyāsa* the name of the commentary on the *Vṛtti* called *Kāśikā* that brings all the *sūtras* (*sūtra*=aphorism) under it. *Sadvṛttiḥ* in the case of statecraft means good salaries (*vṛtti*=salary, *sad*=good). In the case of grammar it means the good *Vṛtti* (*Vṛtti* stands for the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*). *Sannibandhanā* in the case of statecraft means grants of property (*nibandhana*=property). In the case of grammar it means the *Mahābhāṣya* (*nibandhana* being another name for it).*

Since there is reference in the stanza to the *Vṛtti* which was written by Vāmana who belonged to 650 A.D. Māgha would have followed him. It is reasonable to place him, as has been done earlier, around 700 A.D.

The *Śiśupālavadha* is the only work of Māgha that is available now though some of the Subhāṣitasaṅgrahas contain some verses in his name which, do not figure in the *Śiśupālavadha*.

The *Śiśupālavadha* has twenty cantos. Its theme Māgha has drawn from the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. The kernal of the Mahābhāratan story of Śiśupāla's enmity towatds Kṛṣṇa and his killing by the latter the poet has elaborated in his work. The divine sage Nārada while describing the earlier births of Śiśupāla and his cruelties urges Kṛṣṇa to kill him. This infuriates Balarāma and other Yādava chieftains who feel like invading him there and then but Kṛṣṇa at the instance of Uddhava first decides to attend the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. His army camps at the Raivataka mountain. At the Rājasūya Yudhiṣṭhira receives Kṛṣṇa in all courtesies against which Śiśupāla protests. The armies of Kṛṣṇa and Śiśupāla start a fight in which Kṛṣṇa severs Śiśupāla's head with his discus.

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* The commentator Mallinātha and Vallabhadeva have interpreted the verse differently. The words in it are first incorporated according to the former and later according to the latter.

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The camping of the army of Kṛṣṇa at Raivataka affords the poet an opportunity to describe in all their poetic charm, the mountain, the sun-set, the moon-rise, the night-fall, the love sports and the water sports of the Yādavas and their drinking bouts—the traditional accoutrements of a Mahākāvya which have become a sort of type so as to find mention as the necessary ingredients of a Mahākāvya in the definitions of the same in works on rhetorics in Sanskrit.

Māgha had a wonderful command on vocabulary. So vast was his knowledge of it that one of his admirers went to the extent of saying that after the nine cantos in his work no new word is left out: *navasarge gate māghe navaśabdo na vidyate.* Another critic said that (his) whole life was spent up in Megha (the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa) and Māgha (the *Śiśupālavadha*): *Meghe Māghe gataṁ vayaḥ.*

The last of the five great Sanskrit Mahākāvyas is the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* of Śrīharṣa which draws for its theme on the Nalopākhyāna of the Vanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata.* Its twenty-two cantos describe the love story of Nala, the ruler of the Niṣadha country, and Damayantī, the Vidarbha princess. It starts with the description of Nala visiting a pleasure grove and noticing there a golden swan, his catching of it out of curiosity, his release of him out of his lamentations and his (the swan's) description of the beauty of Damayantī and his offer to carry his message as a recompense for his release to her leading to the sprouting of love in both for each other. This is followed by the Svayaṁvara where Damayantī is to choose husband for her. Smitten by her beauty the four gods, the guardian deities of the quarters also assume each the form of Nala putting Damayantī in a rare predicament of distinguishing the human Nala from among them. Through her superior intellect she is able to sift the deities from the human by their winklessness and lack of perspiration and thus getting the real Nala for herself to whom she had lost her heart. After that it is the usual *Mahābhārata* story.

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Before we proceed to say something about the date and the personal life of the poet it would be worthwhile to record, to avoid any confusion, that his name is Śrīharṣa as should be clear from the closing stanza of the poem: *śrīśrīharṣakaveḥ kṛtir iyam tasyābhyudīyād iyam*, "May this work of the poet Śrīharṣa (it is to be noted here that the first *śrī* is honorific here and the second one a part of the name) giving joy to the wise prosper (remain in circulation till eternity). He is different from Harṣa (without *śrī*) the ruler of Sthāṇvīśvara, to whom is attributed the authorship of the plays the *Ratnāvalī*, the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Nāgānanda*. In the last stanza of the first canto of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* Śrīharṣa gives some information about himself. His father was Śrīhīra and mother Māmalladevī. He was the court-poet of the Kānyakubja Kings Jayacandra and his son Vijayacandra. His work *Vijayaprasasti* is probably the eulogy of King Vijayacandra. A Deed of Gifts records 1169 A.D. as the date for the coronation of Jayacandra. Since Śrīharṣa adorned his court as well, it is safe to place him in the 12th cen. A.D.

According to a legend Śrīharṣa's father suffered defeat from the well-known logician Udayanācārya in a disquisition. Before his death he made his son (Śrīharṣa) undertake a vow to defeat the logician. Śrīharṣa recited the Cintāmaṇi mantra and propitiating goddess Tripurasundarī thereby obtained from her the boon of deep learning with which he fulfilled the vow his father had had from him of defeating the logician (Udayanācārya). Thereafter the Kānyakubja ruler being highly impressed by him offered him a seat in his court and two pieces of betelnuts, a fact that he himself proudly records in the last stanza of his poem describing it as *madhuvarṣī*, "dripping honey" and as the fruit accrued from concentration on the Cintāmaṇi mantra in the last stanza of the first canto: *cintāmaṇimantra-cintanaphale*.

From the information available from the final stanzas of the various cantos of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, it appears that

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Śrīharṣa had composed a number of works like the *Sthairyavicāraprakaraṇa*, *Śrīvijayaprasasti*, *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍakhādya*, *Gauḍorvīśakulaprasasti*, *Arṇavavarṇana*, *Chindaprasasti*, *Śivaśaktisiddhi*, *Navasāhasāṅkacampū* as also the *Īśvarābhisandhi* referred to in the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍakhādya*. Of these it is only the *Naiṣadhīyacartita* and the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* that are available now.

Śrīharṣa seems to have been independent enough in charting his own path in designing his Kāvya. He is right when he says that he is *kavikulādṛṣṭādhvapāntha*, the traveller on the path not seen (=traversed) by other poets and *anyākṣuṇṇarasa-prameyabhaṇiti*, whose words provide joy not provided by others. His style he terms as *amṛtapāka*, the perfect nectar.

Śrīharṣa had full command over grammar and vocabulary. It is because of this that he revelled in puns. As an illustration could be mentioned the words which Damayantī speaks : *ceto nalaṁ kāmayate madīyam* (3.67). Now, these are amenable to three-fold interpretation:

(i) *cetaḥ nalaṁ kāmayate madīyam*—my mind longs for Nala.

(ii) *cetaḥ na Laṅkām ayate madīyam* my mind does not go to Laṅkā

(iii) *cetaḥ analaṁ kāmayate madīyam* my mind wants fire to burn myself (were I not to get Nala for myself).

For pun the *pañcanalī* in the thirteenth canto of the work has evoked wide fame. The context is the presence of five Nalas, one the real one, the Niṣadha ruler and the four, the Dikpālas, the guardian deities of the quarters, who had assumed his form to confuse Damayantī in the Svayaṁvaramaṇḍapa, the hall for the choice-marriage. The *pañcanalī* goes up to the 34th verse of that canto. Of the first 33 verses the first two are introductory giving the information of Damayantī having been carried to the hall and Sarasvatī introducing to her the suiters.

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Her choice of words is such that they can go equally with a particular deity, who had faked himself as Nala and the real Nala. From verses 3 to 7 it is Indra, the words going with both him and real Nala. Verses 8 and 9 are intermediary describing the indecisiveness of Damayantī. Sarasvatī then diverts her word power in such a way as to have it applicable to another deity, this time Agni, who had also assumed the form of Nala and also to real Nala.This she does in verses 9 to 13. Verses 14 and 15 are transitional wherein is mentioned the passing on of Sarasvatī from Agni to Yama marking the indecisiveness of Damayantī. Verses 16 to 19 have words equally applicable to Yama, the fake Nala and real Nala. Verses 20 and 21 are again transitional. Verses 22 to 25 have words equally applicable to Varuṇa who had faked himself Nala and the real Nala. Sarasvatī then takes up for description the real Nala but while doing so she uses words in verses 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 which go with Indra (verse 28), Agni (verse 29), Yama (verse 30), Varuṇa (verse 31) who had faked themselves as Nala and the real Nala. In verse 32 she still marks the confusion of Damayantī. In verse 33 she has clever praise for her in that she is drawn towards the Niṣadha ruler who being a king combines in him all the guardian deities of the quarters (a view echoed in the Smṛtis). And then comes the masterpiece, the 34th verse, where words are applicable to all the five Nalas, the four fake ones and one, the real one. This may well be reproduced here to get a feel of the author's poetic artistry:

devaḥ patir viduṣi naiṣa dharājagatyā
nirṇīyate na kimu na vriyate bhavatyā/
nāyaṁ nalaḥ khalu tavāti mahān alābho
yady enam ujjhasi varaḥ kataraḥ paras te//

Words going
With Indra (Lord of Gods)
With Agni (God of Fire)

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With Yama (God of Death)
With Varuṇa (God of Water)
With (Real) Nala

"O the intelligent one, it is not that you are not able to decide that he is not the lord of the earthly region (which means that he is lord of the heaven), then how come you do not choose him?

The other meaning :

"O the intelligent one, it is not that you are not able to make out that this man, *naiṣa* is in this case to be split as *nā+eṣa*, (*nā* man, *eṣa*=this) is the lord of the eastern quarter, i.e. Indra (lit. one who is the lord, *pati* of (the one), the quarter who takes refuge in him who hurls mountains, *dhara*=mountain, *aja*=to throw, to hurl, then how come you do not choose him?

He is not a straw (a useless fellow, *nala=tṛṇa*, straw, one with no substance) but really great, *atimahān*. You will have great loss should you give him up (bypass him); what groom would then be dear to you?

Atimahānalābhaḥ can also be interpreted as *ati+mahāna+lābhaḥ*, *ati*=much, *mahāna* to be split as *maha+āna*; *maha*=festivities, enjoyments like revelling in the divine pleasure groves such as Nandana and *āna*+life, *mahā* can also go with life, the great life, the immortality.

With Agni (God of Fire) :

O the intelligent one, it is not that you are not able to make out that this shining one–the other meaning: you are able to make out that this shining person; is the lord of the northern quarter, i.e. Agni, (*dharājagatyāḥ* to be split as *dhara+aja+gatyāḥ*; *dhara* literally meaning support, *dharatīti dharaḥ*, in the present case the vehicle, *aja=meṣa*, ram; gati=vehicle who has ram as the vehicle, i.e, fire). How come then that you do not choose him? He is not a straw (=inconsequential); if you do not get him

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for you as your husband you will have great loss (*mahān*=great, *alābhaḥ*=loss). If you give him up what groom would be dear to you other, *paraḥ* than him? *Paraḥ* also means enemy. The sense would be 'who is your enemy' (=you are your enemy yourself).

The two expressions *dharājagatyāḥ* and *mahānalābhaḥ* are the key ones from the point of view of pun in this verse.

With Yama (God of Death):

Dharājagatyāḥ patiḥ, the lord of the southern quarter *dharājagatyā* to be split as *dhara+aja+gatyāḥ*, *dharāḥ*–mountains, *aja*–to throw, to hurl (through horns or hooves). The shining one, *devaḥ* identifiable through the movement (*gati=movement*) of the he buffalow, his vehicle, i.e. Yama. [The rest is common to others]

With Varuṇa (God of Water):

It is not that you are not able to make out that this shining one is not the lord of the earth (he is the lord of the nether region, Pātāla), (the mainstay of things that take birth on the earth *dharā*=earth, *ja*=to take birth) i.e. water, Lord Varuṇa. Why do you then not choose him.? He is not Nala but appearing like him (*nalābhaḥ*) though in majesty he excels him (*ati mahaḥ, maha = tejas*, majesty). If you bypass him who else would be to your liking other than an enemy, *para* here too could be taken in the sense of enemy.

With (Real) Nala:

O the intelligent one, why are you not able to make out that this shining one is the lord of the earth and why is it that you do not choose him? *Ayam* this, Nala is the man (*nā*=man). Sarasvatī who is conducting Damayantī is throwing a sort of hint to her about the real Nala through pun. In his form you will get, *lābhaḥ* for you Viṣṇu (*mahānā*=Viṣṇu) (according to scriptures the king is no distinct from Viṣṇu: *nāviṣṇuḥ pṛthivīpatiḥ*). If you bypass him who would be the one to whom you would lose your heart (lit. would be dear to you)?

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The above verse has words in five different meanings, each meant for each "Nala". In this the poet has shown his unique expertise in pun winning the rightful accolades from critics who have called hoim *kavi-paṇḍita*, the poet-scholar and his work the *Naiṣadha* as *vidvadauṣadha*: *Naiṣadhaṁ vidvadauṣadham*, the *Naiṣadha* (the *Naiṣadhīyacarita)* is the medicine for the learned (just as the medicine cures the physical illness in the same way the *Naiṣadha* cures the intellectual illness). It may imply 'challenge'. *Naiṣadhīyam* is a challenge to scholars.

In his Kāvya Śrīharṣa has adopted both the types of styles, Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī, Vaidarbhī is easy and Gauḍī pedantic. According to critics through his words which carry an apparent appreciation of Vaidarbhī, the Vidarbha Princess Damayanti who through her great qualities was able to attract to herself even Naiṣadha, *dhanyāsi vaidarbhi guṇair udārair yayā samākṛṣyata naiṣadho'pi* (3.116), Śrīharṣa was recording obliquely his appreciation of the Vaidarbhī style but at places he consciously employed involved expression, as says he himself towards the close of his work (22.154):

granthagranthir iha kvacit kvacid api nyāsi prayatnān mayā
prājñammanyamanā haṭhena paṭhitī māsmin khalaḥ khelatu

"Here and there I have with effort (deliberately) put knots in the text lest a half-wicked person putting on airs of being learned giving out as if he has to go through it (the Kāvya) somehow *(haṭhena*, lit.insistently) were to play with it (=saying what does it have, it is so clear—disparaging it as a mediocre creation).

Minus the *granthagranthis*, the involved construction, deliberately inserted to silence the uncharitable self-assumed critics, Śrīharṣa has shown his preference for Vaidarbhī which he has laced with sweet alliteration of which an example or two would be worth reproducing. Nala on a visit to a pleasure grove

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in the vicinity of his capital city was carried away by the beauty of the tender creeper caressed by the breeze:

navā latā gandhavahena cumbitā
karambitāṅgī makarandaśīkaraiḥ/
dṛśā nṛpeṇa smitaśobhikuḍmalā
darādarābhyāṁ darakampinī pape// (1.85)

"The tender creeper intermingled with drops of flower honey with its buds enlivened with blossoming as also kissed by the breeze and slightly quivering was intently looked at (lit. drunk) by the king with trepidation and consideration."

Interestingly, the words are so designed here as to be suggestive of a loving woman being kissed by the lover and (consequently) having drops of perspiration with her bud-like teeth shining with smile. Trembling slightly, she was looked at intently by the lover with fear (she being another's wife, *parastrī*) and regard, because of her beauty.

The king while having a stroll in the pleasure grove happened to notice a strange golden swan appreciating the sweet notes of the females of its sex with a yearning for making love moving near him in the pleasure lake that excelled the grandeur of (even) the ocean:

payodhilakṣmīmuṣi kelipalvale
riraṁsuhaṁsīkalanādasādaram/
sa tatra citraṁ viharantam antike
hiraṇmayaṁ haṁsam abodhi naiṣadhaḥ// (1.117)

"On seeing it he got attracted to it a bit through curiosity: *kutūhalākrāntamanā manāg abhūt*, because the way the wish of the Creator runs with uncontrollable force the same way a man's mind would proceed with no control over itself like a straw the wind":

avaśyabhavyeṣv anavagrahagrahā
yayā diśā dhāvati vedhasaḥ spṛhā/

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tṛṇena vātyeva tayā 'nugamyate
janasysa cittena bhṛśāvaśātmanā// (1.120)

Before drawing the curtain on the discussion on the five great Sanskrit Mahākāvyas, it is worth its while to mention that after Kālidāsa Sanskrit poetry started moving away from superb grace and naturalness of the earlier period, subordinating the matter to the form and becoming a means for the display of the tricks of the style. The later the author, the more the effort on his part to win applause from his audiences by the cleverness of his conceits and ingenuity of his diction. With the descriptions of the natural phenomena and objects forming an intrinsic part of a poetic composition, the poets overloaded their poems with thousands of quaint epithets, fantastic similes, strange conceits, curious turns of expression and tricks of alliteration. Metrical puzzles known as Bandhas, such as the Khaḍgabandha, the Padmabandha, the Gomūtrikābandha also played their part in these compositions, wherein the poets in order to show off their skill set words in such a way as to resemble the shape of some object like *khaḍga*, sword or *padma*, lotus or *gomūtrikā*, the urination of cow. In the last one the second line of the verse repeats all the syllables of the first with a different meaning. The 15th canto of the *Kirātārjunīya* and the 19th one of the *Śiśupālavadha* are full of such metrical puzzles. The 15th canto of the *Kirātārjunīya* has verses in it where the poet sometimes uses only one syllable as in

na nonanunno nunnono nānā nānānanā nanu/
nunno 'nunno nanunneno nānenā nunnanunnanut// (15.14)

The word-split in the above verse is: *na nā ūnanunnaḥ nunnonaḥ nā anā nānānanāḥ nanu, nunnaḥ anunnaḥ nanunnenaḥ nā anenāḥ nunnanunnanut.*

"O ye with different faces, *nānānanāḥ= nānāvidhāni ānanāni yeṣām*, one who is pierced by one of lesser strength *ūnena=nikṛṣṭena nunnaḥ=viddhaḥ* is indeed no man (*na nā*). (Similarly) the man (*nā*) by whom the one of lesser strength is

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pierced (*nunnonaḥ=nunnaḥ ūno yena*, is no man (*anā*). (Further), the man whose master is not pierced (*nanunnenaḥ=na nunnaḥ inaḥ=svāmī yasya*), is even though pierced (*nunno 'pi*) not pierced (*anunnaḥ*). (In the same way) one who harms (*nut*) the ones who are (already) highly tormented (*nunnanunnāḥ*) is not free from sin, (*anenāḥ=nāsti enaḥ pāpaṁ yasya*).

Somewhere Bhāravi uses only two types of syllables or four types of them. He also goes in occasionally for the Sarvatobhadra style that means the same words back and forth, e.g.,

devākāninikāvāde vāhikāsvasvakāhi vā/
kākārebhabhare kākā nisvabhavyavyabhasvani// (15.25)

"In the battle shining, *bhasvani, babhasti=bhāsate* with people who take up duties, *svasvavāhikā* one by one, where abuses are hurled, *kāvāde* that infuriate gods, *devakānini=devān ākanayati=uddīpayati, tasmin*, where there is profusion of ichor-exuding elephants *kākārebhabhare=kākārāḥ*=exuding ichor, *kaṁ ākiranti iti kākārāḥ, ibhāḥ=hastinaḥ, teṣāṁ bharo yatra*, where the crow-like, as despicable as crows people are covered with (=combined with) those who are dispirited, *niḥsvāḥ=nirutsāhāḥ* and those who are full of spirit *bhavyāḥ=sotsāhāḥ*.

Māgha also relishes such atrocities beyond measure, e.g.,

sakāranānārakāsakāyasādadasāyakā/
rasāvahā vāhasāranādavādadavādanā// (19.27)

"The army which had a taste for fighting *(rasena āhavo yuddhaṁ yasyāḥ)* and whose musical instruments (bugles etc.) *(vādanāni)* drowned (lit. rent asunder), *da = dyanti = khaṇḍayanti* ths sounds of the best of the mounts *(vāhasāra)* was such that the arrows (*sāyakāḥ*) of it were causing depression (*sādadāḥ=avasādadāyinaḥ*) i.e. destruction of the galloping (*kāsa=bhramaṇa, valgana*) bodies (*kāya*) of the actively engaged (*sakāra (sa+kāra, kāsa = karaṇa = activity*) hordes of enemies (*āra=arīṇāṁ samūhaḥ*)."

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It is not only the Sarvatobhadra type of the composition that Bhāravi and Māgha indulge in. They try other such compositions too. An example of Gomutrikābandha, a composition accepted as difficult by connoisseurs, *duṣkaraṁ tadvido viduḥ*, where the second line repeats nearly all the syllables of the first is as under:

nāsuro 'yaṁ na vā nāgo dharasaṁstho na rākṣasaḥ/
nā sukho 'yaṁ navābhogo dharaniṣṭho hi rājasaḥ//
(Kirātārjunīya, 15.12)

"Like a mountain in appearance *dharasaṁsthaḥ* = *parvatākāraḥ*, this man is not an evil spirit (*asura*) nor is he a snake (*nāgaḥ*) nor a demon. He is easily manageable, full of zeal (*navābhogaḥ* = *mahotsāhaḥ*). He is a man on the earth endowed with the quality of Rajas (= passions)."

An example of Murajabandha, a stanza artificially arranged in the form of a drum or a tabor:

sā senā gamanārambhe rasenāsīd anāratā/
tāranādajanā mattadhīranāgam anāmayā//
(Śiśupālavadha, 19.29)

"At the start of the expedition that army on account of the interest (in battle) (*rasena*) was continuously on the move (*anaratā āsīt*). It had no affliction (*anāmayā*) and had in it intoxicated steady elephants with people shouting aloud."

An example of Cakrabandha where words arranged in concentric, chariot wheel like form:

sattvaṁ mānaviśiṣṭam ājirabhasād ālambya bhavayaḥ puro
labdhāghakṣayaśuddhir uddhurataraśrīvatsabhūmir mudā/
muktvā kāmam apāstabhīḥ paramṛgavyādhaḥ sa nādam harer
ekaughaiḥ samakālam abhram udayī ropais tadā tastare//
(Śiśupālavadha, 19, 120)

"Then he (Vāsudeva), the fearless, rising, worthy one, the hunter for the deer, his enemies, of broad chest with purity

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achieved with the wearing off of sins gave out in happiness a lion-like roar and covered the sky with a volley of arrows (*ropaih, ropa*=arrow) all at once."

किरातार्जुनीयस्य १५ सर्गे धृतानां चित्रबन्धानामुद्धारः ।

गोमूत्रिकाबन्धः । (१२ श्लोकः ।)

ना सु रो यं न वा ना गो ध र सं स्रो न रा क्ष सः ।



ना सु स्रो यं न वा नो गो ध र वि स्रो हि रा ज सः ॥

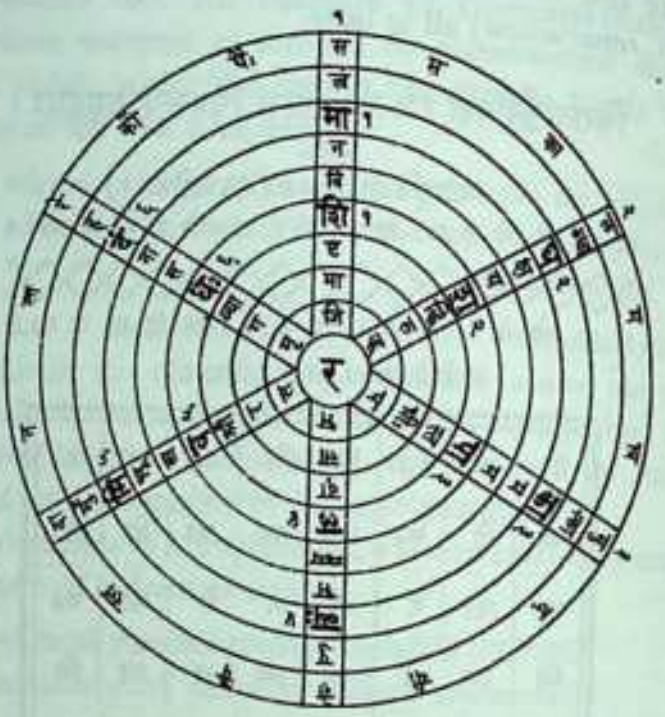
सर्वतोभद्रः । (२५ श्लोकः ।)

दे	वा	का	नि	नि	का	वा	दे
वा	हि	का	स्व	स्व	का	हि	वा
का	का	रे	भ	भ	रे	का	का
नि	स्व	भ	व्य	व्य	भ	स्व	नि
नि	स्व	भ	व्य	व्य	भ	स्व	नि
का	का	रे	भ	भ	रे	का	का
वा	हि	का	स्व	स्व	का	हि	वा
दे	वा	का	नि	नि	का	वा	दे

अर्धभ्रमकः (२७ श्लोकः ।)

स	स	त्व	र	ति	दे	नि	स्वं
स	द	रा	म	र्थं	ना	शि	नि
त्व	रा	भि	क	क	सं	मा	दे
र	म	क	त्व	म	क	र्पं	ति

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गोमूत्रिकाबन्धः। (१२ श्लोकः)

ना सु रो यं न वा ना गो ध र सं स्थो न रा क्ष सः
ना सु खो यं न वा भो गो ध र णि स्वो हि रा ज सः

सर्वतोभद्रः। (२५ श्लोकः)

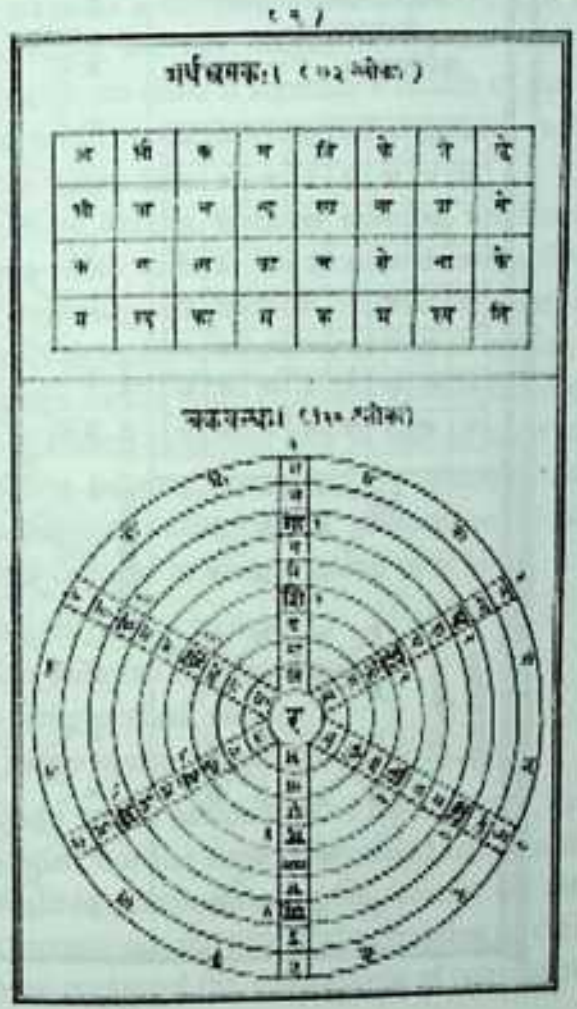
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वा हि का स्व स्व का हि वा
का का रे भ भ रे का का
नि स्व भ व्य व्य भ स्व नि
नि स्व भ व्य व्य भ स्व नि
का का रे भ भ रे का का
वा हि का स्व स्व का हि वा
दे वा का नि नि का वा दे

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सर्वतोभद्रः (२५ श्लोकः)

+ स का र ना ना र का स
का य सा द द सा य का
र सा ह वा वा ह सा र
ना द वा द द वा द ना

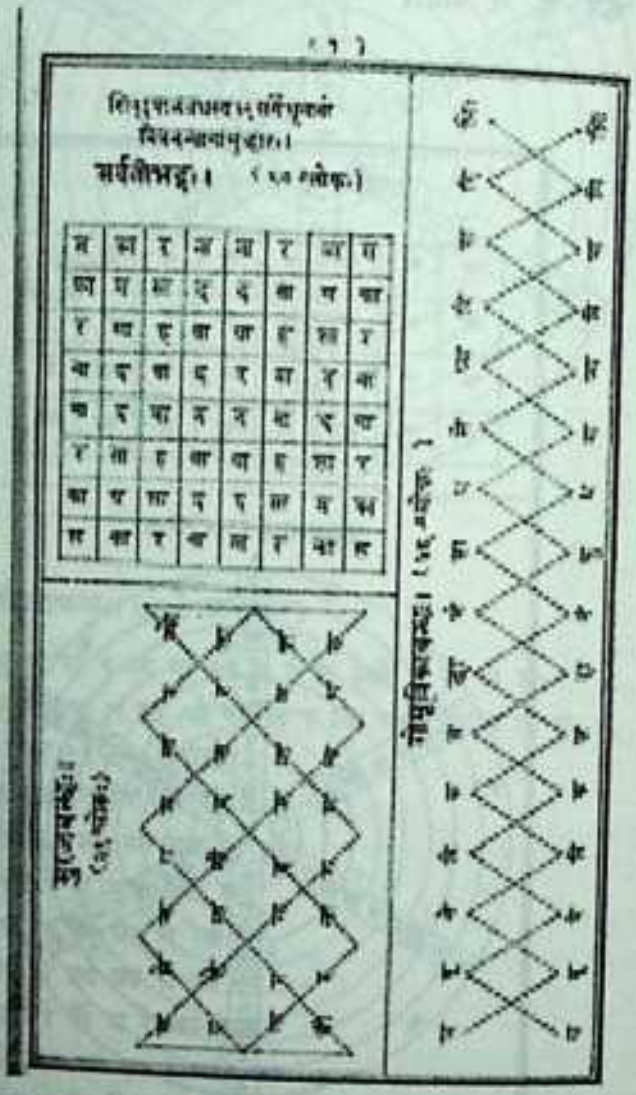
१ 'स्था' ख. पाठः।
२ 'केन' क. ग. पाठः।



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मुरजबन्धः (२९ श्लोकः)

* सा सेना गम नार म्भे
र सेना सीद नार ता
ता रना दज नाम त्त
श्री रना गम नाम या



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Māgha seems to excel Bhāravi in avoiding in some of his stanzas any palatal consonant or a conjunct one. This has probably led a critic to remark:

tāvad bhā bhāraver bhāti yāvan māghasya nodayaḥ/
udite tu punar māghe bhāraver bhā raver iva//

"That long shines the lustre of Bhāravi till Māgha does not appear. With Māgha on the scene, his lustre is like the lustre of the sun in the month of Māgha." There is pun in the words Bhāravi and Māgha. Bhāravi as one word is the name of the poet but when taken as a compound word, *bhā+ravi*, it means *bhā*, the luster of *ravi*, the sun. Māgha on the one hand is the name of the poet, on the other it signifies a month of that name (mid-January to mid-February) when it is extremely cold and the sun's light is rather dim.

The exploits of Māgha, however exciting, are mercifully limited to only a canto or two. The poem otherwise flows on smoothly. The same can be said of Bhāravi who has a very forceful and direct style. He seems to be giving an inkling of the speciality of his own diction when he makes Yudhiṣṭhira comment on the oration of Bhīma exhorting him to take to arms to fight Duryodhana before he gets entrenched by winning over the loyalty of his subjects through good governance as per the report of the spy deputed to keep a watch over him:

sphuṭatā na padair apākṛtā
na ca na svīkṛtam arthagauravam/
racitā pṛthagarthatā girāṁ
na ca sāmarthyam apohitaṁ kvacit// (2.27)

"A speech in which perspicuity of the inflected words is not done away with, nor has depth of meaning been unattended to (lit. not brought in); distinctness of the sense of the different parts has been brought out and power of expression of the words has nowhere been neglected (lit. dropped out of consideration)."

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Continuing in the same strain detailing the excellences and the requirements of a good speech, in his case even the composition, he says:

upapattir udāhṛtā balād
anumānena na cāgamaḥ kṣataḥ (2.28)

"Arguments have been adduced and the science of politics has not been set aside by inference"

It is clear from the above that in Bhāravi's scheme of things there is no place for inference. Everything has to be precise and scientific and every statement lucid and pregnant with meaning, an idea that he forcefully expresses through the simile of medicine:

pariṇāmasukhe garīyasi vyathake 'smin vacasi kṣataujasām/
ativīryavatīva bheṣaje bahur alpīyasi dṛśyate guṇaḥ// (2.4)

"Great virtue or (efficacy) is seen in this speech which is short (as compared with the vastness of the subject), of high significance, beneficial in the end though painful to those who have lost their spirit, as is observed in a highly potent medicine, which though very small in quantity, is repugnant to the weak but productive of good in the end."

It is this penchant of his for conveying much more in the fewest of words that has won approbation of critics who described his expression like the coconut fruit (which is hard in its exterior but tender inside): *nārikelaphalasammitaṁ vaco bhāraveḥ*. It may not have as much of delicacy and elegance as that of Kālidāsa but has clarity and depth in sense. Through the following verse put in the mouth of Arjuna he seems to be giving an idea of what the expression should be like:

viviktavarṇābharaṇā sukhaśrutiḥ
prasādayantī hṛdayāny api dviṣām/
pravartate nākṛtapuṇyakarmaṇāṁ
prasannagambhīrapadā sarasvatī// (14.3)

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"It is those who have done good deeds that their speech adorned with distinct letters, pleasant to ears, soothing the hearts even of the enemies with words easily intelligible and having depth of meaning comes out."

It is because of his quality of *arthagaurava* that some of his sayings have become household words in Sanskrit: *hitaṁ manohāri ca durlabhaṁ vacaḥ* (1.4); *varaṁ virodho 'pi samaṁ mahātmabhiḥ* (1.8); *sahasā vidadhīta na kriyām avivekaḥ paramāpadāṁ padam* (2.30); *mukharatā 'vasare hi virājate* (5.16).

Bhāravi had great sense of polity. He seems to believe in the dictum *śaṭhe śāṭhyaṁ samācaret*, one should be dishonest to the dishonest as would be clear from the following verse of his:

vrajanti te mūḍhadhiyaḥ parābhavaṁ
bhavanti māyāviṣu ye na māyinaḥ/
praviśya hi ghnanti śaṭhās tathāvidhān
asaṁvṛtāṅgān niśitā iveṣavaḥ// (1.30).

"Those men of dull intellect who do not use fraud against those who have used fraud, meet with defeat. For, artful persons having entered into the secrets of such persons destroy them just as sharp arrows enter into (pierce) and kill those whose bodies are not protected with armour."

For achieving the goal that one has set before onself one has to pursue it single-mindedly with no uneasiness creeping in ones's mind due to separation from one's loved ones:

yaśo 'dhigantuṁ sukhalipsayā vā
manuṣyasaṁkhyām ativartituṁ vā/
nirutsukānām abhiyogabhājāṁ
samutsukevāṅkam upaiti lakṣmīḥ// (3.40)

Each of the three poets of the four big Mahākāvyas has got a pseudonym on account of a striking simile or description in his work. Thus Kālidāsa has got the pseudonym Dīpaśikhā-Kālidāsa, Bhāravi Ātapatra-Bhāravi and Māgha Ghaṇṭā-Māgha.

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The stanza that gave Kālidāsa the pseudonym occurs in the context of the choice by Indumatī of a husband for her. As she passed by one suiter to another, the ones bypassed felt listless. How they felt the stanza describes with the simile of the moving flame of a lamp:

sañcāriṇī dīpaśikheva rātrau
yaṁ yaṁ vyatīyāya patiṁvarā sā/
narendramārgāṭṭa iva prapede
vivarṇabhāvaṁ sa sa bhūmipālaḥ// (Raghuvaṁśa, 6.67)

"Whatsoever king, she intent on choosing a husband, passed by, every one of them was turned pale (lit. got into a state of pale-facedness) like the royal road at night with the flame moving on."

The stanza that has given the pseudonym to Bhāravi is as follows:

utphullasthalanalinīvanād amuṣmād
uddhūtaḥ sarasijasambhavaḥ parāgaḥ/
vātyābhir viyati vivartitaḥ samantād
ādhatte kanakamayātapatralakṣmīm//
(Kirātārjunīya, 5.39)

"The pollen going up from this bed of land-growing lotuses having been tossed up all over in a circular shape by the whirl-wind assumes the beautiful shape of a golden parasol."

The stanza that has given the pseudonym to Māgha is as follows:

udayati vitatordhvaraśmirajjāv
ahimarucau himadhāmni yāti cāstam/
vahati girir ayaṁ vilambighaṇṭā-
dvayaparivāritavāraṇendralīlām// (Śiśupālavadha, 4.20)

"This mountain (Raivataka) with the rise of the sun and the setting of the moon with their rays serving ropes gives the appearance of a lordly elephant adorned with two bells, hanging one on each of its two sides."

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While evaluating these poets the ancients have associated them with certain excellences. As per an old stanza:

upamā kālidāsasya bhāraver arthagauravam/
naiṣadhe padalālityaṁ māghe santi trayo guṇāḥ//

"Simile of Kālidāsa, the depth of meaning of Bhāravi, the charm of words in the *Naiṣadha*. Māgha has all the three."

The evaluation, however, varies with each critic. For another critic Māgha and Bhāravi are no compeer to *Naiṣadha*:

udite naiṣadhe kāvye kva māghaḥ kva ca bhāraviḥ

"With the appeareance of the *Naiṣadha kāvya* where do stand Māgha and Bhāravi?"

In our system of treating the 'Five Great' together the chronogical order was disturbed a bit. Instead of taking up Māgha after Bhāravi, it should have been Bhaṭṭi that should have been taken up. The name of his Kāvya is *Rāvaṇavadha* but it has come to be known after his name itself, the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. In its twenty-two cantos it treats the story of Rāma from his birth to his coronation on return from Laṅkā after killing Rāvaṇa but its main purpose seems to have been to illustrate the rules of Sanskrit grammar as should be clear from its author's admission:

dīpatulyaḥ prabandho 'yaṁ śabdalakṣaṇacakṣuṣām/
hastādarśa ivāndhānāṁ bhaved vyākaraṇād ṛte// (22.33)

"For those with an eye for the formation of words this composition is like a lamp. With no grammar it would be a hand-mirror for the blind."

The author had composed his poem in the city of Valabhī ruled by King Śrīdharasena so that it could add to his glory for he, the king, looks to the welfare of his subjects:

kāvyam idaṁ vihitaṁ mayā
valabhyāṁ śrīdharasenanarendrapālitāyām/
kīrtir ato bhavatān nṛpasya tasya
kṣemakaraḥ kṣitipo yataḥ prajānām// (22.35)

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Now, Valabhī had four kings of the name of Śrīdharasena of whom the first one belonged to 500 A.D. and the last one to 650 A.D. An inscription records the gifting of land to one Bhaṭṭi by Śrīdharasena II. If that Bhaṭṭi is the same as the author of our Kāvya, then, he, Bhaṭṭi, could well be assigned the period of the second half of the 6th cen. A.D.

The *Bhaṭṭikāvya* is divided in four Kāṇḍas, Sections, on the basis of grammar: Prakīrṇa, (miscellaneous), Adhikāra (a governing rule that exerts a directing influence on the succeeding rules), Subanta (the nouns) and Tiṅanta (the verbs). The poet had the unique capacity to weave charming poetry along with his effort at explaining the rules of grammar. As an illustration of it could be mentioned cantos II, XI and XII. In Canto XIII the verses have been so composed as to look common in both Sanskrit and Prakrtit. An instance of it:

baddho vāsarasaṅge bhīmo rāmeṇa lavaṇasalilāvāse/
sahasā saṁrambharaso dūrārūḍharavimaṇḍalasamo lole//
(13.2.)

"In the morning Rāma flew all of a sudden into terrible anger that looked like (in fierceness) the orb of the sun risen high against the waving ocean."

Bhaṭṭi has embellished his poem with both the Śablālaṅkāras, the figures of speech of words and the Arthālaṅkāras, the figures of speech of meaning. He has used Yamaka but not the ordinary variety of it but the special one of Cakravāla (so called because of its being of the shape of a circumference with the differing syllables forming the navel –in it the last two syllables of the words are the same while the others differ, e.g.,

avasitaṁ hasitaṁ prasitaṁ mudā
vilasitaṁ hrasitaṁ smarabhāṣitam/
na samadāḥ pramadāḥ hatasammadāḥ
purahitaṁ vihitaṁ na samīhitam// (10.6)

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"The laughter that was constant came to an end. The joyous amorous gestures and the love-talk (of the ladies) went down. The womenfolk with their happiness gone had no passion in them. The intended welfare of the city was not achieved."

One of the most well-known verses of his composition has the figure of speech Ekāvalī, the Necklace (where each succeeding thing is affirmed or denied as an attribute of a preceding thing) in

na taj jalaṁ yan na sucārupaṅkajaṁ
na paṅkajaṁ tan yad alīnaṣaṭpadam/
na ṣaṭpado 'sau na juguñja yaḥ kalaṁ
na guñjitaṁ tan na jahāra yan manaḥ// (2.19)

"That was no water that did not have charming lotus in it; that was no lotus that did not have a bee in it; that was no bee that did not hum sweet; that was no humming that did not captivate the mind."

It is a tribute to Bhaṭṭi's command over expression that he composes a verse where there is no verb, a verse where there is a word with each verb and a chain of them with one object, in the latter two the verbs are all in Perfect tense:

(1) *tataḥ praṇītāḥ kapiyūthamukhyair*
nyastāḥ kṛśānos tanayena samyak/
akamprabradhnāgranitambabhāgā
mahārṇavaṁ bhūmibhṛto 'vagāḍhāḥ//

(2) *tene 'dribandho vavṛdhe payodhis*
tutoṣa rāmo mumude kapīndraḥ/
tatrāsa śatrur dadṛśe suvelaḥ
prāpe jalānto jahṛṣuḥ plavaṅgāḥ//

(3) *bhremur vavalgur nanṛtur jajakṣur*
jaguḥ samutpupluvire niṣeduḥ/
āsphoṭayāñcakrur abhipraṇedū
rejur nanandur viyayuḥ samīyuḥ// (13.26—28)

Next to Bhaṭṭi in chronological order and importance is the *Jānakīharaṇa* of Kumāradāsa, a resident of Siṁhala who

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according to the Simhalese tradition was no other than the king of that name who ruled over Śrīlaṅkā from 517 to 526 A.D. and who is mentioned in the Simhalese text the *Pūjāvali* as the son of Mudgalāyana. That text makes it specifically clear that he was no other than the ruler of that name who lost his life by jumping into the funeral pyre of Kālidāsa, a legend not sustainable historically, Kālidāsa generally being assigned to either the 1st cen. B.C. or the 4th cen. A.D., a point also not sustainable because of non-mention of any such thing in the Simhalese historical treatise the *Mahāvaṁśa*. This much, however is certain that Kumāradāsa was a native of Siṁhala. Earlier manuscripts of his work were discovered from Siṁhala.

The *Jānakīharaṇa* carries an unmistakable influence of Kālidāsa. It is quoted by Vāmana of 800 A.D. Its author was acquainted with the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* of Vāmana and Jayāditya. It is said to have contained originally 25 cantos which are available in Simhalese translation but in Sanskrit original its text is available up to canto XV only of which the last canto is in a fragmentary state.

As the title would make out, the work should be dealing with the episode of the abduction of Jānakī, Sītā; it deals instead with the entire story of Rāma, from his birth to the killing of Rāvaṇa. It has all the descriptions that are a type now in Sanskrit Mahākāvyas, the sunset, the moonrise, the water-sports and so on.

The poet is fond of figures of speech. Particularly delightful is his alliteration, e.g.,

(a) *sugandhisaugandhikagandhahṛdyaḥ (1.64)*

(b) *yāte ca rāme nayanābhirāme*
dṛṣṭvā diśaḥ kiṁ phalam asti śūnyāḥ (7.24)

The flight of his imagination sometimes is very captivating:

prāleyakālapriyaviprayoga-
glāneva rātriḥ kṣayam āsasāda/

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jagāma mandaṁ divaso vasanta-
krūrātapaśrānta iva krameṇa// (3.13)

It is a common phenomenon that during spring/summer nights get shorter and the days stretch out.

"The night got shrunk due to separation from its lover, the winter, as it were (while) the day advanced slowly tired as it were due to the cruel sun of the spring."

It is because of his sterling qualities that Kumāradasa could win high praise from a critic of the calibre of Rājaśekhara:

Jānakīharaṇaṁ kartuṁ raghuvaṁśe sthite sati/
kaviḥ kumāradāsaś ca rāvaṇaś ca yadi kṣamaḥ//

"With the *Raghuvaṁśa* in existence it was given only to Kumāradāsa to compose the *Jānakīharaṇa* just as with the the race of Raghu in place it was given to Rāvaṇa to abduct Jānakī (Sītā). Rājaśekhara has used the pun here. Raghuvaṁśa means both, a work of that name and the race of Raghu, its literal meaning. Similarly, Janakīharaṇa means the work of that name as also the *haraṇa*=abduction of Jānakī=Sītā.

The next great name among Sanskrit poets is that of Ratnākara who composed the *Haravijaya*, the biggest of the older Sanskrit Mahākāvyas with its fifty cantos and 4320 verses (two modern poets, S.B. Warnekar and Rewa Prasad Dwivedi have produced still bigger Mahākāvyas the *Śivarājyodaya* with sixty-four cantos and the *Svātantryasambhava* with seventy five cantos respectively) which has for his theme the destruction by Śiva of the demon Andhaka, a short theme, expanded by lengthy descriptions actuated by the showing off of his skill in poetry by the poet.

Mahākāvyas continued to be written down the centuries but they could not achieve the fame their earlier counterparts did though that could not be the criterion for determining their quality. Among the less-known works mention may be made of the *Jāmbavatīpariṇaya* and the *Pātālavijaya* ascribed to Pāṇini

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which have verses from them in the anthologies. Rājaśekhara specifically mentions them to be the works of Pāṇini though that would pose difficulty in view of the occurrence in them of the blatantly unpāṇinian forms like *apaśyati* and *gṛhya*. The *Durghaṭa-vṛtti* of Śaraṇadeva has three veres from the *Jāmbavatīvijaya*. The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali refers to one *Vārarucakāvya* which is extinct now. A *kāvya* called *Padmacūḍā-maṇi* of ten cantos describing the life of the Buddha up to the conquest by him of Māra is ascribed to Buddhaghoṣa with a little difference in details from the *Lalitavistara* and the *Buddhacarita*. It should not be of a period earlier than the 5th cen. A.D. The well-known critic Kṣemendra assigns the authorship of a Mahākāvya *Kuntaleśvaradautya* to Kālidāsa where the latter is described to have led an embassy to the court of a Kuntala ruler. Bhartṛmeṇṭha, a court-poet of Mātṛgupta of the 6th cen. A.D. is said to have composed the Mahākāvya *Hayagrīvavadha* which is not available now. A poet Bhīmaka wrote a twenty-seven canto Mahākāvya the *Rāvaṇārjunīya*, alternately called *Arjunarāvaṇīya*, on the model of Bhaṭṭi wherein he describes the fight between Kārtavīrya and Rāvaṇa. In the 9th cen. A.D. during the reign of King Avantivarman the Buddhist poet Śivasvāmin composed a Mahākāvya *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* in twenty cantos which is based on a story of the *Avadānaśataka* wherein Kapphiṇa is converted by the Buddha to peaceful path after King Prasenajit whom he defeats in battle takes refuge with him (the Buddha). This small story gets an elaborate treatment from the poet who allows his muse to describe all the natural phenomena and such other things which afford him a full play to show his poetic talent as proof as it were of his statement: *yadvāṇī śrutimātrakeṇa sudhiyāṁ cetaścamatkāriṇī*, "whose speech by mere hearing charms the minds of the learned". In the 9th cen. A.D. Jinasena had composed the *Pārśvābhyudaya* which describes the life-story of Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha. The work incorporates into it the

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whole of the *Meghadūta*. In the 10th cen. A.D. the logician Jayantabhaṭṭa in his *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra* of eight cantos presented a condensed version, as the title itself makes clear, of the story of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. In the first quarter of the 11th cen. A.D. Vādirāja composed the *Yaśodharacarita* which describes the life-story of King Yaśodhara. In the 10th cen. A.D. Halāyudha wrote the *Kavirahasya* which is a devotional poem wherein is eulogized Lord Kṛṣṇa. A poet of the name of Abhinanda who was the son of Śatānanda composed a Mahākāvya the *Rāmacarita* whose date is not known.

The well-known Kashmirian poet and critic Kṣemendra of the 11th cen. A.D. composed two works the *Rāmāyaṇamañjarī* and the *Bhāratamañjarī* which deal with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* respectively. Another poet of the same century Lolimbarāja described in his *Harivilāsa* of five cantos the Kṛṣṇa story. In the 12th cen. A.D. The Ruyyaka-pupil Kashmirian Maṅkha composed a twenty-five canto Mahākāvya the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* which deals with the story of the destruction of the demon Tripura by Śiva. Another poet of the same century Dhanañjaya through his *Śatruñjayamāhātmya* describes the holy mountain Śatruñjaya. The versatile Jaina writer Hemacandra of the period 1088—1172 A.D. wrote a voluminous work the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* whose seventh Parvan, Book, is called the Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa* and the tenth one the Mahāvīracarita while the other Parvans are an interesting store-house of the fairy tales and sundry legends. Haricandra of an unknown date in his *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya* gives an account of the twenty-one Tīrthaṅkaras, the saints of the Jainas. Vāgbhaṭa of the 12th cen. A.D. describes in his fifteen-canto *Neminirvāṇa* the life of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha. In the 13th cen. A.D. Amaracandra delineated the *Mahābhārata* story in his *Bālabhārata*. Devaprabhasūri of the same century wrote two works the *Pāṇḍavacaritra* and the *Mṛgāvatīcaritra* which deal with the story of the Pāṇḍavas and the Ujjayinī ruler Udayana respectively.

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In the 14th cen. A.D. Kṛṣṇānanda in his *Sahṛdayānanda* of fifteen cantos has described the age-old Nala-Damayantī story. Vāmanabhaṭṭa of the same century did the same in his work the *Nalābhyudaya* of eight cantos. In the 15th cen. A.D. Sakalakīrti along with his pupil Jinadāsa composed the *Harivaṁśa* while in the 16th cen. A.D. Śubhacandra wrote the *Pāṇḍava-purāṇa* which is also known as *Jaina-Mahābhārata*.

A time came in the evolution of Sanskrit Mahākāvya literature when poets composed their works in such a way that through pun their works could be taken to describe two stories or two subjects at the same time. As an instance could be mentioned the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*, a Mahākāvya of thirteen cantos, of Kavirāja, the court-poet of Kadamba Kāmadeva of Jayantapurī of the 12th cen. A.D. which describes the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* simultaneously, each stanza of it fitting in through double meaning of words with both. Another telling instance of it is the *Rasikarañjana* of Rāmacandra of the 16th cen. A.D. where the two contradictory feelings of love and renunciation are describred simultaneously through pun. Still another instance of this is the *Rāghavanaiṣadhīya* of Haradatta Sūri of unknown date which deals with the stories of Rāma and Nala, each stanza going well with each. The most remarkable work of this type of composition is the *Rāghavapāṇḍavayādavīya* of Cidambara, the court-poet of King Veṅkaṭa I of Vijayanagara (1586—1614 A.D.) wherein three stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* run parallel to each other, the same stanza could be so interpreted as to be referring to each—a remarkable feat of pun indeed.

Historical kāvyas

Before the discussion on Mahākāvyas is brought to a close, it may be worthwhile to say a few words about what have come to be known as the historical *kāvyas*. Except for Kalhaṇa's

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Rājataraṅgiṇī which is fairly accurate in its historical account of the kings of Kashmir approximating closely to the modern texts on history there are only a few works in Sanskrit which answer the requirements of true history. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, as per the admission of its writer, is not the first work on the chronicle of Kashmir and that extensive works had already been written on it including that of Suvrata which he had embodied in his work. According to Kalhaṇa he had consulted for tracing the history of Kashmir eleven works of former scholars, the *Nīlamata-purāṇa* as also the *Nṛpāvali* of Kṣemendra that in spite of its shortcomings to which he (Kalhaṇa) draws attention had provided him with a summary of his sources. From the *Padma-purāṇa* Kalhaṇa took eight kings beginning with Lava who come first after a gap of thirty-five lost kings in Book 1. Kalhaṇa had many other sources for his material. He consulted, he says, inscriptions of various kinds, those recording the construction of temples, memorials, palaces, the records of land grants, Praśastis (eulogies), engraved on temples and other buildings and manuscripts of literary works recording names of rulers and dates. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is a voluminous work of 7826 verses divided in eight Books and gives an account of the rulers of Kashmir from the beginnings to 1151 A.D., a period of about a thousand and five hundred years.

Kalhaṇa's father Campaka was the minister of Kashmir ruler Harṣa (1089—1101 A.D.). After the death of Harṣa, Campaka had developed indifference to political life. Kalhaṇa who must have been very young at that time was also not directly involved in the political events of his time. That probably provided him with objectivity to describe the contemporary events. After Harṣa, Uccala and Sussala came upon the throne. The history of Kashmir since that time is that of intrigue, cruelty and immorality. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* presents Sussala's son Jayasiṁha as the king.

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Though history is the predominant note of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, it is a *kāvya*, poem and has to have poetic flashes. Some of its verses can pass off as excellent poetry as can be seen from the following:

kṣutkṣāmas tanayo vadhūḥ paragṛhapreṣyāvasannaḥ suhṛt
dugdhā gaur aśanādyabhāvavivaśā hambhāravodgāriṇī/
niṣpathyau pitarāv adūramaraṇau svāmī dviṣannirjito
dṛṣṭo yena paraṁ na tasya niraye prāptavyam asty apriyam//

"One who has seen his son emaciated through hunger, wife serving in other's households, the friend fallen in adversity, the mlked cow helpless because of lack of fodder and lowing (thereby), the parents with no wholesome food with death imminent, the master vanquished by enemy, there is nothing more unpleasant for him in hell".

In spite of the best efforts of Kalhaṇa there have crept in his work some erros. At places the chronology is defective. Some of the episodes recounted seem to be based on blind faith. The account up to the 8th cen. A.D. is incomplete and unclear. After the 8th cen., however, it is reliable and detailed.

Kalhaṇa had an abiding faith in fate. In every event he saw its working. Harṣa's death at the hands of his servants after passing through a miserable life in spite of his being so intelligent and astute, he attributes to the working of fate. He had full faith also in transmigration, the result of the actions of earlier births, good and bad omens and so on.

While dealing with historical *kāvyas* it may be pertinent to mention that these works, though they had historical themes, were *kāvyas* primarily with all their attendant appurtenances and can in no way be termed as texts on history. There has been an old complaint that India has no historians and no sense of history which is justified on the ground that despite the abundance of literature, history is miserably represented. The nearest approach to a true historian is Kalhaṇa. Prior to him another

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Kashmiri poet Bilhaṇa had composed around 1085 A.D. the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* in whose 10th canto he has given an account of himself which records him to have been born in a Brāhmaṇa family in the Khonmukh village near the then capital city of Pravarapura, of Jyeṣṭhakalaśa and Nāgadevī. He had migrated from his home during the reign of King Kalaśa himself and had after moving about in the pilgrimage centers like Mathurā, Kānyakubja, Prayāga and Kāśī and having spent some time in the court of Prince Karṇa and possibly of the Calukyan King Karṇadeva Trailokyamalla (1064—1094) of Anhilvad had settled in the kingdom of Vikramāditya VI (1076—1127) who had appointed him his court-scholar (Sabhā-paṇḍita) and had conferred on him the title of Vidyāpati.

In his eighteen-canto Mahākāvya the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* Bilhaṇa has described the life of the Calukyan King Vikramāditya. His work throws good light on the relationship among the Colas and the Cālukyas and the other kings of the South in an highly poetic style a sample of which can be had from the following:

karṇāmṛtaṁ sūktirasaṁ vimucya
doṣe prayatnaḥ sumahān khalānām/
nirīkṣate kelivanaṁ praviṣṭaḥ
kramelakaḥ kaṇṭakajālam eva//

"Keeping aside the joy of the wise sayings which are nectar to ears, the half-wicked put in greater effort in looking for shortcomings. A camel entered in a pleasure-grove looks for the bed of thorns only."

Of the other historical Sanskrit Mahākāvyas mention may be made of the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* of Parimala Padmagupta which has the theme of the winning of the Nāga king's daughter by King Sindhurāja Navasāhasāṅka, the younger brother of Vākpatirāja II that throws light on the historical facts of the Parmar dynasty of Gujarat; the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* of Jayānaka which describes the life of the last great Hindu emperopr of

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India Prithviraj Chauhan giving along with this description valuable information about the Chauhan kings of Ajmer from the middle of the 8th cen. A.D. to the end of the 12th cen. A.D.; the *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* of Hemacandra Sūri, so called because of its serving the dual purpose, *dvyāśraya*, of teaching the rules of Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar, of Sanskrit in its first twenty cantos and of Prakrit in its sundsequent eight of its total of twenty-eight cantos and at the same time describing the history of the Calukyas of Gujarat; the *Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvaradeva, the court-poet and the royal priest of Lāvaṇyaprasāda of Anhilvad which first deals with the kings of the Cālukya dynasty beginning with Mūlarāja and ending with Bhīma II and then switches to the description of the life of minister Vastupāla; the *Sukṛtasaṅkīrtana*, an eleven-canto Mahākāvya, of Arisiṁha which again is a description of the life of the minister Vastupāla who served Vīradhvaja of Dholka and his son Vīsaladeva starting with the description of the Cāpoṭkata dynasty and the Vaghela dynasty of Gujarat; the *Vasantavilāsa*, a fourteen-canto Mahākāvya, which has the same theme as the earlier two; the *Hammiramahākāvya* of fourteen cantos of Nayacandra Sūri which describes the glory of the Chauhan kings with special reference to Hammīra and is an important document on the history of Ajmer and Ranathambhor (Raṇastambhapura) and the eight-canto *Madhurāvijaya* of Gaṅgādevī which describes the achievements of the author's husband Kampana, one of the sons of King Bukka, the ruler of Vijayanagara of the South and the thirteen-canto Mahākāvya the *Sāluvābhyudaya* of Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima which deals with the exploits of Sāluva Narasiṁha who in the view of Krishnamachariar was the commander of the forces of Vijayanagar under King Mallikārjuna and his successors as also the ancestors of Sāluva.

Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit are being written even now, their number going into several scores. This genré, as it would appear, has a special fascination for the Indian mind.

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Lyric Poetry

Lyric poem is smaller in size than a Mahākāvya and resembles it partially: *khaṇḍakāvyaṁ bhavet kāvyasyaikadeśānusāri yat* (*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VI. 329). In it the poet is free from poetic conventions and is in a position to give full play to his imagination which makes his work rather attractive. Since it is short, the reader can go through it in short time with full grasp of its diction.

Generally love in all its varied ramifications has been the subject matter of the lyrics in Sanskrit but there is no dearth in it of those where matters metaphysical, spiritual and didactic have found expression. In the love lyrics poets have made nature the handmaid of man which plays on his emotion. The flowers, the waters, the trees, the mountains, the clouds all in union of lovers play as the incentives and increase the pain in separation.

It is not only Sanskrit, even Prakrit literature is rich in lyrics. The most well-known work in this category is the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Hāla, also called Sātavāhana which gives expression to love in its varied forms in its seven hundred verses and finds mention in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa. If its author Hāla or Sātavāhana were to be taken to be identical with the king of that name of the Andhra country, the work then goes over to the early centuries of the Christian era.

In line with his prominence in drama and poetry is the prominence of Kālidāsa in lyric. Two of the most famous lyrics of Sanskrit literature, the *Meghadūta* and the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, are by him. The *Meghadūta* takes for description the condition of a Yakṣa who is exiled from his abode in the Alakā city by the curse of his master Kubera for lapse of duty on his part (explained by the commentator Mallinātha as the gathering by him of lotuses the prevous evening, not intending to be away from his newly-married wife in the early hours, instead of the morning as evidenced by a bee enclosed in one of them coming

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out in the morning when it opened up and biting him) to the far away Rāmagiri mountain on the earth. The forlorn Yakṣa spots a cloud clinging to the mountain peak and oblivious of the fact that it is an inanimate object decides to send a message to his beloved through it. He describes to it the route that it has to follow in its journey to Alakā and the message that it is to deliver to her. The supposed forlorn condition of both the lovers, the Yakṣa and his wife the Yakṣī the poet describes in graphic details that cannot but move the reader or the listener. The 121 verses of the *Meghadūta* are divided in two parts, the Pūrvamegha, the first part and the Uttaramegha, the second part. The first part gives the route and the second one the message. The route gives an opportunity to the poet to exhibit his poetic talent in full to describe the mountains, the rivers, the lakes, the ponds, the towns, the countries falling on the way. The theme itself makes him depict in poignant manner what the separation has wrought to the couple. The Yakṣa is *kanakavalayabhraṁśariktaprakoṣṭha,* with his fore-arm bare on account of the golden bracelet having slipped away (because of emaciation). The Yakṣī who otherwise is a perfect specimen of beautiful womenhood:

tanvī śyāmā śikharidaśanā pakvabimbādharoṣṭhī
madhye kṣāmā cakitahariṇīprekṣaṇā nimnanābhiḥ/
śroṇībhārād alasagamanā stokanamrā stanābhyāṁ
yā tatra syād yuvativiṣaye sṛṣṭir ādyeva dhātuḥ//
(Uttaramegha, 21)

"Slim, dark, with pointed teeth, with the nether lip like a ripe bimba fruit, with a slender waist, with glances like those of a frightened doe, with a deep navel, slow in gait, a little weighed down with her buxom bosom—the premier creation of the Creator by way of a young woman", appeared like a lotus-creeper blasted by frost, *śiśiramathitāṁ padminīṁ vānyarūpāṁ;*

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with her eyes swollen by excessive weeping and nether lip blanched by hot sighs, she resembling the pallar of the moon with her lustre suffered due to a cloud traversing her track.

A feel of how nature came to be entwined with a human being can be had from the following verse where the distraught Yakṣa sees the various limbs of his lady-love in objects of nature:

śyāmāsv aṅgam cakitahariṇīprekṣaṇe dṛṣṭipātam
vaktracchāyām śaśini śikhinām barhabhāreṣu keśān/
utpaśyāmi pratanuṣu nadīvīcīṣu bhrūvilāsān
hantaikatra kvacid api na te caṇḍi sādṛśyam astii//

(Uttaramegha, 43)

"I see your form in the Priyaṅgu creepers, your glances in the glances of the startled doe, the beauty of your cheek in the moon, your hair in the plumage of the peacocks, the sport of your eye-brows in the tiny ripples of rivers, but alas! O my dear, nowhere can I see your likeness combined in one place."

The *Meghadūta* has provided inspiration to a number of later poets to adopt the theme of sending message through a messenger with the difference that the messenger is not the same in a majority of cases as in the parent work. A few have retained the Megha, the cloud, as the messenger but many others have let their flight of imagination go off in search of the newer and newer one. Some have the birds like peacock, swan, Cakora, some the insects like bees, some the animals like dog, some a natural object like leaf, some the natural phenomena like the moon and some even the abstract one such as the mind. The recipient of the message is also not necessarily the beloved. It is sometimes Kṛṣṇa or a preceptor or some other being. The same is with the destination and the route. The result: A big corpus of *dūtakavya* or *sandeśakāvya* literature has grown up in Sanskrit over the centuries. Kālidāsa had set a trend that had caught on with a host of later poets firing their imagination.

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The next lyric of Kālidāsa is the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* which describes in its 141 verses divided in six cantos the six seasons. The description is so given as to correlate a number of times with the feelings and emotions of lovers, particularly the love-stricken ladies—how they would find the season and what it would do to them. What happens in the autumn season the poet describes:

netrotsavo hṛdayahārimarīcimālaḥ
prahlādakaḥ śiśirasīkaravārivarṣī/
patyur viyogaviṣadigdhaśarakṣatānāṁ
caṇḍo dahaty atitarāṁ tanum aṅganānām// (3.9)

"The moon, the joy of the eyes with her rays captivating the heart, the great delighter, showering water whose spray is cool, excessively parches the body of women, wounded by the poison-coated arrow of the separation from their husbands."

A stanza of the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* that has attained great popularity in Sanskrit circles with its simple and easy style is as under:

drumāḥ sapuṣpāḥ salilaṁ sapuṣpaṁ
striyaḥ sakāmāḥ pavanaḥ sugandhiḥ/
sukhāḥ pradoṣā divasāś ca ramyāḥ
sarvaṁ priye cārutaraṁ vasante// (6.2)

"Everything O dear ! gains added beauty in Spring: trees put forth flowers, waters grow lotuses, ladies become passionate, winds blow fragrant, evenings get pleasant and days delightful."

It is due to its unembellished style that some critics are prone to consider the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* to be the earliest of the writings of Kālidāsa, a product of his younger age. Some go even further to not to acknowledge it to be the work of Kālidāsa which is hard to accept.

The next great writer of note in this genré is Bhartṛhari the author of the three collections of Muktakas called the *Nītiśataka*, the *Śṛṅgāraśataka* and the *Vairāgyaśataka*. According to some

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the author of these three works is not the same. According to Itsing, the Chinese traveller, there had been in India a Bhartṛhati, a poet and a grammarian, who had wavered six times between the cloistre and home. Trusting his account Bhartṛhari can be placed in the 7th cen. A.D.

In the *Nītiśataka* Bhartṛhari describes in chaste verses, the Muktakas, quite a few of which have become current coin, the noble qualities of doing good to others, bravery, courage, exertion, generosity and so on. Along with these he touches upon the cruelty, the heartlessness and insensitivity of the people at large. The wantonness of kings, the arrogance of the rich, the ill-treatment by the wicked and the ignoramuses of the good seem to cause him great pain. The verses are so good, so pregnant with meaning, so appealing that we are tempted to reproduce them all here but the limitation of space would not permit that, leaving us with no option but to resctrict ourselves to only a few by way of specimen:

yadā kiñcijjño 'haṁ dvipa iva madāndhaḥ samabhavaṁ
tadā sarvajño 'smīty abhavad avaliptaṁ mama manaḥ/
yadā kiñcit kiñcid budhajanasakāśād avagataṁ
tadā mūrkho 'smīti jvara iva mado me vyapagataḥ//
(Nītiśataka, 8)

"When I came to know a little, I, with the feeling that I know everything, became intoxicated like an elephant with rut. When, however, I learnt something bit by bit from the wise, my pride with the impression that I am a fool came down like fever."

yeṣāṁ na vidyā na tapo na dānaṁ
jñānaṁ na śīlaṁ na guṇo na dharmaḥ/
te martyaloke bhuvi bhārabhūtā
manuṣyarūpeṇa mṛgāś caranti// (Nītiśataka, 13)

"Those who have neither learning nor austerity, nor charity, nor spiritual knowledge, nor good conduct, nor merit, nor

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righteousness are mere burden to the earth, wandering in the mortal world like the wild beasts in human form."

mṛgamīnasajjanānāṁ
tṛṇajalasantoṣavihitavṛttīnām/
lubdhakadhīvarapiśunā
niṣkāraṇavairiṇo jagati// (Nītiśataka, 61)

"Though the deer, the fish and the good are respectively maintaining their peaceful lives by living upon grass, water and contentment, yet the hunter, the fisherman and the backbiter are inimical to them for no reason."

The *Śṛṅgāraśataka* is a description of the enchanting beauty of ladies and their coquettish and amorous gestures and the pull that they have for men. But to describe this is not the aim of the poet. There seems to be gradual transition from attraction to distraction, from attachment to detachment that finds its culmination in the *Vairāgyaśataka* where the worldly objects seem to have lost their attraction with equanimity replacing it which makes the poet to proclaim:

ahau vā hāre va balavati ripau va suhṛdi vā
maṇau va loṣṭhe vā kusumaśayane vā dṛṣadi vā/
tṛṇe vā straiṇe vā mama samadṛśo yāntu divasāḥ
kvacit puṇyāraṇye śiva śiva śiveti pralapataḥ//
(Vairāgyaśataka, 40)

"Looking at with equal equanimity a snake or a necklace, a powerful foe or a friend, a jewel or a clod of earth, a flowery bed or a stone, a blade of grass or a bevy of women, I now wish to pass the remaining days of my life in a holy forest continuously chanting the name of Śiva."

After having drunk deep at all the pleasures of life, the pleasures lose all attraction, phoney as they all are:

bhogā na bhuktā vayam eva bhuktās
tapo na taptaṁ vayam eva taptāḥ/

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kālo na yāto vayam eva yātās
tṛṣṇā na jīrṇā vayam eva jīrṇāḥ/ (Vairāgyaśataka, 12)

"It is we who are exhausted, not the pleasures; it is we who are done up, not the penance; it is we who are gone not the time; it is we who have grown old, not the desire to gain".

The next great lyric writer of Sanskrit literature is Amaru or Amaruka who has delineated in his work going after his name the *Amaruśataka* the delicate erotic feelings and emotions in an unmatched style in varied metres in a century of verses. However, its four versions available now have verses ranging from ninety to hundred and fifteen with only fifty one of them common to all. His date is uncertain. The only thing certain about him is that he is anterior to 850 A.D. because his Muktakas, have won fulsome praise from the celebrated rhetorician Ānandavardhana as of great fame exuding the erotic sentiment, very much like a Prabandha, a continued narrative: *Amarukasya kaver muktakāḥ śṛṅgārarasasyandinaḥ prabandhāyamānāḥ prasiddhā eva.* It is a great tribute to call each of the Muktaka as a Prabandha, a continued narrative: a small stanza may well contain in itself sentiments, ideas and nuances which may need a full work to depict.

Amaru's diction is very pleasant and expression fluent, easy and lucid, free as it is from long compounds. Nowhere is there any obscurity in meaning or involved construction. As an instance may be reproduced the stanza composed in question and answer style that makes it one of the most interesting ones:

bāle, nātha, vimuñca mānini ruṣaṁ, roṣān mayā kiṁ kṛtaṁ,
khedo 'smāsu, na me'parādhyati bhavān, sarve 'parādhā mayi/
tat kiṁ rodiṣi gadgadena vacasā, kasyāgrato rudyate?
nanv etan mama, kā tavāsmi, dayitā, nāsmīty ato rudyate//
(Verse, 57)

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Husband	"O young lady"
Wife	"My lord"
Husband	"Give up your anger, O the offended one"
Wife	"What have I done by being offended"
Husband	"Given me pain"
Wife	"You have not done me any wrong. All the wrongs go with me
Husband	"Why then are you crying in faltering voice?"
Wife	"In front of whom am I crying?"
Husband	"Well, in front of me"
Wife	"Who am I to you?"
Husband	"My darling"
Wife	"That I am not, that is why this crying"

Dhvani-kāvya, suggestive poetry, is considered to be the best in Sanskrit. For illustrating this it is Amaru's verse the rhetoricians cite:

niḥśeṣacyutacandanaṁ stanataṭaṁ nirmṛṣṭarāgo 'dharo
netre dūram anañjane pulakitā tanvī taveyaṁ tanuḥ/
mithyāvādini dūti bāndhavajanasyājñātapīḍāgame
vāpīṁ snātum ito gatā 'si na punas tasyādhamasyāntikam//

"The expanse of your breasts has all the sandalwood paste gone, your lower lip has its redness rubbed off, the eyes have all but lost the collyrium, this slender frame of yours is in horripilation—O you the liar lady-messenger, O you who have no idea as to what pain you have caused to your kin, you had gone from here to take bath in the oblong tank and not to that wretched fellow."

Ostensibly a lady is accusing the messenger here with not carrying out her errand of conveying her message to her lover but is cleverly charging her with deceiving her in having sex with her lover herself with the physical condition being the same both in having bath and in having sex, by the clever use

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of the word *adhama*, the wretched fellow, which is more eloquent than any other word in betraying the true feeling of the lady cheated in love by both the messenger and her lover in having sex with each other.

Popularity was the hallmark of Amaru's poetry. A small work of about a century of verses gained him undying fame. About half a dozen commentaries were written on his work of which the two, *Rasikasañjīvanī* of Arjunavarmadeva and the *Śṛṅgāradīpikā* of Vemabhūpala are better known.

Another lyric writer of note in Sanskrit is Bilhaṇa, the writer of the historical Mahākāvya the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, of the period 1076—1127 A.D. who composed a string of fifty verses called the *Caurapañcāśikā*, the literal meaning of which is the fifty verses (recited by) a thief, *caura*. As per tradition the story of the work relates to the poet himself who was secretly in love with a princess. The secret lover is the *caura*, thief here, it is he who had stolen the heart of the princess. When the king, the father of the princess comes to know of the secret love affair he sentences him to death. As he was being taken to the gallows he describes all the love sports he had enjoyed with his beloved on hearing which the king gets so moved as to not only pardon him but marry his daughter to him. Each stanza of the poem begins with the words *adyāpi*, "even now". Unmindful of his impending fate the lover's mind is engrossed in the thoughts of his beloved, her sight, her touch, her embrace. As an illustration a stanza could well be reproduced here:

adyāpi tāṁ yadi punaḥ kamalāyatākṣīṁ
paśyāmi pīvarapayodharabhārakhinnām/
sampīḍya bāhuyugalena pibāmi vaktram
unmattavan madhukaraḥ kamalaṁ yatheṣṭam// (verse 3)

"If I were to see her again even now who is as wide-eyed as lotuses and is feeling fatigued due to buxom bosoms, I would drink deep (=look on intently at) her face by taking her in tight

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embrace with both of my arms like a frenzied person as would do a bee a lotus."

A verse purported from the *Caurapañcāśikā* and quoted as such but not figuring in the printed edition of the same also bears reproduction here for its sheer force of appeal:

adyāpi tāṁ bhujalatārpitakaṇṭhapāśāṁ
vakṣaḥsthalaṁ mama pidhāya payodharābhyāṁ/
īṣannimīlitasalīlavilocanāntāṁ
paśyami mugdhavadanāṁ vadanaṁ pibantīm//

"Even now I see her of innocent face looking intently (lit. drinking) at my face covering my chest with her breasts with arms enclosing my neck in the form of a noose, with the corners of the eyes slightly closed in a sportive spirit."

The next great name in the field of lyric is that of Jayadeva, a court-poet of King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal of 1116 A.D. who composed a twelve-canto Kāvya the *Gītagovinda* of which each canto has to be sung in a particular musical note, Rāga, an indication for which he provides himself. It has in it some descriptive verses too to serve as connecting links in the narrative that concerns itself with the love sports of the divine couple Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. It has a gripping description of the various conditions in love of the lovers like hope, despair, longing, jealousy, taunts, sorrow and so on. Replete with alliteration, the style of the poem is very racy, sweet and musical, a quality of which the poet is conscious himself as he says:

yadi harismaraṇe sarasaṁ mano
yadi vilāsakalāsu kutūhalam/
madhurakomalakāntapadavalīṁ
śṛṇu tadā jayadevasarasvatīm// (1.4)

"If remembering Hari enriches your heart
If his arts of seduction arouse you
Listen to Jayadeva's speech
In these sweet, soft lyrical songs."

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The lines of Jayadeva that have gained great popularity run as follows:

lalitalavaṅgalatāpariśīlanakomalamalayasamīre
madhukaranikarakarambitakokilakūjitakuñjakuṭīre/
Harir iha viharati sarasavasante
nṛtyati yuvatijanena samaṁ sakhi virahijanasya durante//
(1.27)

"Soft sandal mountain winds caress quivering vines of clove
Forest huts hum with droning bees and crying cuckoos
When Spring's mood is rich, Hari roams here
To dance with young womenfolk—
A cruel time for separated lovers."

With the help of pun the poet so arranges his words that the names of the heavely nymphs peep out of them Rādhā, the Lord's consort combining in herself the beauty of all of them—the nymphs Madālasā, Indumatī, Manoramā, Rambhā, Kalāvatī and Citralekhā:

dṛśau tava madālase vadanam indusandīpakam
gatir janamanoramā vijitarambham ūrudvayam/
ratis tava kalāvatī ruciracitralekhe bhruvāv
aho vibudhayauvanaṁ vahasi tanvi pṛthvīgatā//(10.14)

"Your eyes are lazy with wine, like Madalasā
Your face glows like the moonlight like Indumatī
Your gait pleases every creature, like Manoramā
Your thighs excel the plantain, like Rambhā
Your passion is the mystic rite of Kalāvatī
Your brows form the sensuous line of Citralekhā
Frail Rādhā, as you walk on earth,
You bear the young beauty of heavenly nymphs."

A contemporary of Jayadeva and like him the court-poet of Laksmaṇasena of Bengal was another poet Govardhanācārya

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who composed on the model of Hāla's *Gāthāsaptaśatī* the *Āryāsaptaśatī*, a collection of seven hundred verses in Āryā metre depicting the love sports of the lovers and the beloveds in all their feelings and emotions, their unions and separations and what goes with them. It is this work that provided the inspiration to the Hindi poet Bihari to compose his *Satsai* (Sanskrit—*Saptaśatī*).

One of the most well-known of the composers of the Gītikāvyas, lyrics, in Sanskrit is Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, a great name in Sanskrit poetry and Poetics. A court-poet of the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan of the 17th cen. A.D. he has composed the *Bhāminīvilāsa* which is a collection of Anyoktis (statements made for one but intended for another, allegories) and other Muktakas depicting Erotics, Pathos and Quietude.The work is divided in four sections called Vilāsas. The first one is Prāstāvikavilāsa, the Introductory Vilāsa. It is this that has Anyoktis. The second is Śṛṅgāravilāsa, the third Karuṇavilāsa and the last, the fourth, Śāntavilāsa.The Paṇḍitarāja was quite proud of his learning. He thinks he has no match for him in his learning whom he may engage in scholarly disquisition or in poetic competition. This is what he expresses in the very preliminary verse of his work through reference to a lion:

digante śrūyante madamalinagaṇḍāḥ karaṭinaḥ
kariṇyaḥ kāruṇyāspadam asamaśīlāḥ khalu mṛgāḥ/
idānīṁ loke 'sminn anupamaśikhānāṁ punar ayaṁ
nakhānāṁ pāṇḍityaṁ prakaṭayatu kasmin mṛgapatiḥ//

"The elephants whose temples are sullied with rut are heard (to have run away) to the end of the quarters; the female elephants are an object of pity; the deer are indeed not a match. Where then in this world should this lord of the beasts (lion) exhibit the skill of its claws with sharp edges/tips".

A stanza that has won rare acclaim in Sanskrit circles is as under:

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pāṭīra tava paṭīyān kaḥ paripāṭīm imām urīkartum/
yat piṣatām api nṝṇāṁ tanoṣi parimalaiḥ puṣṭim//

(verse 11)

"O sandalwood, who is there wise/clever enough to imbibe this conduct of yours, for you impart delight with your fragrance even to those who grind you (on the stone)."

Through the analogy of the sandalwood a good man is eulogized here who does good to even those who leave no stone unturned in harming him.

The poet seems to have been a great devotee of Lord Kṛṣṇa. This devotion he expresses in a number of verses in the Śāntasvilāsa one of which is reproduced here by way of specimen:

pātālaṁ vraja yāhi vā surapurīm āroha meroḥ śiraḥ
pārāvāraparamparāṁ tara tathāpy āśā na śāntā tava/
ādhivyādhijarāparāhata yadi kṣemaṁ nijaṁ vāñchasi
śrī kṛṣṇeti rasāyanaṁ rasaya re śūnyaiḥ kim anyaiḥ śramaiḥ//

(verse 6)

"Go to the nether region or to the capital of gods or the Meru mountain, cross several oceans, yet your desires would never come to an end: if you who are overwhelmed with mental and physical troubles and old age, desire for your well being, accustom your tongue to the elixir, viz., the word "Śrī Kṛṣṇa". What is the use of other useless pursuits".

It seems it was common in the days of Jagannātha for other poets to pilfer the stray verses of reputed poets and pass them off as their own. To obviate this possibility he prepared a collection of them in the form of the present work as he says in the last verse:

durvṛttā jārajanmāno hariṣyantīti śaṅkayā/
madīyapadyaratnānāṁ mañjūṣaiṣā kṛta mayā//

"I have prepared this casket for jewels which are my verses fearing that the vile bastards will plagiarise them (lit.steal them away)."

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Besides the above, there are a few other Gītikāvyas, lyrics. The three of them, the Śṛṅgāratilaka, the Puṣpabāṇavilāsa and Rāsakakāvya are associated with Kālidāsa. Dāmodaragupta, the minister of Kashmir King Jayāpīḍa (772—813 A.D.), wrote the *Kuṭṭinīmata.*

Stotrakāvyas

Apart from the Gītikāvyas there is a big corpus in Sanskrit of Stotrakāvyas, the hymns of praise, of Iṣṭadevatās, the tutelary deities, big and small, some of which are highly poetic. Racy in style, replete with figures of speech, particularly alliteration leaving a jingling effect and exuding the heightened devotional fervour, they are a treat in themselves. Particular mention in this connection may be made of Puṣpadanta's *Mahimnaḥstotra*, Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha's *Gaṅgālaharī* and the *Śivatāṇḍavastotra* attributed to Rāvaṇa. The last in the Pañcacāmara metre with its jumps and bumps creates such an impact on the mind that it is difficult to express. A stanza from it will give an idea of it:

jaṭākaṭāhasambhramabhramannilimpanirjharī-
vilolavīcivallarīvirājamānamūrdhani /
dhagaddhagaddhagajjvalallalāṭapaṭṭapāvake
kiśoracandraśekhare ratiḥ pratikṣaṇaṁ mama//

These hymns are so numerous that several collections of them have appeared of late.

The lyrics and the hymns are a continuous process in Sanskrit, Sanskritists applying themselves to composing them with enthusism all the time.

Nītikāvyas

Nīti is a term in Sanskrit which covers a wide spectrum. It may mean the right manner of conducting oneself, the proper behaviour, the decent and the rightful course and of course policy, stratagem and statecraft. In its overstretched meaning it

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may convey just a wise saying, good advice. Sanskrit literature from the earliest to the modern period is full of such sayings. The Brāhmaṇa and the Sūtra texts, the Upaniṣads, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas and the classical literature—all are full of such sayings. An overwhelming number of them is in verse and are couched in highly ornate and elegant style. Over a period of time these sayings were collected from different texts and their compilations prepared. A good number of them were ascribed to Cāṇakya, the preceptor and minister of Mauryan Emperor Candragupta, the works like the *Cāṇakyanīti*, the *Cāṇakyaśataka*, the *Cāṇakya-nīti-darpaṇa*, the *Cāṇakya-rājanīti*, the *Vṛddhacāṇakya*, the *Laghucāṇakya* and so on. Scholars have no unanimity about the authorship of these works. However, what they convey has universal application and appeal. They incorporate in them highly pragmatic wisdom just a sample of which can be had from the following verse:

nātyantasaralair bhāvyaṁ gatvā paśya vanasthalīm/
chidyante saralās tatra kubjās tiṣṭhanti pādapāḥ//

"(People) should not be too simple-minded. Go. Look at the forest-ground. It is the Sarala variety of pine trees (that are straight and tall) that are cut while the pigmy/crooked ones that continue in situ."

Of the other Nīti texts mention may be made of Vararuci's *Nītiratna*, Ghaṭakarpara's *Nītisāra*, Vetālabhaṭṭa's *Nītipradīpa*, Bhartṛhari's *Nītiśataka* (noticed earlier), the *Bhallaṭaśataka* of Bhallaṭa, the protégé of King Śaṅkaradeva of Kashmir (883—902 A.D. The last one may not claim originality for itself in its entirety, two of its verses having been ascribed to two different authors in anthologies and one of Ānandavardhana figuring in it.

Bilhaṇa, the author of the well-known historical Mahākāvya the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, had also composed a Nītikāvya under the title *Śāntiśataka*. Among the other Kashmirian writers one Śambhu, the protégé of King Harṣa (1089—1101 A.D.) had

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composed a Nītikāvya under the title *Anyoktimuktālatāśataka* which though calling itself a Śataka has, in line with many other similar works in Sanskrit literature, more than hundred-108-stanzas. Of the later period is the work the *Dṛṣṭāntaśataka* of Kusumadeva where every statement is corroborated by an illustration, as for example,

uttamaḥ kleśavikṣobhaṁ kṣamaḥ soḍhuṁ nahītaraḥ/
maṇir eva mahāśāṇagharṣaṇaṁ na tu mṛtkaṇaḥ//

"It is the hight (-minded) one that is able to withstand the onslaught of suffering, not the other one. It is only the jewel that stands rubbing by the whet-stone, not the dust particle."

Sanskrit literature has a philosophical Nītikavya too like the *Śataślokī* of Śaṅkarācārya which deals with the Vedānta doctrine. In another similar work the *Śṛṅgārajñānanirṇaya* of uncertain date there is disputation between Rambhā and Śuka, the former supporting eroticism, Śṛṅgāra and the latter true knowledge, Jñāna.

Besides independent works, the anthologies contain a lot of stanzas on Nīti. One ascribed to Urvīdhara has gained immense popularity in Sanskrit circles:

nirguṇesv api sattveṣu dayāṁ kurvanti sādhavaḥ//
nahi saṁharate jyotsnāṁ candraś cāṇḍālaveśmanaḥ//

"The good people are kind even to beings who are bereft of any quality. The moon does not withdraw its light from the abode of an outcaste."

Equally popular is the stanza from the *Nītiratna* referred to above:

maṇir luṭhati pādāgre kācaḥ śirasi dhāryate/
yathaivāste tathaivāstāṁ kācaḥ kāco maṇir maṇiḥ//

"The jewel rolls (moves hither and thither) at the fore-part of the feet (while) crystal is worn on the head. Let it be as it is; the crystal is crystal and the jewel is jewel."

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The older texts like the *Viduranīti*, the *Śukranīti*, the *Kāmandakīyanītisāra* which carry the word *nīti* in them have that sense of *nīti* which concerns itself with statecraft, polity. They are beautiful monographs on the subject that they deal with in all their ramifications. They differ from other works in their subject matter which pertains to the instruction in proper manner of conducting oneself in life, the proper behaviour and the decorum that one has to observe and also in their style of composition which is poetic.

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16

DRAMA

From Kālidāsa down to Kṛṣṇamiśra there has been an unbroken tradition of Sanskrit dramatic literature, and we are fortunate enough in inheriting works which can compare with the very best in the literatures of the world.

The word for actor-*naṭa* and play-*nāṭaka* are derived from the verb *naṭa avaspandane*, meaning shaking (vide *Siddhānta-kaumudī* : *avaspandanaṁ nāṭyam*), Prakrit form in all probability of Sanskrit *nṛt*. Now, it is shaking which would have been accompanied with gestures that could represent the beginning of the Indian drama. It must at first have consisted of crude pantomime. Songs, doubtless, also formed an ingredient in such performances. Thus Bharata the name of the mythical inventor of the drama which in Sanskrit also means 'actor', in several of the vernaculars signifies 'singer' as in Gujarati. The addition of dialogue was the last step in the development. This primitive stage is represented by the Bengal Yātrās and the *Gītagovinda*. These form the transition to the fully developed Sanskrit play in which lyrics and dialogues are blended.

The first available work on Dramaturgy in Sanskrit is the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, a work of near about the 3rd cen. A.D. Some scholars are of the view that Bharata had based his work on an earlier one on the subject in the Sūtra, aphoristic, style. There is a story in the Nāṭyaśāstra itself which traces the origin

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of drama. According to it Bharata sourced drama from the Vedas. He took text (*pāṭhya*, dialogues) from the *Ṛgveda*, songs from the *Sāmaveda*, the actions from the *Yajurveda* and Rasas (sentiments) from the *Atharvaveda:*

jagrāha pāṭhyam ṛgvedād sāmabhyo gītam eva ca/
yajurvedād abhinayān rasān ātharvaṇād api// (1.17)

The Nāṭya, the drama called the Fifth Veda, *pañcamo vedaḥ* is meant for all the castes, *sārvavarṇikaḥ*. Bharata took from Śiva and Pārvatī the dance forms Tāṇḍava and Lāsya respectively and the style, *rīti*, from Śiva. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* records that on the occasion of the festival of Indradhvaja the sons and the pupils of Bharata had taken part in staging a play along with Gandharvas (a species of divine beings) and Apsaras-s (nymphs). The first ever plays put on boards were the *Amṛtamanthana* and the *Tripuradāha* composed by Lord Brahmā himself.

Some scholars trace the origin of Sanskrit drama to the influence of Greek drama. The first scholar to hold this view was Windisch (1882). He discovered the similarities between the Greek and Sanskrit drama and drew attention to the fact that no Sanskrit drama anterior to the Christian era has been discovered so far. According to him the division of Sanskrit play into Acts, the manner of the entry and exit of the characters, the stage directions, the word 'yavanikā' for curtain, the characters like jester and villain are all the contribution of Greek drama to its Sanskrit counterpart. Weber lent his strong support to this view. It got good corroboration with the discovery of the Sitabenga Cave that has in it a stage similar to the Greek one. Pischel, however, did not accept this view. Greek play is divided into tragedy and comedy. Sanskrit play has no tragedy. The size of Sanskrit play is far bigger than that of the Greek one. Even one single play like the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is three times the size of some of the Greek plays. Further, there is no unity of time and

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place in Sanskrit plays which is the prominent characteristic of Greek plays. The word 'yavanikā', occurs in Sanskrit plays much later. May be, it was introduced through Persian influence rather than the Greek one, the Persians also being styled Yavanas in ancient India. Pischel would rather trace the origin of Sanskrit play to puppet dance, the use of the words 'sūtradhāra' and 'sthāpaka', meaning string-puller and mover respectively pointing to this. But this is too scanty an evidence to support a theory. Some scholars like Lüders and Sten Konow trace the origin of Sanskrit drama to shadow play but this also lacks in its appeal, the antiquity of shadow play in India itself being not yet finally decided. There is a shadow play in Sanskrit, the *Dūtāṅgada*, but it is neither very old nor very important.

According to Rizway Sanskrit drama has its origin in hero worship. As per his view at the root of the creation of drama lies the sentiment of showing respect to heroes and heroines. As examples of it he makes a reference to Rāmalīlā and Kṛṣṇalīlā, enacting the life of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa that are a common enough feature in India. But this again is not acceptable for, the purpose of drama is not to show respect to heroes but to impart aesthetic pleasure. The next theory is that the drama grew out of the dialogue hymns of the Vedas. This gets support from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* itself which says, as mentioned earlier, that *nāṭya* was created by incorporating the *pāṭhya* (the text, the dialogues) from the *Ṛgveda*.

An Analysis of all the views would lead one to conclude that it is not to one source to which the origin of Sanskrit drama can be traced. A number of strands would have contributed to its origin and growth and development, each in its own way.

Like every discipline Sanskrit drama also had gradual evolution. The dialogue hymns in the *Ṛgveda* have dramatic element in them. They yield the information that at the time of the sale of Soma the audience was treated to some sort of

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enactments. The *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* have the word *śailūṣa* that can mean anything, an actor, a singer or a dancer.

Clear reference to drama is met with in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to *śailūṣas and naṭas*, the actors, *nartakas*, the dancers and the *raṅga*, the stage. It says that in a country with no king the *naṭas* and *nartakas*, the actors and dancers, are not happy: *nārājake janapade prahṛṣṭanaṭanartakāḥ*. In the *Mahābhārata* occur words like *naṭa*, actor, *nartaka*, dancer, *gāyaka*, singer, *sūtradhāra*, the stage manager etc. There is reference in it to a *raṅgaśālā*, theatre hall in the palace of King Virāṭa as also of a female figure of wood. In the *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa* which is a part of the *Mahābhārata* there is mention of the life of Rāma having been depicted on stage by the descendants of Kṛṣṇa where Pradyumna took on the role of Rāma. The words *naṭa, nartaka, gāyaka, vādaka*, etc. are a frequent occurrence in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. Pāṇini enjoins the Taddhita suffixes *ṇini* and *ini* to *śilālī* and *kṛśāśva* respectively in the sense of the texts in the *sūtra*, aphoristic, form for actors, the *naṭasūtras* composed by them, vide his rules *pārāśaryaśilālibhyāṁ bhikṣunaṭasūtrayoḥ* (4.3.110) and *karmandakṛśāśvād iniḥ* ((4.3.111) giving us the valuable information that in his time there had come to be composed works on dramaturgy by competent authorities which presupposes considerable dramatic activity to have necessitated the texts or manuals, the *sūtras*, to have been written for drama.

The words for actor *–naṭa* and the play *—nāṭaka* are derived from √*naṭ*, Prakrit form of Sanskrit *nṛt* which means dance. This dance seems to represent the beginning of Sanskrit drama.

Before the treatment of individual plays is taken up, it will be worth its while to note some of their general characteristics which are the complete absence of tragedy, the interchange of lyrical stanzas with prose dialogues and the use of Sanskrit by some characters and that of Prakrit by some others.

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Sanskrit drama is a mixed composition in which joy is mingled with sorrow and in which jester usually plays a prominent part, while the hero and the heroine are often in depths of despair. The Sanskrit drama does not have a sad ending. The different emotions of grief, terror, pathos and fear are well depicted but the end result is peace and tranquillity. There does never take place any tragic incident in the course of the various events depicted. As a matter of fact, anything considered indecorous, whether of a serious or a comic nature is not allowed on the stage within the hearing and the sight of the spectators. There are no kissing scenes, no scratching, no biting, no scene of death or national calamity to be shown on the stage.

One special characteristic of Sanskrit plays is their abounding in lyrical verses that flow out of certain situations and reflect the mood of the characters. The *Abhijñānaśākuntala* of Kālidāsa has some two hundred of them comprising almost half of the play. Mostly they are four-line stanzas and are composed in a variety of metres. The variety can be judged from the fact that first thirty four stanzas of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* are composed in as many as eleven metres.

In accordance with their social position different characters in a Sanskrit play speak different dialects. Kings, heroes, Brāhmaṇas, priests, teachers and men of higher rank speak Sanskrit. Women, jester and menials and other characters of low order like gamblers, massagers as well as the brother-in-law of the king, the Rājaśyāla, speak Prakrit. Even with regard to Prakrit distinction is made of the type of it to be used by particular characters. Thus women of higher rank use Māhārāṣṭrī in lyrical passages while otherwise they use Śaurasenī. Attendants in the royal palace use Māgadhī while rogues and gamblers use Āvantī. Ābhīrī is used by cowherds, Paiśācī by charcoal-burners while Apabhraṁśa is used by the most despised of the people and the barbarians.

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In Sanskrit literature drama is also considered a poem, *kāvya* which is divided into two, *dṛśya*, visible and *śravya*, audible : *dṛśyaśravyatvabhedena punaḥ kāvyaṁ dvidhā matam.* The general term for drama is Rūpaka, so called because of the artificial assumption of forms (of the original characters like Rāma, Sītā, etc.) by actors : *tadrūpāropāt tu rūpakam*, though it also is known by the term Nāṭya which Kālidāsa uses in his *Mālavikāgnimitra* where the dance teacher Gaṇadāsa extols it as the pleasing sacrifice to the eyes of the gods where the life of man arising from the three qualities (Sattva, Rajas and Tamas) is seen exhibited in various sentiments. The scenic art, *nāṭya*, says, he, though one, is a many-sided amusement for men of different taste: *nāṭyam bhinnarucer janasya bahudhā 'py ekaṁ samārādhanam.* The present current designation for it is Nāṭaka which is technically not correct, that being only one of its ten forms, the other nine being, Prakaraṇa, Bhāṇa, Vyāyoga, Samavakāra, Ḍima, Īhāmṛga, Aṅka, Vīthi and Prahasana. Out of all these which form the major variety—there is a minor variety too which is designated Uparūpaka—it is Nāṭaka which was the most frequent one, the one in which the bulk of dramatic representations in Sanskrit were composed. No wonder then that it should have become a commonly accepted word for a dramatic composition. According to an old stanza which seems to have been composed by an admirer of *Abhijñānaśākuntala* it, Nāṭaka, is the (most) captivating of (of all forms) of poetic compositions, among the Nāṭakas too it is *Śākuntala* (=*Abhijñānaśākuntala*) which is (most) captivating, in the *Śākuntala* it is the fourth Act which is (most) captivating, in the Fourth Act too it is the four stanzas that are (most) captivating:

kāvyeṣu nāṭakaṁ ramyaṁ tatra ramyā śakuntalā/
tatrāpi ca caturtho 'ṅkas tatra ślokacatuṣṭayam//

The minor Rūpakas, the Uparūpakas are eighteen in number. They are Nāṭikā, Troṭaka, Goṣṭhī, Saṭṭaka, Nāṭyarāsaka,

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Prasthāna, Ullāpya, Kāvya, Preṅkhaṇa, Rāsaka, Saṅlāpaka, Śrīgadita, Śilpaka, Vilāsikā, Durmallikā, Prakaraṇī, Hallīsa, Bhāṇikā.

All the Rūpakas and Uparūpakas, resemble the Nāṭaka in their general character.

The general character of Nāṭaka is that it should have a celebrated story for its plot, be possessed of the five Junctures, the Sandhis (Sandhi is defined as joining, the *sandhāna* of the various incidents in the story that are connected with the ultimate fulfillment of the objective). The Joints or the Junctures which number five are Mukha, Pratimukha, Garbha, Vimarśa and Upasaṁhṛti. Mukha which literally means mouth is opening, Pratimukha is unfoldment, Garbha is going within, i.e. losing the objective, Vimarśa is rekindling of the hope and Upasaṁhṛti is the culmination. The Nāṭaka should have the quality of vivacity, richness of contents, etc., should contain dignified personages/characters, be abounding with the sentiments of pleasure and pain and also with a variety of sentiments (Rasas) and should have anywhere between five to ten Acts. The hero should be high-spirited but temperate and firm, powerful and virtuous being, either a royal sage of a renowned family or a god or a demigod. The principal sentiment in it should be only one which could be either Erotic or Heroic with other sentiments being subordinate and the Marvellous being exhibited in the fulfillment of the objective. The Nāṭaka must have to have four or five important personages engaged in the business of the Hero.

Before the play is put on boards, there is a preliminary performance, the Pūrvaraṅga where worship is offered to the deities for the safe performance and to the flag, Jarjjara, marking the intent of putting the play on stage. After that a benediction called Nāndī is recited wherein good wishes are offered to the audience for their prosperity and well-being. Then enter the Stage-manager, the Sūtradhāra and the Actress, Naṭī who through

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the conversation among themselves refer to the title of the play, the name of its author and briefly hint at its subject matter and the occasion on which the performance is being arranged. The conversation is so contrived as to lead to the entry of the characters on the stage and the withdrawal of the two of them.

The events that have occurred in between the two Acts but have not been shown on the stage are told through the soliloquy of a character in the beginning of the following Act through an Interlude called the Viṣkambhaka or Praveśaka that provides an important link to the development of the story.

The whole piece closes with Bharatavākya; a prayer for national prosperity, which is addressed to the favourite deity and is spoken by one of the principal characters.

The number of acts in a play varies from one to ten, but while fluctuating somewhat, is determined by its character. Thus the species called Nāṭikā has four acts and the farcical Prahasana only one.

The duration of the events is supposed to be identical with the time occupied in performing them on the stage, a day, and a night is assumed to elapse between each act and that which follows. Occasionally, however, the interval is much longer. Thus in Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* and *Vikramorvaśīya* several years pass between the first and the last act; while in Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* no less then twelve years pass between the first and the second act.

Nor is the unity of the place observed in Sanskrit drama. The scene may be transferred from one part of the earth to another, or even to the aerial regions. As regards the number of characters, it is left to the discretion of the playwright and no limit of any kind is imposed.

The earliest references to the acted drama are found in the Sanskrit grammatical work the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali which mentions representations of *Kaṁsavadha*, the slaying of Kaṁsa and *Balibandha*, the binding of Bali, episodes in the life-history

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of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Indian tradition describes Bharata to have arranged the performance of a play before the gods representing the Svayaṁvara, the choosing of the husband for herself, by Lakṣmī. Tradition further makes Kṛṣṇa and his cowherdesses the starting point of the Saṅgīta, a representation consisting of songs, music and dance. From all this it seems likely that Indian drama was developed through the cult of Kṛṣṇa—Viṣṇu and the earlier acted representations were a kind of religious plays, in which scenes from the legends of gods were enacted mainly with the aid of song and dance supplemented with prose and dialogues improvised by the performers.

The general term used for drama in Sanskrit texts on Dramaturgy is Rūpaka. It has ten forms, as said earlier, going under the names of Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Bhāṇa, Vyāyoga, Samavakāra, Ḍima, Īhāmṛga, Aṅka, Vīthi and Prahasana. Of these the most popular has been Nāṭaka, so popular that it has come to designate drama itself, not only in modern day vernaculars but even in the older period as can be gleaned from the popular stanza in Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī* quoted in the context of Bhāsa's plays which have all been called Nāṭakas there though quite a few of them do not answer the description of it as given in dramaturgical treatises with one of them carrying the designation Vyāyoga in the title itself : *Madhyamavyāyoga*.

Next in populatity to Nāṭaka are Nāṭikā, which has to have four Acts, Prakaraṇa which has to have ten Acts, Prahasana which as the name itself would suggest is a farce and is an one-Act composition divided in Scenes and Bhāṇa, again an one-Act composition with a single character indulging in monologue, with theme dealing with crafty people in different situations. Of the more well-known representatives of Nāṭikā are the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Priyadarśikā* of Harṣa; of Prakaraṇa the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka, of Bhāṇa the *Caturbhāṇī*, a compendium of the four

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Bhāṇas : the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* of Śūdraka, the *Dhūrtaviṭasaṁvāda* of Īśvaradatta, the *Ubhayābhisārikā* of Vararuci and the *Pādatāḍitaka* of Śyāmilaka as also the *Śṛṅgārasarvasvabhāṇa* of Nallaka, and of Prahasana the *Bhagavadajjukīya* of Bodhāyana Kavi, the *Ḍamaruka* of Ghanaśyāma, the *Laṭakamelaka* of Śaṅkhadhara and the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* of Mahendravikramavarman. Not conforming to the Aṅka variety of the Rūpakas, the one-Act plays, Ekāṅkins as they are called, are a popular form of a play in Sanskrit in the present period. So are the Prahasanas and to a certain extent the Bhāṇas.

The use of the expressions *Kaṁsaṁ ghātayati* and *Baliṁ bandhayati*, he kills Kaṁsa, he binds Bali, in the present tense with reference to incidents that are recorded in old texts and had happened long back point to their being enacted. Further, the expression *kecid raktamukhā bhavanti kecit kālamukhāḥ*, some have red faces and some black indicates the different paints applied on the faces by the actors in consonance with the type of the characters they were to act. This would point to the enactment of the scenes in the time of Patañjali and the existence of the stage where these enactments were done.

The Buddhist *Jātakamālā* and the *Avadānaśatakas* have references in them to the performances by *naṭas*, the actors in villages, the towns and the capitals of the kingdoms.

Considerable dramatic activity would have taken place in India even before Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣa.

The episodes of Kaṁsavadha, the killing of Kaṁsa and the binding of Bali are connected with the Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu-līlā the playful activity of the Lords.

Dramas

The first place in the long chain of Sanskrit dramas belongs to the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* and two others discovered in a fragmentary state from Turfan through the efforts of Luders.

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Then come the Trivandrum plays discovered by T. Ganapati Sastri from a chance recovery in the course of his search of manuscripts of a palm-leaf codex in Malayalam which contained ten of the now well-known thirteen of them, to which one identified as *Dūtavākya* in a mutilated form was added later. To these were added two more, the search continuing, which were attributed by the discoverer to Bhāsa who had won admiration from such celebrities as Kālidāsa and Rājaśekhara. This attribution has been challenged by many authorities on many grounds but the consensus is tilting towards their being those of Bhāsa, their answering their description by Bāṇa with pun in the introductory verses of his *Harṣacarita* of their starting with the Sūtradhāra, the Stage-manager, their having many plots and sub-plots:

sūtradhārakṛtārambhair nāṭakair bahubhūmikaiḥ/
sapatākair yaśo lebhe bhāso devakulair iva//

Of all the plays, whether they were thirteen or not, nobody can say for sure; their number never ever having been specified in Sanskrit literary tradition; they having always been referred to by the use of the plural number, it is the *Svapnavāsavadatta* that has been ranked as the finest. A stanza attributed to Rājaśekhara in the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Jalhaṇa speaks of all the plays of Bhāsa having been consigned to flames by the connoisseurs to test them. It is only the *Svapnavāsavadatta* which the fire could not burn:

Bhāsanāṭakacakre 'smin chekaiḥ kṣipte parīkṣitum/
Svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako 'bhūn na pāvakaḥ//

On the basis of the source of their themes the plays of Bhāsa can be divided into the following:

Plays based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* story :

Pratimānāṭaka and the *Abhiṣekanāṭaka*

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Play based on the Kṛṣṇa story :

Bālacarita

Plays based on the *Mahābhārata* :

Madhyamavyāyoga, Dūtavākya, Dūtaghaṭotkaca, Karṇabhāra, Ūrubhaṅga and *Pañcarātra*

Plays based on the Udayana story:

Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa and Svapnavāsavadatta

Plays based on the imaginary story:

Cārudatta and *Avimāraka*

A brief description of the themes of the above plays:

Pratimānāṭaka: A seven-Act play, it describes the life of Rāma from his exile to return to Ayodhyā and his coronation. While returning from his maternal uncle's house after the death of his father Daśaratha, Bharata notices his (father's) idol *(pratimā)* among those of other deities and infers thereby of his demise. The play is so named after this incident.

Abhiṣeka Nāṭaka: A six-Act play, it describes the life of Rāma from the killing of Vālin at Kiṣkindhā and his return to Ayodhyā and coronation (*abhiṣeka*).

Madhyamavyāyoga: It is a single Act play of the Vyāyoga variety which describes Bhīma affording protection to a young Brāhmaṇa lad whom his son Ghaṭotkaca was taking for his mother, Hiḍimbā (the wife of Bhīma), for devouring. This leads to the unexpected union of the husband and the wife.

Dūtavākya: It also is a single Act play that describes the Mahābhāratan episode of Kṛṣṇa going to Kauravas with a peace mission and his return empty-handed.

Karṇabhāra is the story of Karṇa gifting away the armour and the ear-rings that were integral to his body to Indra disguised as a Brāhmaṇa.

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Ūrubhaṅga: Also a single Act play, it deals with the incident of the breaking of thigh by Bhīma of Duryodhana in a mace-duel.

Dūtaghaṭotkaca: Again a single Act play, it describes the dispatch of Ghaṭotkaca to Duryodhana on a peace mission and his insult of him by the latter.

Pañcarātra: A play in three Acts, it has a theme that is altogether different from that of the *Mahābhārata*. Duryodhana performs a sacrifice. As is customary, at the end of the sacrifice, the sacrificer, in the present case Duryodhana, insists on his teacher Droṇācārya to ask for anything that he would like to have for himself as fee (*dakṣiṇā*). Droṇa asks for half of his kingdom which Duryodhana grants on the condition that Pāṇḍavas should be made accessible to him within five nights—that is how the play is titled *Pañcarātra*=five nights. Through the effort of Droṇa, Duryodhana is able to locate the Pāṇḍavas and as per his promise Duryodhana gives half of his kingdom to him.

Bālacarita: This play in seven Acts describes the story of Kṛṣṇa from his birth to the slaying of his maternal uncle Kaṁsa.

Avimāraka: It deals with the story of love marriage of Prince Avimāraka and Princess Kuraṅgī, the daughter of King Kuntibhoja.

Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa and **Svapnavāsavadatta** are related to each other. Both depict the moves of Yaugandharāyaṇa the minister of Udayana, the ruler of Avanti, who proves himself a master strategist in first arranging the marriage of his master with Vāsavadattā, the daughter of King Pradyota of Ujjayinī and after his kingdom is wrested from him by his arch enemy Āruṇi gets Padmāvatī, the sister of Darśaka, the king of Magadha for his wife which helps in the restoration of the kingdom to him. The *Svapnavāsavadatta* has won acclaim as the best of the creations of Bhāsa.

Cārudatta: A four-Act play, it deals with the love story of an once rich man turned poor due to his overmunificence and a

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courtesan Vasantasenā. The celebrated play *Mṛcchakaṭika* too has this very theme and gives the impression of being its extension.

Bhāsa has won acclaim from such celebrated playwrights as Kālidāsa who refers to him in the Prologue to his *Mālavikāgnimitra* in the course of the conversation between the Pāripārśvika, the Actor and the Sūtradhāra, the Manager. The actor takes objection to the regard being shown to a modern poet like Kālidāsa in the form of staging of his play bypassing the dramatic compositions of the renowned poets like Bhāsa, Saumillaka, Kaviputra and others : *prathitayaśasāṁ bhāsasaumillakakaviputrādīnāṁ prabandhān atikramya vartamānakaveḥ kālidāsasya kriyāyāṁ kathaṁ bahumānaḥ*. The sequence of the mention of the names is significant here. Bhāsa has precedence over all others. Bāṇa has also been quite effusive in his praise of Bhāsa. In a stanza marked by pun he highlights some of the special characteristics of his plays which are their start with the appearance of the Stage-manager (and not Nāndī, the benedictory verse as usual), their having a variety of themes and sub-themes like the temples which have many storeys (*bhūmi* means both the theme and the storey), and which have flags (*patākā* means both the sub-theme and the flag).

Next to Bhāsa in order of more well-known of the playwrights mention may now be made of Kālidāsa, the author of the three plays, the *Vikramorvaśīya*, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* of which the last one is undoubtedly the best. Indian tradition extols it as the most charming form of poetic composition: *kāvyeṣu nāṭakaṁ ramyaṁ, tatra ramyā śakuntalā;* "Of the poetic forms it is the drama form which captivates and in that it is *Śakuntalā* (*Abhijñānaśākuntala)* that has (more) charm." Kālidāsa's genius has won him full praise since very early times. He has been pronounced *kavikulaguru*, the master of the circle of poets. One of the admirers of Kālidāsa finds a queer explanation for the name *anamika* for the

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second finger. It literally means 'to which no name can be assigned'. Why it should have got this name is, he conjectures, because in the earlier times when the count began of the poets, it started with Kālidāsa. The little finger, the *kaniṣṭhikā*, being the first one, it was with that that the count started. The name of Kālidāsa occupied the little finger. Since there was no other one like him the next finger could get no name with which to continue the count. Hence the name *anāmikā*, 'with no name': *adyāpi tattulyakaver abhāvād anāmikā sārthavatī babhūva*. Not only did Kālidāsa win encomia from his countrymen, he won these also from foreigners who had access to his works either in original or through translations. Goethe showered the highest praise on him, so enamoured was he of his charming Muse and then, it must be remembered, that he was not only the greatest poet of Germany but also one of the greatest of the world. This is how he speaks of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala*:

Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms
and the fruits of its decline
And all by which the soul is
charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed?
Wouldst thou the heaven and earth
itself in one sole name combine?
I name thee O Śakuntalā,
and all at once is said.

The well-known philosopher and thinker Humboldt is also as exuberant in his praise of Kālidāsa as is Goethe. Thus he speaks of him:

"Kālidāsa, the celebrated author of the *Śākuntala*, is a masterly describer of the influence which Nature exercises upon the minds of lovers. Tenderness in the expression of feelings and richness of creative fancy have assigned to him his lofty place among the poets of all nations."

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Continuing with the assessment by foreigners of Kālidāsa reference may be made to Hazlitt who says that "Kālidāsa was the least of an egotist that it was possible to be".

It may look strange but is nevertheless true that there is no trustworthy information about his personal life: when and where he was born, who were his parents, where he received his education, when and where he died, etc. The poet has observed complete silence about himself except for the bare mention of his name in two of his plays, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Vikramorvaśīya*, in the former through dialogue between the Sūtradhāra and the Pāripārśvika, the Stage Manager and the Actor where the former directs the latter to start the music to initiate the staging of the play, the plot of which has been composed by Kālidāsa to which the latter takes objection on the ground that how could there be great regard for a poet like Kālidāsa in preference to the compositions of the renowned poets like Bhāsa, Kaviputra, Saumilla and others to which the Stage Manager says that simply because something is old does not become good, nor does that become bad because it is new, the wise examine and then accept one or the other, and in the latter through the Stage Manager as an announcement that a composition of Kālidāsa the audience may listen to with attentive minds: *śṛṇuta manobhir avahitāḥ kriyām imāṁ kālidāsasya.*

In the absence of any information coming directly from the poet we have to content ourselves with whatever little information is available from external sources and a few incidents found here and there in his works which may be supposed to have a bearing on the history of his life. Tradition associates him with King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī as one of the nine jewels, the nine learned men, in his court. That may get support from some of the oblique eulogistic references to Vikrama in his *Vikramorvaśīya*, (like *anutsekaḥ khalu vikramālaṅkāraḥ*, modesty is the ornament of valour, *vikrama* could be referring to Vikramāditya—that is how some scholars take it, it could be a

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short form for Vikramāditya) and his flattering references to the high-rise buildings of Ujjayinī and the river Śiprā flowing by its side with its placid waters as also the temple of Mahākāla alongside description of many other rivers and rivulets like Gambhīrā showing his intimacy with the region. A legend associates him, originally a dud, with a Princess Vidyottamā who was tricked into marrying him through the machinations of Pandits rejected by her in not being able to defeat her in disquisition, a pre-condition laid down by her for marriage. The dud on approaching the Kālī temple on having been turned out by the Princess on her discovering him to be an ignoramus was blessed with extraordinary learning on listening the word *vidyā* from him (he was so dud that he could not even utter the word Vidyottamā), he meaning that Vidyā or Vidyottamā had turned him out and the goddess taking that what he wants is *vidyā*, learning.

The earliest reference to Kālidāsa by name is in the Aihole Inscription of 634 A.D. That sets the lowest limit to Kālidāsa's date. There were three kings of the Gupta dynasty who are said to have assumed Vikramāditya as their title:

Candragupta II (c. 357-413)
Kumāragupta (413-455)
Skandagupta (455-480)

Vincent Smith is inclined to regard the reign of Kumāragupta as the time when the poet's later works were composed. Aśvaghoṣa, the Buddhist poet, has a number of ideas and passages similar to those of Kālidāsa suggesting the one borrowing from the other. Since a refined poet of the order of Kālidāsa borrowing from a poet of lesser calibre like Aśvaghoṣa cannot be easily digested, it may have to be presumed that he is anterior to him. As the date of Aśvaghoṣa is 78 A.D., Kālidāsa must belong to a period earlier than that. This goes well with Peterson's assertion that "Kālidāsa stands near the beginning of the Christian era, if indeed, he does not overtop it".

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Of the three plays of Kālidāsa, the two, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Vikramorvaśīya* are of five Acts while the *Abhijñāna-śākuntala* is of seven Acts. The theme of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is as under:

Mālavikā who in reality is a Vidarbha Princess joins the harem of King Agnimitra of the Śuṅga dynasty as a palace maid. She is forced to leave Vidarbha at the defeat of her brother and find shelter in the said king's harem. Dhāriṇī, the Chief Queen of the king accepts her in all love and arranges for her training in dance and other fine arts. The king feels drawn towards her with a chance look at her portrait. Later at a dance competition he sees her in person, That is enough for him to lose his heart to her. Mālavikā too has the crush on him.

The jester tries in his own way to bring the two of them together but the king's other queen Irāvatī plays the spoilsport. She orders the arrest of both the jester and Mālavikā. The jester through a clever device succeeds in coming out of the prison and also securing Mālavikā's release. In the meantime is received the news of the victory of Agnimitra over Vidarbha and the gift of two girls therefrom who on seeing Mālavikā at once recognize her and disclose her identity of being their Princess. Closely following this comes another good news. Agnimitra's son Vasumitra has vanquished the Yavanas. This is enough to ensure trouble-free performance of the horse sacrifice by the grand old patriarch Puṣyamitra, the father of Agnimitra. Noticing Agnimitra's longing for Mālavikā and elated at the victory of her son the Chief Queen Dhāriṇī herself gives the hand of Mālavikā to him. This brings the play to an end.

The *Vikramorvaśīya* begins with the cries of the nymphs for protection at their friend Urvaśī along with her companion Citralekhā having been kidnapped by the demon Keśin and the appearance of King Purūravas on the scene and rescuing them and uniting them with their friends who were waiting for them on the peak of the Hemakūṭa mountain. While proceeding

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towards the said mountain love sprouts forth between Purūravas and Urvaśī. Back in the heaven Urvaśī and in his capital Purūravas pine for each other. While in the pleasure grove Purūravas in the company of the jester pines for Urvaśī, she unable to withstand the pangs of love comes there unseen through the magical power of Tiraskariṇī and gives expression to her feelings in writing on a birch leaf which accidentally falls in the hand of the queen who had already suspected her husband of having an affair with another woman from his forlorn condition since his return from attending on the sun—it was at that time that he had heard the cries of the nymphs and rescued Urvaśī. Appearing in front of Purūravas with the leaf she vents her anger at him and then leaves in a huff.

Before the queen was face to face with Purūravas, Urvaśī giving up her invisible form had appeared before him. While they are professing their love for each other Urvaśī receives a message from a messenger of gods that she has to go back to heaven to take part in a performance of a play arranged by the sage Bharata to be attended by Indra and other gods. While in the role of Lakṣmī in the play Urvaśī out of slip of tongue happens to utter the name of Purūravas in place of that of Nārāyaṇa and invites the curse of Bharata to lose her place in heaven which Indra out of consideration for his friend Purūravas limits to her being with him (Purūravas) till she sights of the face of her son.

Though the queen had been rather harsh with Purūravas, she in her heart of heart feels guilty in offending him and undertakes the vow called *Priyānuprasādana*, propitiating the loved one, in pursuance to which she vows to be friendly towards the woman whom her husband loves or whom the woman loves.

Urvaśī stays with Purūravas. A son is born to her. Out of fear of leaving Purūravas and going back to heaven she leaves him in the hermitage of the sage Cyavana.

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One day when Purūravas and Urvaśī enter the Kumāravana, the pleasure garden, she turns into a creeper. Purūravas frantically searches for her and is verily a picture of misery. A divine voice then informs that a jewel through which she had had her birth a bird has taken away. Purūravas shoots an arrow in the direction of the bird. Shortly a servant comes with the dead bird with an arrow dug into it from where it is known that it had been killed by Āyus, his own son born on Urvāśī. Just about that time a hermit woman comes with the young lad (Āyus) with the message from Cyavana that he is returning the deposit because the young one had transgressed the rules of the hermitage *(āśramaviruddhavṛtti)* in killing the bird. Now that Urvaśī has a look at the face of the child, she having no way other than to go back to heaven bids adieu of Purūravas. The moment the separation of the two seems imminent, the sage Nārada appears with the message of Indra that he has permitted Urvaśī to stay with Purūravas for life as a reward for his help that he may be needing in the impending fight with the demons. With this happy denoument the play comes to an end.

The *Abhijñānaśākuntala* begins with the hermits restraining King Duṣyanta of Hastināpura set on an hunting expedition from shooting a deer belonging to the hermitage and on the king's agreeing to their request to come to the hermitage and enjoy its hospitality. There he notices three girls watering plants. One of them being targeted by bees he rescues. From the two friends he learns that the rescued one is Viśvāmitra's daughter born on the nymph Menakā who had abandoned her and that she was picked up by sage Kaṇva who had brought her up and was thus her foster father. He was out now to the holy Somatīrtha to soften the effect of her impending ill-luck assigning her the duty of looking after the guests. Both that girl—her name is Śakuntalā—and the king have terrible crush on each other to the point of Śakuntalā writing a love letter to him on a lotus leaf. They marry each other through Gandharva rites.

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Duşyanta has now to return to the capital but before doing so he hands over a ring to her with his name inscribed on it saying while she would be on a count of the letters on it and would come to the last one some one from the capital would come and escort her to it.

Days pass by. The sage Durvāsas comes to the hermitage. He duly announces his arrival. Śakuntalā, however, does not notice him lost as she is in the thoughts of Duşyanta, provoking the sage to pronounce a curse on her to the effect that the person in whose thoughts she is lost (because of which she is ignoring his arrival) would forget her which through the intervention of one of her friends, Priyaṁvadā, is limited by him to the sight of an ornament of recognition (*abhijñānābharaṇadarśanena śāpo nivartişyate*).

Under the impact of the curse the king forgets all about Śakuntalā. Nobody comes to pick her up and bring her to the capital. Kaṇva returns in the meantime from the pilgrimage and learning from the incorporeal voice of Śakuntalā's pregnancy through Duşyanta, gives his approval to the secret love marriage and takes the initiative himself to send her to the king with two young hermits Śārṅgarava and Śāradvata and hermit lady Gautamī as escorts. On the way when Śakuntalā has bath in a pond, the ring that Duşyanta had given slips from her finger. She with the escorts reaches the capital. The king refuses to accept her. She does not have the ring that would have eroded the curse. A bundle of misery, she, forsaken by the hermits who leave her behind to fend for herself, starts crying, Just at that moment a heavenly being, her mother the nymph Menakā, lifts her up and deposits her in the hermitage of the sage Mārīca in the mid-regions.

The scene turns here to the chance discovery of the ring from the abdomen of a fish netted by a fisherman from the same pond where Śakuntalā had her bath. Since the ring had the name of the king on it, the fisherman is held by policemen on charge

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of theft and is produced before the king who then remembers everything about Śakuntalā and feels extremely sorry for what he had done to her. The distraught king is delivered the message by Mātali, the charioteer of Indra, to come to the heaven to help Indra in his battle with the demons which the king does. On his way back to the earth he stops over in the mid-region and notices a child accompanied with two hermit ladies playing with a lion cub. He takes fancy to him. One of the hermit ladies for diverting his attention from the cub offers him a toy. With him stretching the hand to take it, the king notices the mark of the *cakravartin* kingship (the sovereign kingship) on it that comes to him as a surprise while the resemblance of the child with the king comes as a surprise to the hermit ladies who tell him on enquiry that he is of the Puru race and that her mother had deposited him in sage Mārīca's hermitage, a place inaccessible to humans. As for the name of his father, the response of the ladies is that none would like to utter it, he having repudiated his legally-wedded wife setting the king athinking, for, all the incidents seem to be pointing to him. One of the two hermit ladies accompanying the child offers him another bird-toy to divert his attention from the cub with the words "see the beauty of the bird", *śakuntalāvaṇyaṁ paśya*, the similarity of the sounds with the name of his mother delude him into enquiring as to where his mother is, kindling the hope in the king about the child being that of Śakuntalā and thereby his. But the doubt still lurks. She could be another woman with the same name. Then comes another incident. One of the ladies does not find the protective amulet on the wrist of the child. The king reassures her saying that it has slipped because of the child's grappling with the cub. He wants to pick it up. Before the lady tells him not to do so, he had already picked it up The surprised ladies tell the inquisitive king that the amulet Aparājitā was given by the sage Mārīca which nobody other than the father and the mother and his own self can touch. Were he to do so, it would turn into

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a serpent and bite him, an event to which they were a witness a number of times, providing yet another proof to the king—and this time the most conclusive one —of the child being his own. The child with all this goings on gets wearied and wants to repair to his mother. The king accompanies him to her, begs forgiveness of her and with the permission of the sage and his consort proceeds to his capital along with her and the child in all happiness.

The next to Kālidāsan plays in point of interest and perhaps in far more importance in its distinct social setting is the play *Mṛcchakaṭika* attributed to a legendary author Śūdraka who, as the Prologue says, entered fire on attaining the age of 110 years. With its ten Acts it comes under the Prakaraṇa variety and seems an extension of the Bhāsa's play the *Daridracārudatta* though its Prakrit is of a period later than that of Bhāsa. It has all the different types of characters from gamblers to thieves, from a Brahmin merchant to a Buddhist mendicant, from a king to his half wicked brother-in-law, from menials to hangmen. It is the story of love between a person of noble descent reduced to poverty through munificence and a rich courtesan who feels drawn to him for all his good qualities much against the nature of her calling, with a political plot thrown in. It depicts the retrieval of the situation when everything seems to be getting out of hand leading to the happy consummation in keeping with the tradition of Sanskrit plays. A brief summary of the theme of the play is as under: The play begins with Śakāra, Viṭa and Ceṭa chasing the courtesan Vasantasenā who to escape them takes refuge in the house of her lover the Brahmin merchant Cārudatta. For fear of the possibility of their being stolen by thieves she leaves her ornaments with him. (Act I). Act II begins with gamblers Sabhika, Darduraka and Saṁvāhaka engaged in a game of dice. One of them, the Saṁvāhaka loses the game and owes ten suvarnas gold coins to others. He leaves the gambling den with

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the other two in hot pursuit and to escape them enters the house of Vasantasenā who not only gives him shelter but also pays for him the due amount in the form of her bracelet. The insult from the other gamblers drives him to become a Buddhist monk. In Act III Śarvilaka, a thief, steals the ornaments from the house of Cārudatta and by offering them to Vasantasenā requests her for the release of her maid Madanikā, his heart-throb, from her servitude. Knowing full well that the ornaments are stolen by him, she frees Madanikā. Since Cārudatta is in grief for having lost the ornaments which Vasantasenā had left with him as deposit; his wife Dhūtā offers her gem-studded necklace as a recompense for them for Vasantasenā. Just as Śarvilaka is securing the freedom of Madanikā he gets the news of the imprisonment of his friend Āryaka and rushes out leaving behind her whom he had just accepted as his wife. The jester, the associate of Cārudatta, goes to Vasantasenā to give her the necklace as a recompense for the lost ornaments who accepts it in the hope that that would provide her an opportunity to meet Cārudatta. Vasantasenā meets Cārudatta in Act V. Since it is raining, she cannot leave back for her home and has to spend the night at Cārudatta's place. In Act VI Vasantasenā goes to Cārudatta's wife to return to her the necklace which she declines. It is there that Vasantasenā notices the son of Cārudatta playing with a clay cart—it is this which has given the title to the play—and feeling sorry for him on seeing the sons of other rich people playing with the golden one. Vasantasenā leaves her ornaments with the child so that he could also have a golden cart made out of them to play with. She then plans to meet Cārudatta in a garden but due to an error gets into a cart meant for Saṁsthānaka (Śakāra). Just about that time Āryaka who has escaped from prison gets into the cart meant for Vasantasenā. Since the escape every vehicle on the roads is subjected to a search. That leads to the search of the cart with Āryaka in it by two policemen one of whom recognizes him and just to help him gets into a stock

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verbal duel with his colleague insisting on search, not to carry it out and succeeds in letting the cart move on. The cart reaches the garden. Cārudatta is there expecting Vasantasenā. Āryaka begs for refuge from him. He readily does so and even offers him a sword for self-help. The other vehicle with Vasantasenā in it reaches Saṁsthānaka (Śakāra). First he begs for the love of Vasantasenā which she flatly refuses. He then hits her hard and thinking her to be dead covers her body with a heap of dry leaves. In the meantime a Buddhist monk (the gambler Saṁvāhaka of old) spreads his wet Cīvara (monk's clothing) on the heap. With drops of water oozing out of the wet clothes Vasantasenā regains. He takes her to his monastery for treatment. Saṁsthānaka approaches the court where he charges Cārudatta for Vasantasenā's murder for greed of her ornaments which the judge upholds, pronouncing life term for it which is changed to death by hanging by the ruler Pālaka. As Cārudatta is to face the noose of the hangmen the Buddhist monk reaches there with Vasantasenā which stays the hanging. Just at that moment is received the news that Āryaka has killed Pālaka and has assumed the reins of administration. He shares half of his kingdom with Cārudatta who pardons Saṁsthānaka disregarding the clamour of the people that he be done to death. Next is the scene of Cārudatta marrying Vasantasenā and with this the play comes to an end.

Now we turn to the three plays attributed to Harṣadeva, the king of Thanesar who ruled in the first half of the seventh cen. A.D. The two of these the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Priyadarśikā* are Nāṭikās having four Acts each and deal with the story of the traditional hero Udayana. The third one, the *Nāgānanda*, is, however, a sensational piece with a Buddhist colouring highlighted by the praise of the Buddha in the introductory benediction. It is a Nāṭaka in five Acts dealing with the story of Jīmūtavāhana which the playwright seems to have borrowed from the old *Bṛhatkathā* in whose later recensions like the

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Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva it appears. It is a happy contrast with the two Nāṭikās which are so much alike in content and form. The dominant note of the play is the inculcation of the Buddhist virtues of self-sacrifice, magnanimity and so on. In it Harṣa employs the super-natural element freely. The two Nāṭikās are like any other Indian play and have little originality, even though the plot of both of them has been devised effectively. In the words of Kieth "the action moves smoothly and in either play there is ingenuity. The scene of the magician activity in the *Ratnāvalī* is depicted with humour and vivacity. The parrot's escape and chatter are sketched with piquancy and the change of costumes is natural and effective."

From Harṣa in close chronological order we move on to Bhavabhūti, Kālidāsa's close literary compeer.

He was a Brāhmaṇa of the Taittirīya School of the Yajurveda and belonged to Vidarbha in southern India. His patron was King Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja who ruled in the first half of the 8th cen. A.D. Bhavabhūti has two prominent characteristics that distinguish him from other playwrights. He has no jester. Even the comic element in his plays is scarcely noticeable. He does not afford any relief against the sorrowful atmosphere that prevails in his works. Further, unlike any other poet, he has a liking for the grandiose rather than the delicate aspect of nature.

The most peculiar play of Bhavabhūti is the *Mālatīmādhava* in ten Acts that belongs to the Prakaraṇa variety of the plays. The story is a boy-meets-girl affair. When Mālatī and Mādhava meet they feel attracted to each other. This gives rise to passion in them. This passion drives them, as is usual in such cases, first to sorrow and suffering and then by strange turns and twists to union. The work is an "Indian version of the *Romeo and Juliet* with the part played by the nun Kāmandakī being analogous to that of Friar Laurence in the Shakespearean drama." The *Mahāvīracarita* and the *Uttararāmacarita* describe the fortunes

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of the national hero Rāma. The former describes in seven Acts the early life of Rāma, the latter, as the name itself implies, the later one of him—from the banishment of Sītā onwards. The first seems almost an amateurish attempt with little dramatic merit, the latter is a finished piece of art. Since it is studded with lyrical stanzas, critics are prone to regard it 'a dramatic poem than a play.' While describing the grand and rugged aspects of nature or while painting the highly pathetic situation Bhavabhūti cares more for poetry than for action. Master of genuine pathos, for which he has won full accolades; *kāruṇyaṁ bhavabhūtir eva tanute*; it is only Bhavabhūti who creates pathos; he paints a word picture after word picture of sorrow, pain and anguish, a picture that could even make the stone cry and melt the flint's heart: *api grāvā rodity api dalati vajrasya hṛdayam.*

After Bhavabhūti Viśākhadatta appears on the scene with his political play the *Mudrārākṣasa* wherein he describes the tug of war between Rākṣasa, the minister of the deposed Nandas who is actuated by the desire to dethrone Candragupta, the protégé of Cāṇakya to avenge the ruin of his masters, and Cāṇakya who has pledged to him (the protégé) to seat him firmly on the throne. And for that purpose he tries all his skills and stratagems to win him (Rākṣasa) over to his side wherein he ultimately succeeds with the circumstances for him being so created that he has to accept the ministership of Candragupta. The theme of the playwright, as it is, could be least expected to be suitable for a play but with the moves and the counter-moves deftly planned he makes it so. The interest in it never flags even for a moment. The play is unique in certain other aspects too. It has no woman character except the wife of Kāyastha Candanadāsa who but once appears on the stage and that too for a few moments to console the child when her husband is being taken to the place for hanging. It also does not have the comic element with no Vidūṣaka or any other such character. The characters in the play are so full of life and vivid, and

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interestingly, serve as foils to each other like Rākṣasa and Cāṇakya, the two ministers, one of the ruling monarch and the other of the deposed ones, Candragupta, the protégé of Cāṇakya and Malayaketu, the protégé and ally of Rākṣasa.

As for the date of the playwright, it is still uncertain. Some consider him to belong to the time of Candragupta Maurya or Candragupta Vikramāditya on the basis of the Bharatavākya, the closing stanza:

mlecchair udvijyamānā bhujayugam adhunā saṁśritā bhūtadhātrī
sa śrīmadbandhubhṛtyaś ciram avatu mahīṁ pārthivaś candraguptaḥ

Other scholars place him in the reign of Avantivarman, on the basis of the variant reading (Avantivarman for Candragupta), about whose date nothing definite is known. The only thing that can be said about him with certainty is that he belonged to a period earlier than the 10th cen. A.D., when a quotation from his work occurs in the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya.

From Viśākhadatta we pass on to Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the author of the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* who lived probably before the 8th cen. A.D. as he is quoted by Vāmana and Ānandavardhana. His play in six Acts describes the well-known episode of the *Mahābhārata*, the revenge by Bhīma of the insult to Draupadī in the Kaurava court by Duḥśāsana in trying to disrobe her, by tying her braid of hair with his hands stained by his blood. According to Keith "the play is on the whole undramatic....and the abundance of detail served up in this form confuses and destroys interest. Yet the characterization is good....and the style of the play clear and not lacking either in force and dignity." According to S.K. De 'the dramatic merits of the work may be reckoned very high but considered absolutely, it must be admitted that the plot is clumsily contrived, the situations are often incongruous, the scenes are disconnectedly put together

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and the incidents do not inevitably grow out from one to the other."

Next notable work after the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* is the *Anargharāghava* of Murāri in seven Acts dealing with the story of Rāma up to his return from Laṅkā and enthronement. He belongs to the age when writers would often indulge in self-praise. Thus speaking about himself he says:

sāraṁ tu sārasvataṁ jānīte sutarām ayaṁ gurukulakliṣṭo murāriḥ kaviḥ

"But the essence of knowledge knows this poet Murāri who has toiled hard in the house of the teacher."

That he is *gurukulakliṣṭa* is borne out by many difficult words culled from the lexica that he uses in his work as also many recondite grammatical forms a good many of which are reproduced by Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita in his *Siddhānta-kaumudī* by way of illustrating the Pāṇinian rules. Apart from that the playwright has little originality. He makes a negligible effort to improve upon the traditional narrative as also to introduce innovations in it. His dialogues are unattractive and descriptions are weighed down with prolixity and pedantry. The only redeeming feature is the harmonious sounds set in different metres.

The next playwright of note is Rājaśekhara of Murāri's fraternity in being more of a poet than a playwright. As for the plays, he has written four: the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, the *Karpūramañjarī*, the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and the *Bālabhārata*. These have failed to elicit much praise from critics. Of these the *Karpūramañjarī* is a Saṭṭaka—all in Prakrit.

Rājaśekhara, as he tells about himself, was a scion of the Maharashtrian Kṣatriya family of the Yāyāvaras and son of the minister Dudruka or Duhika and Śīlavatī. As he refers to himself as the teacher of Nirbhaya or Nirbhara who was clearly the Pratīhāra King Mahendrapāla of Mahodaya of whom we have records in A. D. 693 and 709 he may be safely placed in the middle of the 8th Cen. A.D.

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After Rājaśekhara comes Kṣemīśvara with two mediocre plays, the *Naiṣadhānanda*, which deals with the famous story of Nala and Damayantī in seven Acts and the *Caṇḍakausika* which deals with the story of King Hariścandra; his being put to test through the episode of Viśvāmitra who was trying to acquire the Vidyātrayī, the Mūlaśakti, the Basic Power to which the Sin wanting to cause obstruction through its very nature brings the king to his (Viśvāmitra's) hermitage in the form of boar inviting the latter's angry response which the former tries to pacify through gifting him all that he had and promising him further fee (dakṣiṇā) which he is able to provide by selling himself, his wife and his son to a Cāṇḍāla Chieftain at whose instance he is to collect the fee for cremation which leads him to demand it from his wife who had come to the cremation ground to cremate her son who had lost his life due to snake bite, an act which wins him undying fame and the revival of the son; in five Acts. Kṣemīśvara probably lived in the 10th cen. A.D. under the Kānyakubja King Mātṛpāla.

In the 11th cen. A.D. Dāmodaragupta composed the *Hanumannāṭaka*, also called the *Mahānāṭaka*, 'The Great Play'.

Though an allegorical piece of theologio-philosophical purport, in which practically only abstract notions and symbolical figures act as personifications, it is remarkable for dramatic life and vigour.

Thus ends the huge procession of important Sanskrit plays in all its pomp and pageantry. The art of playwriting has continued down to the present times. The playwrights after the 10th cen. or probably earlier than that had lost their originality and had become mere camp followers of the great masters that had preceded them. It was no wonder then that they, with all their training and equipment, could not reach up to the heights that had been attained by their illustrious predecessors.

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17

PROSE

The ancient Indians had a special fascination for verse. Even the dictionaries were compiled in verses as also manuals on civil and religious law and various other branches of literature. But whenever the Indians opted for prose, they produced marvellous works of artistic workmanship. Though lovers of poetry, Indians were not averse to prose and there came a time in the chequered history of the Indian writing when prose came to occupy the pride of place.

There arose a galaxy of prose writers beginning with Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa. Though we have a limited number of prose romances, they are sufficient to reveal the great genius of our prose writers whose works stand as a monument to all the learning and wisdom that India had imbibed through centuries of intense devotion and perseverance.

Daṇḍin

The first of the great prose writers is Daṇḍin, the author of the *Daśakumāracarita*, a story of the adventures of the ten princes who go out on an expedition, are separated from each other but after years are re-united and relate the story of their adventures at the bidding of Rājavāhana, the hero. The stories are highly sensational and exciting. Dandin had utilised the time-honoured motifs of folk-lore like transformation, re-birth, magic and

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trickery to impart flavour to his stories. The first part of the book called the Pūrvapīṭhikā and the concluding one called the Uttarapīṭhikā are admittedly not the work of Daṇḍin. They are supposed to be later additions. The details in them do not agree with themselves, not to talk of the main body of the work which begins with the account of Rājavāhana and ends with that of Viśruta.

As about Daṇḍin, we do not have much information. He may be identical with the author of the *Kāvyādarśa* but there is nothing to prove that, instead there are positive arguments adduced by some scholars against this. The name Daṇḍin itself is applicable to more than one person bearing the appellation of a religious mendicant of a certain order. That the *Daśakumāracarita* belongs to the juvenalia of Daṇḍin and *Kāvyādarśa*, to a more mature period is also not acceptable as there is no immaturity in either work. It is a poor defence to say that a man does not practice what he says, in justification of the instances where Daṇḍin, the prose-poet, offends against Daṇḍin, the rhetorician. From the geographical knowledge and style, we can say that Daṇḍin is earlier than Harṣavardhana, Bāṇa, and Subandhu.

Daṇḍin's style is most pleasing and compares favourably with the style of his great compeers, Subandhu and Bāṇa. Kieth sums up Daṇḍin's style in the following words : "where narrative is mere skeleton and description the essence." The main interest of the romance lies in the substance with its vivid and pictureque account of low life, and adventures of magicians and fraudulent holy men, of hetairai, of Buddhist nuns who act as go-between. It is this disregard of the moral standards that has brought the mighty censure of the purists on him. Daṇḍin is rightly famous for his *padalālitya*, the sweetness of words, a beautiful illustration of which is found in the following lines.

"*kumārā mārābhirāmā rāmādyapauruṣā ruṣā bhasmīkṛtārayo rayopahasitasamīraṇā raṇābhiyānena yānena...*

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Daṇḍin shows distinct judgement and varies tones where he has to describe a tragedy. As a whole, the work is replete with humour emanating from the digs at the princes, Brāhmaṇas and others who matter in society.

Subandhu

Next comes the great prose writer Subandhu, the author of the *Vāsavadattā*, a highly embellished prose-poem with all the overprofuse elegancies of paranomasias, long and tedious compounds and a large number of recondite words. The work served, perhaps, as a model to Bāṇa who wanted to excel it in every possible way. He seems to refer to this work when he says in his *Kādambarī* that he wrote his work to surpass the previous two kathās, *atidvayī kathā,* one of which is generally supposed to be the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya. Now, as far as the story is concerned, it has nothing common with the legendary Vāsavadattā tale which was drawn upon by dramatists like Bhāsa and Harṣa. The story is Subandhu's own invention. But the plot in the words of S.K. De is, "neither rich nor exciting." It is essentially the aim of the poet not to trouble himself with a plot but to display his skill in handling the language.

The plot is the love story of one Kandarpaketu, the son of King Cintāmaṇi and Vāsavadattā, the daughter of King Śṛṅgāraśekhara of Kusumapura. One night Kandarpaketu sees in dream a charming damsel. Unable to be away from her he goes out in search of her with his friend Makaranda. At the same time Vāsavadattā too notices a young man in dream and sends the next morning her friend Tamālikā with a letter to look for him and deliver it to him. In their course of search for Vāsavadattā Kandarpaketu and Makaranda reach the Vindhya forest. In the night when they are resting under a tree they come to know through a conversation between a parrot and a Turdus Salica of Tamālikā who is out to locate Kandarpaketu to deliver the letter to him. Tamālikā happens to come to that very tree where

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Kandarpaketu is resting along with his friend. Both join each other there. Tamālikā then leads Kandarpaketu and Makaranda to Kusumapura. On arrival there they all come to know that the father of Vāsavadattā wants to marry her to a Vidyādhara. Kandarpaketu elopes with her on a magic steed and reaches the Vindhya forest where they take rest for the night. Vāsavadattā gets up the next morning earlier than her fiancé and goes out to arrange for fruits and roots for him. On seeing her two Kirātas want to have her for themselves and pick up a fight among themselves with their armies which results in the destruction of the hermitage of a sage who curses her, she being its root cause, that turns her into a stone. Completely distraught, Kandarpaketu wants to end his life by drowning in the sea but desists from the venture on hearing an incorporeal voice. One day while searching for Vāsavadattā he happens to place his hand on the same stone that revives her. United in this manner both of them live happily thereafter.

As for Subandhu's date we have no information but on the basis of the fact that he makes punning allusions to Uddyotakara we must presume that he is earlier than him. Now, the date of Uddyotakara is itself not certain. So this fact cannot lead us anywhere. But there is a consensus among scholars that Subandhu is anterior to Bāṇa who lived in the beginning of the 7th Century A.D.

Bāṇa

Next we have a great prose poet Bāṇa in whose works, it seems, the Sanskrit prose has reached its full potential. Inspite of the endless stream of long and irksome compounds running into sometimes six pages in print and a whole volley of double entendrés and a barrage of unknown or little known words, Bāṇa's work possesses that grandeur and majesty which has never been surpassed in India. The narrative jogs along heavily and sometimes even lags behind the great pageant of epithets,

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imagery and word pictures. Bāṇa displays in his works a rare grasp of all the mythological legends. His brain seems to be the springboard of all the vocabulary and aesthetics. It is, therefore, natural that a critic should express its satisfaction and appreciation of Bāṇa's style in the words *vāṇī bāṇo babhūva*, that is, the goddess of learning herself became Bāṇa.

As he was the court poet of Emperor Harṣavardhana, there is no difficulty in deciding about his date. (606 A.D.-648 A.D.), Bāṇa doubtless belongs to the first half of the 7th cen. A.D.

In the first two chapters of his *Harṣacarita* Bāṇa gives us some information regarding his ancestry and himself. He is the son of Citrabhānu, the son of Arthapati who was highly honoured by the Guptas. His mother Rājyadevī died when he was young after which his father took care of him but he also died when he was merely fourteen. From now onwards there comes a period in Bāṇa's life when he falls in evil company and leads a life of easy virtues. But after a few years he wakes up to his self and comes back home, first to be received by King Harṣa in his camp ostensibly for the purpose of punishment for the evil deeds done by him, and later to be received with favour, after the King came to know his intellectual attainments. Henceforward starts a new phase in Bāṇa's life. He receives both public approbation and royal patronage and is, therefore, placed in the favourable circumstances.

The third chapter in the context of his kith and kin urging him to tell them something of the life of emperor Harṣavardhana deals with the description of the Śrīkaṇṭha country, its capital Sthāṇvīśvara and Puṣpabhūti the founder of its ruling dynasty and his aide the Tāntrika Bhairavācārya. Fourth chapter takes us to the life sketch of Prabhākaravardhana and his Queen Yaśovatī and the birth of three children, Rājyavardhana, Harṣavardhana and Rājyaśrī; Yaśovatī's brother Bhaṇḍi playing friendly jokes with Rājyavardhana and Harṣa, [illegible] and the marriage of Rājyaśrī with Grahavarman. Fifth chapter describes the leading

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of the expedition by Rājyavardhana and Harşavardhana against the Hūṇas, their return to the capital on learning the incurable illness of Prabhākaravardhana and the committing of Satī (self-immolation) by Yaśovatī even before the death of Prabhākaravardhana and the grief of the subjects. In the sixth chapter is dealt with the story of Rājyavardhana abdicating in favour of Harşavardhana; the death of Grahavarman; the arrest of Rājyaśrī by the king of Mālava and Harşa's advance to teach him a lesson. The seventh chapter describes the victory expedition of Harşa; his conquest over the king of Mālava; the defeat by Bhaṇḍi of the army of the latter and the occupation of his treasury. The eighth chapter takes the story to conclusion. Harşavardhana has achieved all that he had hoped for and is now a happy and a contented man.

Bāṇa's two works, the *Kādambarī* and the *Harşacarita* are incomplete. The first was cut short by his unfortunate death and the other was left incomplete deliberately. Bāṇa himself says in his *Harşacarita* that it is not possible to recount the mighty deeds of the monarch even in hundred lives. Some scholars describe the *Harşacarita* as an historical *kāvya*, little realising that the work has very little of history in it. It is a kāvya with all its paraphernalia of paranomasia, lengthy discussions and fairy tale atmosphere. It is a misnomer to call it an historical kāvya; at best it is a kāvya dealing with an historical theme. And the theme also is an incident in the life of King Harşavardhana and that incident also is not presented to us with a view to giving us some historical information about him, for example, we do not know who the Gauḍa king was and the motive with which he killed Rājyavardhana, the elder brother of Harşavardhana. The poem is rich in the depiction of some human emotions. The pathetic scene of the death of Prabhākaravardhana is really a master-piece.

It is, however, in the *Kādambarī* that Bāṇa's prose reaches its full acme. The grand and the majestic descriptions glide

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along and enchant every reader. The work though full of the handicaps of the prose kāvya style is an exquisite piece of artistic tapestry. Here Bāṇa has adopted a romantic theme and it is only appropriate that the extravagant diction of his should be the vehicle for the extravagantly rich tale. As is usual with Kathās or Ākhyāyikās there are many tales interwoven in the main theme which makes the work more intricate and more difficult to follow.

Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* is the source of the theme of the *Kādambarī*. Bāṇa could not complete it in his life-time. His son Pulinda Bhaṭṭa/Bhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa brought it to completion after his death. That is how the work is divided into two, the first half, the Pūrvārdha, was composed by Bāṇa and the second half, the Uttarārdha, was composed by his son Pulinda Bhaṭṭa/Bhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa. The story is a little complicated with its three layers. Still, it is told in such a way that at no stage does the interest flag. This in spite of the long-winded compounds, the unending chain of puns and elaborate descriptions. The story runs as follows: Once a Cāṇḍāla girl brings to King Śūdraka of Vidiśā a parrot who narrates to him the story of its birth. It had lost its mother still very young and was reared by its father with tender care who was killed by a Śabara. It was then picked up by one Hārīta who brought it to his father, the sage Jābāli who looked kindly at it and said that it was just reaping the reward of its past misconduct. On request the sage tells the following tale: King Tārāpīḍa of Ujjayinī had Śukanāsa as his minister. In a vision the Queen Vilāsavatī sees the moon entering her womb. A son is born to her and is named Candrāpīḍa. Śukanāsa begets a son given the name Vaiśampāyana born of a lotus placed on his wife's bosom. Candrāpīḍa and Vaiśampāyana are great friends. At the age of sixteen, when fully trained, they are brought from the place they had spent their childhood. Candrāpīḍa on coming back receives a magic horse Indrāyudha as gift from the king and a maiden Patralekhā, a captive daughter of the king of

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Kulūta from the queen. Mounted on Indrāyudha he leaves for world conquest lasting three years. While chasing a Kinnara couple he loses his way and reaches the Acchoda lake. There he comes across a love-lorn ascetic girl Mahāśvetā who on persuasion tells him that she is a Gandharva princess born of an Apsaras. She had seen a beautiful ascetic boy Puṇḍarīka and his friend Kapiñjala from whom she had learnt that the former was the mind-born son of Lakṣmī, the goddess of beauty, and the sage Śvetaketu. She had fallen in love with him (Puṇḍarīka) but before the two could unite, he met with death. Mahāśvetā decides to follow him in death. Just at that time a divine personage descends from the sky, takes possession of the body of the ascetic boy and assures her that both, she and the ascetic boy she is in love with, would unite in future if she continues to live. That is why she is waiting for him on the banks of the Acchoda lake. Candrāpīḍa happens to meet Mahāśvetā's friend Kādambarī and love sprouts in him at the first sight. Just then Candrāpīḍa is called back by his father Tārāpīḍa to the capital. Candrāpīḍa leaves Patralekhā behind to be with Kādambarī for a few days and bids Vaiśampāyana to bring the forces back to Ujjayinī. Candrāpīḍa suffers from pangs of separation from Kādambarī in Ujjayinī and gets news of her through Patralekhā.

The first part ends here and begins the second part that is composed by Pulinda Bhaṭṭa. According to some scholars his name was Bhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭa but according to Dhanapāla, the author of the *Tīlakamañjarī* it was Pulinda Bhaṭṭa:

kevalo 'pi sphuran bāṇaḥ karoti vimadān kavīn/
kiṁ punaḥ kḷptasandhānaḥ pulindakṛtasannidhiḥ//

Pulinda Bhaṭṭa continues the thread of the story from where Bāṇa had left it.

Further news about Kādambarī comes from one Keyūraka aggravating the desire of Candrāpīḍa to return to Kādambarī but he must await the return of Vaiśampāyana and the army. The

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army comes back but the officers tell Candrāpīḍa that Vaiśampāyana had insisted on staying on at the Acchoda lake. To look for him he, Candrāpīḍa, leaves for the lake and there another story unfolds itself for him. Mahāśvetā tells him that Vaiśampāyana had fallen in love with her and she, loving Puṇḍarīka as she had been, had repulsed all his advances and because of his parrot-like protestations of love for her had cursed him to turn into a parrot which shape he had taken by now. This is too bad a news for Candrāpīḍa who unable to bear it drops dead. Mahāśvetā grieves over the tragedy. Just at that moment comes Kādambarī with Patralekhā who decides to end her life. Just as the funeral pyre is lit, out comes from it light and a voice informs from heaven that Puṇḍarīka's body is safe in heaven and Kādambarī should guard the body of Candrāpīḍa. Patralekhā who had lost her consciousness at the turn of events, awakens and mounted on Indrāyudha dives into the lake from where emerges Kapiñjala who now takes up the thread of the story and that is as follows: As Puṇḍarīka's body was being taken away he, Puṇḍarīka, had cursed the Moon to suffer the pangs of separation as he had been made to suffer them for no fault of his. The Moon had then cursed him that his body would be kept till the time of his descent on the earth. As Kapiñjala was returning with this news he invited a curse of a semi-divine being on overrunning him to turn into a horse that would end at his master's death. This is how he has turned into the horse Indrāyudha. The Moon and Puṇḍarīka have incarnated as Candrāpīḍa and Vaiśampāyana respectively. Of Patralekhā he knows nothing. Mahāśvetā and Kādambarī later joined by Tārāpīḍa and Śukanāsa with their wives guard the body of Candrāpīḍa which gets lovelier and lovelier every day. With this ends Jābāli's story.

The parrot knowing that he is Vaiśampāyana wants to know from the sage its future but is rebuked by him for its impudence and is told that it would have as short a life as he had

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as Puṇḍarīka and that it must stay peacefully in the hermitage but it cannot restrain itself and flies off and is caught by the Cāṇḍāla girl and is brought to the king (Śūdraka). With this ends the parrot's tale which is now resumed by the poet. The Cāṇḍāla maiden reveals herself to be Lakṣmī and bids the king to quit this life. Both the king (Śūdraka) and the parrot perish. While this happens in King Śūdraka's court, life returns to Candrāpīḍa's body and Puṇḍarīka descends from heaven leading to the union of Kādambarī and Candrāpīḍa and Mahāśvetā and Puṇḍarīka. Candrāpīḍa puts Puṇḍarīka on the throne and divides his time between Ujjayinī in service to his parents, Hemakūta, Kādambarī's parental home and Moon, his own abode. Patralekhā is revealed to be Rohiṇī, one of the beloved queens of the Moon.

Characters of the Kādambarī :

Male characters:

.....

Moon		
Tārāpīḍa	—	King of Ujjayinī, father of Candrāpīḍa
Śukanāsa	—	Minister of Tārāpīḍa
Candrāpīḍa	—	Son of Tārāpīḍa
Vaiśampāyana	—	Son of Śukanāsa
Śvetaketu	—	Father of Puṇḍarīka, an ascetic boy
Puṇḍarīka	—	An ascetic boy
Kapiñjala	—	Friend of Puṇḍarīka
Hārīta	—	Son of the sage Jābāli to whom he brings the parrot which had lost its father and mother
Jābāli	—	The sage who relates to the parrot its past history
Śūdraka	—	The king of Vidiśā in whose court a Cāṇḍāla maiden brings the parrot

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Female characters

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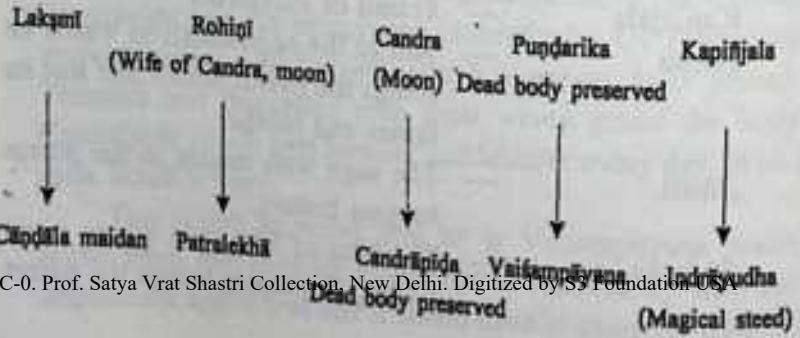
Vilāsavatī	—	The queen, wife of King Tārāpīḍa, the ruler of Ujjayinī, the mother of Candrāpīḍa
Lakṣmī	—	The goddess of beauty, whose mind-born son was Puṇḍarīka
Mahāśvetā	—	A damsel born of a Gandharva and an Apsaras, in love with Puṇḍarīka
Kādambarī	—	A friend of Mahāśvetā, Candrāpīḍa is in love with
Patralekhā	—	A maiden, a present to Candrāpīḍa from his mother, a captive daughter of a Kulūta king
Cāṇḍāla maiden	—	who captures the parrot and brings it to the court of King Śūdraka

Non-human characters

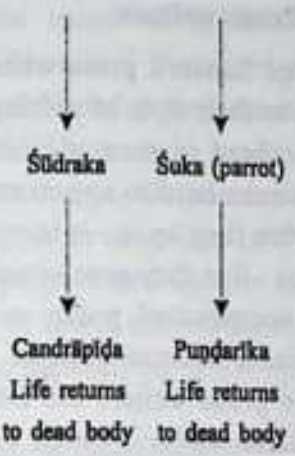
..... :

Lakṣmī	—	The goddess of beauty whose mind-born son was Puṇḍarīka
Indrāyudha	—	A magic horse (A re-incarnation of Kapiñjala)
The Kinnara couple	—	Chased by Candrāpīḍa who loses his way in the process

Re-incarnations



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There are critics who would be averse to accord Bāṇa a high rank on account of his fetish for the ornate *kāvya* style which relegates the plot to the background. There is the classic onslaught of Weber where Bāṇa's prose is compared to a thick jungle in which progress is made impossible by the thick undergrowth in which lie wild beasts in the shape of recondite words. There is, we concede, some truth in this charge. But one thing that one is apt to forget is that Bāṇa did not compose his works for the simplicity-minded readers of today. The time in which he was living is partly to account for the floridity, subtlety and tortuousness that are the characteristic marks of his prose. Any poet who wanted to win fame in an age when Bāṇa lived had to write in the pedantic style to meet the tastes of the readers imbued with śāstric learning. Bāṇa's high flown style reflects not only him but also his age when artificiality and ornateness had gripped people's mind. Even though fettered by artificiality and mannerism Bāṇa has been able to produce a work which has, in the words of his son, won him wide fame: *āryaṁ yam arcati gṛhe gṛha eva lokaḥ*, him, the noble one, people worship in every home.

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Post-Bāṇa Prose writers

The post-Bāṇa Sanskrit prose writers have generally tended to follow Bāṇa in their style of writing which had touched such an appreciative chord in them that it became a model for them which they strove hard to approximate in their works. So much fascinated were they by it—it is not only just they but even the literary critics –that they proclaimed prose; evidently the highly ornate and complicated prose; as the touchstone of poetry: *gadyaṁ kavīnāṁ nikaṣaṁ vadanti*. In the post-Bāṇa period the more notable prose writers are Dhanapāla of 1006 A.D. who wrote the *Tilakamañjarī*, which is noteworthy for its graphic descriptions of iconography, sculpture and other arts and crafts, Vādiyasiṁha, the author of the *Gadyacintāmaṇi* with its theme akin to that of the *Kādambarī* and Vāmanabhaṭṭabāṇa, the author of the *Vemabhūpālacarita* which is a replica in a sense of the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa. Coming to the modern period one of the most noteworthy of the Sanskrit prose writers is Ambikādatta Vyāsa, 1858-1900, whose *Śivarājavijaya* has won full plaudits from lovers of Sanskrit literature.

Campūs :

That form of poetry which has an admixture of prose and verse is called Campū. This is how it is defined in works on rhetorics. The etymology of the word itself is suggestive of this meaning. *camp* meaning movement in companionship *campayati sahaiva gamayati prayojayati gadyapadye iti campūḥ*, campū is so called because it makes the movement or employment of prose and verse together. Haridāsa Bhaṭṭācārya seems to suggest the derivation of the word from two bases; *cam* (this he seems to be taking as a short form of *camat* and *pū*; and explains it as (a composition) which purifies the connoisseurs *camatkṛtya punāti sahṛdayān* which he interprets to mean *vismitīkṛtya prasādayati*, provides them joy by keeping them wondering. Some rhetoricians

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have preferred to give the name *miśrakāvya* to such a composition. Even though *Vāsavadattā, Harṣacarita, Kādambarī* etc. also have a verse here and there but they are in the main in prose only. Even gnomic and didactic works too have both prose and verse but verse appears in them as the conclusion deducible from the narrative or to support an assertion. In Campūs verse is not used for any special purpose and appears as part of the narrative itself. In the words of Bhoja the relationship in Campū between prose and verse is as between vocal and instrumental in music :

gadyānubandharasamiśritapadyasūktiḥ
hṛdyāpi vādyakalayā kaliteva gītiḥ/

It is difficult to say with precision as to how and when this form of poetry came into vogue. Prose and verse are met with together from the Vedic times onwards. The *Atharvaveda* has an admixture of prose and verse. So have the *Taittirīya,* the *Maitrāyaṇī* and the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitās* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda.* The Hariścandropākhyāna, the Hariścandra episode of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,* is in the Campū style. Several Upaniṣads are also in the mixed style. So are the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* and the Buddhist Jātakas but they are not styled as Campū for they are not poems, *kāvyas,* the appellation going only with them, vide Daṇḍin : *gadyapadyamayaṁ kāvyaṁ campūr ity abhidhīyate (Kāvyādarśa,* 1.31; also *Sāhityadarpaṇa,* (6.336). The earliest definition of Campū is that of Daṇḍin which presupposes the existence of Campūs prior to him to have necessitated their definition.

The first Campūkāvya of Sanskrit literature is the *Nalacampū* of Trivikramabhaṭṭa, alternatively called *Damayantīkathā* which should have been composed in circa 900 A.D., its author being the protégé of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indrarāja an inscription of whom dated 915 A.D. has a mention

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of both, the protégé and the patron, Trivikramabhaṭṭa and Indrarāja :

śrītrivikramabhaṭṭena nemādityasya sūnunā/
kṛtā śastā prasasteyam indrarājāṅghriseviná//

"This nice eulogy has been composed by Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nemāditya who is serving the feet of Indrarāja."

Apart from the *Nalacampū* Trivikramabhaṭṭa had also composed the *Madālasācampū* but nothing is known about it.

The *Nalacampū* dealing with the well-known story of Nala and Damayantī that has been taken up for delineation by many a Sanskrit writer has seven chapters called Ucchvāsas. It is incomplete. It is said that somebody challenged him in the absence of his father. To save his (his father's) prestige he worshipped Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning and through her grace defeated the opponent. He then started composing the *Nalacampū*. As soon as he had come up to the seventh chapter, the father returned and Sarasvatī took leave of him. With Sarasvatī gone, he could not complete the work. In the last verse of every chapter of his work he has used the expression *haracaraṇasaroja*.

The author begins the work with the praise of Lord Śiva which is followed by eulogistic references to Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Bāṇa and Guṇāḍhya which again are followed by some information about himself which tells us that he was a Brāhmaṇa of Śāṇḍilya Gotra and was the grandson of Śrīdhara and son of Devāditya and though initially dull, *jāḍyapātraṁ trivikramaḥ*, acquired learning through hard work.

Trivikramabhaṭṭa is quite an expert *in bhaṅgaśleṣa*, the figure of speech where individual words have double meaning which he himself concedes as rather difficult: *bhaṅgaśleṣakathābandhaṁ duṣkaraṁ kurvatā mayā*, by me composing the narrative, not easy to compose, in the *bhangaśleṣa*.

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A charming example of use of this Śleṣa in companionship with the figure of speech Virodhābhāsa, an incongruity which is merely verbal and can be explained away by differently construing the words or sentences, is found in the very beginning of the work where the poet pays obeisance to Vālmīki :

sadūṣaṇāpi nirdoṣā sakharāpi sukomalā/
namas tasmai kṛtā yena ramyā rāmāyaṇī kathā//

"I bow to him who composed the Rāma story which though having defects, shortcomings (*dūṣaṇa*=defect, shortcoming) was free from them, (the other meaning : which has the character the demon Dūṣaṇa) which even though harsh (*khara*=harsh) was very soft (the other meaning: which has the character the demon Khara).

The difference between the Śleṣa, Pun, of Trivikramabhaṭṭa and his model Subandhu is that while the former creates it with the use of mostly the recondite words, the former does it with more of the well-known words.

The next notable Campūkāvya is the *Yaśastilakacampū* of Somadevasūri, the court poet of the feudatory Cālukyan Arikesarī of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa Rājadeva. In its eight chapters called Ucchvāsas it describes King Yaśodhara of Avanti, the cunningness of his wife, the death of the king, his having a number of births and in the end his initiation in Jainism. For its story it draws on the *Uttara-purāṇa* of Guṇabhadra. It was on the basis of this Campū that the Jain poet Vādirājasūri had composed the *Yaśodhara-caritakāvya*. The main thrust of the work is to show that a person can uplift himself.

The work is important not only from the point of its literary merit but also from the point of history mentioning as it does a number of poems and their authors.

Proceeding forward we come to the *Jīvandharacampū* composed in 900 A.D. by the Jain poet Hariścandra who cannot be said with any amount of certainty to have been the author of

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the *kāvya Dharmaśarmābhyudaya* and who, as does Somadevasūri, draws on the *Uttara-purāṇa* for his theme. The Campū describes in eleven Chapters called Lambakas the life story of Jīvandhara who also is the subject matter of two other works the *Gadyacintāmaṇi* and the *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi*. It follows Bāṇa in its prose and Māgha and Vākpatirāja in its verse. It propounds the principles of Jainism through the medium of an interesting story told in an attractive style.

In the 11th cen. A.D. King Bhoja of Dhārā composed the *Rāmāyaṇa-campū* which deals with the Rāma story up to the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa only. It was carried forward to the Yuddhakāṇḍa by a later writer Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa. In its style it mainly follows Vaidarbhī which is characterized by clarity and perspicuity as also sweet and elegant expression.

Soḍḍhala composed the *Udayanasundarīkathā* in Campū style in 11th cen. A.D. under the patronage of King Mummunirāja of Koṅkaṇa an inscription of whom dated 1060 A.D. is found. Since Soḍḍhala was his court poet, he should belong to a period around that. In his work he follows Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*. In the introductory portion of his work he, like Bāṇa, not only gives his genealogy but also speaks of other poets in twenty-five verses. About Bāṇa he has the following observation:

bāṇasya harṣacarite niśitām udīkṣya
śaktiṁ na ke 'tra kavitāstramadaṁ tyajanti/

"Who do not give up the pride of the weapon of their poetry seeing Bāṇa's sharp prowess (the word *śakti* here has double meaning, one meaning is prowess and the other is the spear which goes with *astra*, the weapon) in creating poetry in the *Harṣacarita*?"

A poet of the name of Anantabhaṭṭa, of an uncertain date had composed the work, the *Bhāratacampū*, in twelve chapters named Stabakas. It has, apart from prose, over a thousand verses. It deals with, as the title itself makes clear, the

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Mahābhārata story. Its style is lucid and easy as can be seen from the following verse that describes the sunset after the death of Karṇa:

tataḥ svakīyasya tanūdbhavasya
vadhāj jale snātumanā iva drāk/
mandāyamānadyutimālabhārī
marīcimālī nimamajja sindhau//

"Then with a mind to have a quick bath in water as it were because of the death of his own son the sun with its lustre bedimmed went into the sea."

Among other Campūs mention may be made of the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayacampū* of Queen Tirumbalāmbā that could be placed in the period 1529-40 which describes the love story of Acyutarāya and Varadāmbikā who might have been none other than her own self. A manuscript of the Campū was acquired by the T.S.S.M. Library, Tanjore in 1934 and was edited and published by Laksman Sarup and Haradatta Shastri in 1932; the *Bhāgavatacampū* in six chapters called Adhyāyas by Abhinava Kālidāsa of the 11th cen.; the *Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvaradatta in the period 1179-1262; the *Bhārateśvarābhyudayacampū* of Digambara Jain Āśādharasūri in 1243 which describes the life of Bharata Cakravartin, the son of Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Jain Tīrthaṅkara; the *Yayātirājacampū* and the *Nirūpākṣavasantotsavacampū* of Ahobalasūri of the 14th cen.; the *Ānandavṛndāvanacampū* of Kavi Karṇapūra of the 16th cen.; the *Nīlakaṇṭhavijayacampū* of Nīlakaṇṭha of 1637, the *Svāhāsudhākaracampū* and the *Matsyāvatāraprabandhacampū* the more well-known of the fifteen Campūs composed by Kavi Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and scores of others showing thereby the popularity that this style of writing had gained.

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18

POPULAR TALES AND FABLES IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

"Folklore is the science which seeks to explain the meaning of the peasant and the local customs". Thus observes Henderson in his *Folk-tales of Nations*. The folk-tales have their origin in popular fancy. The unsophisticated mind weaves stories around princes and princesses of the fairy-land. It is with these that the grandma lulls her young ones to sleep while they insist:

kah de dādī ek kahānī
woh rājā thā yā rānī

"Tell O grandma the story. Was that one a king or a queen."

Such stories might have been told from age to age. They are, therefore, a valuable source for the reconstruction of the history of popular beliefs, customs and manners and superstitions. It is in these that the simple folk have expressed their first imaginings of their minds. It is certainly necessary for students of history to delve deep into these and find out the invaluable treasure embedded in these. The first wanderings of the mind in the unknown realms of great pomp and pageantry transport us to a world where everything looks enchanting. To quote Macdonell, "the gods, the magic, the omens and enough to play.

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Therefore folklore gives a good material for the study of the religion, superstition and popular beliefs."

Another branch of literature connected with tales and fables is beast-fable where human notions and emotions are attributed to animals and they are made to behave exactly like humans beings, ostensibly for the purpose of inculcating morality. The Jātakas are a case in point. By means of the beast-fable they want to serve their end, viz., to propagate the Buddhist faith.

But the first great work which is an amalgam of simple fables is the *Pañcatantra*. The work seems to have incorporated into it a mass of such floating material and handed that to us. The *Pañcatantra* is perhaps the most popular work of its kind. Its popularity can be judged from the fact that it has been translated into practically every language of the world and has influenced the fairy-tale literature of many of its countries.

The earliest translation of the *Pañcatantra* was attempted in Pahlavi during the Sassanian period at the instance of Khusru Anushirwan (521—579A.D.). The Syrian version was later prepared in 570 A.D. The Arabic translation was prepared by an Iranian scholar Ibn-e-Muquffa' who named it as *Kalila Damana* (Karaṭaka and Damanaka) after the names of two jackals in the first Book of the original text. This translation served as the base for later translations. Rudaki, the famous Persian poet, translated it in beautiful Persian poetry. Nasrullah, a writer of the Gaznavi period rendered it into Persian prose that is considered to be the most remarkable translation of the work. The *Anwar-e-Soheli* of Mulla Wai'z Hussain Kashifi and *A'yae-e-Danesh* of Abul Fazl are two other translations of importance. The *Pañcākhyāna*, a version in Sanskrit of it was put in Persian by Khaliqdad Abbasi. In recent times one more translation of it was prepared by Indu Shekhar that has been published from Tehran.

"The original collection of *Pañcatantra* stories numbered about eighty-four. But in their end-less travel in India and abroad, these underwent many changes not only in their form,

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colour and setting, but also in their total numerical strength. One such 'maimed and transformed' version of the *Pañcatantra* was among the earliest printed books in Europe, in the German language. An earlier version, also garbled, in the English language, came from Caxton's printing press. But until almost a century and a half ago no authorized or literal translation of the work existed in any European language. For the first time in 1859 Theodor Benfey, the noted German Sanskrit scholar, provided a literal and faithful translation in the German language, of the Kashmirian recension of the *Pañcatantra* collection—a recension that has been recognized by Oriental scholars as the most authoritative in existence. Two English translations of it were made, the first in 1924 by Stanley Rice and the second by Arthur W. Ryder. Of these two Ryder's translation is better. As a matter of fact, it is the best according to experts, in any foreign language.

The work starts with introduction which explains as to how and why the work came to be created. It begins with an account of a king named Amaraśakti, the powerful ruler of Mahilāropya in the southern country who had three sons of the names of Bahuśakti, Ugraśakti and Anantaśakti, all three supreme blockheads. Noticing them to be hostile to education the king summoned his counsellors and asked them to find a way to make them wise, that being his greatest worry. One of the counsellors said that it takes twelve years to learn grammar and when it is mastered is one able to master the books on religion and practical life. To this another of the counsellors said that the duration of life being limited some kind of epitome may have to be devised to awaken intelligence. He suggested that a Brāhmaṇa of the name of Viṣṇuśarman who has reputation of competence in numerous sciences may be contacted and the princes be entrusted to him. He will make them, wise. The Brāhmaṇa was summoned. The king placed his request before him and offered him a hundred villages were he to fulfil his desire. Brushing

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aside the offer, he being not of the type to trade off knowledge for land-grant and expressing his disinclination for any material gain, he having reached the ripe old age of eighty years when he had lost attraction for worldly objects, he promised to make the princes intelligent. He took the princes with him, made them learn the *Pañcatantra* he had composed and returned the princes intelligent and wise.

The word *tantra* in the title of the work means, perhaps, a book or chapter. *Pañcatantra* has, as is evident from its name, five Books, namely, Mitrabheda, Mitraprāpti, Sandhivigraha, Labdhapraṇāśa and Aparīkṣitakāraka. Each is a narrative unit in itself but altogether they form a perfect whole fitted into the framework of introduction that makes the wise Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇuśarman, the author of the work, to impart practical knowledge to young princes in the manner of telling beast-fables and thus making the dry subject interesting for them who would otherwise refuse to study anything serious. In the title *Tantrākhyāyikā*, another version of the *Pañcatantra*, the word *tantra* means to suggest a work on Polity and some scholars are inclined to regard on that basis the word *tantra* in *Pañcatantra* also to mean the same. The various important recensions of the *Pañcatantra* are classified into the following main groups:

1. Pahlavi version which is derived from the old Syrian and Arabic versions. It was to this source that *Pañcatantra* in somewhat modified form was introduced to Europe.
2. North-western recension from which the text was incorporated into the north-western Sanskrit versions of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, namely, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Kṣemendra and Somadeva respectively (11th cen. A.D.).
2. The common lost source of the Kashmirian version *Tantrākhyāyikā* and two other versions, the *Textus*

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Simplicior and the *Textus Ornatior* called the *Pañcākhyāna* of Pūrṇabhadra.

3. The common lost source of southern *Pañcatantra*, the Nepalese version and the *Hitopadeśa*.

The versions of the *Pañcatantra* that have been enumerated clearly bring out the fact that the original framework of the work was completely transformed in course of time. Thanks to the unremitting efforts of J. Hertel, we have now a text that may be considered the common pool from which the later writers drew their texts to which they added and which they embellished in their own way. The *Tantrākhyāyikā* is perhaps the oldest and the most faithful version. The north-western original of Kṣemendra and Somadeva must have been made later. The text incorporated in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* suffers from too much brevity and that in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* from the interruption of sequence by the introduction of extraneous tales. Even then both are fairly faithful. In the Simplicior and Ornatior texts there is a good deal of reshuffling of stories and intrusion of extraneous matter. The *Hitopadeśa* is practically an independent work containing not five but only four Books by one Nārāyaṇa whose patron was Dharmacandra who must have lived before 1373 A.D. which is the date of one of the manuscripts of the work. The writer simplifies stories derived in the main from the *Pañcatantra* and by drawing upon an unknown source considerably alters, reshapes and remodels them and inserts large selections of didactic matter from the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*. The introduction makes the *Pañcatantra* the vehicle for training in the science of Polity. The introduction may or may not be authentic but this much is certain that the author always has the object of instruction in Polity in view though it is latent and not many times brought to surface. Viṣṇuśarman or whoever was the author, is an expert story-teller who does not let the interest flag by a marathon of political maxims culled from learned treatises like the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Śukranītisāra*.

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In him are blended both a story-teller and a political teacher and the combination is rather exquisite. The political teacher throughout, with certain exceptions, remains in the background and does not let himself intrude upon the former. The story-teller with his seemingly inexhaustible or endless train of Karaṭaka-Damanaka stories goes along happily till he reaches a mile-stone. There the political teacher relinquishes his hidden appearance and recites some verses that contain profound political wisdom. The author, in the words of S.K. De, "is a master of narrative, as well as a perfect man of the world, never deviating from an attitude of detached observation and often possessed of a considerable fund of wit and humour veiled under his pedagogic seriousness." If he makes his animals talk, he makes them talk well and the frankly fictitious disguise of the Fabian eminently suits the muse and the amusing manner. Some of the gnomic verses found at the end of the story as also those figuring here and there give a sententious summary of worldly wisdom and impressive utterance to every ordinary but essential fact of life. It is not without reason that the work enjoyed and still enjoys unrivalled popularity as a story-book in so many different times and climes. It may be worthwhile here to reproduce one or two of its stories to form a visual impression of what it is like. First may be taken up the story of the two jackals Karaṭaka and Damanaka which forms the subject matter of Book I. It had so appealed to the Iranian scholar Ibn-e-Muqqaffa that he had named his translation of the entire work, as pointed out earlier, after it: *Kalila Damana*.

Book I is titled Mitrabheda, the Separation of Friends. This is sought to be illustrated by the story of two jackals of above names who brought about estrangement among the two, one a lion, Piṅgalaka and the other a bull, Sañjīvaka having first worked out their friendship. As the story goes, a merchant of the name of Vardhamānaka, a resident of the city Mahilāropya in the southern country thought of adding to his wealth and with

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that idea in view left for the city of Mathurā for trade. He put his ware in a cart to be drawn by two bulls Sañjīvaka and Nandaka. On the way Sañjīvaka partly due to the heavy weight and partly due to the earth having turned muddy due to cascade of water sank and in spite of the best of the efforts of the driver could not move. The driver reported the matter to the merchant who proceeded on leaving a few of his retinue to take care of the bull. Were he to come out of the mud, they were to look after him. Were he to die they were to perform his last rites. Not willing to risk their life in the dreary forest, the attendants falsely reported to the merchant that the bull had died. The merchant performed the necessary rituals and moved on. As fate willed it, the bull came out of the mud and helping himself to the full with the green grass growing on the banks of the Yamunā got reinvigorated with the mist of spray of cascades, tearing every day tops of ant-hills with goring horns and frisking like an elephant and giving out a loud roar.

One day a lion of the name of Piṅgalaka came to the river-bank for water. He heard the loud sound the kind of which he had not heard before. He along with the retinue sat under a tree and did not go to the river-bank for water thinking that the being that could produce such a sound must also be very strong. The lion, the king, had two ministers, the jackals, Karaṭaka and Damanaka who had been divested of their portfolio by him. One of them, Damanaka noticed the strange behaviour of the lion and much against the protestations of his companion Karaṭaka as to they have no business to get interested in matters of no concern to them that could well cause them harm. With the illustration of the story of the peg-pulling monkey wherein it leaving the herd descending on a forest pulled a peg inserted in a log being sawn by carpenters who had retired for a while and lost his life with his private parts having been crushed by falling in the aperture, went to the lion and through his clever talk was able to get his mind out. He volunteered to get to the other being

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(the bull) and bring him to the lion. He brought the bull to the lion and made them friends winning back the position of the ministership for himself and his companion Karaṭaka. Noticing after some time the lion to be too much attached to the bull to the point of not going out even for hunting, thereby making his retinue starve, he thought of driving a wedge between the two which finally leads to the slaying of the bull which the lion repents when he sees his blood-stained paws but is consoled by Damanaka who retains his premiership. In this framework of two jackals, particularly Damanaka, first arranging for the friendship and then the split are thrown in as many as twenty fables, one following the other. The first one of the monkey pulling out the peg illustrating the harmfulness in engaging in an activity of no concern to one has already been reproduced. When Damanaka even against the advice of Karaṭaka approaches the lion who is sitting under a tree with his group disconsolate and winning his confidence with sweet talk is able to find out from him about his worry at the possible superior strength of the prodigious being inferable from his loud bellow unheard of before and his idea of leaving the forest, and advises him to reinforce his resolution and not develop fear from a mere sound, he, in justification of his view cites an old saying which goes thus : I thought it was full

Of fat: I crept within
And there I did not find a thing
Except some wood and skin.

To illustrate this he starts telling a story of a jackal who while moving about in search of food happened to hear a loud sound. Getting scared, he, following the sound got to a drum. He was happy to see such a huge 'being' the interior of whom, he thought, must be full of lots of flesh, marrow and blood. He tore a part of it and entered into it. What he found there was only the wood and the skin. Damanaka then offers to go out and see that

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being who was giving a loud roar with his own eyes and promises to the lion to bring that one to him. Going out he finds a bull sending out loud bellows. Approaching him he reprimands him for such behaviour and tells him that Piṅgalaka, the lion sitting under the fig tree, has called him. Mortally afraid, the bull beseeches Damanaka to take him to the lion, if he has to, but in such a way that he does no harm to him. Damanaka leaving him to wait there while approaching the lion tells him that he is not an ordinary bull but the vehicle of Lord Siva. He will come to him under his persuasion on the condition that he has no fear from him (the lion) to which the lion agrees with the stipulation that he in turn should have no fear from him. Approaching the bull Damanaka tells him to go to the lion in full confidence and that he should behave with him respectfully after getting into his (the lion's) favour. One not doing so meets the fate of Dantila. From here starts the story of Dantila which is the third story within the main story. There was a merchant called Dantila in the city of Vardhamāna who handled the royal business so admirably that he came to enjoy the royal patronage in full. Once at the marriage of his daughter while all had had been fed and presented with gifts, he, on noticing a sweeper of the name of Gorambha occupying a seat not meant for him turned him out unceremoniously. Nursing a grievance in his mind since then he, the sweeper, while sweeping the floor near the king's bed blurted out, while the king was half asleep, that how conceited Dantila has become that he has the temerity to embrace the queen. The king hears these words. He enquires of the sweeper about what he had said. The sweeper tells him that the entire previous night he had not had any sleep, engaged he had been in the game of dice. He was feeling sleepy and does not know what he had said. But the seed of suspicion had well been sown in the mind of the king and he as a consequence divests Dantila of all royal duties with his entry barred in the palace. The latter, in spite of hard thinking was not able to

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make out the reason of his fall from royal grace. One day the sweeper while addressing the door-keepers with a loud laugh told them not to stop Dantila from entering the palace, When Dantila heard this, he realized that it was he who had played the mischief. He called him to his residence and gave him rich presents that satisfied him immensely. The next morning when he was sweeping the floor near the king's bed he again blurted out: What a stateness! When the king sits at stool he eats cucumber. The king had never done so. When enquired, the sweeper tells him that the entire previous night he had been gambling. He was feeling sleepy. He does not know what he had said. The king now realized that what he had said earlier must also be as untrue as this was. He reinstated Dantila to his earlier position. Sañjivaka promises Damanaka to act as Damanaka had told him and tells him his entire story as to how he had been caught up in mud from where he had a providential escape. With Piṅgalaka, the lion, and Sañjīvaka, the bull, in deep friendship the lion would not go for hunting with the result that all beings dependent upon the lion started deserting him. Stricken with hunger Karaṭaka and Damanaka had counsel among themselves, they realizing that it was Sañjīvaka who was having the primacy of position and they have been reduced to inferior position. Karaṭaka tells Damanaka to enlighten the master to take to the correct course even if he were not seeking his advice. Damanaka agrees with him and concedes that it was his fault that he had introduced the grass-eater (the bull Sañjīvaka) to the lion. It is through one's own fault that one meets with the nemesis as did a jackal in a fight with a ram, the monk Āṣāḍhabhūti through a pupil and a lady messenger through a weaver. Then follow the three stories (i) of a foolish monk who took a thief as a pupil and had the cash stolen, (ii) of the jackal who ran in between two butting rams and (iii) a procuress who took the place of a weaver's wife in order to further her intrigue with a patron and suffered in consequence the loss of her nose.

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According to Damanaka Sañjīvaka has got to be detached from Piṅgalaka. To Karaṭaka's query as to how that could be accomplished Damanaka's answer is that where brute force shall fail, a shrewd device shall prevail as was the case with a crow-hen who had all her chicks devoured by a snake who was living at the base of a tree which served as the nest of the crow couple. Out of depression they approached a friend of theirs, a jackal, who told them a way out of the difficulty for, according to him, the way an enemy can be vanquished by a device, he cannot be done so by weapons and then he told them the story of a heron and a crab where a crab was able to destroy a heron. As the story which is the seventh one in the midst of the big one goes, a heron getting old and not able to kill fish was shedding tears on the bank of a big pond to which he had taken resort. A crab out of sympathy approached him and enquired of him the cause of his distress. The heron told him that he had heard from astrologers that a twelve-year long drought was going to strike that would dry up the pond which will finish off all its inhabitants, a calamity difficult for him to withstand, he having spent his life-time with them. As to the query of the crab as to what could be done under the circumstances, the heron said that he had overheard some of the fishermen passing by the pond that there was another pond with deep waters to which they were repairing bypassing this one. In that case he can offer himself to carry the aquatic animals inhabiting this pond on his back to the other pond where they could live happily. As the crab conveyed this to other beings they all jumped at the idea and wanted to be the first to be carried to the other pond. The heron started carrying them one by one and putting them on a stone slab not far from the other pond made a feast of them and thus sustained himself. One day a crab approached him and told him that while he had been carrying others why was it that he was not kind to him. The heron tired of eating the flesh of the fish welcomed the idea in that it could provide him the flesh of a different kind of that

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of crab, for a change. He carried the crab on his back and the latter noticing a heap of bones on a rock understood everything and before he could do to him what he had been doing to others dug his nippers into him and cut off his head which he carried back to the old pond explaining to the curious beings gathered round him what the treacherous heron had been doing all along. The jackal suggests to the crow to go a capital city where lives a great monarch. There he should pick up a gold chain of the king or the minister who is off his guard and throw it in the hollow of the serpent that will lead to his killing for its recovery. Following this advice the crow couple flew off. The female crow of them saw a pond and noticed the ladies of the royal harem engaged in water sports having put off all their gold ornaments. The female crow picked up a gold chain out of them and flew off to the tree which was her habitat and threw it in the hole of the serpent. The chamberlain and others following her came upon that hollow and noticing a big black cobra there clubbed him to death and recovered the chain. With the cobra dead, the crow couple lived on happily thereafter. That is why said Damanaka, there is nothing impossible of achievement for the wise. This is how even a mere hare felled a proud lion. As the story goes—and that is the eighth one in the series—there lived a lion of the name of Bhāsuraka in a forest who feeling proud of his great strength went on killing all sorts of animals. The remaining ones came to him one day and told him to enter into an agreement with them in that they would supply him one animal everyday by which he should also be satisfied and they also would not suffer total extinction to which the former agreed. One day it was the turn of a hare who moving rather slowly, unwilling as he was, left for the lion. On the way he saw a well. As he passed over it, he saw his reflection in it. Therein he saw a ray of hope for himself. As the time was passing by, the lion became restless. As he was thinking of destroying all the animals the following day for breach of the agreement, there

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appeared before him the hare which infuriated him further in that, for one he had come late and for the other, he was too small to satisfy his hunger. When asked, as to why he took so long, the hare said that as he was coming to him with four other hares—he being small, the animals had sent the five of us to him—he met on the way another lion who accosted him and when told that he with four others of the species was leaving to a lion as per an agreement, he said that it was he who was the master of the forest and the lion to whom they were going was a thief. If he is the king, leave the four among you as the deposit with him, and bring that lion to his presence. The test of valour would prove as to who among them was the king. He will then devour all of them. Hearing this Bhāsuraka left with the hare to meet the other fake lion in a combat. The hare took him to the well telling him that the other lion was in a fortress. Bhāsuraka looked into the well, and seeing his reflection there and taking it to be the other lion gave out a roar which returned with a double sound through an echo. With this he jumped into it to engage the other one in a combat and lost his life with the hare and all other animals feeling relieved. This example should make it clear, Damanaka tells Karaṭaka, that strength lies in wisdom. If Karaṭaka were to agree, he would go and cause a rift between the lion and the bull. With the good wishes of Karaṭaka Damanaka leaves for his mission. Finding Piṅgalaka alone he confided in him that Sañjīvaka was hostile to the former. He had told him that he had discovered the strength and otherwise of him (the lion) and that he would kill him and would become the overlord of all animals with him (Damanaka) as the minister. Piṅgalaka is unable to persuade himself to believe that Sañjīvaka of all who is as dear an attendant to him as his very life should nurse hostile feelings for him. He is disinclined to go against him even though he were inimical to him to which Damanaka points out that it is against the royal conduct. Moreover, with friendship with him he has begun neglecting royal duties like

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hunting leading to disaffection among the subjects. That way also he would come to naught. That is why the wise avoid association with the lowly. He should avoid what happened to a lice. He then tells the story—the ninth one—of a lice which was having a good time keeping herself concealed in the two sheets of the bed of a king helping herself with his blood after the king would fall asleep. One day a bug approached her with the request to allow him to be with her to taste the sweet blood of the king, that taste being different from the taste of all other kinds of blood he had been tasting earlier. The lice told him to be patient and bite the king after he had gone to sleep as she had been doing. As the king lay on the bed and was yet to fall to sleep, the bug on account of his fickle nature could not resist and stung the king. Since he had not fallen asleep, he ordered the royal attendants to look for the insect that played the mischief. The bug was quick enough to enter into the crevice of the bed while the lice with her slow movement could not do so. The attendants saw the lice and killed her with the bug ensconced safe in the crevice. It is therefore imperative that one should not extend patronage to one whose background one does not know. So his advice to him was that he should finish off the bull. One who casts away his own people and owns others meets with death as the fool Caṇḍarava. And then follows the story—the tenth one—of a jackal named Caṇḍarava who out of hunger entered into a city where the dogs began to hound him and bite him with their sharp teeth. Out of fear for his life he entered into the house of a washer-man which had a big vessel full of indigo water and fell into it. When out of it he had turned blue. When repairing to the forest all its animals, the tigers, the bears, the leopards began to avoid him thinking him to be a strange animal with great prowess. They accepted him as their king, he proclaiming to have been sent to the earth by the Creator himself and assigned the duty of ruling over the animals. He assigned high positions, ministerships etc. to other animals like

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lions, leopards and so on while he unceremoniously shooed away the jackals, the animals of his own species. One day he happened to hear them howling and not able to resist started howling himself. The other animals discovering him to be a jackal pounced upon him and killed him. Persisting still with softness for Sañjīvaka, Piṅgalaka asks Damanaka as to what is the proof that Sañjīvaka nurses ill-feeling for him. Damanaka tells him that the next morning when he would find him looking fiercely with blood-red face, he would himself come to know. Having said that, he went to Sañjīvaka and told him that Piṅgalaka had evil designs towards him. He had told him in secret that the next morning he would kill Sañjīvaka and would satisfy all the animals after a long time. When Sañjīvaka heard this, he fell unconscious. He rued his indiscretion in cultivating friendship with one far superior to him in might. He inferred that he (Piṅgalaka) would have been provoked by those close to him unable to bear his patronage to him and would in no case be favourably disposed towards him, however pacified. One cannot live among the evil-minded; however small they may be; they would take to some other plea and would kill as was done by the crows in the case of a camel. And then follows the story, the eleventh one. There lived a lion of the name of Madotkaṭa in a forest who had other beings like a tiger, a crow and a jackal as the retinue. Once they noticed a camel separated from his herd. The lion enquired of the retinue as to what kind of animal he was with no idea of his strength. The crow said that he was a village camel and fit for him to be killed. The lion said that he would not kill the being who has come to him. The retinue should bring him to him after assuring him of safety. To the camel brought to him he said that he need not go back to the village and undergo again the trouble of carrying load. He would better stay in the forest itself helping himself to the full with the velvety green grass. One day the lion had a fight with an elephant and was badly injured by him with heavy blows of

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tusk with no strength left in him to move about and kill animals with the result that his retinue had to go hungry. He then asked them to go out in search of an animal, bring him unto him so that he could kill him even in the bad state in which he was and could satisfy them. The crow went out and coming back said that he had not been able to find one. He offered himself for slaughter but then he was too small for others to serve as food. The tiger then offered himself but then he was not acceptable, he being of the similar species. So also was not the jackal for that very reason. Seeing every one of them offering himself, the camel thought that he should also follow suit. The lion consenting, the jackal etc. tore him apart and feasted themselves with his flesh. Sañjīvaka enquired of Damanaka as a friend as to how he should proceed under the circumstances. He did not agree to Damanaka's suggestion that he should move to some other place on the ground that it would not be possible with his master angry with him and he not having any safe haven even elsewhere. According to him to fight with the lion (Piṅgalaka) was the only way out. This Damanaka did not seem to like. It would be a great tragedy if he (bull) were to strike the master, the lion, with his sharp horns. It is better, therefore, if he were to go to another place. He consequently advised the bull accordingly telling him *inter alia* that there is a big contrast in the fight between the master and the servant. It is therefore advisable for a servant to make peace with the master and not to provoke him. One who without assessing the strength of the enemy enters in to a fight with him, is subdued as was the Ṭiṭṭibha (a kind of bird) by the ocean. The story, the twelfth one—is that a Ṭiṭṭibha lived in a corner of the shore of an ocean. When the female Ṭiṭṭibha was about to lay eggs, she asked her husband to take her to a safe place to which the husband said that the shore of an ocean being a pleasant place is the proper place for laying eggs to which she objected by saying that on the full moon's night billows would appear in the ocean that would drown unto them even the intoxicated

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elephants, so he should look for a place at a distance. The husband laughed out the female's objection saying how could an ocean dare to take away the eggs. The ocean incensed at the arrogance of the insignificant bird swept away the eggs. The female one censured her companion for this and said one who does not listen to the words of one's well-wishers comes to naught like a turtle slipped from a piece of wood. The story, the thirteenth one—is: There lived in a pond a turtle who had two ganders as his friends. Once when there appeared draught and the pond was anything but dried up, he suggested to his friends, the ganders, to arrange for a rope and a piece of wood, put him on the wood and put each edge of the rope in each of their beaks and fly off with him in that condition to another pond with more quantity of water. They agreed to do so provided he were to keep his mouth shut. While he was being carried like this the people of a city below cried out in surprise as to what a circular thing it was that was being carried through the sky. Hearing this, the turtle spoke out: What a hullabaloo below. When he had uttered this half the sentence, he fell down and was cut into pieces by the city-dwellers. That is why said the female one that she had been telling him to follow the words of the well-wishers. One has to arrange things well beforehand. One who provides for what is yet to come and one who sets things on the spur of the moment, prosper while one who believes in let something happen, we will see what can be done then perishes. This is the story, the fourteenth one, of three fish. One, the Forethought, leaves the pond before the fishermen spread their net, the second, the Foresight one, cuts through the thread of the net and escapes while Come-what-will is caught. The male one insists on the female one acting as he bids. The ocean takes away the eggs but the bird successfully invokes through Garuḍa, Viṣṇu's aid, and the ocean on pain of an assault by fire gives back the eggs, thus defeating the ocean even ! The bull still insisting on a fight, Damanaka tells him the story, the fifteenth,

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of a bird who would not take a telling and insisted on explaining to a foolish monkey that he could not warm himself by the light of a glowworm and so irritated the monkey that he killed him. All the words of Damanaka have no effect on Sañjīvaka, he having made up his mind to fight the lion Paṅgalaka. He sat at a distance from him without the normal courtesies. Piṅgalaka seeing him behaving that way believed in the words of Damanaka and pounced upon him and dug his nails into his back while Sañjīvaka tore into his stomach with both of them shedding blood. Seeing all this Karaṭaka admonished Damanaka about the evil he had wrought. If the master were to die, it would be a great tragedy. Even Sañjīvaka's death would not be good. What can be achieved with peace need not be achieved through war. He has not acted as a good minister should. But then there is no point in giving him even good advice. That may harm the one who tenders it as it did in the case of a bird who advised the monkeys blowing carats taking them to be charcoal to warm themselves that they should move to a windless place or a cave or a mountain crevice. One among them taking umbrage at his words jumped up and killed him. It is common that a wicked being gladdened at the adversity of another does not notice his own destruction. As it happened in the case of Dharmabuddhi and Pāpabuddhi, the Honest-wit and Evil-wit, the nineteenth story. Both set out to earn money abroad. To keep it safe they bury it together. The Evil-wit digs it up secretly. A dispute arises between the two. The Evil-wit in the court says that it is the other one who has stolen it and says that the tree will prove that. When it is arranged to go to the tree he asks his father to conceal himself in its hollow and pretend to be its spirit. The father remonstrates –the twentieth story—as to how a foolish heron induced a mongoose which devoured her young ones only to find that the mongooses are the connoisseurs of young birds. However, he agrees to do the son's bidding and declares from the hollow of the tree that the Honest-wit is the thief. This infuriates the Honest-wit who then sets the tree on fire from

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where comes out a half-burnt father of Evil-wit declaring that it was his son who had stolen the money and with these words falling dead. Continuing with his reproach Karaṭaka says that when he brings the master to that state, what would happen to beings like him (Karaṭaka). So he should avoid his company. They say—and that is the last story—where the rats eat a scale of one thousand pounds, it would be no surprise that a falcon may carry away a child. The story is that a friend of a merchant's son had stolen his balance (scale) of one thousand pounds of iron with whom he had deposited it in his absence. When he asked for its return, he was told that the mice had eaten it. In retaliation he stole the son of the friend and when asked said the falcon had taken it away. The matter is then brought before a judge who easily secures the return of the balance in exchange for the son. While the conversation between Karaṭaka and Damanaka was on, Sañjivaka having put up a fight with Piṅgalaka and badly mauled by him fell dead, leaving distraught Piṅgalaka mourning his death remembering his old friendship with him. Damanaka approaching him asked him not to grieve over the death of a grass-eater who had nursed ill-feelings for him. Piṅgalaka cast aside his sorrow at his words and continued his rule with Damanaka as the minister.

This is one section of the *Pañcatantra*. One can form an idea from this of the art of story-telling in India. Within one big framework it is a story within a story –all linked up with the main one. In between is thrown a big corpus of verses of polity to instruct the reader in worldly wisdom.

Recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā*

Popular tale is represented in Sanskrit by several works, the earliest of them seems to be the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya which according to recorded tradition was composed in the Paiśācī language, a fact confirmed by Daṇḍin who declares the work to have been composed in Bhūtabhāṣā, the language of the goblins.

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The tradition further records that the work contained originally seven lakh (seven hundred thousand) verses of which only one fourth was saved from destruction. The writing of the work in Paiśācī was occasioned by the defeat of the author Guṇāḍhya at the hands of Śarvavarman, the author of the *Kātantra* grammar at the loss of wager by teaching the Sātavāhana king Sanskrit within six months and thus dislodging his rival Guṇāḍhya (the author of the *Bṛhatkathā*) from the favour of that king. The two Kashmirian versions, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva mention the tradition recorded above while the *Nepālamāhātmya*, an apocryphal of pseudo-purāṇic character offers some modification in it. According to it, Guṇāḍhya's birthplace is not Pratiṣṭhāna as the two Kashmirian versions mention it but Mathurā and his patron is not a Sātavāhana monarch but King Madana of Ujjayinī. It knows nothing of the wager and makes Guṇāḍhya write stories in Paiśācī for no other explicit reason than the advice of the sage Pulastya, while another version, the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha* of Buddhasvāmin discovered from Nepal in 1893 A.D. totally omits the Guṇāḍhya story. Thus the data at our disposal is too confused to draw any conclusion therefrom. There have been Sātavāhana monarchs who were famous for their love of the Prakrit language but the reference to 'a Sātavāhana monarch' leads us nowhere.

As Bāṇa and Subandhu refer to the work, its date must be earlier than the 6th cen. A.D. It could be the 4th cen. A.D. when its text would have taken shape to allow time to gain immeuse popularity.

Daṇḍin refers to the *Bṛhatkathā* in such a way as to show that he had the knowledge of the work in some form and thinks it to be a prose romance called Kathā in which, of course, verse was allowed to be inserted. The three existing Sanskrit versions are metrical but this need not invalidate Daṇḍin's statement.

In accordance with legend the work was composed in Paiśācī Prakrit that was spoken in the Vindhya region near about Ujjayinī. The linguistic, however, points to Kekaya and eastern

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Gāndhāra as the places where the Paiśācī language, the north-western Prakrit, was spoken. The question in the absence of any authentic material cannot be decided either way. However, greater plausibility may be attached to linguistic facts adduced from the Dardic dialects.

As the two sources of our knowledge from Kashmir and Nepal are neither early nor authentic, it is not possible to gauge the extent of the original *Bṛhatkathā*.

The *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* was written a quarter of a century before 1008 A.D., the time for the completion of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva. The former has seven thousand five hundred verses while the latter has twenty-one thousand verses. The *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* is a dry sort of a work, the author always having an eye on brevity. The dreariness of the narrative is sometimes relieved only by a sprinkle of a number of elegant but mannered descriptive and erotic passages. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, however, is marked by different treatment and style from its counterpart the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*. Just as a mighty river goes along its majestic course incorporating into it countless rivers and rivulets so also the mighty narrative of Somadeva glides along assimilating as many stories and anecdotes in it as it can lay its claim on. This has many times a deleterious effect too. The main narrative is so much overwhelmed by the ever-increasing plethora of subsidiary tales that at times it is quite a task to trace it and link it up together. But in spite of this characteristic that is common in most older Sanskrit works, Somadeva is pleasing and attractive. He is an expert story-teller who does not encumber his narrative with stylistic feats.

The third version of the *Bṛhatkathā*, the *Bṛhatkathāśloka-saṅgraha* of Buddhasvāmin should belong, on the basis of the tradition of manuscripts to the 8th or the 9th cen. A.D. It is incomplete; only twenty-eight cantos of it are available; that contain 4539 verses. As the name implies, it is an abbreviated

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text. Most of the loosely gathered episodes that fill so many pages of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva are completely missing in the *Ślokasaṅgraha*. Moreover, the way the main thread of the Naravāhanadatta story is kept tenaciously intact, it brings the *Saṅgraha* nearer to the *Bṛhatkathā* and so its importance cannot be over-emphasized.

Somadeva speaks of having altered the language. There are not enough verbal similarities between the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* to warrant the supposition of a common Sanskrit original for both.

The main story centers round Naravāhanadatta, the son of Udayana whose adventures are no less exciting than his countless courtships and marriages in different places and at different times. He marries no less than twenty-five times, each marriage preceded by a lovely romance. The heroes and the heroines belong to the fairy world where everything is enchanting. The cities, the palaces, the gardens –all are invested with divine glory and splendour.

We have no original *Bṛhatkathā* with us. It is needless to conjecture, therefore, as to what it would have been like. But what we can say for sure is that it must have been a remarkable writing which could inspire gifted writers like Kṣemendra, Somadeva and Buddhasvāmin to prepare burly adaptations thereof. Each of the three adaptations that these writers have worked out have their own characteristics. The *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* is dull and insipid, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is pleasant and vivacious and the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha* is more proportionate in matter and manner, characterization and description as also more bourgeois in spirit that eminently suits the popular tale.

The next important work in the Sanskrit tale literature is *Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā* which, as the figure in the title itself would make it clear, is a collection of twenty-five tales. It has two editions, one by Śivadāsa which is both in prose and verse and the other by Jambhaladatta which is in verse. The origin of

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the tales can be traced to the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara.*

In the *Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā* a Vetāla, a goblin, is the speaker and King Vikramasena is the listener. Every year a holy mendicant offers a fruit to the king that has a gem in it. The king goes to a cemetery to help the mendicant to bring from there a corpse occupied by a Vetāla. The Vetāla gets ready to go along with the king provided he were to keep mum while on the move. While the king and the Vetāla are on the way the Vetāla tells him a story marked with a riddle and after he has told it asks him to solve it which compels the king to break his silence. The silence broken, the king has to come back to the point from where he had taken off and start his journey all over again. This happens twenty-five times. Every time a story is told and the king is asked to solve the riddle. In this way are told twenty-five stories that are very interesting and thought-provoking. The question asked at the end of their narration is a sure test of one's intelligence. As a specimen one question may well be reproduced here. In a story it is said that a young maiden rescues three persons from the clutches of a demon. For rescuing one she used her intelligence, for rescuing the second she used her magical powers, for rescuing the third she used her prowess. The question now is as to which of the three she should marry. The king expresses his opinion in favour of the one whom she rescues with her valour.

King Trivikramasena of the story-book came to be known by the name of Vikramāditya. From the stories he appears to have been a wise and a brave man as also a man of integrity. The work, the *Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā* has been translated in most of the languages of India which is a sure indication of its popularity.

The next noteworthy work on tales is *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā* also known as *Dvātriṁśatputtalikā* or *Vikramacarita.* It is a collection of thirty-two interesting stories connected with King

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Vikramāditya. It describes the discovery by King Bhoja of the throne, dug into the earth, of King Vikramāditya. It (the throne) has thirty-two puppets. As soon as Bhoja tries to sit on it, the puppets prevent him from doing so and tell him stories of Vikramāditya's justice and valour. Each of the thirty-two puppets tells a story each. As soon as the last one among them had told the story, all of them get liberated. Since each of the stories has King Bhoja figuring in it (it is to him that the story is narrated), it appears that the work must have been composed after the 11th cen. A.D., the date generally assigned to Bhoja who had his capital at Dhārā and who had gained great fame as a scholar of eminence and patron of learning.

Another work of note in Sanskrit tale literature is the *Śukasaptati*. Since the Persian translation of it had appeared in the 14th cen. A.D., it obviously would have been composed before that date. Nothing is known about its author and his time. As the title makes it clear, the work has seventy (*saptati*=seventy) tales told by a parrot *(śuka*=parrot).

Madanasena, son of a merchant was deeply attached to his wife. Once he has to go out for some work. In his absence his wife unable to control her passion wants to satisfy herself by associating with others. A wise parrot every night comes to her and regales her by telling an absorbingly interesting story and thus prevents her from taking to an immoral path. This he continues doing for seventy nights—the period her husband had been away. Since for each night there is a story, for seventy nights there are seventy stories that make up the *Śukasaptati*. The strories in the *Saptati* are interspersed with didactic verses in Sanskrit and Prakrit which heighten their interest.

Śukasaptati is not the end of the works on tales in Sanskrit. Works continued to be written even after that. One such work was *Kathārṇava* by Śivadāsa in the 11th cen. A.D. that has thirty-five tales pertaining to fools and thieves. Around 1400

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A.D. the celebrated Mithilā writer Vidyāpati produced a work *Puruṣaparīkṣā* that has forty-four ethical and political tales. Around 1000 A.D. Ballālasena wrote his *Bhojaprabandha* that has a number of stories about Sanskrit poets and writers which are more fictional than real.

While dealing with tales the contribution of the Buddhists to the Kathā literature cannot be overlooked. The oldest collection of Buddhist tales is the *Avadānaśataka*. In the 4th cen. A.D. Āryaśūra recounted the tales of the Bodhisattva in previous births in his work, the *Jātakakathā*. Of the Jainas the more noteworthy works on tales are the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅgācārya, *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara and so on.

Tales and fables have continued to be written down to the present age. Only their texture and format has changed. In richness and variety the modern story literature of Sanskrit compares favourably with any such literature in any of the modern languages of India.

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TANTRA ŚĀSTRAS

Formed from the root *tan* (*tanu*) in the sense 'to spread' the word *tantra* is a common term for the texts known by the terms *tantra, āgama* and *saṁhitā*. One of its two meanings recorded in the *Amarakośa* is *siddhānta*, the doctrine: *tantraṁ pradhāne siddhānte* (3.3.186). This denotes the texts of different religious sects which deal along with the metaphysical and abstract thoughts with disciplined system of worship. The *Śabdakalpadruma* mentions the following as the subject matter of *tantra*, the creation, the dissolution, the ascertainment of the mantras to be applied, the look of the deities, the description of the holy places, the duties in different stages of life, the marks of the Brāhmaṇas, the state of the beings, the decision about the yantras (to be drawn), the birth of the deities, the shape of the trees going by the name Kalpa, the position of the stars, the telling of the old tales, the description of the Vratas, the position of the stars, the statements about what is pure and impure, the description of hells, the description of Haracakra, the marks (auspicious or inauspicious) of men and women, the duties of a king, the acts of charity and the characteristics of a particular age, the code of conduct and the instruction in spirituality.[1] Its importance has been highlighted by the statement that just as Viṣṇu is the best among the deities, the ocean among large and deep pools of water, Gaṅgā among the rivers, the Himāyala

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among the mountains, the peeul among the trees, Indra among the kings, Durgā among the goddesses, Brāhmaṇa among the castes, in the same way Tantraśāstra is superior to all the other Śāstras[2]. It is broadly divided in four parts: *jñāna, yoga, kriyā* and *caryā*. In the division *jñāna*, such doctrines are included as propound oneness of god, *ekeśvaravāda* and monism, *advaitavāda*. Besides these they also include such things as could be called secret like a letter, a syllable, a mantra or a yantra which are the repositories of various powers. Yoga refers to meditation or concentration of mind. Its main purpose is to acquire different powers that evolve from māyā. That is why it is also called *māyā-yoga*. Kriyā refers to rituals connected with the construction of idols and temples in which they are to be consecrated. *Caryā* refers to *ācāra*, conduct, social duties involved in the various activities concerning religious rites and festivities. Not that all the *tantras* have all the four listed above, the philosophy, the magic formulae, the rituals and the ethical principles. Though it is difficult to distinguish between *āgama, tantra* and *saṁhitā*, still it may be pointed out that by the term *āgama* what is understood is the sacred texts of Śaivites, by *tantra* those of the Śāktas, the Śakti worshippers and by *saṁhitā* those of the Vaiṣṇavites. The Śākta tantras mainly follow monism while the Vaiṣṇavaite tantras follow dualism or qualified monism. The Śaiva tantras are divided in three sects of monism, qualified monism and dualism.

The Tantra and the Vedic literatures

It will be improper to say that the Tantra literature is basically different from the Vedic literature. It is the Vedic scholars who following tradition and the Śāstras have written original texts or bhāṣyas on tantras. The ritual side of the Vedas is very complex. Further, Śūdras and women are forbidden from reciting the Vedas and carrying out the rituals prescribed by them. The Tantras lay down as of the rituals for performing sacrifices as

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are easy to perform by all sections of society. These are of two kinds, Vedic and non-Vedic. The Vedic tantras acccept the Vedic rituals while the non-Vedic ones do not do so. The Śaivaite, the Śākta and the Vaiṣṇavaite Tantras come in the catageory of the Vedic Tantras while the Buddhist Tantras come in the category of the non-Vedic ones.

The Antiquity of the Tantras

The oldest manuscript of the Tantras belongs to the seventh and the eighth centuries A.D. This means that the Tantra literature is anterior to the fifth or the sixth centuries A.D. There is no mention of any Tantra in the *Mahābhārata* nor has any Chinese traveller refered to them. In the 8th cen. A.D. the Buddhist Tantric texts were rendered into the Chinese language. This is the *terminus a quem* for Buddhist Tantra in India. Texts on this had come to be written in the 8th century or earlier which the Chinese took up for translation in their language. In the second half of the 8th century A.D. and the 9th Cent. A.D. these texts were translated in Tibetan. It is inconceivable that the Buddhist Tantric literature would have developed in isolation. There would have developed concurrently or even prior to it the non-Buddhist Tantric literature as well. Viewed in this light the early centuries of the Christian era could be the period that could be assigned to the origin of the Tantric literature in India.

The origin of the Āgama literature seems to have been in Kashmir and of the Tāntric literature in Bengal while the Saṁhitā literature is not confined to any particular part of India. It could have had its origin in Bengal, or South India or even outside India.

Āgama literature

The most important texts of the Āgama literature are *Mālinīvijaya, Svacchanda, Vijñānabhairava, Ucchuṣmabhairava, Ānandabhairava, Mṛgendrabhairava, Mātaṅga, Svāyambhuva, Rudrayāmala.*

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Pratyabhijñā literature

Intimately connected with this literature is Pratyabhijñā literature which occupies a very special place in the history of Indian philosophy. The basis of the Pratyabhijñā philosophy is the Śaivaic Tantra which follows dualism. The last chapter of the text *Śivadṛṣṭi* of Somānandanātha gives a detailed description of the Ācāryas of this system. Somānandanātha was the nineteenth pontiff in the line of Tryambaka, the founder of the non-dualistic Śaivaite sect who was the preceptor of Ācārya Abhinavagupta. Somānandanātha belonged to the 9th cen. A.D. His son and pupil Utpala, 900-950 A.D., wrote the *Pratyabhijñākārikās*. A brilliant exponent of the Pratyabhijñā philosophy was Abhinavagupta (993-1015 A.D.). The most well-known work of his is *Tantrāloka*. His other works are the *Mālinīvijayottaravārtika, Pratyabhijña-vimarśiṇī, Tantrasāra* and *Paramārthasāra*. Another noteworthy work of this sect is the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* of Kṣemarāja, the pupil of Abhinavagupta.

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1. सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च मन्त्रनिर्णय एव च।
देवतानां च संस्थानं तीर्थानां चैव वर्णनम्।।
तथैवाश्रमधर्म्मश्च विप्रसंस्थानमेव च।
संस्थानं चैव भूतानां वन्ह्यानां चैव निर्णयः।।
उत्पत्तिर्विबुधानां च तरूणां कल्पसंज्ञितम्
संस्थानं ज्योतिषां चैव पुराणस्थानमेव च।
क्रोधस्य कथनं चैव व्रतानां परिभाषणम्।
शौचाशौचस्य चाख्यानं नरकाणां च वर्णनम्।।
वरयज्ञस्य चाख्यानं स्त्रीपुंसोश्चैव लक्षणम्।
राजधर्म्मो युगधर्म्मो युगधर्म्मस्तथैव च।।
व्यवहारः कथ्यते च तथा चाध्यात्मवर्णनम्।
इत्यादिलक्षणैर्युक्तं तन्त्रमित्यभिधीयते।।
तस्य माहात्म्यम्—
कविर्व्वरिष्ठो देवानां ह्यानामुदधिस्तथा।।
नदीनां च यथा गंगा पर्व्वतानां हिमालयः।
अश्वत्थः सर्व्ववृक्षाणां राजामिन्द्रो यथा वरः।।
देवीनां च यथा दुर्गा वर्णानां ब्राह्मणो यथा।
[illegible]

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Saṁhitā literature

The most important work in this literature is *Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā*. This was composed in Kashmir in 5th century A.D. Among other works of this literature are the *Īśvarasaṁhitā*, the *Puṣkara-saṁhitā*, the *Parama-saṁhitā*, the *Sāttvata-saṁhitā*, the *Bṛhadbrahma-saṁhitā* and the *Jñānāmṛtasāra-saṁhitā*.

Tantra Literature

The main texts of the Tantra literature are *Mahānirvāṇa*, *Kulārṇava*, *Kulacūḍāmaṇi*, *Prapañcasāra*, *Tantrarāja*, *Kalivilāsa*, *Jñānārṇava*, *Śāradātilaka*, *Varivasyārahasya*, *Tantrasāra* and *Prāṇatoṣiṇī*.

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MEDICINE (CIKITSĀŚĀSTRA)

The origin of the science of medicine or Āyurveda can be traced in India, like the origin of the many other kinds of sciences, to the Vedas, particularly, the *Atharvaveda* which has hymns in it for curing diseases, *bhaiṣajyāni*, and for increasing the life-span, *āyuṣyāṇi*. There is mention of the twin divine physicians Aśvinau with wonderful healing powers. In one of the hymns they are said to have supplied a leg to one Viṣpalā: *viṣpalāyai jaṅghām adattam*, the earliest reference in Sanskrit literature to transplantation of limbs.

The simple folk in India in early periods, as the people elsewhere, had nurtured a belief that diseases are the handiwork of demons or evil spirits and that their cure is possible by warding them off by recitation of Mantras or performance of magic rites. This belief continued long after the period of the Vedas for we have even in the well-developed treatises on Āyurveda a section on treatment of diseases caused by demons.

Tradition recognizes Āyurveda, also called Vaidyaśāstra, the science of the doctor, as an *upāṅga*, a sub-auxiliary of the *Atharvaveda* which preserves the ancient knowledge of embryology and hygiene.

There is a legend in India of the Ocean of Milk having been churned by gods and demons. For medical science the importance of the legend lies in the appearance from the said

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Ocean, along with others, of Dhanvantari, the mythical physician, typifying the yearning of the ancient Indians for a physician with extraordinary healing powers. Tradition also associates Dhanvantari with Vikramāditya as one of his nine jewels. Whether the two are identical is open to question.

The Āyurveda is called *aṣṭāṅga*, of eight limbs or topics, which are major surgery, minor surgery, healing of diseases, children's diseases, toxicology, elixirs and aphrodisiacs. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*, in the context of the scope of the use of word, mentions Āyurveda along with Purāṇa, Itihāsa and Vākovākya thus attesting to its antiquity. It appears that treatises on specific topics called Tantras or Kalpas were composed first. Later comprehensive treatises called Saṁhitās, which dealt with all the eight topics referred to above, made their appearance.

The sage Ātreya is usually mentioned as the founder of Āyurveda. The Buddhist tradition records the name of one Jīvaka, a pupil of Ātreya who specialized in children's diseases. The *Vinaya piṭaka* and other Buddhist texts show a wide knowledge of elementary medical science, surgical instruments and hot baths, etc.

The earliest of the treatises on medical science in India is the *Carakasaṁhitā*, the compendium of Caraka, a court physician of Kaniṣka whose wife he helped in a critical case. The work, as it is available now, is not the work of Caraka alone, for it was revised by one Dṛḍhabala who added the last two chapters to it besides contributing seventeen out of twenty-eight or thirty chapters of its Book VI. A native of Kashmir, Dṛḍhabala, ascribed to the eight century A.D. was the son of Kapilabala and apart from carrying out the revision of the *Carakasaṁhitā* as mentioned above, is credited with the revision of a number of *Tantras* of Agniveśa, a pupil of Punarvasu Ātreya, a fellow student of Bheḍa or Bhela whose *Saṁhitā* on that score is taken by some to be older than that of Caraka. The *Carakasaṁhitā* is divided into various sections, called Sthānas each dealing with

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certain specific topics: the *Sūtrasthāna* with remedies, diet and the duties of a doctor; *Nidānasthāna* with eight chief diseases; *Vimānasthāna* with general pathology and medical studies; *Śarīrasthāna* with anatomy and embryology; *Indriyasthāna* with diagnosis and prognosis; *Cikitsāsthāna* with special therapy and the *Kalpa* and the *Siddhisthānas* with general therapy.

The next great name in the field of Indian medical science is that of Suśruta, described in the *Mahābhārata* as the son of Viśvāmitra. The famous Nāgārjuna is said to have worked on his text. His fame had spread even beyond the confines of India, to Cambodia in the East and Arabia in the West in the ninth and the tenth centuries A.D. as evidenced by the literary tradition of those countries. He was commented upon by Jaiyaṭa, Gayadāsa and Cakrapāṇidatta who had also commented upon the *Carakasaṁhitā* and whose commentary on Suśruta was supplemented by Ḍallaṇa in the thirteenth century A.D. One Candraṭa had revised his text on the basis of the commentary of Jaiyaṭa. His work has six sections which, except the last one, the *Uttaratantra*, clearly a later addition, carry the same titles as does the Saṁhitā of Caraka. Its *Sūtrasthāna* deals with general questions, imparting also the information that the author (Suśruta) was the pupil of King Divodāsa of Vārāṇasī. The *Nidānasthāna* concerns itself with pathology, *Śarīrasthāna* with anatomy and embryology, the *Cikitsāsthāna* with therapeutics and the *Kalpasthāna* with toxicology.

The next important work is the *Bhelasaṁhitā* which carries the same divisions as does the *Carakasaṁhitā*. As regards osteology, a third version of the system of Ātreya in addition to those of Caraka and Bhela is found in the *Yājñavalkya* and *Viṣṇu Smṛtis* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the *Agni Purāṇas*.

Vāgbhaṭa, another great name in Indian medical tradition, is recognised to be posterior to Suśruta. Interestingly, there are two writers of this name, both claiming the same parentage in their works, the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* and the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṁhitā*.

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From the fact that one of the two is called Vṛddha Vāgbhaṭa, the Elder Vāgbhaṭa, it would appear that both were different persons and it is possible that they might have shared the same descent. The Elder Vāgbhaṭa or Vṛddha Vāgbhaṭa was the son of Siṁhagupta and the pupil of the Buddhist Avalikhita. The younger Vāgbhaṭa appears to have made use of the work of his elder namesake in a mixture of verse and prose while the work of the former is in verse.

Other works on medical science include the *Rugviniścaya* of Mādhavakara, an important text on pathology, the *Siddhiyoga* or *Vṛndamādhava* of Vṛnda, a text giving prescriptions for a number of ailments from fever to poisoning, the *Cikitsāsārasaṅgraha* of Cakrapāṇidatta, a text on therapeutics, and the *Cikitsāmṛta* of Malhaṇa, a work on general medicine.

The *Saṁhitā* of Śārṅgadhara is commented upon by Vopadeva, son of the physician Keśava and a protege of Hemādri (13th century A.D.) who also wrote a *Śataślokī*, a work on powders, pills and the use of the pulse in diagnosis.

Numerous other works on medicine came to be written in later centuries, the more noteworthy of them being the *Cikitsākalikā* of Tīṣata (fourteenth century), the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Bhāvamiśra (sixteenth century) and the *Vaidyajīvana* of Lolimbarāja (seventeenth century). There also appeared large numbers of monographs on different diseases including the one on the diseases of plants, the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* of Surapāla.

Apart from herbs, the *kāṣṭhauṣadhas*, prescribed as medicines, the texts on Āyurveda record a number of other preparations with effective curative properties. They are the *bhasmas* of various metals especially of gold and silver. The treatment extended itself even to the use of quick-silver (*pārada*) in its various formulations, and sulphur and other acids for treating malignant diseases. The effectiveness of the medication is ensured with its accompaniment, the *anupāna*, milk, butter milk, curd, the decoction (*kvāth*) and so on. The treatment also

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rests on certain types of diets to be taken for certain periods, the *kalpas*, to subsist on milk alone or curd alone for twenty-one days or forty days and so on.

The ancient Indians had achieved a high degree of accuracy in diagnosing the ailment by feeling the pulse, a tradition that has come down to the present-day. They had evolved a theory of the three humours, the *Vāta* (wind), *Pitta* (bile) and *Kapha* (phlegm) the disturbance of which is the cause of the disease. Efforts have, therefore, to be made to keep them on an even keel which can be done by proper health care. Āyurveda is the science of good health and not only the curing of diseases.

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EROTICS (KĀMAŚĀSTRA)

The pursuit of duty, *dharma*, wealth, *artha*, *kāma*, sensual pleasures and *mokṣa*, salvation are the fourfold aims of life propounded by Indian thinkers for an ideal life with the result that they have discussed in depth the subject of sensual pleasures along with the other three. The oldest work available on this subject is the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana which is considered to be a work of the 3rd cen. A.D. Written in prose with a mixture of verse it discusses in its seven parts in detail the special characteristics of a town-bred man possessed of civility; the love affair, the marriage, the ladies, distinguished as svakīyā and parakīyā, one's own wife and the wife of some one else, the courtesans, the success in love and the various postures in love-making. Vātsyāyana makes a reference in his work to the views of earlier authorities on the subject which is very useful for the study of the social life and the rites and customs of the contemporary society. In the 13th century Yaśodhana wrote a commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* on the *Kāmasūtra* which is very helpful in understanding the technical terms therein. Vātsyāyana's work has left a deep imprint on Indian literature and art. Of the other works on Erotics mention could be made of the *Pañcasāyaka* of Jyotirīśvara, the *Ratirahasya* of Kokka (before A.D. 1200), *Ratimañjarī* of Jayadeva identified with the author

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of the same name who composed the *Gītagovinda*, the *Anaṅgaraṅga* of Kalyāṇamalla (12 century A.D.) and the *Ratiśāstra* of Nāgārjuna of unknown period identified erroneously on the basis of the similarity of name with the Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna.

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22

POLITY (ARTHAŚĀSTRA)

In India Polity is given the name Arthaśāstra. In it light is thrown on *artha* which is the second of the four *Puruṣārthas*, the aims of life. The thinking about Polity had developed quite early as can be seen from the *Gṛhyasūtra* of Hiraṇyakeśin and the *Mahābhārata*. The first expression of the principles of Polity can be seen in the gnomic verses in earlier works which touch many of the points that came to be discussed in the later treatises. It is said in the *Mahābhārata* that Lord Brahmā had composed the *Arthaśāstra* in hundred thousand parts (khaṇḍas) which Śiva in the form of Viśālākṣa had condensed in ten thousand parts. Indra had further reduced it to 5000 parts and Bṛhaspati and Uśanas to 3000 and 1000 parts respectively. In the *Mahābhārata* itself there is discussion about Polity in some of its sections. It is possible, that a certain *Arthaśāstra* might have been put to use in that connection.

Upto the nineteenth century the Western scholars and some of their Indian counterparts held the view that there was no systematic text in Sanskrit that dealt with the discipline of Polity. This view met with an effective rebuttal when the untiring efforts of R. Shama Sastri led to the discovery of the *Arthaśāstra* in 1905 which he published in 1909 with English translation. Its publication created quite a stir in the then scholarly community for its encyclopaedic contents that touched

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practically every discipline of knowledge. It is a treatise not only on statecraft which it deals with *in extenso* but also on Economics, international relations and arts and crafts, the laying of cities and villages, trade and commerce and so on.

There is no authentic information available yet about the author of this celebrated work. Tradition has three names for him—Kauṭalya or Kauṭilya, Viṣṇugupta and Cāṇakya. Of these the first two have the evidence for them in the text itself. The work starts with the statement: *Kauṭilyena kṛtaṁ śāstram*, the text created or composed by Kauṭilya, a statement corroborated by the occurrence in the work of the expressions *iti Kauṭilyaḥ, neti Kauṭilyaḥ*.

There is a lot of discussion as to whether the form of the name is Kauṭalya or Kauṭilya. According to T. Ganapati Sastri it has to be Kauṭalya. The one with *i* (*ikāramadhya*) he calls misnomer for neither the term Kauṭilya nor its basic form Kuṭila is explained in the Nighaṇṭus as Gotrarṣi. On the other hand, Kuṭala is mentioned by Keśavasvāmin in his *Nānārthārṇavasaṅkṣepa* as meaning both Gotrarṣi and an ornament:

atha syāt kuṭalo gotrakṛtyarṣau puṁsi nap punaḥ/
vidyād ābharaṇe 'tha triḥ kuṭilaṁ kuñcite bhavet//

Whatever be the case, the name Kauṭilya has come to stick to the great statesman. Popular pronunciation does effect change in the form of words.

That the author had the name Viṣṇugupta also gets corroboration from the last stanza of the work where it is said that 'noticing many a time the difference of opinion among the interpretation of various texts Viṣṇugupta himself wrote the work and the commentary':

dṛṣṭvā viprapattiṁ bahudhā śāstreṣu bhāṣyakārāṇām/
Viṣṇugupta cakāra sūtram ca bhāṣyam ca//

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The name Viṣṇugupta, meaning protected by Viṣṇu is said to have been given to him by his father at the christening, *nāmakaraṇa*, ceremony.

There is no solid evidence yet for the name Cāṇakya though popular tradition associates the work with it. From the form of the name it would appear that he was the son of one Caṇaka, a view that gets support from a statement in Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* which is interesting in that it records quite a few other names of him too:

Vātsyāyano Mallanāgaḥ Kauṭilyaś Canakātmajaḥ/
Drāmilaḥ Pakṣmilasvāmī Viṣṇugupto 'ṅgulaś ca saḥ//

According to T. Ganapati Sastri and M. B. Krishna Rao, Cāṇakya was so called because he belonged to a place of that name. According to Ananad Prakash Awasthi Cāṇakya was called so because he belonged to Caṇaka Gotra.

Before proceeding on with the study of the work it may be pertinent to refer here to a statement about its author—here he is clearly referred to as Kauṭilya—wherein it is said that after having gone through all the texts and seen through their practical application he has composed the text for administration for the use of kings :

sarvaśāstrāṇy anukramya prayogam upalabhya ca/
Kauṭilyena narendrārthe śāsanasya vidhiḥ kṛtaḥ// (2.26.10).

There are various legends associated with Kauṭilya. According to one Śakaṭāra, a minister in the court of Mahānanda Padma, the last of the Nanda rulers of Magadha, having fallen out with his master and having suffered insult at his hands out of revenge had beseated Kauṭilya whom he had discovered in a forest sitting on the branch of a tree that he was cutting, in the row of the Brāhmaṇas at a Śrāddha ceremony in the royal court. To this another Brāhmaṇa of the name of Subandhu objected. Upholding his objection the king turned him out in a very

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insulting way. Kauṭilya then vowed that he would avenge the insult. This is what resulted in his extirpating the Nandas and putting Candragupta Maurya on the throne.

Another legend connects him with the Greek ambassador Megasthenes. When the latter went to meet him the former was looking through official files. On being informed by his servant keeping vigil outside the gate of his humble hut of his arrival, he snuffed out the lamp and lit another lamp. Megasthenes noticed this and asked him as to why he had done so. To this Kauṭilya answered that before his arrival he had been engaged in State work and therefore used the lamp provided by the State. Now that he was receiving him in his personal capacity he was using the lamp that he had got through his own earnings.

Being the Prime Minister of Candragupta Maurya, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, it is not difficult to decide about the date of Kauṭilya. It is around 4th cen. B.C.

It may be pointed out here that the *Arthaśāstra* is not the very first work of its kind. A number of works had already preceded it. Kauṭilya himself acknowledges this. Says he: "I have composed this text, the *Ārthaśāstra*, after having drawn the gist in general of all the Ārthaśāstras composed by the earlier Ācāryas for the good and the well-being of the earth: *pṛthivyā lābhe pālane ca yāvanty arthaśāstrāṇi pūrvācāryaiḥ prasthāpitāni prāyaśas tāni saṁhṛtyaikam idam arthaśāstram kṛtam*. He has mentioned by name several of his predecessors: Bharadvāja, Viśālākṣa, Parāśara, Piśuna, Kauṇḍapadanta, Vātavyādhi, Bāhudantīputra, Kātyāyana, Ghoṭamukha, Dīrghacārāyaṇa, Piśunaputra, Kiñjalka and so on.

Kauṭilya has explained the word Arthaśāstra that he adopted as title of his work. According to him *artha* means the earth, the habitat of the people and *śāstra* the means for their good and well-being: *manuṣyāṇāṁ pṛthivyāṁ vṛttir arthaḥ, tasyāḥ pṛthivyā lābhapālanopāyaḥ śāstram arthaśāstram iti*, "the source of

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livelihood is men's wealth. The science which is the means of attainment and protection of that is the science of Polity".

A study of the ancient Sanskrit literature reveals that the word Arthaśāstra for Polity had two other compeers for it, one, Rājadarśana or Rājaśāstra and the other, Daṇḍanīti. It occurs as the fourth of the four Vidyās, departments of knowledge, the first three being Ānvīkṣikī, Trayī and Vārtā: *ānvīkṣikī trayī vārtā daṇḍanītiś ca śāśvatī*, metaphysics, the three Vedas, agriculture and administration of justice which is eternal.

In India man's life is governed by four aims, collectively called Puruṣārthacatuṣṭaya. These are Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. Of these the last, Mokṣa is for life hereafter while the three are for life here. The texts dealing with them are called, the *Dharmaśāstra*, the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Kāmaśāstra* and the *Mokṣaśāstra* respectively. Since the *Mokṣaśāstra* stands in a category in itself not dealing with the world as such, the other three dealing with the world are grouped together under the title *Trivarga*.

The *Arthaśāstra* has attracted good attention since the time it was brought to light by Shama Sastri. He had discovered it in 1904 in the course of his search of manuscripts and brought out its edition based on a single manuscript in 1909 with English translation in the Mysore Government Sanskrit Series. The next most important edition of it was by T. Ganapati Sastri which he brought out in three volumes in 1921, 24 and 25 in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series with his Sanskrit commentary Śrīmūla. He was not happy with the translation of Shama Sastri which he found abounding in errors that prompted him to bring out the *Arthaśāstrā's* new edition based on new manuscripts. His diligent search for them yielded good results. He first discovered two palm leaf manuscripts of it in Malayalam characters in the library of Swamiyar Matham at Thirupparpu that were almost free from errors. The search continuing, he found two other manuscripts in the Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras

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of which one was almost a copy of a manuscript in Malayalam characters belonging to the Raja of Edappalli in the Travancore State. A fifth manuscript of it was also found in the Manuscript Library, Cochin but it was far too much worn out. Apart from the manuscripts of the text the learned savant also found manuscripts of two commentaries in Sanskrit on the work from the Govt. Oriental Library, Madras. One was the commentary *Pratipadacandrikā* by Bhaṭṭasvāmin that dealt with the portion from the 8th to the last chapter of the second Adhikaraṇa. The other was the *Nayacandrikā* of Mādhavayajvan which covered the portion from the 7th Adhyāya of the 7th Adhikaraṇa up to 4th Adhyāya of the 12th Adhikaraṇa. Scantily noticed by scholars, the critical edition and the Sanskrit commentary of T. Ganapati Sastri are the best source for the proper understanding of the *Arthaśāstra*, with all its technical jargon none too familiar. Among the studies of the work the most notable is that of R.P. Kangle in three volumes. Other works of note on the *Arthaśāstra* are the *Arthaśāstra* by J. Jolly and R. Schimdt, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* by N.P.Unni, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and Modern World* by Radhavallabh Triparthi, *Politico-Geographical Analysis of the Arthaśāstra* by Rajendra Prasad, *Kauṭilya's Political Theory* by Ritu Kohli, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra—A Legal, Critical and Analytical Study* by V.K. Gupta, *Arthaśāstra* (English translation) by M.B. Chande, *Kauṭilīyam Arthaśāstram* by Pandeya Ramtej Shastri with the Hindi commentary *Rañjanā*, *Kauṭilya ke Ārthika Vicāra* by Bhagawan Das Kela, *Kauṭilīya Rājanīti* by Bhuvaneswaridatt Mishra, *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra kā Sarvekṣaṇa* by M. B. Krishna Rao, *Kauṭilya ke Rājanītika evaṁ Sāmājika Vicāra* by Manishankar Prasad, *Kauṭilya ke Arthaśāstra meṅ Rājyadarśana* by Manjulata Sharma, *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra meṅ Sattā evaṁ Rājanīti* by Rajanikant Pandey, *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* by Hariomsharan Niranjan. In addition to these there is a large number of articles in journals and magazines and

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references to it in an equally large number of works on Polity, Economics and Sociology. The number of these studies in the form of books, articles and references is so large that preparation of a full-fledged bibliography of it has become a desideratum.

In spite of extensive work having been done on it, there are certain areas in it that need revisiting.

The *Arthaśāstra* is a vast work of encyclopaedic character, as said earlier, with its fifteen Adhikaraṇas, Divisions, one hundred and fifty Adhyāyas, chapters and six thousand verses, as mentioned by Kauṭilya himself in the introductory portion of his work.

The political ideas of the author of the *Arthaśāstra* are all very remarkable and seem to have been based on his own personal experience. All the works on Polity coming after this monumental work are based on it. One of the Western scholars has rightly termed it as a library in itself. The political ideology of it is based on the monarchical system but it was no autocratic monarchy. All the ancient authorities on Polity are of the unanimous opinion that the foremost duty of a king is to provide safety and security to his subjects as also happiness to them. The very word *rājan* is explained as one who delights his subjects, *rājā prakṛtirañjanāt.* [The idea of providing happiness and satisfaction to the subjects got so profoundly ingrained in the mind of the thinkers that the very etymology of the word *rājan* has been changed accordingly. Normally the word should be derived from √*rāj* (*rājṛ dīptau*) 'to be majestic' but that was of not much consequence to political thinkers. What was of consequence was the *rañjana*, 'to please, to satisfy'. Hence its derivation from √*rāj* than from √*rañj* which is not possible grammatically.]

The second important duty of a king is to keep an eye on the rulers of other countries so that they may not cause any disaffection or trouble in his own and engage them in fight were they attempt to do so. Both these duties are given two different

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names of *tantra* and *āvāpa* which Kauṭilya describes in detail in his work. He also speaks of the administrative principles and the rules and the regulations governing them and the procedures for protecting the territorial integrity of the country and expanding its boundaries to earn name and fame.

Here it may be emphasized that the work, the *Arthaśāstra*, has its utility not only for comprehending the situation as existing in India in the past but also as existing in India at present. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the powers that be in India at present have recognized the utility of the work in this respect. According to a news item appearing in the *Dainik Jagarana* of Kanpur in its issue of August 1, 2002 the Defence Research and Development Organization of India has assigned a big project on the study of the *Arthaśāstra* for increasing the efficiency of India's armed forces to scientists at the University of Pune.

Some of the ideas and principles of the *Arthaśāstra* have withstood the test of time and are applicable to all situations for all times. These need to be fully grasped and applied in the present context. There is so much of talk of the improvement of the condition of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, Dalits as they are called. Kauṭilya had realized it more than two millennia back. It was he who had opened up other avenues of life to Śūdras They were not only to serve the twice-born only, they could engage themselves in economic callings, namely, agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade and commerce and be artisans and actors: *śūdrasya dvijātiśuśrūṣā vārtā kārukuśīlavakarma ca.* He was bold enough to rebut the view of his predecessors that for purposes of recruitment in army preference need to be given to members of the four castes in the descending order, viz., Brāhmaṇas followed by Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. He reversed the order. According to him it had to be an ascending order, from Śudras to Brāhmaṇas. What is necessary in the

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troops for fighting purposes is strength, boldness, grit and resilience. Śūdras possess them better then the members of the other castes. According to him by prostration an enemy may win over Brāhmaṇa troops, A Kṣatriya army trained in the art of weapons or a Vaiśya or a Śūdra army possessed of great valour is better: *praṇipātena brāhmaṇabalaṁ paro 'bhihārayet, praharaṇavidyāvinītaṁ tu kṣatriyabalaṁ śreyaḥ, bahulasāraṁ vā vaiśyaśūdrabalam iti* (9.137-139.2). The Śūdras had also been given land rights: *Śūdrakarṣakaprāyaṁ kulaśatāvasraṁ pañcaśatakulaparaṁ grāmaṁ krośadvikrośasīmānam anyonyarakṣaṁ niveśayet* (171.1)., "The king should set up villages consisting each of not less than a hundred families or not more than five hundred families of agricultural people of Śūdra caste with boundaries extending upto as far as a krośa or two and capable of protecting each other." He had approved of diplomatic assignments for the Śūdras as well. A full chapter in his work under the title 'Daśakarmakarakalpam' deals with the laws and the duties of servants.

Corruption is the biggest disease that is eating into the vitals of the country leading to its being ranked as the 126th of the most corrupt countries of the world. Kauṭilya had realized early enough as to how difficult it is not to fall a prey to the greed of lucre in departments dealing with fiscal matters, as he graphically puts it that "it is not possible not to taste sugar while being in the godown of it." He therefore, specially enjoins upon the ruler to exercise utmost caution in making appointments in them and keeping in place a special spy network that could be the version of his time of the Anti-corruption Task Force of the present day. As a matter of fact, in his scheme of things spy network had a massive role to play.

The Govt. of India now is laying great emphasis on the spread of literacy with its programmes like the Sarva Śikṣā Abhiyāna. Kauṭilya had realized the importance of it much earlier. Says he: *avidyāvinayaḥ puruṣavyasanahetuḥ. Avinīto hi*

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vyasanadoṣān na paśyati. (8.129.3), "absence of training in lores is the cause of a man's vices. For, an untrained person does not see the faults in vices".

There is a very interesting discussion in the work on Svacakra and Paracakra that has its relevance to the present day situation. Svacakra means one's own country and Paracakra the other's country. The discussion is about the point as to which of the two, the disturbance in one's own country and the disturbance in another's country is a matter of greater concern to the ruler. According to some it is the disturbance in one's own country, Svacakra, which could be caused by disaffection among people and their taking to a rebellious path occasioned by excessive taxation, repressive measures and other reasons than the disturbance in another country. According to Kauṭilya it is disturbance in another country which is a matter for far greater worry for a ruler than the disturbance in his own country. That is the situation that India is facing today. A disturbed Pakistan or Afghanistan is in no way in the interest of India. Its spill over effect would simply be disastrous. Its greatest worry is the nuclear arsenal of the neighbouring country falling in undesirable hands. Svacakra can be controlled somehow and is, therefore, a matter for less worry but Paracakra over which one has no control is a matter of far greater worry.

Kauṭilya was a great political thinker of his time who with his pragmatic approach that may appear ruthless at times to the so-called human rights activists was able to carve out a cohesive State with vast swathes of territory under it out of the fragmented landscape crisscrossed by hundreds of small principalities and fiefdoms. Termed as the Mecheavally of India and often maligned and misunderstood, he gave to the country not only an empire that united it but also a text on statecraft and polity that will have its relevance for all times. The *Arthaśāstra* is a unique

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manual of administration in all its varied ramifications with a philosophy of its own.

Apart from the *Arthaśāstra* he had written the *Cāṇakyanīti*, variously called *Cāṇakya Rājanīti* or *Rājanītisamuccaya* and the *Cāṇakya Sūtras*. The *Cāṇakyanīti* is in the form of gnomic/ didactic verses and the *Cāṇakya Sūtras* in the form of aphorisms giving in a succinct form the principles of Polity.

Following the *Arthaśāstra* a number of works came up on Polity which distinctly have on them an imprint of it. Mention in this connection can be made of the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka which specifically refers to Viṣṇugupta. Vāmana, the author of the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra* is also acquainted with this work. The *Nītivākyāmṛta* of Somadevasūri is another work which carries on it the influence of the *Arthaśāstra*. Somadevasūri was a Jain writer. He therefore has a different view on the principle of administration than the *Arthaśāstra*. Hemacandra (1088-1172) is also not favourably inclined about some of the principles of *Arthaśāstra* as can be seen from his work the *Laghu-arhannīti*. A work on Polity that needs special notice is the *Śukranītisāra* ascribed to Śukrācārya. It has 2200 stanzas. It could be that it is a shorter version of some other work. Interestingly; there is mention in it of gun powder. Among other works on Polity could be mentioned the *Vyaktikalpataru* of Bhoja and the *Nītiratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara.

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23

DHARMAŚĀSTRA

Code of laws/Jurisprudence

The oldest and the most popular work on the subject is the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* or the *Manusmṛti*. But in the form in which it is available at present it appears to be the work of Bhṛgu. From some of the references it is clear that it was not written or spoken by Manu but by one of his pupils. According to Bühler the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* or the *Manusmṛti* as available at present is a metrical work based on an original sūtra text of the name of *Mānavasūtrakaraṇa* which is a sub-section of the *Maitrāyaṇīya* recension of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*. The authorship of the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* is ascribed to Lord Brahmā from whom it was transmitted to Manu and through him to Bhṛgu and through him to human beings. The *Nāradasmṛti* refers to a smṛti composed by Manu that had hundred thousand stanzas which were reduced to twelve thousand by Nārada, eight thousand by Mārkaṇḍeya and four thousand by Sumati, the son of Bhṛgu. From this description it appears that there was a basic text of the name of *Mānavadharmaśāstra* of mythical origin at some period of time which was edited and re-edited from time to time. That is the reason the *Manusmṛti* has some contradictory statements. In the field of law and jurisprudence, Manu is the oldest authority. There have been many writers of the name of Manu.

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There are references to Vṛddhamanu and Bṛhanmanu. There is reference to Manu in the *Mahābhārata*. It is said that in the extant text of the *Manusmṛti* there are many references which point to the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas over the other three castes. On this basis scholars have formed the opinion that the *Manusmṛti* came to be composed at the time when the Brāhmaṇas were ruling India. In the 1st cen. B.C. a Kaṇva king ruled over India for forty five years. That could be the period the *Manusmṛti* would have been composed.

The presently available text of the *Manusmṛti* has 12 chapters which comprise 2684 verses composed in easy and lucid style. It deals with the duties of people of different castes and stages of life, duties of a ruler, the worldly dealings and the civil and the criminal laws. It has been commented upon by Medhātithi (825-900 AD), Kullūkabhaṭṭa (circa 1200 AD), Govindarāja, Nārāyaṇa, Raghavānanda, Nandana etc. of whom the commentary of Medhātithi is more well-known and important.

The *Manusmṛti* travelled to the countries of Southeast Asia like Burma, Thailand, Java and so on and influenced the legal texts of those countries.

The next important work after the *Manusmṛti* is the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* which cannot be placed before the 3rd century A.D. It has three sections each dealing with the right conduct, the right dealing and expiation (*prāyaścitta*). In keeping with the *Manusmṛti* it also deals with the Vedantic principles. It follows in style the *Manusmṛti*. Of its many commentaries the three, the *Bālakrīḍā* of Viśvarūpa (800-825 A.D), the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara (1120 A.D.) the court Pandit of Vikramāditya VI, the Cālukya king of Kalyāṇa and the *Yājñavalkīyadharmaśāstranibandha* of Aparārka (the first half of the 12th century A.D) are more well-known. Of these three the best known is the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara which is as good as an independent text. The modern Hindu law is called Mitākṣarā law. This Mitākṣarā was commented upon by Balambhaṭṭa (another name

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Bālakṛṣṇa) the son of Vaidyanātha Pāyagunde (1750 A.D.). The commentary is called *Lakṣmīvyākhyāna* after the name Lakṣmīdevī, the mother of the commentator or *Bālambhaṭṭīyā* after the name of the commentator himself. Some scholars accept the commentary to be the work of Vaidyanātha. There is particular stress in it on the inheritance of property by women.

The *Nāradasmṛti* is found in two versions, big and small. It has its own specialties but it can in no way be compared with the *Manusmṛti*. It can at best be accepted as a supplement to the *Manusmṛti*. Bāṇa knew it.

The bigger version of the *Parāśara-smṛti* is lost. Only the smaller one is available at present. Mādhava (1297-1386) of Vijayanagara commented upon it. The date of the original text could be between 100-500 A.D. The next important smṛti is *Bṛhaspati-smṛti* which in a way is a critique on the *Manusmṛti*. It could be a work of the period between the 6th and the 7th centuries A.D. There is a large number of Smṛtis apart from those enumerated above. As many as 152 Smṛtis are known to exist.

The legal texts have their own importance. Their number is fairly large and they are quite authoritative too. In the 12th century A.D. Jīmūtavāhana had written a text under the title *Dharmaratna* which was divided in three sections called Kalāviveka, Vyavahāra-mātṛkā and Dāyabhāga. In the same century Lakṣmīśvara, the minister of Govindacandra, the ruler of Kannauj had composed the *Smṛti-kalpataru*. Halāyudha of the 12th century A.D. had written the work *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* for the Bengal rular Lakṣmaṇasena. About 1225 A.D. Devannabhaṭṭa wrote a work called the *Smṛticandrikā*. In the 13th century Varadarāja wrote a voluminous work the *Smṛtisaṅgraha*. At present only one section of it of the name of Vyavahāranirṇaya is available. Around 1270 A. D. Hemādri wrote the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* with deals with Vrata, Dāna, Tīrtha and Mokṣa. It also has a supplement. The work is very

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important in that it has excerpts from many Smṛtis. It had been written for a Yādava princess. Similarly had been written the *Madanapārijāta* by Viśveśvara for his patron Madanapāla (1360-70 A.D.). Its main emphasis is on religious rituals but it also deals with the law of succession. More signigicant is the *Smṛtiratnākara* by Caṇḍeśvara, the minister of Harisiṁhadeva (1325 A.D.). In the 15th century the *Vivādacintāmaṇi*, the *Vyavahāracintāmaṇi* and *Cintāmaṇi* were written by Vācaspati for the Mithilā rulers Bhairavsiṁha (Harinārāyaṇa) and Rāmabhadra (Rūpanārāyaṇa). In the 16th century Pratāparudradeva of Utkala wrote the *Sarasavatīvilāsa* and the *Raghunandanatattva* which is a corpus of 28 texts. In the same century Vidyānātha Dīkṣita wrote the *Smṛtimuktāphala*. The seventeenth century saw the composition of a number of important legal texts like the *Tithinirṇaya* of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, the *Nirṇayasindhu* of Kamlākarabhaṭṭa, the *Bhagavantabhāskara* of Nīlakaṇṭha and the *Vīramitrodaya* of encyclopaedic proportions of Mitramiśra.

Besides these there are some other texts on Dharmaśāstra. Of these the most well known are the *Saṅskāra-paddhati* and the *Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa* by Bhavadevabhaṭṭa, the well known minister (11 century A.D) of King Harivarman of Bengal and the *Pitṛdayita* of Aniruddha of 12th century A.D. and the *Daśakarmapaddhati* of Paśupati of the same century.

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24

GRAMMAR (VYĀKARAṆA-ŚĀSTRA)

The origin of Sanskrit grammar is somewhat obscure. The first-ever mention of it by name is found in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] in which various grammatical terms also occur. Earlier, the urge to analyse speech, which is the basis of all grammatical literature, was alluded to in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*.[2] An oft-quoted passage of it relates the myth of how the gods went to Indra and requested him to split up speech. Indra obliged them by parting it in the middle, thus splitting it up.

Pāṇini : History and Tradition

The earliest extant systematic treatment of grammar is Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, with its, 3,995 *sūtras* (formulae), divided into eight adhyāyas (chapters) of four pādas (quarters) each. There were, however, grammarians before Pāṇini, for the great grammarian himself mentions by name many of his predecessors[3] and hints at the existence of many more.[4] Thus he testifies to considerable grammatical activity having taken place before him. This fact is also borne out by the various older technical terms he uses,[5] and also the discrepancies and the promiscuous use of some expressions in his work.[6] Pāṇini deals with both Sanskrit and Vedic grammar (mainly Vedic accent), though he deals more fully with Sanskrit grammar.

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According to tradition, Pāṇini lived in the fifth century B.C., although critics like Keith would like to place him about 350 B.C. He was a native of Śalātura, near Attock, now in Pakistan; Hieun Tsang records that he saw a statue of Pāṇini there. Pāṇini, as his name would suggest, was the son of Paṇina, although the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*[7] would have us believe that his father's name was Sāmana. Pāṇini's mother, Dākṣī, was the sister of Vyāḍi who composed *Saṅgraha*, said to have contained a hundred thousand verses on Sanskrit grammar and, more particularly, grammatical philosophy.[8] Tradition regards Pāṇini as the pupil of the sage Varṣa who was the brother of the sage Upavarṣa. A legend ascribes Pāṇini's death to an encounter with a lion.[9] Pāṇini lived after Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, and according to some texts, was a contemporary of Mahāpadma Nanda in the fifth century B.C.[10] Highly scientific and precise in his treatment, which won him well-deserved praise,[11] Pāṇini was greatly concerned with the economy of words. To effect this economy he adopted many devices in which, in the words of Keith, 'the cases are used pregnantly, verbs are omitted, leading rules are understood to govern others which follow; above all algebraic formulae replace real words.' The whole scheme of his work covering the eight *adhyāyas*, as described by Keith, comprised the treatment of 'technical terms and rules of interpretation (i), nouns in composition and case relations (ii), the adding of suffixes to roots (iii) and to nouns (iv, v), accent and changes of sound in word formation (vi, vii) and the word in the sentence (viii). But this scheme is constantly interrupted, rules being interpolated illogically because it was convenient to do, or because space could thus be saved, for the whole book is dominated by the aim to be as brief as possible'.[12]

Kātyāyana, Patañjali, and Bhartṛhari

Many grammarians followed Pāṇini during the next two centuries, but their works are no longer extant; we know of them because their names and quotations from their works are found in

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Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. Some of those names are : Kātyāyana, Bhāradvāja, Sunāga, Vyāghrabhūti and Vaiyāghrapadya. All these grammarians wrote *vārttikas* (aphorisms) on Pāṇini's work. Among them, Kātyāyana wrote *vārttikas* on 1,245 of Pāṇini's *sūtras* and these were incorporated and commented upon by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*.

Patañjali is believed to be an incarnation of the Serpent Śeṣa, who is Viṣṇu's resting couch. He may be said to belong to the second century B.C., a contention that is supported by the fact that he refers in his *Mahābhāṣya*[13] to the Mauryas, to Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty,[14] and to a Greek invader, identified as Menander.[15] In addition to his comments upon Kātyāyana's *vārttikas*, Patañjali deals with some of the *sūtras* in Pāṇini's work not taken up by Kātyāyana, explaining and justifying them and occasionally rejecting them.

Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is one of the most important treatises on Sanskrit grammar. It influenced later grammatical works to a very great extent. It is written in a pleasant and lively conversational style, while the proverbial expressions which occur in it and its references to matters of everyday life serve both to enliven the discussion and to provide valuable hints regarding the conditions of life and thought in Patañjali's time. According to a tradition recorded by Bhartṛhari[16] and by Kalhaṇa (twelfth century),[17] the study of the *Mahābhāṣya* at one time fell upon bad days; it was, however, later revived by scholars such as Candrācārya (fifth century A.D.). There are numerous *vṛttis* (commentaries) on this work, and a good number of them are still in manuscript. One commentary is *Pradīpa*, written by the pre-thirteenth century Kashmirian scholar, Kaiyaṭa; the seventeenth century critic Nāgeśa wrote a commentary on *Pradīpa* which he called *Uddyota*. Bhartṛhari's commentary was called the *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā*; Helārāja, however, referred to it as *Tripadī*,[18] suggesting that it covered only the first three pādas of the first adhyāya. Its only available manuscript, now in

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Berlin, is in a fragmentary form; it goes up to the fifty-third *sūtra* of the first pāda of the first adhyāya.

The three great grammarians we have so far referred to, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, are called collectively the *munitraya* (the three sages). After them came Bhartṛhari. Although his date is very uncertain, he is usually placed somewhere between the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.. According to the Chinese traveller, I-tsing, he died about A.D. 615. Some scholars, however, place him in the fifth century between A.D. 450 and 500,[19] while others place him in the third century, or even earlier.[20]

Bhartṛhari is the author of two works, the *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā*, already mentioned, and the *Vākyapadīya*, a grammatico-philosophical work in three kāṇḍas (sections) called the *Brahma-kāṇḍa* (dealing with Supreme Logos), the *vākyakāṇḍa* (dealing with sentences), and the *pada-kāṇḍa* (dealing with words), the last being styled the *prakīrṇa-kāṇḍa* (miscellaneous section). Since it consists of these three books, the *Vākyapadīya* also carries the alternative name of *Trikāṇḍī* (the three-sectioned book). Altogether it has 1,966 Kārikās (comment in metrical form). Of these, 1,323 are found in the *prakīrṇa-kāṇḍa* divided into fourteen samuddeśas (chapters). A commentary on the first kāṇḍa was written by Bhartṛhari himself, while commentaries were written on the second and the third *kāṇḍa* by Puṇyarāja and Helārāja. An unidentified later commentator, probably of the North, condensed and simplifed Bhartṛhari's own commentary, while *Vṛṣabhadeva*, probably hailing from the South, wrote *Paddhati* in which Bhartṛhari's commentary was explained at length.

The Aṣṭādhyāyī : Commentaries and Arrangements

The first extant *vṛtti* on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is the *Kāśikā -vṛtti*, the Banaras commentary, written jointly by Vāmana and Jayāditya, who are usually regarded as having lived in the

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seventh century. The *kāśikā-vṛtti* is presumed to be a Buddhist work. Contrary to the wont, it has no *maṅgala*, and handles the text with a measure of liberty, showing as many as fifty-eight variations from the original. The writers are also credited with the authorship of an independent treatise, the *Vṛtti-Sūtra*. Among other prominent commentaries on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is *Bhāga-vṛtti* by *Bhartṛhari* or *Vimalamati*, although this work is now no longer available. There is also the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* by Puruṣottamadeva (sixteenth century A.D.) who drew inspiration from both the *Kāśikā* and the *Bhāga-vṛtti*. *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*, a work on some selected *sūtras* from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, was written by the Buddhist scholar *Śaraṇadeva* in Śaka era[21] 1095 (=1172 A.D.). The name of this work is derived from the fact that it seeks to offer justification for *durghaṭas*, i.e. points which are normally difficult to justify by grammar. The last of the important commentaries on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is *Sūtra-prakāśa* by the well-known sixteenth century South Indian writer Appayadīkṣita.

The *Kāśikā-vṛtti* has two important commentaries. In the seventh century was written *Nyāsa* or *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā* by Jinendrabuddhi,[22] and in the eleventh century was written Haradatta's *Pada-mañjarī*.[23]

In about the eleventh century, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was given a new form by the Buddhist scholar, Dharmakīrti. He rearranged some of the useful *sūtras* topic-wise. In about the fourteenth century[24] another Buddhist scholar, Vimalasarasvatī, did precisely the same thing in a work called *Rūpamālā*. About a century later, the Andhra scholar Rāmacandra, in his *Prakriyā-kaumudī*, followed the same pattern but extended the scope of his work by including some of the sūtras left out by his predecessors. Two commentaries were written on this work: the *Prakriyā-prakāśa* by Śeṣakṛṣṇa (sixteenth century A.D.), the teacher of the famous Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita; and *Prasāda* by Viṭṭhala (sixteenth century A.D.). Next came *Siddhānta-kaumudī* by Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita (A.D. 1600-1650), which, in arrangement, closely followed *Prakriyā-*

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kaumudī and the earlier works, but differed from them in that it incorporated all of Pāṇini's sūtras. *Siddhānta-kaumudī* is the most popular extant manual on Sanskrit grammar. Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita himself wrote a commentary on this work, which he called *Prauḍha-manoramā* and his grandson Haridīkṣita wrote a commentary on it called *Śabdaratna*. His principal aim in writing *Śabdaratna* was to refute what he regarded as unfair criticism of *Prauḍha-manoramā*, which occurred in *Prauḍha-manoramākuca-mardinī* by Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, a contemporary of his father Bhānujidīkṣita.

Another commentary on *Siddhānta-kaumudī* was written by Nāgojibhaṭṭa (eighteenth century A.D.), a pupil of Haridīkṣita. He wrote his commentary in two versions, the longer being called (*Bṛhat*) *Śabdenduśekhara*, and the shorter one *Laghu-śabdenduśekhara*. Nāgojibhaṭṭa wrote another work in three versions, the *Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-mañjūṣā*, short version *Laghu-Mañjūṣā* and the still shorter version *Parama-laghu-mañjūṣā*. This work was an independent treatise on grammatical philosophy and semantics in the *Navya-nyāya* style (neo-logical style of argumentation). The author based his discussion mainly on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya and on Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*, but not unoften he differed from them, showing remarkable originality. Nāgojibhaṭṭa also wrote *Paribhāṣendu-śekhara*, a gloss on the *paribhāṣās* (grammatical dicta). This was in line with such treatises as the *Paribhāṣā-vṛtti* by Sīradeva.

A work by Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita which deserves special mention is *Śabdakaustubha*, although now it is available only in two fragments; one fragment comprises the first portion of the work, from the beginning to the end of the second pāda of the third adhyāya; the other fragment contains the fourth adhyāya. *Śabda-kaustubha* is an independent commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and is based primarily on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, as the author himself expressly states[25] and as Haradatta Miśra also states in his *Pada-mañjarī*. The *Śabda-kaustubha* was written earlier

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than the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, which refers to it in unmistakable terms. It is in this work that the true greatness of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita as an original thinker is revealed. He summarized the main conclusions of his work in seventy-four *kārikās*. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita's nephew, embodied and expounded these seventy-four kārikās in his *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa*; the shorter, *Vaiyākatraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra*; and the still shorter, *Laghu-vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra*. Like the later work, Nāgojibhaṭṭa's *Mañjūṣā*, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa's work deals with grammatical philosophy and semantics. Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa lived in the middle of the seventeenth century.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Varadarāja, Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita's pupil, evolved from *Siddhānta-kaumudī* two school manuals, *Madhya-kaumudī* and *Laghu-kaumudī*. These two manuals, especially the shorter one, *Laghu-kaumudī*, are very popular in *ṭols* (traditional Sanskrit schools) and *pāṭhaśālās* (primary schools) even to this day.

Among the works which are ancillary to Pāṇini's *sūtras* is the *Uṇādi-Sūtra* which is presupposed by Pāṇini. It is ascribed to *Śākaṭāyana*. A later work, *Dhātu-pāṭha*, which is in substance that of Pāṇini, was the source of inspiration for three works: *Dhātu-pradīpa* by Maitreyarakṣita (A.D. 1165); *Daiva* by Deva on which Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka Muni wrote a commentary, *Puruṣakāra*; and *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* by Sāyaṇa (thirteenth century A.D.). *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* by Vardhamāna (1140) does not seem to be based on the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini, for Pāṇini's work itself has not been handed down in its authentic form. It has additions and alterations made in the light of the *Gaṇapāṭhas* of other grammatical treatises. A post-Patañjali writer, Śāntanava, composed the *Phiṭ-sūtras*, which dealt with the rules of Vedic and classical accent

Post-Pāṇinian Grammars

The Kātantra School : The earliest of the post-pāṇinian Schools is the Kātantra (title treatise). It is also known by two other

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names, Kaumāra and Kālāpaka according to two traditions associated with its origin. The author of *Kātantra*, Śarvavarman, is said to have propitiated Lord Śiva who in turn bade Kumāra-Kārttikeya, his son, to give instruction to Śarvavarman, thus the work came to be called *Kaumāra*. Kumāra Kārttikeya is said to have inscribed it in the first instance on the tail (*kalāpa*) of his peacock and thus the work came to be called *Kālāpaka*, or because of the incorporation into it of some parts from a bigger treatise,[26] an obvious reference to brevity, for it is the shortest extant grammar. *Kātantra* was composed by Śarvavarman in about the first century A.D.[27] for a Sātavāhana king,[28] as a tradition recorded in an old text would have us believe.[29] A *Vṛtti* on it was written by Durgasiṁha in the eighth century; and on the *Vṛtti* a *Nyāsa* (an elaborate commentary) called *Śiṣyahitā*, was written by Ugrabhūti in the eleventh century. A number of other commentaries on Kātantra were also written. *Kātantra* also appears in Tibetan translation with a supplement and Durgasiṁha's commentary. Kātantra had a considerable influence on the Pali grammarian Kaccāyana and also on the Dravidian grammarians, and is still popular in Bengal.

Cāndra : *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa* by the Buddhist scholar Candragomin (fifth century) is a work longer than *Kātantra* but shorter than *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, being three-fourth of the length of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It was once popular in the Buddhist regions of Kashmir, Tibet, and Nepal. According to internal evidence, it was composed in about A.D. 470, the reference in the text being to the victory of a Jarta king over the Hūṇas. 'Jarta' is taken to be a corruption for 'Gupta', and the king was, most probably, Skandagupta. From external evidence, however, its date of composition seems to be A.D. 600, the date mentioned in the accounts of the Chinese travellers. Candragomin, who is also called Candrācārya, mentions in the beginning of his own *Vṛtti* on *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa* that the special characteristics of his grammar are brevity, lucidity, and comprehensiveness. He

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was also versed in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, and was linked with the revival of its study, as Bhartṛhari and Kalhaṇa (12th cen.) testify.

Jainendra : Although the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* is considered the work of Jina Mahāvīra himself, it was actually composed by Pūjyapāda Devanandin (sixth century). The colophons in the manuscript itself testify to this. It is a sort of condensation of the works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali; it has a recast, meant for beginners, called *Pañca-vastu*. Two recensions of the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* are extant, the northern and the southern. There is wide divergence between the two texts, for the northern recension has about three thousand *sūtras* while the southern has three thousand seven hundred. There are also many variations in expression in the *sūtras*. There are two *Vṛttis* on the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa*: the *Mahāvṛtti* by Abhayanandin and the *Laghu-jainendra* by Mahācandra. There is also a *Nyāsa*, *Śabdāmbhoja-bhāskara*, by Prabhācandra (A.D. 1075-1125).

Śākaṭāyana : The Śabdānuśāna by Pālyakīrti (ninth century) now goes by the name of *Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa*. It was composed during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarṣa I (A.D. 814-77). The evidence for this is furnished by the fact that he gave the name *Amoghā* to the extensive commentary he wrote on his own work, and also by the actual mention of the name of the king in one of the illustrations.[30] Prabhācandra wrote a *Nyāsa* on the *Amoghā-vṛtti*. Yakṣavarman wrote a commentary, *Cintāmaṇi* on the *Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa*, in which he alluded to its all-comprehensive nature; the *sūtras*, he said, included what in other grammars would be conveyed by *iṣṭis* (grammatical principles) or by *upasaṁkhyānas* (additional grammatical rules).

Siddha-Hemacandra : The *Siddha-Hemacandra*, or simply the *Haima Vyākaraṇa*, was based on the *Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa* and was written by Hemacandra Sūri for King Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. The king procured from Kashmir

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eight older works for Hemacandra Sūri's use. The *Haima Vyākaraṇa* is a grammar of Prakrit as well as of Sanskrit; its 3,566 *sūtras*, constituting the first seven *adhyāyas*, deal with Sanskrit grammar. The work is a good manual, practical in arrangement and terminology—an aspect in which it agrees mainly with the *Kātantra*. It omits Vedic grammar and accent. Hemacandra Sūri wrote his work in two versions called *Laghvī*, the shorter, and *Bṛhatī*, the longer. He also wrote a *vṛtti* on his work, and an extensive treatise called the *Bṛhannyāsa*.

Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa : The most extensive of the grammars is the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* written by the Paramāra King Bhoja (eleventh century A.D.). The total number of *sūtras* in it is 6,421, which is 2,426 more than even the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has. This is because, included in the very *sūtras* are the *uṇādis* (the siffix *uṇ* etc.), the *paribhāṣās*, and the *gaṇas* (groups of words). The first seven *adhyāyas* of the work are devoted to Sanskrit grammar, while the eighth deals with Vedic grammar and accent. There are three commentaries on it *Hṛdaya-hāriṇī* by Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa; *Puruṣakāra* by Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka Muni; and *Ratna-darpaṇa* by Rāmasiṁhadeva.

Grammars continued to be written in later centuries too, but they could at best find only local acceptance. Of these, the following four are of some importance:

Saṁkṣiptasāra: Kramadīśvara wrote the *Saṁkṣiptasāra* after 1150. In its first seven *adhyāyas* it deals with Sanskrit grammar, and in the eighth with Prakrit grammar. This work is also known as the *Jaumāra* after its redactor Jumaranandin. In the colophons to many of the manuscripts Jumaranandin is styled *Mahārājādhirāja*. Goyīcandra Autthāsanika, a later writer, appended supplements to the grammar and wrote commentaries on its *sūtras*, *uṇādis*, and the *paribhāṣās*. The *Saṁkṣiptasāra*, however, was popular only in the western part of Bengal.

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

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

Sārasvata : This grammar is traditionally ascribed to Anubhūtisvarūpācārya, although it might actually have been composed by Narendrācārya, Anubhūtisvarūpācārya being merely a *prakriyākāra*. As Vopadeva does not mention this work, it was probably written after him but before the Mohammedan ruler Ghiasuddhin Khilji (A.D. 1469-1500), since one of his ministers, Puṇyarāja, wrote an extensive commentary on it called *Prakriyā*. This grammar has been widely commented upon; in fact, it has as many as eighteen commentaries and two recasts.

Liṅgānuśāsanas: Of some grammatical importance are the treatises on gender known as the *Liṅgānuśāsanas*. Some of them are ascribed to Pāṇini, Vararuci, Śākaṭāyana and Hemacandra (twelfth century). There are two about whose date and authorship there is no dispute. These are by Harṣadeva (A.D. 606-47) and by Vāmana (A.D. 800).

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References

1. I. 24.
2. VI. 4.7
3. Pāṇini's reference to earlier *ācāryas* in IV. 1.17; IV.1.157; VII. etc.
4. Āpiśali (VI. 1.92), Kāśyapa (VIII. 4.67), Gārgya (VII. 3.99; VIII. 3.20; VIII. 4.67), Gālava (VI. 3.61; VII. 1.74; VIII. 4.67), Cākravarmaṇa (VI. 1.130), Bhāradvāja (VII. 2.64), Śākaṭāyana (III. 4.3; VIII. 3.18; VIII. 4.50), Śākalya (I. 1.16; VI. 1.127; VIII. 3.19; VIII. 4.51), Sphoṭāyana (VI. 1.123).
5. Shastri, M. D., 'The Relation of Pāṇini's Technical Devices to his Predecessors', *Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference*, 4th Session, Vol. II, 1928, pp. 465-74.
6. Pawate, I. S., *The Structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Chapters VIII and IX, pp. 93, 109.
7. II. 31.2.
8. Bhartṛhari, *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā*, MS., p.30; Puṇyarāja, *Vākyapadīyaṭīkā*, Benares Sanskrit Series, Benares, p. 383; Nāgeśa. *Mahābhāṣya Pradīpoddyota*, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1917, Vol. p. 55.
9. Vide: *siṁho vyākaraṇasya kartur aharat prāṇān priyān pāṇineḥ*, *Pañcatantra*, II. 36.
10. *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 427; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I. 4.
11. Cf. *itipāṇini. tatpāṇini. Pāṇinisabdo loke prakāśate...* and ... *ākumāraṁ yaśaḥ pāṇineḥ.—Kāśikā* under the *sūtras* II. 1.6, 13.
12. Keith, A. B., HSL, pp. 423-24.
13. V. 3. 69
14. III. 1.26
15. III.2.3
16. *Vākyapadīya*, II. 4.89.
17. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. 176.
18. Being published serially in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
19. The *Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari*, University of Poona Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, Vol. II, 1965, Introduction, p. xiii.
20. Sadhu Ram, 'The Date of Bhartṛhari', *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allababad, Vol. IX, Part II, 1952.

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21. An era founded by a Śaka king Śālivāhana approximately A.D. 78.
22. Shrish Chandra Chakravarti assigns *Nyāsa* to A.D. 725-50. See Introduction to his edition of the *Nyāsa*, Varendra Research Society, Rajashahi, 1913, p. 26.
23. ibid., Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka places Haradatta Miśra in A.D. 1058, vide *Saṁskṛta Vyākaraṇa Śāstra kā Itihāsa*, Second edition, Saṁvat 2020, p. 473. On the authority of the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, Jacobi believes that Haradatta died by about A.D. 878, *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 31.
24. K. P. Trivedi takes Dharmakīrti and Vimalasarasvatī to be contemporaries. According to him the *Rūpāvatāra* and the *Rūpamālā* were composed about the same time; *vide* Introduction to his edition of the *Prakriyākaumudī*, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No. LXXIII, 1925, p. xxxiii.
25. *phaṇibhāṣitabhāṣyābdheḥ śabdakaustubham uddhare*, verse 3.
26. Vide Hemacandra: *Bṛhattantrāt kalā āpibati*, Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka, *Saṁskṛta Vyākaraṇa Śāstra kā Itihāsa*, Second edition, Saṁvat 2020, p. 502.
27. Winternitz, HIL, Vol. III, Part II, p. 439.
28. The king was not well versed in Sanskrit. To instruct him within six months, Śarvavarman composed *Kātantra* grammar.
29. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I. 6-7.
30. *adahad amoghavarṣo'rātīn*.

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25

LEXICOGRAPHY (KOŚAS)

It is not only in poetry, drama, fiction and philosophy that Sanskrit literature exhibits its richness, it does so in technical sciences as well. There have been thinkers in India who have contributed substantially to different technical disciplines.

Lexicons (Kośas)

The oldest works in this discipline are the Nighaṇṭus, collections of Vedic terms which have been explained by Yāska in his etymological treatise, the *Nirukta*. These collections differ in many respects from the dictionaries, the *Kośas*, of the later period. The first pertains to the purpose for which the two types of collections were made. In the case of the Nighaṇṭus, it was the interpretation of the sacred texts. In the case of the Kośas, it was to supply words to poets and writers and to acquaint them with their precise meanings and gender. The second pertains to their being restricted to any particular subject or otherwise. In the case of the Nighaṇṭus, they are limited to a particular text, in the case of the *Kośas*, they do not have any such restriction, drawing words as they do from all types of works. The third pertains to their form. While the Nighaṇṭus are in prose, the *Kośas* are in verse, mostly in the *Anuṣṭubh* and sometimes also in the Āryā metre.

The purpose of the *Kośas* being written in verse probably was to help in their being committed to memory. The traditional

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system of Sanskrit education emphasizes at a very early stage itself the storing in memory by the learner of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini and the *Amarakośa* of Amarasiṁha, thus equipping him with vocabulary and grammatical knowledge that are to stand him in good stead in his going over to any discipline. Were he to choose writing for self-expression, the value of both need no emphatic assertion. It was the prime motive of placing sufficient vocabulary at the disposal of a prospective writer that possibly accounts for the attribution of dictionaries to such celebrated writers as Bāṇa, Mayūra, Murāri and Śrī Harṣa, the last of whom is credited with having compiled the lists of words with double meanings: *Śleṣārthapadasaṁgraha.*

The Sanskrit Kośas, as available at present, can broadly be divided into two types. There are some which are synonymous, listing words with the same meaning and others which are homonymous, listing words with different meanings (*anekārtha, nānārtha*) though important synonymous dictionaries have a homonymous section also in them. In neither of the two is followed the alphabetical order, that not being felt essential for the fact of the *Kośas* having to be committed to memory any way. That does not mean that the arrangement of the words in them is arbitrary. It follows other principles. The longer articles come first and the shorter ones later. The common final endings or beginnings may decide their grouping. So may the common gender. The words generally appear in the nominative, singly or in a compound as per the exigencies of the metre, as also the meanings, except in homonymous dictionaries where they appear in the locative. Where the gender is specially mentioned, it is in the locative again, where it is not mentioned, it is indicated by the use of the word in that gender. Some dictionaries have a section on gender at the end. Occasionally the compilers of dictionaries give rather long explanations of words. Normally the meaning is indicated by clubbing an unfamiliar word with a familiar one.

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Just as in Vyākaraṇa Pāṇini has stolen the limelight, so has among lexicographers Amarasiṁha, the compiler of the celebrated *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* which is better known as the *Amarakośa* after his name. There did precede him lexicographers like Kātyāyana, who is credited with the compilation of the *Nāmamālā*, Vācaspati and Vikramāditya, the compilers of the *Śabdārṇava* and the *Saṁsārāvarta*, and Vyāḍi whose *Utpalinī* incorporating Buddhist terms is often cited. Traditionally being associated with King Vikramāditya as one of his nine jewels, Amarasiṁha can be assigned to the sixth century A.D., though there is no other ground to support this. His work, which is synonymous, is divided into three books or kāṇḍas with an appendix on homonyms, indeclinables and genders and is commented upon widely, the more important of his commentators being Kṣīrasvāmin, Sarvānanda, Rāyamukuṭa and Bhānujidīkṣita. A supplement to it was provided by Puruṣottamadeva under the title *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*. He also compiled the short independent work, the *Hārāvali*. Perhaps as old as Amara is Śāśvata whose homonymous work, the *Anekārthasamuccaya* devotes sometimes a whole verse or a part thereof to the explanation of a term.

Among other dictionaries could be mentioned the *Abhidhānamālā* of Halāyudha, 950 A.D. and the *Vaijayantī* of Yādavaprakāśa, 1050 A.D., the latter rather voluminous. There is a good crop of lexical works in the twelfth century A.D. the more prominent of these are the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇī*, a dictionary of homonymous words in six sections again beginning with one-syllable words and ending with six-syllable ones and the *Nighaṇṭuśeṣa* by the prolific Jain writer Hemacandra. Another Jain compiler Dhanañjaya compiled between A.D. 1113-1140 his *Nāmamālā*. In A.D. 1111 Maheśvara compiled his *Viśvaprakāśa* followed a little later by Maṅkha who compiled the *Anekārthakośa* to which he also added a commentary of his own. To A.D. 1200 belongs Keśavasvāmin's *Nānārthārṇavasaṅkṣepa*. In the fourteenth century Medinīkara

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wrote his *Anekārthaśabdakośa* which like the *Amarkośa* came to be known after his name as the *Medinīkośa*.

There are certain minor works also in the field of Sanskrit lexicography an account of which may not be out of place here. They are *Ekākṣarakośa*, words of one syllable, the *Dvirūpa* or *Trirūpakośa*, words of two or three forms and the dictionaries of certain specific disciplines like, medicine, astronomy and astrology. The Vedic tradition of *Nighaṇṭus* was revived by the Buddhists who produced works such as the *Mahāvyutpatti* for interpreting the Buddhist terms in prose.

In the field of Sanskrit lexicography a rather interesting work is the *Pārasīprakāśa*, a Persian-Sanskrit Dictionary compiled in the time of Akbar. In 1693 Vedāṅgarāya used the same title for his dictionary of astronomical and astrological terms.

In 972 Dhanapāla compiled for his sister Sundari *Paiyalacchī*, a Prākṛta dictionary which was used by Hemacandra for his *Deśīnāmamālā*, a compilation of Deśī words, words which are neither of Sanskrit, *tatsama*, nor derived from it, *tadbhava*.

This brief survey will enable the reader to form a general idea of the large corpus of Sanskrit lexicographical literature which has listed an enormous number of words in their immense variety of meanings. As the Sanskrit language grew with the incorporation of new words, whether of Indian or foreign origin, there appeared deep imprints of foreign influence in disciplines like astronomy, astrology, medicine and natural and physical sciences and as meanings underwent change due to natural processes, the need was felt to compile newer and newer dictionaries to incorporate all the new material in addition to retaining the old one. Hence the appearance of a big crop of dictionaries and lexica over the centuries. These dictionaries and the lexica are a standing testimony to the richness of the Sanskrit language and its minute expressiveness.

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POETICS (ALAṄKĀRAŚĀSTRA) AND DRAMATURGY (NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA)

The Vedic literature itself is enlivened by a plethora of poetic flourishes, and a number of trappings of ornate poetry. Particulaly noteworthy in this connection are the hymns to dawn in the *Ṛgveda*. In one of them four similes figure consecutively:

abhrāteva puṁsa eti pratīcī
gartārug iva sanaye dhanānām/
jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsāḥ
uṣā hasreva ni riṇīte apsaḥ// (1.124.7)

Another Mantra furnishes a beautiful example of Atiśayokti :

dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā
samānaṁ vṛkṣaṁ pariṣasvajāte/
tayor anyaḥ pippalaṁ svādv atti
anaśnann anyo abhicākaśīti (I.164.20)

Like the Saṁhitās, the Upaniṣads are also marked by the use of apt Similes. No doubt they do not have such sophisticated figures of speech as Dīpaka, Vyatireka but they do have more common figures of speech like Utprekṣā and Dṛṣṭānta, proving thereby that the figures of speech had begun to come handy for lending embellishment to poetry, fairly early. Simile being the backbone of figures of speech on which they rest, its use was

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more common. Yāska in his *Nirukta* has explained Upamā, Simile under the authority of his predecessor Gārgya as *athāta upamā yad atat tatsadṛśam iti Gārgyaḥ*, "from now on (we take up the words) that denote similarity. Anything that is different from the other one but is similar to it is the meaning of similarity. That is how Gārgya explains it." The further elaboration of it could be that though basically something is different it shares with the other many of its characteristics, *tadbhinnatve sati tadgatabhūyodharmavattvam*. The rhetorician Mammaṭa explained it as sharing the same characteristics though different, *sādharmyam upamā bhede*. If the difference is omitted and both the things are equated it would be Rūpaka, Metaphor. The similarity, explains Yāska, could be in both ways, something inferior is compared with the superior on account of superior quality like the boy is a lion, *simho māṇavakaḥ*, or vice versa (III.3.14). All this shows that even before Yāska a discussion on the basic features of the figures of speech and their illustrations had begun. The *Nighaṇṭu* lists in III.13 twelve words that denote similarity like *iva, yathā, na, cit, nu, ā*.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini has words like *upamita, upamāna, sāmānyadharma* which shows that the basic feature of the figures of speech, the similarity, was known to the grammarians.

Coming to Dramaturgy we find that Pāṇini mentions *Bhikṣu-sūtras* and *Naṭa-sūtras* composed by Ācāryas like Pārāśarya, Śilāli, Karmanda, Kṛśāsva and so on.

The earliest available work on Poetics and Dramaturgy is the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata with which these two disciplines seem to have assumed a systematic shape, though their existence before the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is proved by the mention therein of ealier authorities like Suvarṇanābha, Nandikeśvara, Kucumāra and so on as also reference to them in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, a point that gets endorsement from the statement in the *Abhinavabhāratī*, the commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, that some of the Āryās in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are drawn from the works of

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earlier authorities. We also get to know from it of some names of the ealier Ācāryas. Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin quote some of them in their works, the former Medhāvin and the latter Kāśyapa, Vararuci, Brahmadatta and Nandisvāmin (Nandikeśvara) along with some others. The works of all these earlier authorities are lost now except that of Nandikeśvara. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* refers to Nandikeśvara as an authority on Rasa: *rasādhikārikaṁ Nandikeśvaraḥ*. Ramakrishna Kavi is of the view that Nandikeśvara had written a work called the *Nandīśvarasaṁhitā* which is lost except that portion of it which deals with dramatic characters. The present *Abhinayadarpaṇa* might have been this very section. Bharata might have got inspiration/help for compiling the *Nāṭyaśāstra* from Nandikeśvara. Says the *Nāṭyaśāstra* that Taṇḍu, also called Nandikeśvara had instructed Bharata in enacting the Aṅgahāras, Karaṇas and Recakas. A comparative study of the subject matter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* proves the latter's antiquity.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* is a thesaurus of all the fine arts, drama, music, prosody, figures of speech. About its date there is no unanimity. Macdonell places it in the 6th cen. A.D., Haraprasada Sastri in the 2nd cen. B.C., S.K. De in 500 A.D. P.V. Kane sets the upper limit for it the beginning of the Christian era and the lower limit the period of Kālidāsa.

Coming to Poetics the *Nāṭyaśāstra* records four Alaṅkāras, figures of speech, Rūpaka, Metaphor, Upamā, Simile, Dīpaka, Illuminator, Yamaka, Repetition of words or syllables similar in sound, ten Guṇas, (poetic) qualities and thirty six Lakṣaṇas, characteristics of poetry. Bharata gives utmost importance to Rasa. His Rasa-sūtra, the aphorism about Rasa (=flavour, sentiment, enjoyment) *vibhavānubhāvasañcārisaṁyogād rasaniṣpattiḥ* has attracted wide notice. The word *niṣpatti* in it has given rise to different theories on the basis of its different interpretations by different theoreticians.

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After Bharata the notable rhetorician is Bhāmaha. He wrote the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* wherein he pronounced the poetic charm, *camatkāra* as the essence of poetry, a point that Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha seems to echo: *cetaścamatkṛtipadā kaviteva ramyā*, a beautiful poem charms the mind (*Bhaminīvilāsa*, 3.16). He divides his work in sections called Paricchedas. The prose narratives he divides into two, the Kathā and the Ākhyayikā. Of the ten Guṇas, the poetic qualities he accepts only three, mādhurya, prasāda and ojas. He accords prominence to alaṅkāras, figures of speech and vakrokti, equivocation/insinuation. He also wrote a commentary on the *Prākṛtaprakāśa* of Vararuci.

Udbhaṭa, the court-poet of Jayāpīḍa (779—819 A.D.) wrote a commentary *Bhāmahālaṅkāravivaraṇa* on the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Bhāmaha. Another work of his in line with the work of Bhāmaha is the *Alaṅkārasārasaṅgraha* which mainly deals with, as the title itsef shows, the alaṅkaras, the figures of speech in its six Paricchedas, chapters. He has on the basis of Dhvani accepted three Vṛttis, Upanāgarikā, Grāmyā and Paruṣā. He is the only Ācārya afrer Bharata who has laid great emphasis on Rasa and is the first one who has included Śānta among the Rasas. His was commented upon by Pratīhārendurāja, the pupil of Mukulabhaṭṭa around 950 A.D.

In the middle of the 9th cen. A.D. Ānandavardhana gave a new turn to Poetics by introducing the theory of Dhvani. Not that he was the first to propound it, he himelf refers to a number of his predecessors who had dealt with it which shows that the discussion about the theory had started much earlier. His *Dhvanyāloka* has 129 Kārikās which are divided in four sections called Uddyotas. It carries an auto-commentary by Ānandavardhana. Some scholars are of the view that the author of the *Dhvanyāloka* and its commentary are two different persons. The general view, however, is that it was Ānandavardhana himself who had commented upon his work.

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The peculiarity about the *Dhvanyāloka* is that for purposes of illustrations its author (Ānandavardhana) has drawn largely on his own works, the *Devīśatāka*, the *Arjunacaritamahākāvya*, the *Viṣamabāṇalīlā* and the *Haravijaya*. Of these it is only the *Devīśataka* which is available at present. The last two were in Prakrit. Abhinavagupta of 1000 A.D. wrote a commentary on the *Dhvanyāloka* under the title *Dhvanyālokalocana*. He had learnt Dhvani from Indurāja and *Nāṭyaśāstra* from Bhaṭṭa Tauta. He was also the propounder of the Pratyabhijñā philosophy. It is said that on Dhvani, *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the Pratyabhijñā he had written forty one works. Besides these he had also written commentaries on some of the Śaivite Stotras. He had written a commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the most authorative at that, to which reference has already been made. The Dhvani School has the privilege of having two of the great authorities on Poetics as its proponants, Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. The latter had written a commentary on Bhaṭṭa Tauta's *Kāvyakautuka* which is extinct now and is known through quotations from it in later works on Poetics.

During the period of the prominence of the Dhvani theory there had appeared scholars who laid emphasis on the Rasa theory. The more well-known among them were Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa (700-800 A.D.), Śaṅkuka (840 A.D.), Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (900 A.D.), Abhinavagupta (1000 A.D.). This period also saw the appearance of some of the rhetoricians who refuted the Dhvani theory. Kuntaka (differently spent Kuntala) (1000 A.D.) was one such who propounded Vakrokti to be the soul of poetry, *vakroktiḥ kāvyajīvitam*. To him both Rasa and Dhvani are subordinate to Vakrokti. Another rhetorician to refute the Dhvani theory was Mahimabhaṭṭa (1050 A.D.) who through his work the *Vykativiveka* propounded the Anumāna theory.

This period also saw the appearance of as of the rhetoricians as keeping themselves away from controversies wrote their works on Poetics which carry on their imprint of Rasa and

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Dhvani. Rudraṭa was the first among the rhetoricians to present a scientific arrangement of the figures of speech. He authored the work *Kāvyālaṅkāra* in sixteen chapters where while dealing with the Rītis, styles of writing, he added from his side a new one Lāṭī to the three Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī and Pāñcālī enumerated by his predecessors Daṇḍin and Vāmana along with the scientificc treatment and categorization of the figures of speech referred to above. The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara (900 A.D.) is an important work on Poetics, particularly the Kavirahasya section of it, that focuses on the requirements of a poet. Only eight chapters of it are available now. One, Rudrabhaṭṭa (before 1000 A.D.) in his work, the *Śṛṅgāratilaka,* discusses Rasa only according the status of Rasa to Śānta as well.

Dhanañjaya, the court-poet of Muñja (874—884 A.D.) of Dhārā, wrote *Daśarūpaka,* a work on Dramaturgy comprising 300 Kārikās (verses) divided in four sections called Prakāśas wherein he discusse the theme, the hero and the sentiments (Rasas) excluding Śānta which he did not accept as Rasa, it not going well with a play. The work carries a commentary called *Avaloka* by his younger brother Viṣṇuputra Dhanika which was written after the death of Muñja. With *Avaloka* the *Daśarūpaka* gained great fame as an authoritative monograph on Sanskrit Dramaturgy. In his *Avaloka* Dhanika refers to his other work the *Kāvyanirṇaya* which is not available at present.

Bhoja (1005—1054 A.D.), the king of Dhārā, wrote two great works on Sanskrit Poetics the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.* In its five chapters, Paricchedas the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* discusses the (poetic) merits, the demerits, the figures of speech, the styles (Rītis) and the sentiments. To Rudraṭa's four styles he adds two the Āvantī and the Māgadhī. Bhoja quotes liberally the earlier authorities. The *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* has thirty six Paricchedas which cover everything about Dramaturgy and Poetics. Ratneśvara wrote a commentary called *Ratnārṇava* on its first three chapters.

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Kṣemendra (11th cen. A.D.), the wellknown pupil of Abhinavagupta, wrote two works the *Aucityavicāracarcā* and the *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* of which the former is a critical work which accepts Propriety, *aucitya* as the soul of poetry. To make his point Kṣemendra gives illustrations from a number of earlier works as also from his own. Many of these works are extinct now. So are his.

The 11th cen. saw the emergence of a great rhetorician of the name of Mammaṭa whose all-comprehensive work the *Kāvyaprakāśa* has attained unique popularity in India. Of its ten chapters, Ucchvāsas, the portion beyond the discussion on Parikara in the 9th chapter is written by one Allaṭa or Alaka. It carries on its Kārikās a commentary by himself. It is the only work in the field of Sanskrit Poetics that has attracted the maximum number of commentaries, old and new. The figure of even the old ones goes up to seventy! Mammaṭa is also reported to have written a work on Śaba-śaktis, the powers of words under the title *Śabdavyāpāravicāra*. He belonged to a family of learned scholars. The great grammarian Kaiyaṭa who wrote the commentary *Pradīpa* on the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali was his younger brother.

Kashmir has contributed significantly to various disciplines in Sanskrit. To the contribution to Poetics also it carries the palm. Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Loḷḷata, Śaṅkuka, Nāyaka, Rudraṭa, Kuntaka, Kṣemendra, Mammaṭa were all Kshmirians. To this list can be added the name of Rājānaka Ruyyaka or Rucaka (the first half of the 12th cen. A.D.) who wrote the work *Alaṅkārasarvasva* which is in two parts, Sūtra, aphorisms and Vṛtti, commentary. Some scholars are of the opinion that Ruyyaka wrote only the Sūtra part while the Vṛtti was written by his pupil Maṅkha while others credit the authorship of both to Ruyyaka. He adopted a scientific system of analyzing and explaining the figures of speech. Apart from the work mentioned above, he authored a number of other works on

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Poetics such as *Sahṛdayalīlā*, *Alaṅkārānusāriṇī*, *Sāhityamīmāṁsā*, *Nāṭakamīmāṁsā* and *Alaṅkāravārttika*. He also wrote a number of commentaries like the *Vyaktivivekavicāra* on the *Vyaktiviveka* of Mahimabhaṭṭa, the *Kāvyaprakāśasaṅketa* on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa, the *Harṣacaritavārttika* on the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa. His work the *Alaṅkārasarvasva* was commented upon by Alaka, Jayaratha, Samudrabandha, Vidyācakravartin and so on.

The Jain writer of the Śvetāmbara sect Somaputra Vāgbhaṭa (the first half of the 12th cen. A.D.) wrote the work *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra* where in its five chapters, Paricchedas, he discussed poetry, the form of it, the poetic expression, the poetic qualities, the figures of speech, the Rasas and the poetic conventions (*kavisamaya*). Towards the middle of the 12nd cen. A.D. the well-known grammarian and rhetorician Hemacandra, the Jain Ācārya, wrote the *Kāvyānuśāsana* to which he added his own Vṛtti the *Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi* and the commentary (ṭīkā) the *Viveka*. The work is a sort of a compendium noticing all the topics connected with Poetics and Dramaturgy. In the 12th cen. A.D. itself Jayadeva wrote the well-known work the *Candrāloka* which discusses Poetics but not Dramaturgy. Śāradātanaya (1250 A.D.) wrote the *Bhāvaprakāśana* in ten chapters. The work carries a deep imprint of Bharata though it notes the views of other rhetoricians also. Śaradātanaya accepts Rasa as the soul of poetry.He is influenced by Bhoja in his treatment of the Śṛṅgāra-Rasa.

In the last part of the 13th cen. A.D. a Jain writer of the name of Vāgbhaṭa, son of Nemikumāra, wrote in Sūtra-style the work the *Kāvyānuśāsana* in five chapters on which he himself wrote the commentary the *Alaṅkāratilaka*. About the same time Ānandayogin wrote the *Alaṅkārasaṅgraha* which deals with the Alaṅkāras, the figures of speech in *extenso*. This century also saw the appearance of the *Kavitārahasya* or the *Kāvyakalpalatā* of Amarasiṁha and his pupil Amaracandra, the *Kavikalpalatā*

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of Deveśvara and the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* of Sāgaranandin.

A Reddy Prince Siṁhabhūpala (approx. 1400 A.D.) wrote the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* which in its three chapters treats Rasa and Dramaturgy. About the same time Bhānudatta discussed Rasa in his works the *Rasamañjarī* and the *Rasataraṅgiṇī*. In the first half of this very century (14th cen.) Viśvanātha Kavirāja of Odisha wrote the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, quite a popular work which treats elaborately Poetics and Dramaturgy in its ten chapters. He did not seem to get along well with his predecessor Mammaṭa whom he refers by the term *kaścit*, some one in rejecting his definition of *kāvya* finding fault with each component of it. While drawing upon earlier works for illustration he has chosen to draw on his own works too. The Reddy prince of the Kondabidu family Vemabhūpala (1420 A.D.) wrote the *Sāhityacintāmaṇi* which in its thirteen chapters treats both the types of figures of speech of word and meaning, the Śabdālaṅkaras and Arthālaṅkāras.

In the16th cen. A.D. Rūpagosvāmin wrote the work *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* that carries illustrations in praise of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Jīvagosvamin wrote a commentary on it under the title *Locanarocanī*. A great devotee, Rūpagosvāmin added another Rasa, the tenth one, the Bhakti-Rasa, the sentiment of devotion to the list of nine Rasas. In this very century Keśavamiśra wrote the *Alaṅkāraśekhara*, the Kārikā portion of which as per his own admission is by Śuddhodani. The same century saw the rise of the star of Poetics Appayadīkṣita who enriched the discipline of Poetics by his three works the *Kuvalayānanda*, the *Citramīmāṁsā* and the *Vṛttivārtika* of which the former, the best and the most well-known, is based on the fifth chapter of Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*, while the second one is refuted by Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha through his work the *Citramīmāṁsākhaṇḍana* and the third, available at present upto the second chapter only, deals with the Śabdaśaktis, the powers of words. Rājacūḍāmaṇidīkṣita again of this century, wrote

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Kāvyadarpaṇa on which he himself wrote the commentary *Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi*. The brightest star of this century (1590—1665 A.D.) is the Telang Brāhmaṇa Jagannātha, the favourite of Mughal Emperor Shahjahan who honoured him with the title Paṇḍitarāja that got so attached to his name as to become a part of it. He was a poet, the celebrated author of such beautiful works as the *Bhāminīvilāsa*, the *Gaṅgālaharī* and so on, a grammarian and a rhetorician all rolled into one. His most noted work is the *Rasagaṅgādhara* which is treated as one of the most learned of the treatises on Poetics.

The beginning of the 18th cen. A.D. saw the appearance of two works on treatment of Alaṅkāras, the *Alaṅkārakaustubha* and the *Alaṅkārakarṇābharaṇa*.

The Sanskrit literature on Poetics also contains such works wherein their authors have used as illustrations the verses they had composed in praise of their patrons. The *Ekāvali* of Vidyādhara (1300 A.D.) is one such work which was composed by him as an eulogy of his patron Narasiṁha, the ruler of Utkala and Kaliṅga. The other works of the same ilk are the *Pratāparudrīyayaśobhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha with illustrations in praise of the Warangal King Pratāparudra; the *Camatkāracandrikā* of Viśveśvara with those in praise of Siṁhabhūpāla (1400 A.D.), *Alaṅkāraratnākara* of Yajñeśvara with those in praise of Raghunātha (1400 A.D.) of Tanjore; the *Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa* of Abhinava Kālidāsa Nṛsiṁhakavi with those in praise of Nañjarāja (second half of the 18th cen. A.D.), the *Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa* of Sadāśivamakhin (second part of the 18th cen. A.D.) with those in praise of the Travancore King Rāmavarman.

Schools of Poetics

The following are the Schools of Poetics in the tabular form with the names of their prominent exponents against them

Rasa School ——— Nandikeśvara, Bharata

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Alaṅkāra School————Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa
Rīti School————Daṇḍin, Vāmana
Vakrokti School———Kuntaka
Dhvani School———Ānandavardhana

Rasa School

The first exponent of Rasa is said to have been one Nandikeśvara: *Rasādhikārikaṁ Nandikeśvaraḥ*. The tradition has it that out of his mentally born eighteen pupils Lord Brahmā imparted knowledge of Rasa to Nandikeśvara. The discussion about it, however began with Bharata who took it up with reference to dramatic performance. The central pivot round which the whole system of Rasa revolves is his sutra *vibhāvānubhāvasañ-cārisaṁyogād rasaniṣpattiḥ* which literally means that 'Rasa results from the combination of determinants, the consequents and the secondary or accessory moods (with the permanent or dominant moods, the Sthāyibhāvas). The correct interpretation of this sūtra and the detailed treatment of it covers a considerable portion of literature on Poetics in Sanskrit. It is common experience that drama and poetry appeal to human emotions. The theory of Rasa has a semi-physiological and semi-psychological basis. There are certain permanent moods of the human mind (called Sthāyibhābvas) that lie dormant. They are roused when appropriate stimuli (called Vibhāvas, the determinants, Anubhāvas, the consequents and Sañcāribhabhāvas, the secondary or accessory moods) are applied; in a dramatic performance it is words and gestures and in a poetic composition it is words. With the stimulation of the permanent feelings and emotions the spectator/reader/listener is transportel to a situation where he forgets himself and the circumstances that he is in and experiences joy which, becoming a part of his identity like his own expression, is beyond words as is the experience of becoming one with the Supreme. The permanent moods are eight or nine, the ninth one identified later. They are: rati, love, hasa, gaity,

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śoka, sorrow, krodha, anger, utsāha, energy/vigour, bhaya, fear, jugupsā, repugnance, vismaya, surprise, śama, tranquility. The Vibhāvas are divided into two, the ālambana, the fundamental determinants, like man and woman in the case of love and uddīpana, the exciting elements like moonrise, sweet scent, solitary place. The Sañcāribhavas, also called Vyabhicāribhāvas are transient emotions like nirveda, despondency, glāni, fatigue that may help in the complete manifestation of the permanent mood.

There is divergence of opinion among rhetoricians about the exact mode of enjoyment. The word *niṣpatti* in the sūtra of Bharata as reproduced above has been differently interpreted by four of his successors, Loḷḷata, Śaṅkuka, Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta. Since the entire discussion about Rasa started in the context of dramatic performance the whole scenario has first to be kept in view to properly appreciate it. In a dramatic performance there are three elements:

Original characters (like Rāma and Sītā)
Actors and actresses that enact their life-events
The spectators who witness their performance

The question now is as to why the spectators should go to a theatre hall to witness a dramatic performance. The answer obviously is to enjoy. The further question now is how can they enjoy something that does not belong to them; which does not concern them unless it is presumed that there is a connect between what goes on on the stage and they themselves. All the discussion about enjoyment, *rasa* is centred round this premise. According to Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa the enjoyment belongs to the original characters (like Rāma and Sītā). The playwright describes this enjoyment on their part in appropriate words. The spectator ascribes (*āropa)* to the actor due to his clever acting the same mental attitude as belonged to the original characters and through imputed apprehension of his gets enjoyment. This view does not treat Rasa as a matter of spectator's emotions and feelings.

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Śaṅkuka treats it as a matter of inference. His view goes by the name *anumitivāda* which means that the spectator infers Rasa residing in the original character through clever gesticulation of a well-trained actor whom he comes to apprehend to be non-different from the original character for the moment. (*anukaraṇarūpo rasaḥ*). Śaṅkuka's view also could not find acceptance for, even if it be conceded that the spectator infers the feelings of the original characters through clever and expert acting of the actor/s, the feelings do not belong to him any way and in that way cannot be expected to bring to him real delight. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka denies that *rasa* is a matter of inference, nor does he accept the view that Rasa originates. He is of the view that Rasa is neither in the original characters, nor the actors/actresses but in the appreciative spectators. For explaining his theory he points to three Śaktis, powers that are at work in the process of enjoyment, first Abhidhā, the second Bhāvakatva and the third Bhojalatva. Through the first the spectator comprehends the meanings of the words. Through the second the Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Sañcāribhāvas do not remain confined to just the original characters and get universalized which means that evrey spectator begins to feel that they are his, he gets identified with them. With that identification complete, through the third he has the enjoyment, the *bhukti* of Rasa which lent the name *Bhuktivāda* to his theory. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is the first among the Indian rhetoricians to propound the theory of universalization (*sādhāraṇīkaraṇa)* which came to have wide acceptance. The most authoritative and acceptable explanation of the Rasa-sūtra is provided by Abhinavagupta who said that there is no origination, *utpatti* of Rasa, nor is there its inference, *anumiti*, nor still its *bhukti* but manifestation, *abhivyakti*. The past experiences lie in the eternal soul in a dormant form (*prasupta)*. With the show in the form of the enactments or descriptions of the vibhāvas etc. they get awakened (*abhivyakta)* and turn into Rasa. Abhinavagupta accepts Bhaṭṭa Nayaka's theory of universalization, *sadharaṇikaraṇa* but does not accept the

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Bhāvakatva-śakti. According to him the *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* takes takes place through Vyañjanā (the power of indication) itself. The feelings and emotions like that of love, sorrow, fear that are already present in the mind (the Sthāyibhāvas) get activated through the play of Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Sañcāribhavas and turn into Rasa, the indescribable aesthetic enjoyment.

Abhinavagupta's view got support from such great rhetoricians as Mammaṭa, Bhānudatta, Viśvanātha, Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha. Viśvanātha went to the extent of proclaiming Rasa to be the soul of poetry, *vākyaṁ rasātmakaṁ kāvyam.*

Alaṅkāra School

The first work of this school is the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Bhāmaha which has focused on the Alaṅkāras. He accepts *alaṅkṛti*, ornamentation (by means of figures of speech) or *camatkṛti* (charm) produced thereby to be the soul of poetry. He does not accept Rasa and Bhāva to be independent entities. He mentions and explains thirty-eight Alaṅkāras.

The next great authority of this School is Daṇḍin who in the third chapter, Pariccheda of his *Kāvyādarśa* treats Alaṅkāras. No other work carries such a detailed treatment of Upamā and Yamaka as does his *Kāvyādarśa.* The next rhetorician who has presented a scientific treatment of Alaṅkāras which includes their classification also is Udbhaṭa. By his time the Alaṅkāras had touched the figure of 50. Vāmana in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* propounded the view that Alaṅkāras not only embellish the exterior of poetry but also its interior. In his time the Alaṅkāras touched the figure of 70. After him the figure went on swelling. The other Ācāryas who dealt with the Alaṅkāras were Mammaṭa, Pratīhārendurāja, Ruyyaka, Bhoja, Rājaśekhara, Jayadeva, Viśvanātha, Ruyyaka, Appayadīkṣita and Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha. The Alaṅkāras caught the imagination of rhetoricians so much that the discipline of Poetics came to be known by the alternate name of Alaṅkāraśāstra.

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Rīti School

The nearest equivalent of Rīti in English is style. It was not some uniform style that was followed by writers in ancient India. It varied from country to country, region to region which gave it the name as says Vāmana, *Vidarbhādiṣu dṛṣṭatvāt tatsamākhyā,* the style goes by (the name of the region) Vidarbha etc because it is noticed there; it is used in the form in which it is found by the poets in the regions of Vidarbha, Gauḍa and Pañcāla. The regions as such do not contribute anything to poems; *Vidarbhagauḍapañcāleṣu deśeṣu tatratyaiḥ kavibhir yathāsvarūpam upalabdhatvāt taddesaśamākhyā. Na punaḥ kiñcid upakriyate kāvyānām.* Vaidarbhī was the style that was followed by the poets/writers of the Vidarbha region, the Gauḍī by those of the Gauḍa (Bengal) region, Pāñcālī by those of the Pañcāla region and Lāṭī by those of the Lāṭa (Gujarat) region. The poets/ writers of each had their own style which was noticed by rhetoricians. The first one to notice the styles was Bhāmaha who referred to two Rītis Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī. In place of the word Rīti he uses the word Mārga, the path—the Kāvya-mārga. Daṇḍin put more detail into this notice. It was left to Vāmana to present a systematic analysis of these Mārgas which he calls Rītis. It was he who gave it the form of a theory. He went to the extent of proclaiming it to be the soul of poetry: *Rītir ātmā kāvyasya.* He defines Rīti as the special arrangement or combination of words: *viśiṣṭā padaracanā,* speciality lies in the presence of Guṇas, *viśeṣo guṇātmā.* He speaks of the three Rītis Vaidarbhī, Gauḍīyā and Pāñcālī and says that while Vaidarbhī is endowed with all the ten Guṇas which Bharata enumerates as

śleṣaḥ prasādaḥ samatā samādhir
mādhuryam ojaḥ padasaukumāryam/
arthasya ca vyaktir udāratā ca
kāntiś ca kāvyārthaguṇā daśaite// (Nāṭyaśāstra, 16.92)

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Gauḍīyā is specially characterized by Ojas and Kānti and Pāñcālī by Mādhurya and Saukumārya with *gāhantām mahiṣā nipānasalilam (Śākuntala*, II.6), *dordaṇḍāñcita (Mahāvīracarita*, I.54) and *grāme 'smin* (Amaru, 131) as the illustrations respectively of the three. Vāmana pointed to the basic difference between Alaṅkāras and Guṇas and pointed out that mere Alaṅkāras cannot embellish poetry which can exist even without them. What really embellishes it is Guṇas and it is the Alaṅkāras that add to the embellishment brought about by the Guṇas.

Rudraṭa coming after Vāmana added Lāṭī to three Rītis of the latter. Bhoja added two more, Māgadhī and Āvantī, to these four bringing the figure up to six though he could not succeed fully in bringing out the difference between them. Udbhaṭa and Mammaṭa incorporated the three Rītis Vaidarbhī, Gauḍīyā and Pāñcālī among the three Vṛttis Upanāgarikā, Paruṣā and Komalā.

The Rītis did not find favour with Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. They did not accept them to be independent of Guṇas and Alaṅkāras. Similarly, the division of the Rītis on the basis of regions or countries did not appeal to Kuntaka who attributed the variation in styles to the nature, the mental make-up, of the poets. He preferred to name the styles, Mārgas as Sukumāra, Vicitra and Madhyama. This, however, did not go well with later rhetoricians who continued to refer to the styles with their old names.

The appearance of the Rasa and the Dhvani schools gave a jolt to the Rīti School. Their adherents did not accept Rīti as the mainstay of poetry with the result that with the passage of time the Rīti School lost its shine.

Vakrokti School

Kuntaka is the proponent of this School. The only learned treatise of the School is his *Vakroktijīvita*. The word *vakrokti* was used earlier also. Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin call an off-beat and [illegible] style as Vakrokti which is different from the normal

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narrative style. To them it is the mere juggling of words. Rudraṭa did throw some light on its significance but ultimately he also took it as an Alaṅkāra, a figure of speech.

Dhvani School

The most important Ācārya of this School is Ānandavardhana whose *Dhvanyāloka* is a landmark work which started a thought process that came to assume the form of a School. Though this work itself furnishes the evidence that the predecessors of Ānandavardhana had discussed the theory of Dhvani and had accepted it also as the soul of poetry, still it is the only text available on the subject, a point endorsed by the commentary *Locana* under the text *paramparāsaṁtānataḥ*, taught through unbroken tradition, viz., *vinā 'pi viśiṣṭapustakeṣu vivecanād*, not having been discussed in specific books. The *Dhvanyāloka* makes it clear that the theory of Dhvani and its nomenclature was suggested by the Sphoṭa theory of the grammarians: *prathame hi vidvāṁso vaiyākaraṇāḥ. Vyākaraṇamūlatvāt sarvavidyānām. Te ca śrūyamāṇeṣu varṇeṣu dhvanir iti vyavaharanti. Tathaivānyais tanmatānusāribhiḥ sūribhiḥ kāvyatattvārthavidbhir vācyavācakasammiśraḥ śabdātmā kāvyam iti vyapadeśyo vyañjakatvasāmyād dhvanir ity uktaḥ*, "the expression as designed by the learned brings out the fact that this designation was first devised by the learned and that it has not gained currency in a haphazard fashion. The foremost among the learned are grammarians because grammar lies at the root of all studies. They indeed refer the articulate letters by the term Dhvani or the 'suggester'. In the same way, since the element of suggestion is common (to both), not only the word and its meaning but the essential verbal power and also that which is usually referred to by the term poetry, has been given the same designation, viz., Dhvani by other learned men whose insight into the fundamental truth about poetry is profound and who are followers of the principle laid down by grammarians". On account of similarity in

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one being the suggested and the other being the suggester (*vyaṅgya-vyañjaka*)" [according to grammarians the relationship between Sphoṭa and Dhvani is that of *vyaṅgya* and *vyañjaka*, *dhvanivyaṅgyaḥ sphoṭaḥ*, Sphoṭa is manifested by Dhvani]. In the same way the articulate words suggest some meaning other than obvious.

Ānandavardhana defines Dhvani as:

yatrārthaḥ śabdo vā tam artham upasarjanīkṛtasvārthau / vyaṅktaḥ kāvyaviśeṣaḥ sa dhvanir iti sūribhiḥ kathitaḥ//

"That kind of poetry wherein the (conventional) meaning renders itself secondary or the (conventional) word renders its meaning secondary and suggests the (intended or) implied meaning, is designated by the learned as Dhvani or 'suggestive poetry."

That suggested meaning flashes suddenly across the truth-perceiving minds of perceptive critics when they are torn away from the literal meaning. This meaning is not understood by mere learning in grammar or dictionary. It is understood only by those who have an insight into the true significance of poetry.

Dhvani is the soul of poetry. Ānandavardhana divides it into two, *vācya*, the explicit and the *pratīyamāna*, the implicit. The explicit is commonly known and is set forth through figures of speech such as Simile. The implicit one is that which is quite different from this. It shines supreme in the words of first rate poets and towers above the beauty of the striking external constituents like the charm in ladies.

Ānandavardhana speaks of two varieties of Dhvani, suggestion, one 'that with unintended literal import' and the second 'that with intended but further-extending literal import', *avivakṣitavācyadhvani* and *vivakṣitānyaparavācyadhvani*. He then goes on to describe the sub-varieties of them.

The principal theory of Dhvani earned Ānandavardhana undying fame. Rhetoricians after Ānandavardhan not only lent his

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support to his view but also refuted the views of those that opposed him. It stood its ground even after the ruthless onslaught of Nāyaka, Kuntaka, Mahima and so on. From Ānandavardhana down to Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha it went on to be explained and expounded. By the time of Mammaṭa it came to have the unique distinction of having its divisions and sub-divisions touching the astounding figure of 10455!

There can be no better tribute to Ānandavardhana, the pioneer of the School than that paid by Rājaśekhara:

Dhvaninātigabhireṇa kāvyatattvaniveśinā/
Ānandavardhanaḥ kasya nāsīd ānandavardhanaḥ//

"With Dhvani, in all its depth forming the essence of poetry whose joy Ānandavardhana did not heighten?"

Aucitya (Fitness/Propriety/Harmony) School

Kṣemendra is the upholder of the principle of Aucitya. His position is that Aucitya, appropriateness or propriety is the essence of Rasa:

aucityasya camatkārakāriṇas cārucarvaṇe/
rasajīvitabhūtasya vicāraṁ kurute 'dhunā// (Kārikā 3)

"He (the author) now takes up for discussion for the purpose of proper enjoyment Aucitya, which leads to charm and which is the quintessence of Rasa. He defines Aucitya as

ucitaṁ prāhur ācāryāḥ sadṛśaṁ kila yasya yat/
ucitasya ca yo bhāvas tad aucityam pracakṣate//'(Kārikā 7)

"The masters proclaim that to be proper which goes well with the other. Being proper is what propriety is."

Kṣemendra then illustrates Aucitya in connection with word, sentence, text, qualities, figures of speech, verb, the relation subsisting between noun and verb in a sentence (or between noun and other words governing it), Kāraka, gender, number, preposition, time, place and several other matters. His

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method is to illutrate propriety concerning each topic as also to do the same in the case of impropriety. In this he simply develops what the *Dhvanyāloka* has summarized in the Karika

anaucityād ṛte nānyad rasabhaṅgasya kāraṇam/
prasiddhaucityabandhas tu rasasyopaniṣat parā//

"There is no other greater cause of the breach of sentiment than impropriety. The greatest secret about sentiment is adherence to the well-known (=established) principles of propriety."

Conclusion

"Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar puts the whole evolution of Sanskrit Poetics from Alaṅkāra to Aucitya in a Kārikā and illustrates it with a graph. Within the big circle of Kṣemendra's Aucitya, there are three viewpoints in the shape of a triangle. The topmost point of the triangle is the undisputed Rasa of Bharata., which Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta accept as the soul of poetry and which the critics of Dhvani like Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Mahimabhaṭṭa and other theorists like Kuntaka accept. Lower down, the two points of the triangle are the prominent theories, opposed to each other, regarding the process of realizing Rasa, viz., the Dhvani of Ānandavardhana and the Anumiti of Mahimabhaṭṭa. Anumiti is mentioned only as 'upalakṣaṇa'and it stands for other anti-dhvani theories also, like the Bhāvanā and Bhoga of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Tātparya, etc. Within this triangle is a smaller circle named after the Vakrokti of Kuntaka. This circle again contains a triangle within it, the topmost of which is Vāmana's RIti, a concept decidedly superior to and more comprehensive than the two lower points called Guṇa and Alaṅkāra of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha. Beginning with Alaṅkāra, the theories get superior or more comprehensive one by one. The Alaṅkāra-Guṇa-Rīti modes of criticism deal with diction and style in the lower sense of the terms and are classed under one bigger current of the study of form culminating in the comprehensive Vakrokti circle of Kuntaka, which is also an

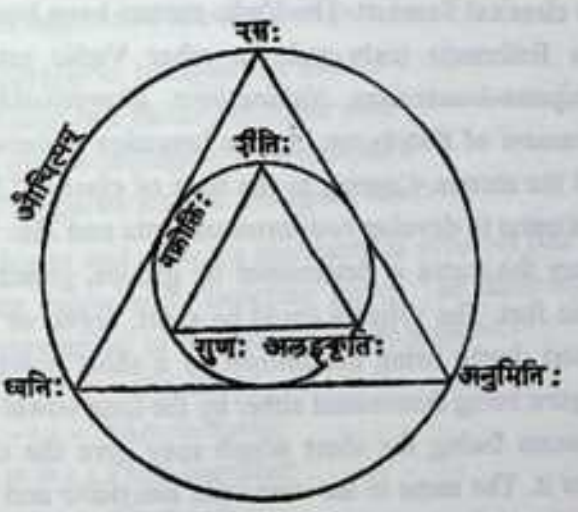
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approach to poetry from the formal side. The next, the bigger triangle begins the current of the study of the content, of the inner essence of poetry, viz., Rasa and the process, the technique by which the poet delineates it and the Sahṛdaya gets it. All these are comprehended in the outermost circle of Aucitya which pertains to Rasa and everything else in Kāvya. All the other theories only run at the back of Aucitya which leads the van. If there is a harmony or a beauty as such, innate in every part of a great poetry, it is this Aucitī.

The Kārikā and the graph explained above are given below :

aucitīm anudhāvanti sarve dhvanirasonnayāḥ/
guṇālaṅkṛtirītīnāṁ nayāś cānṛjuvānmayāḥ//"

"All theories concerning Dhvani and Rasa, as also Guṇas (qualities), Alaṅkāras (figures of speech), Rītis (styles) that are off-beat literary forms race after propriety."



* Raghavan, *V., Some Concepts of the Alaṅkāraśāstra*, The Adyar Library, Adyar, 1942, pp. 256-7.

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PROSODY (CHANDAḤŚĀSTRA)

Prosody is counted among the six constituent parts, ṣaḍaṅgas, of the Veda. The Sanskrit literature is predominantly in verses of different formations called metres. It was but natural that there should be a text explaining those formations called by different names. The Vedas have a set of metres which differs from that of the classical Sanskrit. The Vedic metres have been explained in the Brāhmaṇa texts and the other Vedic texts like the *Śāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra*, *Nidānasūtra*, *Ṛkprātiśākhya* and the *Anukramaṇī* of Kātyāyana. As the language underwent change so did the metres. Coming to the time of classical Sanskrit the metres came to develop two forms of Vṛtta and Jāti. In the Vṛtta category the metre is determined by groups, *gaṇas*, of three - syllabic feet. The syllable could be short, *laghu* or long, *guru*; the short, *laghu* being determined by a short vowel while the long, *guru* being determined either by the long vowel or conjunct consonants facing the short which may give the character of *guru* to it. The same is the case with *anusvāra* and *visarga*, as in *gandham* or *gandhaḥ* where *ndha* with *anusvāra* and with *visarga* will be considered *guru*. The final syllable in a metrical composition even short is given the character of long, *pādāntyo guruḥ*. The whole thing is summed up in the following verse:

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śānusvāraś ca dīrghaś ca visargī ca gurur bhavet/
varṇaḥ saṁyogapūrvaś ca tathā pādāntago'pi vā//

These syllabic feet, *gaṇas*, consisting of three syllables are eight in number. They have technical names of Magaṇa, Nagaṇa, Bhagaṇa, Yagaṇa, Jagaṇa, Ragaṇa, Sagaṇa and Tagaṇa often referred to by the first syllable ma, na, bha, ya, ja, ra, sa and ta the difference in them is due to the syllables which could be either all long or all short or short and long in varying order. The magaṇa has all three syllables long, *guru* while nagaṇa has all of them short, *laghu*. In bhagaṇa the initial one is *guru* the rest *laghu*. Conversely in yagaṇa the initial one is *laghu* while the rest are *guru*. In jagaṇa the first and the third are *laghu* while the middle one is *guru*. Conversly in ragaṇa the first and the third are *guru* while the middle one is *laghu*. In Sagaṇa the third one is *guru* while the first two are *laghu* while in tagaṇa the third one is *laghu* and the rest are *guru*—

mastrigurus trilaghuś ca nakāro
bhādiguruḥ punar ādilaghur yaḥ/
jo gurumadhyagato ralamadhyaḥ
so'ntaguruḥ kathito'ntalaghus taḥ//

The *laghu* and *guru* are expressed in symbols (the symbol ∪ denoting *laghu* and—denoting *guru*). The different Gaṇas may be represented in symbolic form as follows:—

य ∪ - - (Bacchius)
र – ∪ – (Amphimacar)
त = = ∪ (Anti-bacchius)
म – ∪∪ (Dactylus)
ज ∪ – ∪ (Amphibrachys)
स ∪∪ – (Anapaestus)
म – – – (Mollosus)
न ∪ ∪ ∪ (Tribrachys)

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Similarly ल (∪) is used to denote a short syllable, and ग (—) a long one.

The length of the syllables varies from metre to metre. There are metres like Anuṣṭubh which have eight syllables per quadrant and metres like Daṇḍaka which have 27 syllables per quadrant. Further, there are half equal metres *ardhasamavṛtta* like Puṣpitāgrā where odd quarters and even quarters have different sets of syllables. There are unequal metres like Udgatā where each quadrant has a different set of syllables.

In the Jāti category, the *mātrā* or the syllabic instant is considered to be the determining factor, the short vowel being given the character of one *mātrā* or the syllabic instant and the long one the two *mātrās*, syllabic instants. The best example of this is the Āryā metre which has a number of varieties going under different names of Gīti, Upa-gīti, Udgīti, Āryāgīti.

The oldest work on Sanskrit prosody analyzing metres used in post-Vedic Sanskrit literature is the *Chandaḥsūtra* of Piṅgala or Piṅgalanāga composed in aphoristic style (*sūtra-paddhati*). It deals with metres used in both types of literature, the Vedic and the Classical. Scholars are of the opinion that this work is older than the portion of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuni which deals with the subject in its fourteenth and fifteenth chapters and the *Agni-purāṇa*. Piṅgala had also dealt with the metres in Prakrit literature in his work called the *Prākṛta-piṅgala* which according to scholars is a later work.

There are two works the *Vṛttaratnāvali* and the *Śrutabodha* which are ascribed to Kālidāsa. The *Śrutabodha* is also ascribed to Vararuci. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira (587 A.D.) has a chapter on metres. The *Chandoviciti* of Janāśraya (500 A.D.) has illustrations from the works of earlier writers for explaining the metrical rules. Kṣemendra in his *Suvṛttatilaka* explains metres with illustrations from his own works. He has also discussed the subject of metrical deficiency and inappropriateness

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and has said that the metres should conform to the subject matter of the works, like the *Mandākrānta* which is appropriate to voice adversity and separation: *vyasane virahe caiva mandākrāntā virājate*. The *Chandonuaśāsna* of Hemacandra (1172 A.D.) is another noteworthy work on prosody. A better known work which is very much in use these days is the *Vṛttaratnākara* of Kedārabhaṭṭa of the first part of the 15th century. It deals with 136 metres. Among other works on prosody are the *Chandomañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa (15th century A.D.), the *Vāṇībhūṣaṇa* of Nārāyaṇa (16th century A.D.) and the *Vāgvallabha* of Duḥkhabhañjanakavi.

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PHILOSOPHY (DARŚANA-ŚĀSTRA)

Introductory

Just as there are strands of poetry noticeable in the *Ṛgveda* so are they noticeable of philosophical thinking. The unity in diversity had been noticed in India even in the pre-historic times. Says the *Ṛgveda: ekaṁ sad viprā bahudhā vadanti*, "the reality is one, the wise call it by different names." There was also profound cerebration about the creation. These strands got consolidated over a period of time and systematized. They were divided into two categories, the Āstika and the Nāstika, those which accepted the authority of the Veda and those that did not, the Western Sanskritists terming them orthodox and unorthodox. The orthodox included Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṁkhya, Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta and the unorthodox Jainism, Buddhism and Cārvāka. There are certain basic concepts which all of these except the Cārvāka share with each other. They are:

The Theory of Karman and Rebirth

During a life-time a person performs, actions, good or bad. He has to reap the fruit of them. It is for this that he will have to have re-birth. This cycle of birth and re-birth continues till he has exhausted the fruit which is a never ending process for, actions will continue to be performed in each birth along with

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the realization of the fruit of actions performed in earlier births. One life-time will not be enough to realize the fruits of actions performed in one birth. It is only a few of the actions that he will reap the fruit of in one birth. Other actions would wait for their fruition. His actions would be of three kinds: sañcita=accumulated (not yet started yielding fruit), prārabdha=started (giving fruit) [they determine the good or bad happenings for which reason the phenomenon has come to signify in popular parlance 'fate' or destiny'], kriyamāṇa=actions being performed (in the present birth that may yield fruit in later birth/s or, if strong enough, in the present birth itself, as says an old verse: If the deed is highly meritorious or evil, a person may reap its fruit [in this birth itself] within three years, three months, three fortnights or three days:

tribhir varṣais tribhir māsaiḥ tribhiḥ pakṣais tribhir dinaiḥ/
atyutkaṭasya puṇyasya pāpasya phalam aśnute//

[the figure three here is indicative, *upalakṣaṇa*, signifying the shortening of the period]. The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* has an interesting take over here. It terms actions both of the previous birth/s and the present one as *puruṣārtha* and says there is a fierce neck to neck fight between the two as between two rams, *dvau huḍāv iva yudhyete puruṣārthau parasparam* and whichever is stronger, overpowers the other, *jayaty atibalas tayoḥ*, leaving room for off-setting the bad effect/s of the bad actions performed in earlier birth/s and thus changing the course of one's destiny. The cycle of actions and re-births continues till the dawn of true knowledge which is what salvation, *mukti*, is.

Ignorance— Cause of Bondage

The true knowledge is that all the diversity noticeable in the world is only an illusion. Ultimately everything dissolves itself in One Entity; call it one may by any name, the Soul, the Supreme Soul (Being) or God: *ātmeti paramātmeti bhagavān iti*

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śabdyate. It is beyond name and form. With the realization of this all-knowing, all-pervading One, a person casts off all chains of attachment, *rāga,* antipathy, *dveṣa.* One becomes free, *mukta,* of them. The only means of achieving this is meditation on self, *ātma-cintana* which may lead to self-realization, *ātma-sākṣātkāra.* That is the goal of every system of Indian philosophy, orthodox or unorthodox, except the Buddhists as also the Cārvāka. For the latter the happy leading of the present life is the be-end and all-end.

The Six Systems –Orthodox

Sāṁkhya

It is believed to be the oldest of the systems of Indian philosophy. Its exponent is said to be the sage Kapila. Some of its doctrines are met with in as early the works as the Upaniṣads. According to Buddhist sources Kapila is said to have been a Buddhist who was a resident of Kapilavastu, a view diificut to accept since the Buddhists do not believe in God while Kapila did believe in Him.

The base word for Sāṁkhya is *saṁkhyā,* number, from which it is formed, the word used for primary substances, they numbering twenty-four or twenty-five: the five organs of action, (*karmendriyas);* hands, feet, speech, anus, the organ of procreation; the five organs of perception (*jñānendriyas*); skin, tongue, eye ear, nose (*Manusmṛti,* 2.90), five objects of organs of perception, form/figure, taste, smell, touch, sound; Prakṛti of eight types (Prakṛti (Nature, the original source of the material world), Mahat/Buddhi, Ahaṁkāra, the five primary elements, earth, water, fire, wind and ether;—these twenty-four together with Īśvara, the Supreme Being the twenty-fifth create the world.

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Principal Doctrines of Sāṁkhya

Satkārya

This is the most fundamental and basic doctrine of Sāṁkhya. According to it the effect is invariably present in the cause. With the help of the cause the effect which is unmanifest becomes manifest. It is impossible that something which just does not exist in some thing can come out of it; oil cannot come out of sand nor can milk from water, because sand and water do not have oil and milk in them. Oil in sesame seeds or mustard is already present, though not visible, so is yoghurt in milk though again not visible. It is through the action of the doer, *kartṛ*, that it appears and becomes visible. The *Satkāryavāda* of Sāṁkhya is also known by the alternate name of *Pariṇāmavāda.*

Prakṛti

Sāṁkhya believes in dualism. There are two basic elements in its view, Prakṛti and Puruṣa, Prakṛti has been explained above. Puruṣa is the soul which is neither produced nor is productive; it is passive, though conscious, a mere looker-on. Through the contact between Puruṣa and Prakṛti comes into being the world. Puruṣa notices the changes in Prakṛti like a dumb, peaceful witness. It is eternal, with no beginning, and no end. It transcends the bounds of time and space. Like Brahman or Ātman of the Upaniṣads it is not all bliss. It is beyond it. It is beyond happiness and sorrow, nor is it indifferent. Happiness, sorrow, indifference—all these are attributes of Prakṛti. Puruṣa is pure consciousness. There are numerous Puruṣas, according to Sāṁkhya. As many beings, as many Puruṣas. Manyness, *Anekavāda* is one of the basic principles of Sāṁkhya.

Guṇas

According to Sāṁkhya Prakṛti has three ingredients or constituents, Sattva, Rajas and Tamas which are the cause of

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activity in creatures. Sattva provides happiness, Rajas causes indifference and Tamas unhappiness. All of these are contradictory yet they unite and lead to the coming into being of the Creation. It is possible that there may be predominance of one over the other two but there is never the absence of any one. The difference in the presence of them is in the degree.

Salvation (Kaivalya)

All types of sorrow; the material, the spiritual and the one caused by fate (ādhibhautika, ādhyātmika, ādhidaivika) come to an end with the attainment of salvation. Vivekakhyāti, realization of the tue nature of Prakṛti and Puruṣa—the difference between them, is called Apavarga—mokṣa in the Sāmhitya system.

Īśvara

There are two views about Īśvara in Sāṁkhya, one that accepts and the other that does not accept Him. Vijñānabhikṣu follows the first. According to him without Him, Īśvara, it is not possible for any object to come into being. Even if He were not to be accepted as the creator of the world, His existence will have to be accepted as the one who arranges everything, who regulates the evolution of Prakṛti and imparts a system to it. According to the other view with the effect inhering in the cause there is no need to postulate Īśvara for the creation of the universe. Moreover, Īśvara is unchangeable. How can then He be the cause of the coming into being of the creation, for, the effect *(kārya)* is the changed form of the cause (*kāraṇa*). Further, the existence of Īśvara cannot be proved logically.

Sāṁkhya Literature

The Sūtras of Kapila form the primary work of Sāṁkhya. The other basic text of it is the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa of circa 200 A.D. which gained such popularity that it came to be known even outside India. Paramārtha rendered it in Chinese. It itself became over a period of time an object of commentaries.

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Māṭhara wrote a commentary, *Māṭharavṛtti*, on it, so did Gauḍapāda the commentary the *Sāṁkhyakārikābhāṣya* and Vācaspatimiśra the *Sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī*.

Yoga

It is the most ancient heritage of India. The word occurs in the *Ṛgveda*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad* though in different meanings. It is only in the later period that it came to mean 'to control mind and senses'. Grammatically the word can be formed from either of the roots, one meaning 'to meditate', *yuj samādhau* and the other 'to unite', *yujir yoge*. The *Gītā* and the *Arthaśāstra* use it in both the senses. It now has come to mean in popular perception 'the control over the mental faculties', *yogaś cittavṛttinirodhaḥ*, the way it is defined in the *Yogasūtra*.

The Yoga system had its origin with Patañjali. It is very similar to the Sāṁkhya system. The *Mahābhārata* describes the two as complimentary to each other. Sāṁkhya is theory (Siddhānta), Yoga is practice (*Vyavahāra*). According to Yoga the world is all sorrow the freedom from which is possible only through salvation, Mokṣa. Yoga is the means for it. Mokṣa is the 'unity', *yoga*, non-distinction between 'Being' Ātman and the 'Supreme Being', Paramātman. All the systems of Indian philosophy except Cārvāka accept Yoga as the means for achieving full control over body, mind and senses. The *Bhagavadgītā* proclaims Sāṁkhya and Yoga to be one; i.e. not different from each other; it is only the ignorant who, according to it, differentiate between the two and not the wise: *sāṁkhyayogau pṛthag bālāḥ pravadanti na paṇḍitāḥ*. Like Sāṁkhya, Yoga also accepts twenty-five basic elements which include Īśvara.

Main Doctrines of Yoga

Patañjali has divided Yoga in eight parts/paths, *aṣṭāṅgas* which are summed up in the following Kārikā:

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yamo niyamaś cāsanaṁ ca prāṇāyāmas tataḥ param/
pratyāhāro dhāraṇā ca dhyānam ātmasamādhinā//
aṣṭāṅgāny āhur etāni yoginām yogasiddhaye/

Yamas

They are ten:

brahmacaryaṁ dayā kṣāntir dānaṁ satyam akalkatā/
ahiṁsā 'steyamādhurye damaś ceti yamāḥ smṛtāḥ//
(Y. 3.313)

Celibacy (sexual restraint), compassion, tolerance, charity, truth(fullness), lack of deceit/hypocracy, non-injury to living beings, non-stealing, sweetness/amiability, self-control are said to be the ten Yamas

or

ānṛśaṁsyaṁ dayā satyam ahiṁsā kṣāntir ārjavam/
prītiḥ prasādo mādhuryaṁ mārdavaṁ ca yamā daśa//

Non-cruelty, compassion, truth(fullness), non-violence, tolerance, straightforwardness, love, happiness, sweetness/amiability, gentleness are the ten Yamas.

These are compressed to the following five

ahiṁsā satyavacanaṁ brahmacaryam akalkatā/
asteyam iti pañcaite yamākhyāni vratāni ca//

Non-violence, non-injury to living beings, *ahiṁsā*; truth, *satya*; sexual restraint, *brahmacarya*; lack of deceit/hypocracy, *akalkatā*; non-stealing, *asteya*.

Niyamas

They are also five: cleanliness (external cleanliness by ablution and internal cleanliness by removal of impure thoughts), *śauca*; contentment (=the habit of bearing all privations of heat and cold or keeping the body unmoved), *santoṣa*; austerities (like

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remaining silent in speech), *tapas*; regular study of scriptures, *svādhyāya*; meditation on God, to concentrate on Him, to dedicate oneself to Him, *Īśvara-praṇidhāna*.

Āsana

It means postures or modes of sitting. There are eighty-four of them. To practice them is the physical part of Yoga. Some of them are quite hard and require expert guidance. Their practice leads to strong physique and provides the cure for diseases and ailments by purging the body of impurities. This part of Yoga goes by the name Haṭha Yoga. The different activities of limbs and their positions are called Mudrās the best of which is the Khecarī through which the tongue is turned towards the throat and the sight is fixed on a point between the eyebrows.

Prāṇāyāma

This denotes breathing exercises. Literally it means 'to restrain or hold the breath', *prāṇa*=breath, *āyāma*=to restrain, to suspend, to hold, in other words to control. The nose plays an important part in this. It has three stages called *pūraka, kumbhaka* and *recaka. Pūraka* is to inhale the breath in all its fullness (that is why the word *pūraka= pūrṇatayā*). *Kumbhaka* is to suspend the breath inhaled (as if it were in a pitcher, *kumbha). Recaka* is to exhale the breath. Prāṇāyāma is the best exercise for the detoxification of the body. With its regular practice a person can prolong his life. The inhaling and exhaling needs to be practiced in the form of *anuloma* and *viloma*, inhaling through one side of the nose and exhaling through the other side of it.

Pratyāhāra

It means withdrawl of the organs, to exercise control over the senses, to keep the mind and the senses away from external objects.

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The above five parts of Yoga have external dimensions. The rest of the three out of the eight have internal ones. They are:

Dhāraṇā

This means meditative fixation, to concentrate the mind on any place or object. In this state the mind is fixed on it and does not think of any thing else. Through this stage a Yogin can go up to the stages of Dhyāna and Samādhi.

Dhyāna

This means fixing the mind on an object and repeating the same thought constantly in the mind. With this the Yoga practitioner does not have any other thought except the one on which he has fixed his mind. With that achieved, the path for self-realization gets cleared.

Samādhi

After sufficient practice in Dhyāna the mind acquires the capacity to steady itself. With that it becomes one with the object. That is the final stage. In this the practitioner gets transformed into that on which he has fixed his mind, *tadākṛticittavṛttiḥ*. In it the individual self and the supreme self unite. The duality of knower and the known then gets dissolved for all times.

Yoga accepts three entities, Isvara, Jīva and Prakṛti. In this it is in alignment with that section of the Sāṁkhya exponents which accepts Īśvara. In Yoga view He is the efficient cause, the instrument, the *nimitta-kāraṇa* that brings Prakṛti and Puruṣa together. He is free from actions, their fruit, happiness and sorrow and so on. In Samādhi stage one can realize Īśvara.

According to Yoga the absorption of Jīva in Īśvara, in other words the union (yoga=union) of Ātman and Paramātman is *mokṣa*, emancipation. Just as rivers by flowing into the ocean

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turn into ocean, in the same way Jīva or Ātman joins Paramātman. The individual soul then loses its identity by uniting with the Supreme One. What the Sāṁkhya wants to achieve by means of equilibrium between the attributes, Guṇas of Prakṛti, the Yoga purports to achieve by means of control over the mind and the senses.

Yoga Literature

In 200 A.D. Patañjali wrote the *Yoga-sūtras* which are divided in four chapters, Adhyāyas called Samādhi, Sādhanā, Vibhūti and Kaivalya. On the *Yogasūtras* Vyāsa wrote his Bhāṣya (a form of commentary where aphorisms are explained word for word with comments of its own) in 4th cen. A.D. On this Vācaspatimiśra wrote a commentary under the title *Tattvavaiśāradī*. On the Bhāṣya of Vyāsa Nāgeśabhaṭṭa of 18th cen. wrote a commentary called *Chāyā*. Among other works on Yoga mention could be made of the *Rājamārtaṇḍa* of Bhoja (11th cen. A.D.), the *Yogavārtika* and the *Yogasārasaṅgraha* of Vijñānabhikṣu (16th cen. A.D.). Vijñānabhikṣu refuted *Vācaspatimiśra* and brought the Yoga philosophy closer to the Upaniṣadic one. Some of the works like the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma put more emphasis on the Yogic exercises. There are other works on Yoga like the *Gorakṣaśataka* and the *Gheraṇḍasaṁhitā* whose authorship and date of composition are uncertain.

Mīmāṁsā

It carries two other names: Karma-mīmāṁsā and Pūrva-mīmāṁsā. Its aim is to formulate rules in relation to the explanation of the Vedas in the context of sacrificial ritual.

The oldest work on this system is the *Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtra* of Jaimini. Scholars would place it in the 4th cen. B.C. The traditional view is that Jaimini was a pupil of Vyāsa, the author of the *Mahābhārata*. Some scholars hold the view that the *Mīmāṁsā-sūtra* is posterior to the *Nyāya-sūtra* and the *Yoga-*

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sūtra. Śabarasvāmin wrote a Bhāṣya on the *Mīmāṁsā-sūtra*. In that he makes mention of the *Vṛtti* on it which according to Jacobi should belong to the period 200—500 A.D. and according to Kieth to 400 A.D. Śabarasvāmin refers in his Bhāṣya to Upavarṣa, Bodhāyana, Bhartṛmitra, Bhavadāsa and Hari as the commentators of the *Mīmāṁsā-sūtra*. Ganga Nath Jha considers Bhavadāsa referred to by Śabarasvāmin as the author of the *Vṛtti*. The *Mīmāṁsā-sūtra* and the *Śābarabhāṣya* were commented upon by Prabhākara, Kumārila and Murāri, each in his own way giving rise to three Schools of which Murāri's School exists only in name.

Called by different names Gauḍamīmāṁsaka and Guru, Prabhākaramiśra wrote a commentary under the title *Bṛhatī* on the *Śābarabhāṣya* which probably belongs to 600 A.D. Some scholars are of the opinion that he was posterior to Kumārila, a view that militates against the tradition which makes the latter a pupil of the former. About the 9th cen A. D. Śālikanātha wrote a commentary *Rjuvimalā* on the *Bṛhatī* of Prabhākara. Another work of Śālikanātha is the *Prakaraṇapañcikā* which is an important work of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā system. Another equally important work of this system is Bhavanātha's *Nyāyaviveka* (1050—1150 A.D.). Vācaspatimiśra in his *Nyāyakaṇikā* divides the Prābhākara School into two, the old and the new.

With Kumārilabhaṭṭa started the Bhāṭṭa School. Kumārila occupies a unique place in Indian philosophy.

He was the only one who rescued the Vedic tradition from the sharp attacks of the Buddhists. He authored three great works, the *Ślokavārtika*, the *Tantravārtika* and the *Ṭupṭīkā*. These form the important limbs of the *Mīmāṁsā-sūtras* and the *Śābarabhāṣya*. The *Ślokavārtika* is a commentary on the first part of the first chapter of the *Mīmāṁsā-sūtra*. As the title itself indicates, it is in verse. The *Tantravārtika* is a commentary on the *Mīmāṁsā-sūtra* from the first part of the first chapter up to the end of the third chapter. It is in prose with verses interspersed

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therein. The *Ṭupṭīkā* is a commentary from chapter 4 to 12. Kumarila was a predecessor of Śaṅkarācārya. Generally he is placed in 750 A.D. He was from South India. There is evidence in his works of his good knowledge of the Dravidian languages. He differs considerably from Prabhākara whose views he refutes forcefully. He is said to have ended his life by placing himself in the slow fire of chaff (*tuṣāgni*) as a remorse for refuting the views of his teacher. Both of them, Prabhākaramiśra and Kumarilabhaṭṭa are in agreement with Śabarasvāmin's view that the individual soul, Jīvātman has an eternal presence in some form or the other. Illusion, Māyā, both of them do not accept.

Umbeka of the 5th cen. A.D. wrote a commentary on the *Ślokavārtika* of Kumārila. Two other commentaries on the work are those of Sucitramiśra (post-13th cen. A.D.) and Pārthasārathimiśra (as per tradion of 10th cen. A.D., as per Radhakrishnan of 1300 A.D.) under the titles *Kāśikā* and the *Nyāyaratnākara* respectively. On the *Tantravārtika* Bhavadevabhaṭṭa (11th cen. A.D.) wrote a commentary *Tautātimatatilaka* and Someśvarabhaṭṭa (1200 A.D.) the commentary *Nyāyasudhā*. On the latter Annnambhaṭṭa wrote a commentary *Rāṇakojjīvanī*. *Ṭupṭikā* has on it the commentaries *Tantraratna* by Pārthasārathimiśra and the *Vārtikābharaṇa* by Veṅkaṭamakhin. The disciple and son-in-law of Kumārila Maṇḍanamiśra (5th cen. A.D.) was the author of a number of works like *Vidhiviveka, Bhāvanāviveka, Vibhramaviveka* and *Mīmāṁsānukramaṇī*. After Kumārilabhaṭṭa Maṇḍanamiśra was the most prominent exponent of the Bhāṭṭa School. Predecesor of Vācaspatimiśra he is identified with Sureśvara and Viśvarūpa. Vācaspatimiśra wrote a commentary *Nyāyakaṇikā* on his *Vidhiviveka*. Over a period of time a number of independent works were written on Mīmāṁsā. The tradition continued up to the 18th century.

According to Mīmāṁsā the only way to attain salvation is to perform according to prescribed ritual the Vedic sacrifices.

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The result: there is paucity of philosophical thoughts in *Jaimini-sūtra*. In Mīmāṁsakas' view the Vedas are eternal, not created or composed by man/men, *apauruṣeya*.

It is the Karman that yields fruits of every kind.

Jaimini accepts only the three Pramāṇas, a mode of proof, a means for arriving at correct knowledge, Pratyakṣa, direct perception, Anumāna, inference and Śabda, verbal testimony. Prabhākara added two more to them, Upamāna, analogy, recognition of likeness and Arthāpatti, implication (*arthsya= anuktārthasya, āpattih=siddhiḥ)*, deduction of a matter which could not be otherwise, assumption of a thing which is not itself perceived but which can be deduced from what is seen, heard or proved. Kumārila adds Anupalabdhi also to the list.

Pratyakṣa (perception)

It has been defined as *indriyārthasannikarṣajaṁ jñānam*, the knowledge based on the contact, *sannikarṣa* between the senses and the object

Anumāna (inference)

It is based on the invariable, *nitya*, contact between the objects like that of smoke and fire. If there is smoke it is inferred that there is fire.

Upamāna (Analogy)

It mans similarity or likeness. There is an object which one has seen. There is an object that one has not seen but which is similar to the one one has seen. The similarity of it with what one has seen would make one know as to what kind of object that one is that one has not seen. The classic example is *gaur iva gavayah, gavaya* (a specis of ox) is like (the common) ox.

Śabda (Verbal Testimony)

As explained above, it means verbal testimony. It could be of two kinds, that of the words of the Veda and the other, that of

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the words of the worthy people, the sages and seers, the *āpta-puruṣas*, whose words can be relied upon.

Arthāpatti (Implication)

It means the deduction of the matter. When it is said that the stout Devadatta does not eat in day-time, *pīno devadatto divā na bhuṅkte*, it can evidently be deduced that he eats in the night-time, otherwise how could he be stout?

Further, when it is said that Viṣṇumitra is alive but is not at home, the obvious conclusion could be that he is somewhere else.

Anupalabdhi

It is non-recognition, non-perception. Its classic example is *nāsti ghaṭo 'nupalabdheḥ*, The jar is not there for it is not seen. The absence of an object is proved by its being not a matter of direct perception. The proof, *pramāṇa* of Devadatta being not at home, *Devadatto gṛhe nāst* is his being not to be seen there.

Īśvara

Though *Brahma-sūtra* or *Vedānta-sūtra* places Jaimini in the category of the God-believers, the place of Īśvara in his system is very weak. And this is as it should be. If Karman is the sole yielder of fruit then it is in the fitness of things that it, performed in a proper way, should lead to salvation. According to Prabhākara the disappearance of Dharma and Adharma and the activities related to them is Mokṣa, emancipation, for, their being at work is what causes *punarjanma*, re-birth. Kumārila accepts that state to be Mokṣa where Ātman not affected by sorrows is in its own pristine form.

Vedānta

Also called Uttara-mīmāṁsā or Brahma-mīmāṁsā it has attracted maximum notice, both in the East and in the West. Literally it

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means the end, *anta,* portion of the Veda which forms the Upaniṣads. Kālidāsa uses the term in the invocatory stanza of his *Vikramorvaśīya* in this sense: *Vedānteṣu yam āhur ekapuruṣaṁ vyāpya sthitaṁ rodasī.* The Vedic literature is broadly divided into two, the Karmakāṇḍa, the ritual and the Jñānakāṇḍa, the (spiritual) knowledge. From the Saṁhitās down to the Āraṇyakas it is Karmakāṇḍa. The Upaniṣads are the Jñānakāṇḍa. Some of the Upaniṣads themselves are parts of the respective Āraṇyakas.

The author of the *Vedānta-sūtra* or the *Brahma-sūtra,* the base text of the Vedānta philosophy was Bādarāyaṇa. There is no unanimity about his date. Some place him in the 6th cen.B.C. while others do so in 400 B.C. and still others in the middle of the 2nd cen. B.C.

The *Brahma-sūtra* has four chapters of which the first establishes Brahman as the Supreme Reality, the second refutes opposite philosophical doctrines, the third outlines the means to obtain the knowledge of Brahman (Brahma-vidyā) and the fourth the results of the Brahma-vidyā. The *Brahma-sūtra* doctrines are in full agreement with those of the Upaniṣads. The result: Bādarāyaṇa expresses his full faith in the Vedas. He accepts one sole entity, Brahman as the Supreme Reality. The greatest contribution of Vedānta philosophy to the global philosophical thinking is the doctrine of Māyā, Illusion which covers Brahman and through which the One comes to appear as many. According to Vedānta the creation has its existence only till there is no realization of Brahman. According to Sāṁkhya the visible world is the transformation (*pariṇāma*) of Prakṛti. According to Vedānta it is the mere illusion (*vivarta*) while the reality is the Brahman, the Supreme Spirit.

Among the older authorities on Vedānta Gauḍapāda is the most well-known. He wrote the *Gauḍapādīya-kārikā* which in its 215 verses expounds with cogent arguments the monistic

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(Advaita) Vedānta. He is said to be the teacher of Govinda Bhagavatpāda (600—650 A.D.), the teacher of the great Śaṅkarācārya. The other noteworthy authority of this system is the great grammarian Bhartṛhari who is said to have written a Bhāṣya, extinct now, on the *Brahma-sūtra*. Śaṅkarācārya in his Bhāṣya has referred to a philosopher of the name of Bhartṛprapañca who was of the opinion that Brahman is both One, Advaita and Two, Dvaita. Śaṅkarācārya has referred to a Vṛttikāra. It is still uncertain as to who this Vṛttikāra was.

Śāṅkara School

The most authoritative interpreter of Vedānta is Śaṅkarācārya who is placed by Max Müller and other modern scholars in the period 788—820 A.D. According to the traditional view the period is the second half of the 7th cen. A.D. (686-720 A.D.). Śaṅkarācārya wrote Bhāṣyas on the *Bṛhattrayī*, also called *Prasthānatrayī*; the Upaniṣads, the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* and the *Brahma-sūtra*. The Bhāṣya on the *Brahma-sūtra* is called *Śārīraka-bhāṣya*. He also wrote a small work the *Ātmabodha* where in just 67 verses he gave a summary of the Vedānta philosophy according to which Brahman is the Only Reality, the world is unreal and Jīva is not different from Brahman, both of them being identical: *Brahma satyaṁ jagan mithyā jīvo brahmaiva nāparaḥ*.

The *Śārīraka-bhāṣya* carries on it commentaries by the adherents of two Schools called the Vivaraṇa School and the Bhāmatī School. The Vivaraṇa School is based on the *Pañcapādikā* of Padmapāda which is a commentary on the first five Pādas, chapters, of which it is available only on the first four sūtras. Padmapāda belonged to the last part of the 7th cen. and the beginning of the 8th cen. A.D. He was a senior pupil of Śaṅkarācārya. *Vivaraṇa* is a commentary by Prakāśātman of the 8th cen.A.D. (according to Radhakrishnan 1200 A.D.) on the *Pañcapādikā*. Vidyāraṇya summarized the findings of the

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Vivaraṇa in his *Vivaraṇaprameyasaṅgraha*. He is generally identified with Mādhava of the 14th cen.A.D.

Commentaries on the *Śārīraka-bhāṣya* representing the Bhāmatī School are first the *Bhāmatī* of Vācaspatimiśra, *Kalpataru* and the *Śāstradarpaṇa* of Amalānanda (13th cen. A.D.) and *Parimala* of Appayadīkṣita (16th-17th cen. A.D.).

The Śāṅkara School attracted a huge corpus of works; Since the *Brahma-sūtra*, as the title itself would make it clear, is in the sūtra, aphoristic style, it is not easy to follow it. It needs detailed elucidation. Apart from Śaṅkara a number of thinkers tried their hand in explaining it, each in his own way, with the result that there came to develop different Schools espousing their views. Śaṅkara's Vedānta follows non-dualism, Advaita. At the hands of others the Vedānta has undergone change. In their case it has come to be qualified with some word or the other and has come to be known by that. We may well take it up one by one.

In the last part of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th cen. Sureśvara traditionally indentified with Maṇḍanamiśra who had turned to be a disciple of Śaṅkarācārya after his defeat in a scholarly disquistion wrote the *Taittirīyopiṇṣadbhāṣyavārtika*, the *Bṛhadāraṇyakabhāṣyavārtika*, the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* and the *Brahmasiddhi*. In the 8th cen. Sarvajñātmamuni wrote the *Saṅkṣepaśārīraka* in verse. Avimuktātman or Muktātman, date not known, wrote the work *Iṣṭasiddhi*. In 1180 A.D. wrote Śrīharṣa the highly scholarly work the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya*. In the 14th cen. A.D. Citsukha wrote the *Pratyaktattvadīpikā* which is better known after his name as *Citsukhī*. In the same century Vidyāraṇya wrote in verse the *Pañcadaśī* as also the *Jīvanmuktiviveka*. In the 15th cen. Sadānanda wrote the *Vedāntasāra* which is a good monograph on Advaita Vedānta. A similar type of monograph is the *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* of Dharmarājādhvarīndra of the 16th cen. which was commented upon by his son Rāmakṛṣṇa of the 16th-17th cen. A.D. The title

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of his commentary is *Śikhāmaṇi*. *Nyāyanirṇaya* of Ānandagiri (14th cen.) and the *Ratnaprabhā* of Govindānanda (15th cen.) are the commentaries on Śaṅkarācārya's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*. Vijñānabhikṣu wrote the commentary *Vijñānāmṛta* on the *Brahma-sūtra*. *Siddhāntamuktāvali* of Prakāśānanda (15th cen.), and the *Advaitasiddhi* of Madhusūdana Sarasvati are two other more wellknown of the works on Advaita. Annambhaṭṭa of the 17th cen. wrote a Bhāṣya Mitākṣarā on the *Brahmasūtra*.

Śuddhādvaita.

This owes its origin to Vallabhācārya. According to him Brahman is both *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa*, with attributes and without attributes. It is the one that really exists, *sat*, is pure consciousness, *cit* and *ānanda*, bliss. This way it is *saguṇa*. It is devoid of the qualities common beings are endowed with. That way it is *nirguṇa*. Individual souls are a part, *aṁśa*, of Brahman. They are the sparks of Brahman-fire. So they are non-distinct from Brahman. The apparent distinction between the two is due to the wish of Īśvara and not of Māyā. Īśvara through his own volition invests the individual self with a body as divine as its own self so that it can play to no end. This doctrine accepts the relationship of the type of *nāyaka-nāyikā*, hero-heroine between Īśvara and the Jīvātman. The means for achieving the grace of Īśvara is total devotion, *ananyā bhakti* and self-surrender, *ātma-samarpaṇa*. In this School the deity to be worshipped is Śrīkṛṣṇa who is worshipped as Gopījanavallabha Govardhananātha or Śrīnātha.

Puruṣottama, pupil of Vallabha wrote a commentary *Bhāṣyaprakāśa* on his Bhāṣya which was commented upon by Yogeśvara through his commentary *Raśmi*. Puruṣottama's *Vedāntādhikaraṇamālā* is an authoritative text of the Vallabha School.

Viśiṣṭādvaita

This School owes its origin to Rāmānuja of the 11th cen. A.D. According to him Īśvara is the ultimate reality but it is a

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conglomerate of the conscious individual selves (*jīvātmans*) and the inert (*jaḍa*) world. He got inspiration for his doctrine primarily from the Tamil Gāthās of the Ālwār saints or the Nāthamuni, Yamunācārya (10th cen. A.D.) and other saints of South India. His Bhāṣya on the *Brahma-sūtra* carries the title *Śrībhāṣya* on which Sudarśana of the 13th cen. A.D. wrote a commentary *Śrutaprakāśikā*. The greatest of the exponents of this School was Veṅkaṭanātha Vedāntadeśika who wrote a commentary *Tattvaṭīkā* on the *Śrībhāṣya*.

Dvaitādvaita

This owes itself to Nimbārka of about the 11th cen. A.D. who wrote a Bhāṣya the *Vedāntapārijāta* on the *Brahma-sūtra*. According to him Brahman is both *saguṇa*, with attributes and *nirguṇa*, without attributes. The world is its visible form, *abhivyakti*. It is both distinct and non-distinct from Brahman. The invidual self, Jīvātman and Prakṛti inhere in it. In this way the School accepts both Dvaita, dualism and Advaita, monism. Jīvātman even in emancipated state is distinct and non-distinct, *bhinnābhinna* from Brahman. The emancipation of the indvidual is to turn into Brahman which, according to it, is possible through pure knowledge and self-surrender. The worship of the Supreme is in the form of meditating on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The Nimbārka School is also known as Sanaka School.

Apart from the Bhāṣya on the *Brahma-sūtra* Nimbārka had authored *Śataślokī* which expounds his theory of Dvaitādvaita. His Bhāṣya was commented upon by his pupil Śrīnivāsācārya. The commentary is titled *Vedāntakaustubha*. Another scholar of this School Keśavācārya or Keśavakaśmīrī of the 15th cen. A.D. wrote a commentary on the Bhāṣya of Nimbārkācārya apart from writing commentaries on the principal Upaniṣads, the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* and the *Kṣudrapuruṣottama*.

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Dvaita

Madhva whose date of birth is 1199 A.D. wrote the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* as also prepared a shorter version of it under the title *Brahmasūtrāṇubhāṣya* or *Aṇuvyākhyāna* where he supported Dualism, Dvaita. According to him Prakṛti, Jīvātman and Paramātman –all these three are eternal and are different from each other. The relationship between Jīvātman and Paramātman is that between servant and master.

He accepts three Pramāṇas, testimonies, Pratyakṣa, Anumāna and Śabda. Viṣṇu is the Supreme Reality. The path to realize Him is devotion, *bhakti*. The Vedas are eternal and are the ultimate authority on matters spiritual. The Vaiṣṇava Āgamas and the Purāṇas are the authotative texts, the means of arriving at correct knowledge.

After Madhva the great exponent of his philosophy was Jayatīrtha (second half of the 14th cen. A.D.), the pupil of Akṣobhyatīrtha. He wrote commentaries on all the works of Madhva: the prominent of which are the *Nyāyasudhā* on *Brahmāṇuvyākhyāna*, the *Pañcikā* on the *Prapañcamithyātvakhaṇḍana*, *Prameyadīpikā* on the *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya*. He also wrote two independent works: the *Pramāṇapaddhati* and *Vādāvali*. The latter refutes the Māyā theory of Advaita.

Another noteworthy writer of this School was Vyāsayati, the author of the *Nyāyāmṛta* which refutes the *Tattvadīpikā* of Citsukha. He wrote commentaries on the works of Jayatīrtha. Besides these he wrote commentaries on Madhva's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* and the *Bhagavadgītā* under the titles *Tantradīpikā* and *Gītārthasaṅgraha* respectively. Other important votaries of this School who enriched its literature with their works are Vādirāja, Vijayīndra and Śrīnivāsatīrtha.

The Vedānta has captured the imagination of the thinkers and philosophers both of India and abroad and stands in terms

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of popularity both in the past and the present at the apex. Rightly has it been said:

tāvad garjanti śāstrāṇi jambukā vipine yathā/
na garjati mahāśaktir yāvad vedāntakesarī//

"Śāstras assert themselves as howl jackals in a jungle, till the mighty lion in the form of Vedānta does not roar."

Vaiśeṣika

As it is with Sāṁkhya and Yoga so it is with Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika. Both are very similar to each other. The main aim of Vaiśeṣika is to explain the external world while that of Nyāya is to do the same in the case of the inner one. Comparatively Vaiśeṣika is older than Nyāya. The originator of this philosophy is sage Kaṇāda. Some people term his system as Aulūkya because according to them the original name of Kaṇāda was Ulūka. He came to be called Kaṇāda because for his food he subsisted on only a few grains, *kaṇa+ada (ad* 'to eat'). It is also possible that Aulūkya formed from Ulūka is a term of derision used by the Advaitins against Kaṇāda who, according to them, could not see the unity in diversity like an owl the sun, and who proceeded from unity to diversity and postulated salvation from the knowledge of the six categories, Padārthas. Such jibes were common among opponents in ancient times.

The main theory of this system is that the atoms, Paramāṇus, are eternal and it is through them that the world comes into being. The Vaiśeṣika accepts six categories—substance, quality, action, generality, particularity (*viśeṣa*, whence the name of the system is derived) and inseparable relation; *dravya, guṇa, karma, sāmānya, viśeṣa, samavāya.* To these six the non-existence/ nullity/negation, *abhāva* which is defined as *bhāvabhinna, bhāvabhinno 'bhāvaḥ*, other than positive, was added later.

Substance in Vaiśeṣika is that category which though being the base of its qualities and actions is different from them

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like the thread which is the base of cloth but is different from it. It has nine forms: earth, water, wind fire, ether, time, space, self and mind, *pṛthivyaptejovāyvākāśadikkālātmamanāṁsi*. Of these the first five are called the great elements, Mahābhūtas, each of which has its special quality or property which is cognized through sense organs. The property of the earth is smell which is cognized through the organ of smell, nose; the property of water is taste which is cognized through tongue; the property of wind is touch which is cognized through skin; the property of fire is colour which is cognized through eyes; the property of ether is sound which is cognized through ears. According to Vaiśeṣika the sense organ through which the Dravya is cognized, is created through that Dravya. The smell being the property of earth the organ with which it is cognized, i.e., nose is created through the atoms of earth and so on.

According to Kaṇāda out of the five great elements the first four when in the form of causes are eternal, *nitya* but when in the form of effect are not so, *anitya*. Ether, *ākāśa* differs from the other great elements. The property of ether is sound, *śabda* which is not visible, *pratyakṣa*. It has to be inferred through sound. Since every property is to have some base, *ādhāra*, so property like sound also has to have some base and that base is inferred to be ether.

Time and place are also not objects of direct perception. They also have to be inferred. Here, there, far, near, this side, that side, today, tomorrow, the day before—with these words are these inferred.

Ātman is eternal and all-pervasive. It is of two kinds, Jīvātman and Paramātman or Īśvara. Jīvātman, individual self resides in body. It turns into Jīva when embodied. As soon as it is embodied consciousness activates the body. Jīvātman is not one but many. In this form Vaiśeṣika accepts the principle of [illegible]. Mind, the ninth Dravya, experiences

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happiness, sorrow, compassion, hatred etc. It is an internal sense organ. It also is eternal.

Among the seven categories quality, Guṇa is the second. It is of twenty-four types: form or colour (white, green), *rūpa;* taste (sour, sweet), *rasa*; smell (good or bad), *gandha*; touch (hot or cold), *sparśa*; sound, *śabda;* contact, *saṁyoga;* separation, *vibhāga*; separateness, *pṛthaktva;* measure, *parimāṇa;* distance, *paratva;* proximity, *aparatva;* heaviness, *gurutva;* effort, *prayatna*; pleasure, *sukha*; pain, *duḥkha;* will, *icchā*; liquidity, *dravatva*; unctuousness, lubricity, *sneha*; virtue, *dharma;* vice, *adharma;* impressions of previous births, *saṁskāras;* antipathy, *dveṣa;* number, *saṁkhyā;* intellect. *buddhi.*

The active characteristic of Dravya is Karman. Quality, Guṇa is inactive form of Dravya, Karman is its active form. It is of five types: *utkṣepaṇa*, to throw up, *avakṣepaṇa,* to throw down, *ākuñcana*, contraction, *prasāraṇa,* stretching/spreading.

Sāmānya, generality is that category through which different individuals are assigned the same species like men and women all different from each other are assigned one species of human beings. Viśeṣa, particularity makes the inviduals of the same species look different from each other.

As said earlier, Kaṇāda does not include Abhāva, negation, the absence, among the categories but his successor Praśastapāda does. Though not visible, its existence cannot be doubted like absence of the sun in the night. It is as real as the presence of the moon and stars in the night. The existence of absence, Abhāva is in no way less than the existence of Bhāva. This also, therefore, came to be accepted as one of the categories, the seventh one at that.

According to Kaṇāda a person experiences sorrow because of ignorance the release from which is possible through self-upliftment, *ātmotthāna*, the first step towards righteousness the means for prosperity, *abhyudaya*, and spiritual bliss, *niḥśreyasa* [*yato hy abhyudayaniḥśreyasasiddhiḥ sa dharmaḥ*]. The

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realization of Ātman is possible only when there is knowledge of things other than Ātman. It is only after the knowledge of the similarity and the dissimilkarity of Ātman and things other than that the emancipation is possible which is the final aim of life. In that state Ātman gets free from all attributes/qualities and gets into its pure, changeless form.

The date of the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* is uncertain. Generally it is assigned to the period after 300 A.D. It is divided in ten parts. The *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha* by Praśastapāda, though a Bhāṣya on it, has more the character of an original text than a mere gloss. On this Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda four scholars wrote commentaries: *Vyomavatī* of Vyomapāda, other names Vyomaśekhara and Śivāditya (of 9th cen. possibly), *Nyāyakandalī* of Śrīdhara (the last part of the 10th cen. A.D.), *Kiraṇāvali* and *Lakṣaṇāvali* of Udayana (the last part of the 10th cen. A.D.) *Nyāyalīlāvatī* of Śrīvatsa, other name Vallabha (possibly the last part of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th cen. A.D.). *Tarkakaumudī* of Laugākṣibhāskara is a beautiful work on Praśastapāda's text. Śaṅkaramiśra of the second part of the 15th cen. A.D. wrote a commentary *Upaskāra* on the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra*. The *Vṛtti* of Jayanārāyaṇa of the 17th cen.A.D. is also an important work of the Vaiśeṣika School.

In the literature on philosophy there are some works which deal with the doctrines of both Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika. Such works are Śivāditya's *Saptapadārthī* (11th cen.A.D.), Varadarāja's *Tārkikarakṣā*, Keśavamiśra's *Tarkabhāṣā* (13th or 14th cen. A.D.), Annambhaṭṭa's *Tarkasaṅgraha* with the auto-commentary *Dīpikā* (16th or 17th cen. A.D.), the *Tarkāmṛta* (1635 A.D.) of Jagadīśa and Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana's *Kārikāvali* or *Bhāṣāpariccheda* with the auto-commentary *Siddhāntamuktāvali*.

Nyāya

It had its origin with the sage Gautama. Kauṭilya calls it by the term Ānvīkṣikī. The Vedas are the ultimate authority for the

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adherents of this system which has its peculiarity in that that it seeks to prove everythinmg through logic and analysis. It has two streams, the old and the new, Prācīna Nyāya and Navya Nyāya. Prācīna began with the *Nyāya-sūtras* of Gautama. For attaining right knowledge, Pramā, the Nyāya accepts sixteen categories: *pramāṇa*, means of knowledge; *prameya*, object of knowledge; *saṁśaya*, doubt/indecision; *prayojana*, purpose; *dṛṣṭānta*, example; *siddhānta*, final opinion; *avayava*, a component part of a logical argument or syllogism; *tarka*, argument; *nirṇaya*, conclusion; *vāda*, discussion; *jalpa*, disputation; *vitaṇḍā*, wrangling; *hetvābhāsa*, fallacy; *chala*, circumvention; *jāti*, futile answer; *nigrahasthāna*, unfitness to be argued with. According to Nyāya with the proper knowledge of these categories a person attains *niḥśreyasa*, spiritual bliss, which is the highest aim of life. It accepts the dawn of true knowledge as salvation. It, therefore, attaches importance to the means to attain it, the means for gaining right knowledge.

Like Vaiśeṣika Nyāya also accepts atom to be the primary cause of creation, the atom which has no beginning and no end. It is the minutest particle. It cannot be viewd visually. Its existence can only be inferred. It was in existence in the beginning of the creation. That is why it does not perish. It is eternal. The world which is based on this eternality will have to be accepted as eternal in the ultimate analysis. Atom is the material cause (*upādāna-kāraṇa*) of the world while Īśvara is the instrumental one (*nimitta-kāraṇa*). Atom (Paramāṇu), Soul (Ātman) and Īśvara are the three that are eternal. It is through them that the world subsists. Īśvara cannot be seen, He can only be inferred. The only purpose of true knowledge is to bring the individual self to truth which is the means for salvation, viz., attaining that state where there is neither happiness nor sorrow. The means for true knowledge, the means for salvation is to read scriptures, imbibe their teachings and to listen to the discourses of the holy people (*āpta-vacana*). This will clear the

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mind of doubts. By following the Yogic processes of meditation (*dhyāna*), fixation of mind (*dhāraṇā*) and absorption in the object of fixation (*samādhi*) one can have self-realization.

Nyāya system has two traditions, old and new. The old tradition accepts sixteen categories while the new one, under the greater influence of Vaiśeṣika accepts seven of them only. The oldest work of old tradition is the *Nyāya-sūtra* of Gautama which is divided in four parts. It is assigned generally to the 3rd cen. A.D. The most well-known and authoritative exposition (Bhāṣya) on it is that of Vātsyāyana which is accepted to be a work of the 4th cen. A.D. The Buddhist logician Diṅnāga of 5th cen. A.D. refuted with forceful arguments the views of Vātsyāyana. Uddyotakara of the 6th cen. A.D. wrote a commentary on Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya under the title *Nyāyavārtika* which was commented upon by the great logician Vācaspatimiśra of the first half of the 9th cen. A.D. The title of his commentary is the *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭikā*, a masterly work which gave new life to the Nyāya system after deadly blows of the Buddhists. Udayana in 984 A.D. wrote a commentary on it under the title *Nyāyavārtikatātparyapariśuddhi*. He also wrote four independent works on the Nyāya system: *Nyāyakusumāñjalī*, *Ātmatattvaviveka*, *Kiraṇāvali* and *Nyāyamañjarī*. Another scholar of the old system of Nyāya was Jayanta who wrote the work *Nyāyamañjarī*. Bhāsarvajña of the 10th cen. A.D. gave a survey of the system of logic in his work the *Nyāyasāra*.

The new tradition of Nyāya started with Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya of the last part of the 12th cen. A.D. He wrote the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* which discusses in depth the four proofs, Pramāṇas accepted by Nyāya in an highly abstruse technical jargon of *avacchedakāvacchinna* not easily comprehensible which later became a hallmark of profundity of knowledge of the system and which was also adopted by the grammarians of the new school, Navya-vyākaraṇa. His son Vardhamāna (1225 A.D.)

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wrote Bhāṣyas on the works of Udayana and Vallabha. In the second half of the 13th cen. A.D. Jayadeva, also a playwright and rhetorician of note, wrote a commentary Āloka on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*. A Begali Brāhmaṇa of the name of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma wrote a commentary *Tattvacintamaṇivyākhyā* on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśa. Three of his pupils of the names of Caitanya Mahāprabhu, the founder of the *Gauḍīya* sect of the Vaiṣṇavas, Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, the great logician and Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, the author of the *Tantrasāra* attained great fame. Raghunātha Śiromaṇi of the 15th cen. A.D. wrote two great works, *Dīdhiti* and *Padārthakhaṇḍana*. Jagadīśa (16th cen. A.D.) and Gadādhara (17th cen. A.D.) were two other great authorities of the Navya Nyāya system. Apart from a number of commentaries they enriched the Navya Nyāya system with their works *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* and the *Vyāptipañcaka*. *Nyāyasūtravṛtti* of Viśvanātha is another great work of this system.

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29

UNORTHODOX SYSTEMS

Buddhism

Buddhism is the religion practiced by the Buddhists, the followers of the Buddha. Lord Buddha delivered his sermons in Pali by going round the country in the sixth or the fifth cen. B.C. He conveyed his message only verbally and did not commit anything to writing. His disciples collected his sermons in the form of three different texts called collectively Ti (Tri) piṭaka, meaning literally the three boxes, piṭaka=box, each representing a particular type of knowledge under the names of Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma of which the first deals with the matter relating to discipline, the second contains Buddha's sermons and the third the philosophical matter. These Piṭakas were revised from time to time in congregations of the Bhikkhus called Saṅgītis held at Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra. It is at the last one that a final shape was given to the Tripiṭaka.

Since the Lord had spoken and not committed anything to writing, his sermons were interpreted differently by his different disciples. These different interpretations led to the appearance of two main Schools in Buddhism called Hīnayāna, the Lower Vehicle and the Mahāyāna, the Higher Vehicle.

The kernel of Lord Buddha's sermons is represented by four noble truths, Ārya Satyas, which are :

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i. The world is full of sorrows
ii. There is a cause which is responsible for them
iii. They can be ended
iv. There are means of ending them, *duḥkhanirodha-mārga*

The oldest text of Hīnayāna is the *Tripiṭaka* which is in Pali. That represents the oldest form of Buddhism. It lays emphasis on the principle of momentariness, *kṣaṇikavāda*. Every created thing exists only for a moment. The next moment it is a different thing which is called by the name *dharma*. The Buddha is accepted in this School as the instructor, not Bhagavān or Īśvara. According to it the world exists through kamma and dhamma. The actions performed in this life yield fruit in the next. So there is no need for Īśvara. Buddhism thus is an atheistic religion. The state of Arhathood is the state of perfection. With non-attachment to worldly objects there is no action. Since there is no action, there is no re-birth. The Hīnayāna preaches full control over Vāsanās, the impressions unconsciously left on the mind by the past good or bad actions that produce pleasure or pain, which is rather difficult to practice. That was the reason another School, the Mahāyāna, arose.

Mahāyāna (The Higher Vehicle)

The main thrust of this School is that after attaining Nirvāṇa, emancipation, one should not close one's eyes towards the world but should spread such light as may lead to disappearance of the darkness of ignorance. This view is more liberal and is actuated with the thought of helping humanity to shake off the shackles of ignorance. It accepts Īśvara. The aim of every human being should be to attain Buddha-hood. So there could be many Buddhas. Gautama Buddha is also one of them. According to Hīnayāna to attain Arhat-hood is the ideal. According to Mahāyāna it is to attain first the state of Bodhisattva-hood and from there to attain Buddha-hood is the

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ideal. Bodhisattva is that person who is on the way to attain true knowledge by way of engaging himself in pious deeds that may result, in his next birth, in attaining of the state of Buddha-hood.

Hīnayāna has two principal branches Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika, also called Sarvāstivāda. Mahāyāna also has the two branches called Mādhyamika and Yogācāra. Vaibhāṣikas accept the existence of only the two; consciousness, *cetanā* and the material objects which are a matter of direct perception (*pratyakṣa*). They do not accept the existence of even Ākāśa. The material objects like earth, water, fire and wind owe their origination to the aggregation of their constituent atoms which cannot be seen but their aggregates can be. Finally all objects turn into atoms which are imperishable. Being just the aggregate of atoms the materal objects also in the ultimate analysis are imperishable. Dharmakīrti and Diṅnāga uphold this view.

The Sautrāntikas also accept consciousness, *cetanā* and the material world but according to them they are known through inference. Of the Tripiṭakas the Sautrāntikas accept the authority of the Suttapiṭaka only and not the other two. Kumāralaghva was the first to propound the view. He and the followers of his view believe that the worldly objects exist just for a moment, The next moment they change. The change is so quick that it eludes our cognition and we think that it is the same object while the fact is that the object of a moment before has disappeared already and it is a new object that we are viewing now.

The Mādhyamika School of Mahāyāna started with Nāgārjuna. This School believes in nihilism (*śūnya-vāda*). This nihilistic or negativistic doctrine accepts two truths, the higher that ends in the vacuity of all conceptions and the other that allows ordinary life.

The Yogācāra School accepts only the existence of consciousness (*cetanā*). All objects that are visible and are outside the mind reside in the ultimate analysis in consciousness

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itself. No object can exist outside consciousness or knowledge (*Jñāna)*. This supreme truth can be realized only through Yoga. The prominent exponents of this School were Asaṅga and Vasubandhu.

The Buddhists are of the view that the cause of sorrow in the world is ignorance, *avijjā* (*avidyā)* which can be removed by following the eightfold path like engaging in proper actions, *sāmyak kārya*, proper knowledge, *samyag jñāna* and so on. It is only then that a person can achieve Nibbāna, salvation, a state by achieving which all sorrows disappear.

The evolution of Mahāyāna in Buddhism was a turning point. Just three or four centuries after his Mahāparinibbāna, the Buddha himself came to be accepted as the controller of human destiny, as the bestower of boon whereby, much against his teachings, worship of him in utmost devotion in the form of installation of idols in temples became a regular practice. He took the place of Īśvara in Brahmaṇism. Such a large number of his idols came up, particularly in the Middle East that his name in the changed form of But (Buddha) came to signify idol.

The first sermon that the Buddha delivered at Vārāṇasī put the spotlight on the Middle Path from where developed the Mādhyamika School. Nāgārjuna gave it the form of a doctrine through his path-breaking works the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* and the *Mādhyamikakārikā* with its twenty-seven chapters comprising 400 verses with the auto-commentary *Akutobhaya.* His pupil Āryadeva carried it forward through his work the *Catuḥśataka*, accepted on all fours as a great work of this School. Candrakīrti of the 6th or the 7th cen. wrote a commentary on it

As said above, the doctrine propounded by Maitreyanātha was given the name Yogācāra by his pupil Asaṅga, placed by some in the 3rd cen. A.D. and by others in the 4th or the 5th cen. A.D. who expounded it. His brother Vasubandhu gave a philosophical explanation of his doctrines under the name

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Vijñānavāda. Among other important scholars of this School could be mentioned Aśvaghoṣa who wrote the work *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda-sūtra*. Asaṅga and Vasubandhu occupy a prominent place in Buddhist literature. Vasubandhu wrote the *Abhidharmakośa* which in its original Sanskrit form is not available now. It was translated in Chinese in the 6th cen. A.D. It refutes the Vaiśeṣika doctrines. The Sāṁkhya doctrines Vasubandhu refutes in his work the *Paramārthasaptati*. *Vijñaptimātṛkāsiddhi* is another of Vasubandhu's well-known works. Sthiramati, Diṅnāga, Dharmapāla and Śīlabhadra are his more noteworthy followers. Sthiramati wrote a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Triṁśikāvijñapti* and Dharmapāla on *Viṁśatikāvijñapti*. Diṅnāga was pupil of Vasubandhu. There is no unanimity about his date. Some place him in 5th cen. A.D. while others between the period 520—600 A.D. and believe him to have been a contemporary of Kānyakubja ruler Śrīharṣa's Guru Guṇaprabha. Mallinātha while commenting on the *Meghadūta* verse *diṅnāgānāṁ pathi pariharan sthūlahastāvalepān* takes *diṅnāgānām* to be an oblique reference to this Buddhist philosopher which would make him pre-Kālidāsan. His works the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, the *Pramāṇaśāstrapraveśa* and so on are available in Tibetan translation and are very popular in Japan. Dharmakīrti (6th or 7th cen. A. D.) wrote an highly acclaimed work the *Nyāyabindu*. Dharmottara of the 9th cen. A.D. wrote a commentary on it under the title *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*. Śīlabhadra (7th cen. A.D.) was the head of the Nalanda Buddhist monastery. Hieun Tsang studied Buddhist philosophy under him.

Coming to the Vaibhāṣika School of Hīnayāna a conclave, Saṅgīti, organized under the patronage of Emperor Aśoka of 500 Buddhist Bhiksus headed by Vasumitra had prepared a commentary titled *Vibhāṣā* on the *Jñānaprasthāna* of Ārya Kātyāyani that gave the name to the School. Emperor Kanishka was its great supporter. So were Bhadanta Dharmajāta and

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Ghoṣaka. Udānavagga, Dhammapada, Ekottarāgama, the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa and the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra seem to be connected with this School.

Of the Sautrāntikas no work has survived.

Jainism

The Jainas are the followers of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra (598—527 B.C.) He was the last of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. A Kṣatriya by birth he gave up throne in favour of his younger brother thirty years after the death of his father. Next thirteen years he devoted to thinking of matters spiritual that led to his realization of true knowledge.

Jaina philosophy accepts both Jīva, the personal soul enshrined in the human body imparting to it life, motion and sensation and Prakṛti, the original source of the material world to be two different entities, though eternal. The Jainas believe in re-birth and the theory of Karman. According to them knowledge, Bodhi is present in Jīva though it does not come into the open due to actions performed in earlier births. The physical form determined by the result of actions in previous births comes in the way of progress of Jīva. That is why the body is called in Jaina works as *āvaraṇa*, cover. To get rid of this cover is possible through three ways: *samyag darśana*, proper thinking, *samyag jñāna* proper knowledge, and *samyak cāritra*, proper conduct, called collectively Triratna, the three jewels. *Samyag darśana* is the faith in Jaina doctrines, *samyag jñāna* is to grasp properly the doctrines preached by Jaina spiritual masters, *samyak cāritra* is to put those doctrines in actual practice to remove the cobweb of actions and their fruits that bind Jīva. To put these doctrines in practice would need practicing *ahiṁsā*, non-violence, *sūnṛtāvāk*, the sweet speech, *asteya*, non-stealing, *brahmacarya*, celibacy, *aparigraha*, not accepting anything that is not absolutely necessry. The purpose of Triratna is to make Jīva free of bondage which is his being free of worldly vāsanās

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and sorrows. Unlike the Buddhists the Jainas do not accept the destruction of Jīva as his emancipation. To them it means his entering into the state of bliss. In that state he becomes Arhat, the omniscient.

The most significant contribution of the Jainas to philosophical thinking is their theory of Syādvāda, an effort on their part to solve the contrast between what is abiding and what is constantly undergoing change by proclaiming that in one sense something may be asserted and in the other the same thing may be denied. Anekāntavāda is their Syādvāda. The same thing could be both *nitya* and *anitya*, eternal and non-eternal. The object is measured through the principle of Saptabhaṅgī, the seven ways: 1. *Syād asti*, may be it esists 2. *Syān nāsti*, may be it does not exist 3. *Syād asti nāsti*, may be it exists and does not exist 4. *Syād avaktavyaḥ*, may be it is not possible to be described 5. *Syād asti cāvaktavyaś ca*, may be it exists and it is not possible to describe it 6. *Syān nasti cāvaktavyaś ca*, may be it does not exist and it is not possible to describe it 7. *Syād asti ca nāsty cāvaktavyaś ca*, may be it exisists and does not exist and it is not possible to describe it. According to this doctrine all the objects of the world are both existent and non-existent.

Jainism divides the whole world into two eternal objects (Dravyas) Jīva and Ajīva, the former conscious and the latter unconscious. Jīva is Ātman and Ajīva Anātman. Jīva is the active agent who performs actions *(kartṛ)* and also enjoys their fruit *(bhoktṛ)*. It is complete in itself. It reveals itself as also other objects. It courts bondage due to increasing influence of Pudgala (matter). It is of two kinds, emancipated and under bondage. The emancipated is the one that has true knowledge. It is different from the body but to reap the fruit of actions it puts on body. After embodying itself it becomes a worldly object. In that state it grows big and small and gets expanded and contracted. When the actions are completely destroyed, it becomes omniscient. The knowledge it

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after the destruction of actions. It does not need any outside help like the organs of sense to comprehend it. It alone (*kevala)* is sufficientIt to reveal itself

Ajīvas are those objects that have a physical form. Called Astikāya Ajīvas they are four in number: Dharma, Adharma, Ākāśa and Pudgala. Kāla has no form. It is Anastikāya. Thus Ajīvas both of the Astikāya and Anastikāya type put together number five. Dharma imparts motion to the world though motionless in itself. All Astikāya objects expand in Ākāśa which is of two types, Lokākāśa and Alokākāśa, the former where movement is possible and the latter where it is not. Pudgala is matter. It is that kind of *dravya* that can come together and fall apart (*saṁyoga-viyoga*). Brought together Pudgalas turn into a big object and with reduction in their number the same can be turned into an object of small size. According to Jainas the body is made of Pudgala which is its material cause, *upādāna-kāraṇa* while Jīva is its instrumental/efficient cause, *nimitta-kāraṇa*. In the state of bondage Jīva (Ātman) and Pudgala are commingled like milk and water. For attaining Mokṣa Pudgala has to be taken away from Jīva.

After Mahāvīra his followers got divided into two sects, the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara. The Digambara monks do not put on clothes. According to them women are not eligible for Nirvāṇa, through practicing austerities. The Digambaras do not cover the idols of Tīrthaṅkaras. According to them Mahāvīra practiced celibacy all his life.

The Śvetāmbaras put on white clothes. For them women can also attain emancipation.

The division of the Jainas into two sects had taken place by 1st cen. A.D. The Śvetāmbara sect has a big corpus of literature, both religious and philosophical, while the Digambara sect lacks in religious literature. The Śvetāmbara religious literature has 84 works of which 41 are sūtras. Both the sects do not accept the authority of the Veda. That is the reason the

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theistic Brāhmaṇical philosophers included the Jainas in the group of the atheists.

The earliest Digambara writer who is revered by Śvetāmbaras as well is Kundakunda all of whose works are in Prakrit. The first among those who chose to write in Sanskrit was Umāsvāmin (3rd cen. A. D.). His work the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* is considered an authotative text by the followers of both the sects. He was followed by another wellknown philosopher Divākara of 5th cen. A.D. He wrote a commentary on the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* as also two independent works *Nyāyāvatāra* and *Sammati-sūtra*. In the first half of the 8th cen. A. D. Samantabhadra wrote a commentary on the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* which carried an introduction on it of the name of *Āptamīmāṁsā* and which was known to both Kumārila and Vācaspatimiśra. Other works of Samantabhadra are the *Yuktyanuśāsana* and the *Ratnakāraṇḍaśrāvakācāra*. Probably to this very century belonged Akalaṅka who wrote the *Tattvārtharājavārtika* and the *Aṣṭaśatī* which are commentaries on the *Tattvārthādhigama* and the *Āptamīmāṁsā* respectively. The views of Aklalaṅka met with rebuttal from Kumārila. In his works the *Aṣṭasāhasrī*, the *Tattvārthaślokavārtika*, the *Āptaparīkṣā*, the *Patraparīkṣā*, *Pramāṇaparīkṣā* and the *Pramāṇanirṇaya* Vidyānanda refuted Kumārila and re-established the validity of the views of Akalaṅka. Prabhācandra, the pupil of Kundakunda wrote on Jaina logic the works *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa* and the *Nyāyakumudacandrodaya*. Besides the above, a Digambara philosopher of the name of Śubhacandra of the last part of the 8th and the early part of the 9th cen. A.D. wrote a work under the title *Jñānārṇava* which is in verse.

The earliest philosopher of the Śvetāmbara sect of the Jainas is Haribhadra who apart from writing a commentary on Diṅnāga's *Nyāyapraveśa* wrote the works the *Saddarśanasamuccaya*, the *Lokatattvanirnaya*, the

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Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya, the *Yogabindu* and the *Dharmabindu*. Towards the last part of the 9th cen. A.D. Amṛtacandra wrote two works the *Tattvārthasāra* and the *Puruṣārthasiddhyupāya* apart from writing commentaries on some works. An important work of Jaina philosophy is Hemacandra's *Pramāṇamīmāṁsā*. Mallisena of the 13th cen. A.D. wrote a commentary *Syādvādamañjarī* on Hemacandra's *Anyayogavyavacchedikā*. To this very century belongs Āśādhara whose *Dharmāmṛta* is particularly noteworthy. In the15th cen. A.D. Sakalakīrti wrote a voluminous work the *Tattvārthasāradīpikā* in tweve chapters. In the same century wrote Śrutasāgara the works *Jinendrayajñavidhi* and the *Tattvārthadīpikā*. In the 17th cen. A.D. Yaśovijaya wrote the works *Jñānabinduprakaraṇa* and the *Jñānasāgara*.

Cārvāka

This school of philosophy is entirely different from others. About its nomenclature there is difference among scholars. According to some it came to be so called because its originator had the name Cārvāka. According to others Cārvāka is a corrupt form, *apabhraṁśa*, of *cāruvāk* meaning pleasant speech. To the adherents of this view the enjoyment of this world is the ultimate aim of life. The system is also known by a couple of other names like Lokāyata, Vastuvāda, Jaḍavāda. In it the inert matter *Jaḍa-padārtha* is accepted as the ultimate truth because that is the only thing that can be perceived, a typical materialistic approach. For Cārvāka there is only one *pramāṇa*, the *pratyakṣa* and no other. For him whatever is *pratyakṣa* is real. Everything else, the heaven, the other world, *paraloka* etc. is unreal. The creation comes into being according to him through the four elements only: earth , water, fire and wind. The consciousness appears in the body with the combination of the above four just as appears redness with the combination of betel leaf, arecanut, catechu-bark (kattha in Hindi) and lime. The release from the

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body, i.e. death, itself is Mokṣa. The happiness and sorrow in the world are the heaven and hell. There is no other world than this one. For Cārvāka there is no Karman theory, no re-birth. For him the aims of life, the *purūṣārthas*, are Artha and Kama only. There is no place for Dharma and Mokṣa. The Cārvāka view is summed up in the following verse:

yāvaj jīvet sukhaṁ jīved ṛṇaṁ kṛtvā ghṛtaṁ pibet/
bhasmībhūtasya dehasya punar āgamanaṁ kutaḥ//

"So long as one is to live, one should live happily. One should help himself with ghee (even by) incurring debt. How can the body that has been reduced to ashes come back?"

Strange as though it may appear, there is no basic work on the Cārvāka system. *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* has a chapter on Cārvāka philosophy in all its aspects. It is also dealt with in an independent work of the name *Tattvopaplavasiṁha*. It is known also through stray references in older works.

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SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL LITERATURE

Astronomy

Called as *jyotiṣāṁ gatiḥ* and listed as one of the six *aṅgas*, limbs, the auxiliaries of the Vedas to aid the correct interpretation of their text, it has three divisions of Siddhāntajyotiṣa, astronomy, Phalitajyotiṣa, astrology and Gaṇita, mathematics. It was a discipline very well-known during the Vedic period. The people of that period knew the constellations, the nakṣatras. According to Weber the *Ṛgveda*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* and the *Atharvaveda* refer to some of the nakṣatras. From this it could be surmised that with the discovery of the constellations astronomy would have started to register its progress. The planets find mention in the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*. The earliest available texts on astronomy are those of Āryabhaṭa. They are: the *Āryabhaṭīya* of ten stanzas, the *Daśagītikāsūtra* and the *Āryāṣṭaka*. Next to Āryabhaṭa was Varāhamihira who had died in 587 A.D. His astronomical work is the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, the text dealing with the five siddhāntas, which are (1) Paitāmaha, (2), Romaka, (3), Pauliśa, (4) Sūrya, (5) Vasiṣṭha. In the Paitāmaha it is the study of the sun and the moon, in Romaka, as is clear from the name itself, it is the study

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of the views on astronomy of the Romans which had, unlike the Indian system of dividing time into Yugas, the ages (Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara, Kali) had their own system of division called Metonic. It calculated the movement of the sun and the moon around the meridian. It also dealt with the eclipses. The Pauliśa had developed the Tables of Sines and thus had contributed significantly to the discipline of astronomy. In it is also dealt with the movement of the planets and the constellations. Of all these Siddhāntas the Sūryasiddhānta is the most realistic. It deals with the rules of Equation. The Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta occupies itself with the position and the movement of planets. All these principles are an evidence that by the time of Varāhamihira the discipline of Astronomy had developed considerably in India.

Of the works written on Astronomy after Varāhamihira mention can be made of *Śiṣyadhīvṛddhitantra* of Lalla around 748 A.D. The work was commented upon by Bhāskara in 1150 A.D. Useful also in the field are the works *Brahmasphuṭa-siddhānta* and the *Khaṇḍanakhādyaka* of Brahmagupta of the 7th cen. A.D. Around 1150 A.D. Āryabhaṭa, an astronomer other than the one of the same name referred to above, wrote the work *Āryasiddhānta*. In the 11th cen. A.D. Bhoja wrote the *Rājamṛgāṅka* and Śatānanda the *Bhāsvatī*. The most noteworthy work after that of Varāhamihira is that of Bhāskarācārya. Titled *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* it is divided in four parts. Another work of his is the *Karaṇakutūhala*. *Vidyāmādhavīya* of an anonymous author which had been written before 1350 A.D. explains in detail the views of such authorities as Vasiṣṭha, Bṛhaspati, Gārgya and so on. *Vṛddhavasiṣṭhasaṁhitā* is another work of note in the field. So is the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* ascribed to Kālidāsa though it is a work of a later date.

Astrology

Astrology as a separate discipline had been pursued in India since very early times. The works of Varāhamihira eclipsed those of earlier authors. That is the reason none of these is

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available at present except some damaged portions of the *Vṛddhagargasaṁhitā*. A work titled *Yavanajātaka* written in Nepali script which still is in manuscript records the fact that a Yavana (Greek) ruler had transcribed his work, originally written in his language, in Sanskrit and had given it the present form. According to Bhaṭṭotpala of 1000 A.D. it follows the Śaka era which when converted to the Christian era would put its composition to 169 A.D. A work of the same title was produced by one Sphūrtidhvaja in 268 A.D. Again, a work under the title *Vṛddhayavanajātaka* was written by an author of the same name, date unknown, which has 8000 stanzas. All these Yavanajātakas discuss the problems of predictions in the Yavana country

Varāhamihira divides Astronomy in four parts: Tantra which discusses Astronomy, Siddhāntajyotiṣa which concerns itself with Mathematics, Horā which centres on birth chart and Phalitajyotiṣa, which deals with prediction. The best acclaimed work of Varāhamihira is the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* which in its 106 chapters deals with such diverse subjects as the nature of the constellations and the planets, their movement and their influence on human life, the Indian geography, the indications about the climate, the characteristic features of men and women (which would determine their being auspicious or inauspicious, good or bad), the omens and their interpretation and marriage. The work is commented upon by Bhaṭṭotpala. About marriage, *vivāha* Varāhamihira has written two other works, the *Bṛhadvivāhaphala* and the *Svalpavivāhaphala*. In the field of Astrology two of his most wellknown works are the *Bṛhajjātala* and the *Laghujātaka*.

Pṛthuyaśas, the son of Varāhamihira of 600 A.D. wrote a work *Horāśatapañjikā* which also was commentd upon by Bhaṭṭotpala who himself wrote a work *Horāśāstra* which is the most popular manual on Astronomy/Astrology. It commands wide readership even at present.

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The *Vidyāmādhavīya* and the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* are two other works of note on Astrology. A few others on the discipline are Bhoja's *Vidvajjanavallabha*, Harṣakīrti's *Jyotiṣoddhāra*, and Nīlakaṇṭha's *Saṅjñātantra* and *Varṣatantra*.

It may not be out of context to refer here to bird-omens, prognostication and palmistry. A good work on the last one is the *Samudratilaka* of Durlabha and his son Jagaddeva (12th Cen. A.D.). An equally good work on dreams is the *Svapnacintāmaṇi* of Jagaddeva. The *Adbhutasāgara* of Vallālasena and his son Lakṣmaṇasena of the 12th cen. A.D. deals with prognostication while the *Ramalarahasya* of Bhayabhañjana deals with Geomancy with the help of line drawings and figures.

Mathematics

Mathematics evolved in India as part of Astronomy. Āryabhaṭa was one such astronomer who dealt with mathematics in the background of Astronomy (Siddhāntajyotiṣa). Of 108 verses in the Āryā metre of his *Daśagītikāsūtra* 33 deal with nathematics, 25 with time calculation and 20 with sphere (maṇḍala). It was he who propounded the theory that the earth is round in shape and that it moves on its circumference, a view that finds resonance with modern scientists. His views on eclipse also tally with theirs. Bhāskāracarya, the pupil of Āryabhaṭa wrote two works the *Laghubhāskarīya* and *Mahābhāskarīya*. Born in 598 A.D. Brahmagupta wrote in 628 A.D. the work *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*. His theorum going after his name as Brahmagupta's theorum forms part of the syllabus in Mathematics course in present day schools and colleges of India. Another work of his *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* which he wrote in 665 A.D. derives much help from mathematical calculations in his treatment of Astronomy. In the 10th cen. A.D. Mahāvīrācārya wrote the *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha* which is easier and simpler than Brahmagupta's work and has also something of geometry in it. The *Triśatī* of Śrīdhara (991 A.D.) deals with quadratic equations.

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The most prominent of the mathematicians of India was the great Bhāskarācarya of 1150 A.D. who immortalized himself with his work the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* which has two sections, one the Līlāvatī on Arithmetic and the other Bījagaṇita on Algebra. About the Līlāvatī there is an anecdote which bears reproduction here. Bhāskarācārya had a daughter of the name Līlāvatī. She lost her husband shortly after her marriage. Shattered by that she would be crying all the time. Having come to know of it, Bhāskāracārya brought her to his house from that of his in-laws. There too she would remain morose and melancholy. Noticing that, Bhāskarācārya thought of diverting her mind to something constructive. He introduced her to Arithmatic in which she developed interest which grew into passion gradually so much so that she began to invent her own calculations which so pleased the father that he decided to name the section dealing with Arithmatic in his monumental work after her.

The discussion on Mathematics may be closed with the mention of the work *Pārsīprakāśa* written in 1643 by Mālajit wherein he had evolved a method whereby Hindu dates could be converted into Muslim ones and vice versa. The Mughal Emperor Shahjahan had honoured him with the conferment of the title 'Vedāṅgarāya' for this feat of his.

There is an impression not only among the common people but also even among scholars that the ancient Indians payed more attention to religion and philosophy, grammar and poetics, lexicography and medicine and general literature; poetry, prose, drama, campū and so on. How erroneous it is is proved by the availability of material, though scanty, about disciplines like science and technology. The first discipline being taken up for notice here, under this category, is agriculture and gardening.

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Agriculture and Gardening

Since ages, India has been primarily an agricultural country with farming as the principal occupation of the people. Setting up of big industries which has led to its emergence as one of the ten most industrialized nations of the world, is a recent phenomenon. With agriculture as its mainstay it was natural for ancient Indian thinkers to devote themselves in discovering ways and means for proper maintenance of farms and fields, the proper choice of seeds, crop rotation, irrigation, plant diseases and their cure. Apart from traditional knowledge handed down from generation to generation, scientific manuals on the subject of agriculture and farming came to be produced, the more noteworthy of them being the *Kṛṣigītā*, the *Kṛṣiparāśara*, the *Kṛṣisamayanirṇaya* and so on. Quite a few of such works are still in manuscript.

Ancient Indians were well aware of the nature of soil and various methods of improving its fertility in order to get good yield. Plants were treated with decoctions to get exuberant growth. The materials, mentioned as manure in the Sanskrit works, contain nitrogen and phosphorus which are essential for nutrition of plants. The methods of preparing manures and their applications have elicited high praise from modern scientists.

Just as the ancient Indians were aware of the nature of the soil and the various methods for raising its fertility, they were also familiar with the preventive and the curative medicine for plants. The ancient works deal extensively with plant diseases; their names, their symptoms, their causes, their curative methods. They mention preparation and sprinkling of the kuṇapa water for bringing the crops to normalcy when harmed by bad soil, wrong treatment and excessive watering. Planting of medicinal herbs in the vicinity of the crops is prescribed while excessive smoking is proscribed.

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Enviornment protection

The family in ancient India was not restricted to living beings: it extended to inanimate things as well like trees with all their six varieties, the shrubs, the creepers, the climbers, the winding plants (*vallī*), the bamboos (*tvaksāra*) and the reeds, the straw, the grass and other plantations in this category (*tṛṇajāti*). The *Mahābhārata* finds great virtue in planting them. The trees are the sons, says the great work, for one who plants them, *tasya putrā bhavanty* ete, and it is his bounden duty to look after them and bring them up, *putravat paripālyāś ca putrās te dharmataḥ smṛtāḥ*.

It is not only human beings who would adopt them as sons; even the gods would do so.

In the conversation between Dilīpa and lion in the *Raghuvaṁśa* the lion refers to a tree, the Devadāru, which had been adopted by Lord Śiva as His son with Goddess Pārvatī Herself watering it:

amuṁ puraḥ paśyasi devadāruṁ
putrīkṛto 'sau vṛṣabhadhvajena/
yo hemakumbhastananiḥsṛtānāṁ
skandasya mātuḥ payasāṁ rasajñaḥ//

Once a wild elephant while scratching its temple had rubbed it off its skin. By that Pārvatī was overpowered with grief much like the grief she had felt when her son Skanda was smitten all over with the missiles of the demons:

kaṇḍūyamānena kaṭaṁ kadācid
vanyadvipenonmathitā tvag asya/
athainam adres tanayā śuśoca
senānyam ālīḍham ivāsurāstraiḥ//

It is in India that the trees and plants have been invested with divinity and are worshipped in all reverence. Lord Kṛṣṇa proclaims Aśvattha, the Peepul tree, as His own form: *aśvatthaḥ sarvavṛkṣāṇām*. It is said that one who plants five āmras (literally

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the word means a mango tree but in its extended sense it has come to denote a tree in general), the five trees, does not go to hell. The trees are:

aśvattha ekaḥ picumarda eko
dvau campakau trīṇi ca kesarāṇi/
saptātha tālā navanārikelāḥ
pañcāmraropī narakaṁ na yāti//

This enumeration is according to the *Tithitattva (Śabda - Kalpadruana)*. According to the *Varāha-purāṇa* it is:

aśvattham ekaṁ picumardam ekaṁ
nyagrodham ekaṁ daśa puṣpajātīḥ/
dve dve tathā dāḍimamātuliṅge
pañcāmraropī narakaṁ na yāti//

The nature of the āmras, as would be clear from the above, differs, except for aśvattha and picumarda, in both the texts. While in the *Tithinirṇaya* they are aśvattha, picumarda, one each, two campakas, three kesaras, seven tālas (palm trees) and nine nārikelas (coconut trees), in the *Varāha-purāṇa* they are aśvattha and picumarda, one each, one nyagrodha, ten puṣpajātis, and dāḍima (pomegranate) and mātuliṅga, two each. According to the *Skanda-purāṇa* (VI,. 252-49) and the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa Uttaraparvan, 122-11)*. it is :

aśvattham ekaṁ picumandam ekaṁ
nyagrodham ekaṁ daśa ciñciṇīkam/
kapitthabilvāmalakītrayaṁ ca
pañcāmraropī narakaṁ na paśyet//

"One aśvattha, one picumanda, one nyagrodha, ten ciñciṇīkas and one each of the three kapittha, bilva and āmalaki—one who plants (these) five āmras will not see hell."

In this enumeration aśvattha, picumarda—there is a slight difference in spelling; it is picumanda here and nyagrodha are common to the *Varāha-purāṇa* enumeration. The figure ten goes here with ciñciṇīka while in the *Varaha-purāṇa* it goes with puṣpajāti. The figure here [illegible] sixteen.

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The figure five, *pañca*, in the stanzas seems to be just indicatory, *upalakṣaṇa*. The number totals up, according to the first stanza to twenty three, according to the second one to seventeen and according to the third one to sixteen. Anyway, what is significant here is the importance given to the plantation of trees. Not to go to hell is the motivation mentioned here to urge the people, *prarocanā*, to go in for tree-plantation.

The planting of trees in India especially those with fruits and flowers and of medicinal value is considered auspicious. It is believed that Lakṣmī stays for generations in the houses of the people who plant trees like bilva, kapittha, āmalaka and āmra. Several Subhāṣitas extol their planting and maintenance. The *Daśakūpasama* says that one tank in earning merit is like ten wells, one lake for the same is like ten tanks, ten lakes for the same is like one son but one tree for the same is equal to having ten sons.

In India the earth is accorded the status of mother. In the Pṛthivīsūkta of the *Atharvaveda* the *ṛṣi* proclaims that he is the son of the earth: *mātā bhūmiḥ putro 'haṁ pṛthivyāḥ*. It is in India alone that forgiveness is begged of the earth for setting foot on it, the mother, the adored and the revered:

samudraraśane devi parvatastanamaṇḍite/
Viṣṇupatni namas tubhyaṁ pādakṣepaṁ kṣamasva me//

The same kind of forgiveness is begged of a tree by a carpenter for felling and sawing it for the wood needed for fashioning doors and windows of a house:

yanīha bhūtāni vasanti tāni
baliṁ gṛhītvā vidhivat prayuktam/
anyatra vāsaṁ parikalpayantu
kṣamantu te cādya namo 'stu tebhyaḥ//

While referring to the earth it will not be out of place to make a reference to an episode where it figures with environmental overtones. Once while King Pṛthu was on the throne the earth went to Brahmā and complained to Him that the

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king was tormenting her. On being summoned, the king told the Lord that he was doing so because the earth was not yielding sufficient food for his subjects. In self-defence the earth said that it was so because the subjects had far too much exploited her upper crust with the result that her productivity had declined. Brahmā then asked the earth to assume the form of a cow and supply the milk (the remainder of it after the calf had sucked) to the subjects to hold on. This went on well for some time after which Pṛthu went to Brahmā and told him that his subjects were feeling uneasy; they wanted shelter now. Brahmā advised that they could dig into the earth for putting up pillars for building houses but then the digging has to be done gently without hurting the earth too much. The Lord also advised the earth to withstand the hurt caused to her by digging and pounding. The above episode exemplifies the concern of the ancient Indians to soil erosion, that is what the loss of the upper crust is, a fact to which the present-day agricultural experts and environmentalists are drawing pointed attention. Further, indiscriminate digging and pounding, and that too deep, is certain to cause upheaval in ecolgy which could be detrimental to the natural state of the earth.

The ancient Indians were conscious that while they need environment, the environment too needs them. The respect for nature and the concept of environmental harmony have been fostered in the Indian psyche through scriptures, religious codes and mythology. The ancient Indians understood and underscored the inter-relation between themselves and the Mother Nature. This idea finds expression in Sanskrit literature in a telling manner. For instance, the *Mahābhārata* says that without a forest cover the tiger is slain, without a tiger the forest is felled. Hence a tiger should protect the forest and the forest should protect the tiger:

nirvaṇo vadhyate vyāghro nirvyāghraṁ chidyate vanam/
tasmād vyāghro vanaṁ rakṣed vanaṁ vyāghraṁ ca pālayet/

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After planting, the trees have to be nurtured by watering. For watering also there is the incentive, the *prarocanā*, viz., satisfying the manes: *āmrāś ca siktāḥ pitaraś ca prīṇitāḥ*, you water the āmras (trees) and please the manes. With one stroke two goals are achieved: *ekā kriyā dvyarthakarī prasiddhā*.

It is also said that where there is a grove of Tulasī plants, the chanting of the name of the Lord (Hari) and a congregation of His devotees, the Lord (Hari) is present there Himself:

tulasīkānanaṁ yatra hareḥ saṅkīrtanaṁ tathā/
tadbhaktasamavāyaś ca tatra sannihito hariḥ//

The leaves of the mango, the bilva and the plantain trees are sacred to the Indians. So are the coconut fruits, the betel leaf and the aracanut which serve as offerings to gods. Of the types of grass or straw it is kuśa which carries the palm, its mats occupying the pride of place in auspicious ceremonies.

Just as there were texts on farming, there were texts on plants like the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* of Parāśara and Surapāla, the *Upavanavinoda* and so on. Besides these texts specifically dealing with agriculture and plants, the texts on Āyurveda and the lexica with their sections on Vanauṣadhis, the *Vanauṣadhivarga*, are an important source of information about agricultural and the forest produce. The ancient Indians had an intimate contact with nature. They were therefore quite familiar with the bewildering variety of crops and plants dotting the landscape. Even the literary works abound with their names and the uses to which they were put by society. The great poet Kālidāsa starts his *Abhijñānaśākuntala* with a reference to the śirīṣa flowers being used by women as ear-rings and the make-up of the bride with flowers, a custom still current in the Pandit community of Kashmir. The entire Sanskrit literature needs to be visited with a view to identifying the names of crops, trees, creepers and flowers mentioned there. The *Hārītasaṁhitā*, the *Carakasaṁhitā*, the *Rāja Nighantu*, the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* and the *Vṛkṣāyurveda* refer to the sexuality of plants.

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Laying of gardens

While the planting of trees is important, the laying of gardens is equally so. In ancient India it was the foremost duty of a king to maintain beautiful gardens in the city. Kauṭilya included gardens and fields under the term Vāstu. Purāṇas like *Matsya* emphasise laying of gardens and digging of wells. The ancient Indians analysed the quality of soil before laying gardens. The ground with plenty of water and with sprouts was considered ideal for the purpose.

Maintenance of parks mainly depends on the availability of water. In dry places where it is scarce, it is advised to draw water from sub-soil.

Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* is the biggest and perhaps the only source about the state of hydrological knowledge of ancient India. There was a special method called dakārgalā to determine the sub-soil water. It is gathered from the old texts that the ancient Indians were the greatest water harvesters. They had made a thorough study of the underground water veins with perfected systems for homes, agriculture and horticulture.

Maintaining Greenery

The Sanskrit literature emphasises on the importance of maintaining greenery everywhere. It is replete with references to different types of fruits and flowers.

The Indians of yore gave flowers the foremost place in worship and the art of aesthetics. Plants like mallikā, śirīṣa, campaka, atimukta, and ketakī have found repeated mention in the ancient texts.

Aeronautics

Reference has already been made to an aerial car, the Puṣpaka Vimāna in the context of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The car was placed at the disposal of Rāma for his return from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā. It was a marvel of architecture. There is no reference to any pilot

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having driven it. It seems to have been pilotless like the drone of today. The *Rāmāyaṇa* calls it *kāmaga*, moving at will, probably the will of the passenger/s.

There is a reference to the aerial car in the *Abhijñanaśākuntala* of Kālidāsa as well. The context is the return of Duṣyanta to the earth after having assisted Indra in his fight against the demons. The car is driven by Mātali, the charioteer of Indra. The description of the descent of the car seems to have been drawn from actual experience of jouney by it. It presents a wonderful sight which is captured in the play in winsome phraseology:

śailānām avarohatīva śikharād unmajjatāṁ medinī
parṇābhyantaralīnatāṁ vijahati skandhodayāt pādapāḥ/
santānais tanubhāvanaṣṭasalilā vyaktiṁ bhajanty āpagāḥ
kenāpyutkiṣpateva paśya bhuvanaṁ matpārśvam ānīyate//

"The earth descends as it were, from the summit of mountains, rising into prominence; the trees by their trunks coming into view lose their state of being enveloped in the foliage; the rivers whose waters had vanished in the narrowness, become manifest as they assume magnitude; behold, the earth is being brought near to me (lit. to my side) as if by someone flinging it upwards (7.8).

It is not only Kālidāsa even Bhavabhūti and Rājaśekhara also refer in their works to flying vehicles. The more noteworthy in this connection is the descripton in the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha* of Buddhasvāmin of a flying car in the context of Vāsavadattā's pregnancy wish (*dohada*). The whole of the fifth canto of the work is devoted to an episode where there is reference to this type of vehicle. The episode is: Udayana's minister Rumaṇvat calls all the carpenters in the kingdom and enquires of them if they can make a vehicle that can fly in the sky. They reply in the negative, they knowing only four types of vehicles that do not include the type under

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reference. The Yavanas knew such vehicles but they had not met them. A Brāhmaṇa at that point speaks of an artisan of the name of Pukvasaka in the kingdom of Mahāsena whose son-in-law would make such type of vehicles. He would use it in coming from Vārāṇasī to Ujjayinī to meet his consort. The *Ākāśayantravijñāna* (the knowledge about the science of Aeronautics) vanished with his death.

All this shows that the ancient Indians had quite some knowledge of the science of Aeronautics. There were full fledged texts on the subject which went at that time by the name Vaimānika-śāstra. Several decades back the Sanskrit Parishad of Mysuru discovered a rare work *Yantrasarvasva* of the sage Bharadvāja which devotes a chapter to the science of Aeronautics. It deals therein with such topics as the construction of an aeroplane, the different types of fuels for its operation and the causes for accidents and the means to avoid them. Apart from this, the other texts dealing with Aeronautics are *Śaktisūtras* of Agastya, *Saudāmanīkalā* of Īśvara, *Vāyutattvaprakaraṇa* of Śākaṭāyana, *Vaiśvamārutatantra* of the same, *Dhūmaprakaraṇa* of Nārada, *Vyomayānatantra* of Śaunaka, *Vimānacandrikā* of Nārāyaṇa.

Other Miscellaneous Disciplines

Indians had made great strides in almost all disciplines. It is really unfortunate that not many works on them have survived.

Archery, Dhanurveda, is considered a subsidiary Veda, Upa-veda. Very little literature on this is available at present. Viśvāmitra, Vikramāditya, Sadāśiva and Śārṅgadatta are known to have composed works on this discipline but none of these has survived. Only a solitary work that touches some points of the subject in the context of its treatment of military science is the *Vīracintāmaṇi* of Śārṅgadhara of 1363 A.D.

Pālakāpya and Śālihotra are the two disciplines that deal with elephants and horses respectively. Only two works that deal with elephants are available at present. These are the

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Hastyāyurveda which deals with the treatment of the ailments of the elephants and the *Mātaṅgalīlā* of Nārāyaṇa which deals with everything concerning elephants; their catching, their rearing, their training and so on. On the *Aśvavidyā*, there are works like the *Aśvāyurveda* by Gaṇa, the *Aśvavaidyaka* by Jayadatta and Dīpaṅkara, *Yogamañjarī* of Vardhamāna and the *Aśvacikitsā* of Nakula.

There is some literature on arts and crafts and architecture. There are works like *Manuṣyālayacandrikā* which has seven chapters, the *Mayamata* which has 34 chapters, the *Yuktikalpataru* which has 23 chapters, the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* of Bhoja and Sanatkumāra, the *Vāstuśāstra* and the *Viśvakarmaprakāśa*, the *Vāstumaṇḍana* and the *Prāsādamaṇḍana* of the royal architect of King Kumbhakarṇa (1426-1489) and some portion of the *Vṛttasaṁhitā*, the *Matsya-purāṇa*, the *Agni-purāṇa*, the *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* and the *Kāśyapasaṁhitā*, the *Śilparatna* of Śrīkumāra that deal with the discipline. The *Mayamata*, *Sanatkumāra-vāstuśāstra* and the *Mānasāra* deal with iconography as well. Works were written even on gemology. Some of the more prominent of them are the *Agastimata*, the *Ratnaparīkṣā* of Buddhabhaṭṭa and the *Navaratnaparīkṣā* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita.

There must have been well developed science of cooking in ancient India. Unfortunately there is only one work the *Nalapāka* available at present on the subject. It is ascribed to King Nala who is said to have been expert in the art of cooking. In the *Mahābhārata* when the Pāṇḍavas had to conceal their identity in terms of the punishment meted out to them for defeat in the game of dice they took up service in different garbs in the palace of King Virāṭa. There one of them, Bhīma opted for the job of a cook because of his expertise in the art of cooking. Though there are no texts available at present on cooking there is enough material available about it in Sanskrit works of old. A study of it carried out systematically would yield much valuable information in this connection. Pioneering efforts in

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this direction were made, one by Veena Sharma in her article "Concept of Cooking in Pāṇinian Grammar"[1] and the other by Aswin P.M in his article "Food and Food Habits mentioned in the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra.*"[2]. Boiled rice or *odana* was the staple food in India in the ancient and the medieval periods as it is even now in most parts of India. The rules of Pāṇini and the works belonging to the Pāṇinian school furnish enough evidence for it. It is known from those rules that the ancient people helped themselves with two kinds of foods – chief *anna* and auxiliary *vyañjana*. The chief food mainly consisted of cooked rice called *odana* or *bhakta* from which has derived the Hindi term *bhāt*. The best variety of it was grown on the bank of the river Devikā. The *Kāśikā* refers to it: *devikākūle bhavāḥ śālayaḥ = devikakūla-śālayaḥ*. All grammarians explain the act of cooking in the following manner: placing the cooking pot on the stove, *adhiśrayaṇa*, pouring water into the pot, *udasecana*, putting rice grains into pot *taṇḍulāvapana*, continuous fuelling of stove, *edhopaskaraṇa*. The cooking pot was called *sthālī*, vide the example *randhanāya sthālī*. The *amatra* was a term in use for utensil. The cup in which food was served was called *śarāva*, vide *Kāśikā, śarāveṣu uddhṛtaḥ = śārāva odanaḥ*. The example māllika denotes that sometimes rice and other foods were served in a cup made of coconut shell or in a cup called *karpara*, vide *Kāśikā, kārpara odanaḥ*. There were various kinds of food items, some made of flour—the flour being of any kind, of śāli, vrīhi, barley or wheat—called *piṣṭaka*, some of rice with curd or without it, some called *sūpa*, prepared from several lentils which was sometimes garnished with salt, clarified butter and radish with a mix of tamarind. As for the non-vegeterian food there is a reference of rice mixed with meat, *māṁsodana* as also

1. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Wisdom*, (Dr. Satya Vrat Shastri Felicitation Volume), Part II, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi, 2005, pp. 427-430.
2. Journal of Sukritindra Oriental Research Institute, Kochi, Kerala, Vol. 18, No. 2, April 2017, pp. 73-85.

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ghṛtasūpa, mūlakasūpa or ginger and pepper fried in ghee or oil or tamarind, *śārṅgaverikam, mārīcikam, taintiḍīkam,* vide Pan. *Saṁskṛtam,* 4.4.3 and the meat baked on iron bar *śūlākaroti māṁsam, vide* Pāṇ. *śūlāt pāke,* 5.4.65, etc.

As evidence of the vast sweep of the Indians in various disciplines is the existence of the 'discipline' of theft. There is detailed reference to it in the context of a thief Śarvilaka breaking into the house of Cārudatta, the hero of the play *Mṛcchakaṭika,* who first makes a breach in fencing wall in the grove of trees round the house. He pulls out bricks to make a hole. Finding two persons asleep inside, he wants to make sure whether they are actually sleeping or feigning sleep. He sends a dummy first. Finding that there are only musical instruments in the room and to make sure that the owner is really poor and has no wealth buried underground he scatters magical seeds which not expanding convinces him that he is really poor. The entire scene shows the playwright's intimate acquaintance with the methods, the means and the strategy of the thieves or the art of theft, if it can be called as such. Interestingly, there are patron deities for such activities like Kumāra Kārtikeya to whom prayers are offered before undertaking them or at the end when the mission is successful. The thieves call themselves Skandaputras, the sons of Skanda: *prathamam etat skandaputrāṇāṁ siddhilakṣaṇam.* It is a matter of investigation as to how Skanda came to be associated with such nefarious activities. Further, the thief refers to certain *ācāryas,* the authorities on the art like Kanakaśakti who have recorded four types of burglary, the Sandhi-bhedas, the pulling out of the baked bricks, the cutting through of the unbaked ones, the sprinkling of those made of earth clods and chipping of those of made of wood. The other ācāryas referred to are Bhāskaranandin and Yogācārya. The latter the thief claims as his teacher who had given him a magic ointment which would render him invisible to the police and make him immune to attack by a weapon.

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Indians had good knowledge of Chemistry as well. The most important name associated with this discipline is that of Nāgārjuna who is considered an authority on the twin disciplines of Medicine and Chemistry. The Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang (629-645 A.D) refers to various alloys of mercury and iron prepared by him. The tradition is that he had written a work on Chemistry. Even Suśruta is credited with preparing various chemical ingredients and their uses. In the works *Rasārṇava* and *Rasaratnasamuccaya* are mentioned the methods of extracting zinc from various minerals. Even the Buddhists had taken great strides in the field. The iron pillar at Mehrauli in Delhi is a wonder of the metallurgical knowledge of the ancient Indians. For hundreds of years it has stood in the open but has suffered no rust or erosion.

Even music has made great progrees in India. Apart from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, a number of important works on the discipline are the *Saṅgītamakaranda*, the *Saṅgītasudarśana* of Sudarśana, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva, the *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* of Dāmodara and the *Rāgavibodha* of Somanātha.

The paucity of literature on dance is rather surprising. Apart from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the other works on the discipline are the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, *Śrīhastamuktāvali* and the *Nartananirṇaya* etc.

As for painting there is profuse material available in the extant Sanskrit literature but there are few independent works on the subject. It is only the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* that has a separate section on it.

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MODERN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

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31

POETRY

The antiquity of poetry in India goes back to an hoary antiquity. Its character, however, has registered substantial changes, down the ages. From the religious poetry of the Vedas it turned into a simple narrative poetry of the epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, from the narrative poetry of the epics and the Purāṇas it switched over to the highly sophisticated and ornate poetry of the Mahākāvyas. The same happened in subject matter as well. It was court poetry in the epics, devotional poetry in the stotras, eulogistic poetry in the praśastis and gnomic and didactic poetry in the Nītikāvyas and the subhāṣitas. From depicting the lives of the kings and their exploits in the epics in the ancient and the medieval periods, it came to mirror in the modern Kāvyas the life of the common people and record the contemporary events and the lives of the personalities accounting for them. The number of Kāvyas of all types, the Mahākāvyas, the Khaṇḍakāvyas, the Prabandhakāvyas and the Muktakakāvyas compares very favourably with that in any other language, Indian and foreign.

Exposure to a new world does exercise its influence on the people. Sanskrit literature could be no exception to it. Even in this tradition-bound literature new forms of writing emerged, new ideas crept in, new metres appeared, free and blank verse [illegible] produced in the early part of

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the last century, the *Sāhityavaibhava*[1] and the *Jayapuravaibhava*[2], their author the late Bhatta Mathura Nath Shastri employs many Hindi metres, Doha, Soratha, Chaupai, Alha and so on and also tries his hand at the Urdu metres like Bahare Hazaz Mussaddas Mahzuf, Bahare Raman Musamman Mahzuf and so on. Many Sanskrit periodicals at present carry poems in the form of Quawwalis and Gazals called in Sanskrit form by their composers on the basis of sound analogy Kākalikā and Kajjalikā/Galajjalika* respectively. Quite a few of the modern Sanskrit poets have modelled their poems on film songs and set them to popular tunes. The *Abhinavarāgagovinda*[3] of Shiva Prasad Bharadwaj merits notice in this regard. Free verse unknown in old Sanskrit is common enough in modern one. Some of the more bold ones among the present-day Sanskritists have started composing on what is known in Hindi as Akavitā, Non-poetry.

Some western critics have deplored the lack of historical sense in India. Though there is a good number of works in Sanskrit which deal with different rulers and their dynasties particularly in the medieval period, they are more narrative than factual history, with everything, history, legend, myth and poetry mixed up in them. With excellent poetry, they could no doubt, pass off as nice Kāvyas, they being styled by critics as historical Kāvyas with their historical setting. The nearest approach to a sobre historical work is the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. This deficiency of good historical works presenting faithful accounts of men and events and still retaining their poetical character is more than made up by some of the modern works like the *Bhāratānuvarṇana*[4] of T. Ganapati Sastri, the *Bhāratīyam Itivṛttam*[5] of Ramavatar Sharma and the *Bhāratetihāsa*[6] of Indra.

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* Recently, in 2014 Mahesh Jha, a poet from Bihar has brought out a collection of hundred Gazals in Sanskrit under the title *Galajjalikāśatakam*, Bhagawati Prakashan Kalayatanam, Mungher.

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Vidyavachaspati. The independence movement and the history of India in the post-indepence period right up to the present time finds a detailed treatment at the hands of Rewa Prasad Dwivedi in his *Svātantryasambhava*[7], a voluminous Mahākāya in 75 cantos. On certain specific periods of the history of India we have some good works like the *Śryaṅkakāvya*[8] of Kavi Krishna Kaur Mishra which in its sixteen cantos gives a detailed history of the Sikh period. The *Sikhagurucarita*[9] and the *Sikhagurusiddhāntapārijāta*[10] respectively of Raghunath Lakshman Upasani and Har Singh Sadhu describe in detail the life and teachings of Sikh Gurus, throwing in between considerable light on the history of the Sikh period. The *Jayapurarājavaṁśāvali*[11] of Ram Nath Nand gives a comprehensive account of the Jaipur rulers. So does give the *Cālukyacarita*[12] of Lakshmi Narasimha Swami of the Chalukya kings. The *Jhāṅsīśvarīcarita*[13] of Subodh Chandra Pant gives the life history of Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi. The *Raktāktahimālaya*[14], a Mahākāvya in twenty-one Śikharas by Parameshwar Datt Tripathi describes the Chinese invasion on India and the *Bāṅglādeśaḥ*[15], a Khaṇḍakāvya in 208 stanzas traces the history in brief of the formation of Bangladesh. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa which had been brought uptodate twice in the post-Kalhaṇa period is brought further uptodate by Govind Rajanaka in the form of a Mahākāvya published serially in the *Śrīḥ*, a Sanskrit magazine that had been appearing from Srinagar.

With the start of the freedom struggle and with the appearance on Indian horizon of important national leaders, Sanskrit writers got a new theme to work upon: To describe the life and work of leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Subhash Chandra Bose, Indira Gandhi and so on. Of these Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru attracted the maximum attention because of their towering personalities. The credit for composing

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the first work on Mahatma Gandhi in Sanskrit[16]—it is in prose incidentally—goes to Charu Deva Shastri, the father of the writer of these lines. He was followed by a number of others like Sadhu Sharan Mishra who composed his nineteen-canto Mahākāvya under the title *Śrīgāndhicarita*,[17] Shiva Govind Tripathi who wrote his eight-canto Mahākāvya under the title *Śrīgāndhigaurava*[18], Vidyanidhi, only two cantos of his planned Mahākāvya *Śrīgāndhicaritāmṛta*[19] have so far seen the light of the day, Brahmanand Shukla and Ramesh Chandra Shukla who wrote their Khaṇḍakāvyas in 111 and 125 stanzas under the titles *Śrīgāndhīcarita*[20] and *Gāndhigaurava*[21] respectively and S.N. Tadpatrikar who wrote his twenty-four Adhyāya *Gāndhigītā*[22] in the age-old *Gītā* style. Selected sayings /thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi were compiled and translated in Sanskrit verse by C.D. Deshmukh in his *Gāndhīsūktimuktāvalī*[23]. The latest in the works on Mahatma Gandhi is the *Mahātmāyana*, the title coined on the analogy of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in fourteen Adhyāyas by Kavi Kedara.

Nehru's life was described by a number of poets: by Jaya Ram Shastri in his *Javāharavasantasāmrājya*[24] a Kāvya in seven cantos and the *Śrīmadgāndhībāndhava*[25], a Mahākāvya in twenty-one cantos; by Brahmanand Shukla in his *Śrīnehrū-carita*[26], a Mahākāvya in eighten cantos; by Balabhadra Prasad Shastri in his *Nehrūyaśaḥsaurabha*[27], a Mahākāvya in twelve cantos and by S.B. Warnekar in his *Javāharacintana*[28], a collection of poems dealing with the thoughts and ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru.

The autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru was translated in Sanskrit verse under the title *Nehrūcaritamahākāvya*[29] in seventy-one cantos by Amir Chandra Shastri which is the biggest work so far in poetic translation in Sanskrit.

Besides these big works a number of smaller poems were also composed on the great leader full details of which can be had from the study *Sanskrit Kāvya ... Nehru*[30]. Nehru in

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Sanskrit Literature by Madhu Bala. On the life of Bal Gangadhar Tilak has appeared a three-volume Mahākāvya, the *Tilakayaśorṇava*[31] by the veteran of the freedom struggle M.S. Aney which won him the posthumous Sahitya Akademi Award. On Subhash Chandra Bose of the Indian National Army fame has appeared a Mahākāvya, *Śrīsubhāṣacarita*[32] by V.K. Chatre. The latest in the list of the Sanskrit Mahākāvyas on the leaders of the freedom struggle is the voluminous *Vaināyaka*,[33] an account of the inimitable saga of unmitigated suffering, pain and hardship of Veer Savarkar by G.B. Palsule. Collectively on seven prominent personalities of India, religious, social and political, has appeared a work, the *Bhāratarāṣṭraratna*[34] by Yajneshwar Sharma Shastri. On Indira Gandhi, the former Prime Minister of India at least four Kāvyas have appeared of late. Three of them, the *Indirāvijayaprasastiśataka*[35] by Hazari Lal Shastri of Rohtak, the *Indirākīrtiśataka*[36] by Srikrishna Semwal of Delhi and the *Indirāpraśtiśataka*[37] by Shanti Rathi, the Ex-Minister of State of Education, Govt. of Haryana are of the Śataka variety, while the fourth one, the *Indirāgandhīcarita*[38] by the writer of these lines, is a Mahākāvya in twenty-five cantos.

It was but natural that along with the life of Mahatma Gandhi the movement started by him should also receive an appreciative notice by modern Sanskrit writers. The works of Kshama Row, the *Satyāgrahagītā*[39] and the *Uttarasatyāgrahagītā*,[40] the *Satyāgrahanītikāvya*[41] of Satya Deva Vasishtha and the *Gāndhīsūktimuktāvali*[42] of C.D. Deshmukh deserve mention in this connection.

Some of the reform movements in India and the personalities behind them have become the subject matter of some of the modern Kāvyas, giving a new dimension to them. Of these Swami Dayananda, the founder of the Arya Samaj and Swami Vivekananda, the English educated missionary steal the light. There are two Mahākāvyas on the former, the *Dayānanda-*

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digvijaya, obviously under the inspiration of the *Śaṅkara-digvijaya* of old, each of Akhilanand Sharma[43] and Medhavratachārya and the *Municaritāmṛta*[44] of Dilip Datt Sharma, and smaller works, the Dayānanda*caritāmṛta*,[45] a Khaṇḍakāvya in four cantos of Ganesh Datt Sharma and two small kāvyas in 63 and 52 stanzas each called *Dayānanda-laharī*[46] by Akhilanand Sharma and Medhavratacharya[47] respectively in the Laharī-Kāvya style of old. About a decade back there had appeared a Khaṇḍakavya under the title *Darśanānandacaritāmṛta* on the life-history of the Arya Samaj leader Swami Darshanananda by Ganesh Datt Sharma. In 1952 had appeared from Allahabad a Mahākāvya, the *Āryodayakāvya*[49] in twenty-one cantos by Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya describing graphically the historic setting at the time of the appearance of Dayanand, the Hindu decadence and revival, the foreign domination of India and the attainment of independence. On Swami Vivekananda who is subject matter of many a work in Sanskrit in prose and drama form there have appeared only two works in Mahākāvya form, the *Svāmivivekā-nandacarita*[50] by Tryambak A. Bhandarkar and *Vivekānandacaritāmṛta*[51] by Ganesh Datt Sharma which describe the stupendous work done by the Swami for the spread of the message of Hinduism in countries far and near. The teachings of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, the spiritual teacher of Vivekananda, numbering a thousand, were compiled in poetic form under the title *Śrīśrīrāmakṛṣṇopadeśasāhasrī*,[52] in eighteen Adhyāyas by the same Bhandarkar.

The discovery by the West of the glorious literary and the cultural heritage of India had its impact on the people of India who were awakened to a new realization of their past greatness. The heroes of old who could offer resistance to foreign invaders were picked up for glorification. By foreign what was meant was not always the British but even the Muslims who sought to establish their rule in India and fulfil their ambition by annexing territories. Rana Pratap Singh and Chhatrapati Shivaji were two

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of the many great heroes of the past who had withstood the all-powerful Mughals and thereby carved a rare niche for themselves in Indian annals. Sanskrit writers in their patriotic fervour sang their saga of heroism and sacrifice. Mahākāvyas and plays were written on them describing their life and work to the minutest details. Rana Pratap is the subject matter of a Mahākāvya, the *Rāṇāyanīya*[53], of Ogeti Parikshit Sarma and Chatrapati Shivaji of the two of them, the *Śivarājyodaya*[54] of S.B. Warnekar and the *Kṣatrapaticarita*[55] of Uma Shankar Sharma Tripathi.

The epics and the Purāṇas have continued to provide themes to modern Sanskrit poets as they have done to poets of old. A couple of more noteworthy of them in this category are the *Gaṇapatisambhava*[56] of Prabhu Datt Shastri, the *Sītācarita*[57] of Rewa Prasad Dwivedi, the *Jānakījīvana*[58] of Abhiraja Rajendra Mishra, *Vaidehīcarita*[59] of Ram Chandra Mishra and the *Bhīṣmacarita*[60] of Hari Narayan Dikshit.

While dealing with the old themes modern Sanskrit writers have not unoften introduced innovations in them. In the *Jānakījīvana* the poet has given a new turn to the character of Sītā in that he drops the episode of her exile. The washerman's charge is examined in an open assembly with Vasiṣṭha upholding the divinity of Rāma and Sītā making the washerman realize his guilt and beg for forgiveness.

In the same category of works with old themes with an innovative touch falls the *Ūrmilīyamahākāvya*[61] of Narayana Shukla which picks up the little known Rāmāyaṇic character Ūrmilā, the wife of Lakṣmaṇa, as the principal character wherein he is in good company with Rāṣṭrakavi Maithilisharan Gupta who had done precisely the same in his *Sāketa*. In the *Ūrmilīyamahākāvya* it is Ūrmilā who is the real daughter of Janaka, Sītā being discovered by him from a jar, an incident remarkably similar to the *Ramakien*, the Thai *Rāmāyaṇa*, dug up at the fringes of the kingdom under the orders of Rāvaṇa when the kingdom was stuck with a terrible famine. The work is

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remarkable in the spirited dialogues between Sumitrā and Lakṣmaṇa and Ūrmilā and Lakṣmaṇa. The ladies readily approve of Lakṣmaṇa accompanying his brother to the forest. Another notable work in the above category is the *Sītārāvaṇasaṁvādajharī*[62], the dialogue between Rāvaṇa and Sītā, the former proposing to her and the latter administering him a stern rebuff, by Rama Shastri and Sita Ram Shastri, the Āsthānapaṇḍitas of Mysore. The work, a Śataka, is peculiar in that it is composed in the form of Prahelikā.

The innovative spirit is noticeable in not only introducing changes in the old themes but also taking for delineation an altogether different version of them. The writer of these lines has composed a twenty-five canto Mahākāvya the *Śrīrāmakīrtimahākāvya*[63] on the Thai version, known locally by the name of *Ramakien*, of the Rāma story which incidentally is the first Sanskrit Mahākāvya on any of the versions of the Rāma story outside India.

Free verse (non-metrical composition) in Sanskrit literature is the gift of the 20th century, prompting a sizeable number of Sanskrit poets to take to it. Some of the more prominent of such poets are Ram Karan Sharma, Krishna Lal, Om Prakash Thakur, Keshab Chandra Dash, Dev Datt Bhatti, Pushpa Trivedi, Nalini Shukla, and Harsh Dev Madhav, the last one being notable for his bold experimentalism in Sanskrit poetry in introducing Baul songs of Bengal in Sanskrit poetry and in composing his poems in foreign literary forms like Sojo, Tanka and Haiku in addition to writing Gazals. He has gone so far as to write in the style of graphs, maps and pictures. So far eight of his collections of poems have appeared in print.

The tradition of light verse and satire has been with Sanskrit literature for quite some time now, verses on mosquito or bug being found and their being equated with the wicked people in their misdeeds. What has happened in the modern period is that their number and scope has increased. Even such

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things as addiction to tea and coffee are under attack now. Two of the works by M.V. Sampat Kumar, the *Kāphīpānīya*[64] and the *Kāphītyāgadvādaśamañjarikā*[65] are really hard on this beverage, though it has a defender in Ataraja (V. Swaminath Sarma) who extols it in his *Kāphīṣoḍaśikā*[66], the same thing that Sahasrabuddhe does in the case of tea in his *Chāhagītā*.[67] In his *Kapīnām Upavāsaḥ*[68] (Fast of the Monkeys) D.T. Tatacharya has a dig at people who pretend austerities. Punnaseri Nilakantha Sarma derides in his *Sāttvikasvapna*[69] the shouting of differing slogans and ideologies by Parties in the guise of a conference of a bull, a monkey, a fox, a parrot and so on. In the *Tuḍesmṛti*[70] Shastrarthamaharathi Madhavacharya satirizes with many English words thrown in his otherwise impeccable Sanskrit the life-style of the so-called ultra-modern Indians who have started blindly aping the west.

There is a change now from the time a stray witty or satirical poem appeared in a Sanskrit magazine. There are big collections of them available now answering every kind of light verse, parody, wit and satire. An example of parody *par excellence* is the *Kāvyāmṛtadhārā*[71] of Gurudayalu Shastri and that of wit the *Kaṇṭakārjuna*[72] of Arjun Wadekar. The *Tuḍesmṛti* referred to above is an instance of parody and satire both. In satirical writing two names emerge prominently, that of Vagisha Shastri and Prashasya Mitra Shastri, the former the author of the *Narmasaptaśatī*[73] and the latter the author of five works, the *Saṃskṛtavyaṅgyavilāsa*[74], the *Hāsavilāsa*[75], the *Komalakaṇṭakāvali* the *Narmadā*[76], and the *Hāsyaṁ Sudhyupāsyam*[77]. The satires of both the Shastris, are hard-hitting in attacking the social evils.

So is hard-hitting the *Śrīmadbābudevagītā*[78], the title forcing smile on its having been modelled on the ancient *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*, of Narayana Shastri Kankar on the clerical staff, popularly called 'Babus', for its devious ways in dodging the people approaching them for their work, blocking the files

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till their palms are greased as also not allowing them to meet their seniors should they want to meet them for the disposal of their work or the redressal of their grievances. The work is a pungent satire on the larger than life role of the 'Babus' in our offices.

Now a word about travelogue. It has been with Sanskrit literature for long figuring generally in the context of pilgrimage, the places visited being generally those in India. In the modern period, however, it has extended its scope to places of historical, cultural and tourist interest not only in India but also abroad though their number is extremely limited. A growing form of writing, it has added to it such works as the *Nyaktarajana-padaśobhā*[79] on Holland (Nyaktarajanapada being the literal translation of the Netherlands) by B.Ch. Chabra, a poem on Persepolis[80] by C. Kunhan Raja, the *Śarmaṇyadeśaḥ sutarāṁ vibhāti*[81] and the *Thaideśavilāsa*[82] on Germany and Thailand respectively by the writer of the present lines who incidentally is working at present on the latest of his Mahākāvyas, the *Viśvamahākāvya* in several volumes describing the large number of countries and places visited by him over the years.

The *Nisargasarasāñjali,*[83] is an account of the visit to Brazil in 2013 of Bhagirath Prasad Tripathi "Vagish Shastri".

The *America-vaibhava*[84], is an account of the travels in the United States of America's sixteen States in 2006 of its author Subhash Vedalankar.

The latest addition to travelogue literature in Sanskrit verse is the work *Americayātrāvarṇana*, an account of the visit to Ameria by Hariprasad Adhikari.[85]

Though letter-writing in Sanskrit is not uncommon among present-day Sanskritists, there is only one collection in verse. This collection, called the *Patrakāvya*[86] in two volumes is by the writer of these lines. With its more than 270 letters with a total of more than 3500 stanzas it introduces a new genré in Sanskrit poetry.

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Elegy, the little practised form in old Sanskrit has found expression in a couple of notable works in modern Sanskrit like the *Smṛtitaraṅga*[87] of T.G. Mainkar where the author bemoans the supposed loss of his wife, the *Virahalaharī*[88] of S.B. Velankar wherein the author describes in twenty-five songs with indication of Rāgas and Tālas the image of one who has lost his beloved and is consequently suffering from pangs of separation from her, the five Vilāpakāvyas, collectively called the *Vilāpapañcika*[87] of Deepak Ghosh bemoaning the present condition of the Sanskrit language, a lament of a poor man for his miserable life in rainy season, the bemoaning of a cloud in having to carry the message of an unknown person to a far away city and so on, the *Rādhikāvilāpa*[89] and the *Virahiṇī Vrajāṅganā*[90] of Shiva Varan Shukla and Gaura Krishna Goswami respectively depicting the pathetic condition of Rādhā in separation from Kṛṣṇa on his having migrated to Mathurā.

It is impossible to give a complete, nay even a comprehensive survey of modern Sanskrit poetic works. Running into hundreds of titles it is enriched by some of best brains of the country. The attempt here has been to draw attention to its richness and variety enlivened by new trends and tendencies setting in it which makes it one of the most delightful of the world literatures.

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DRAMA

Sanskrit drama has continued its march through centuries, with interest in it undiminished, a testimony to which is furnished by more than three hundred plays written and published in the last century of which a substantial number has also been put on boards. Shorter plays suiting the modern audiences with constraints of time have surfaced now in the form of one–Act plays. Apart from individual plays there have appeared a few good collections of them like the *Upaniṣadrūpakāṇi*[1], a collection of four plays on Upaniṣadic themes by K.T. Pandurangi, the *Rūpakacakra*[2], a collection of five plays by Srijiva Nyayatirtha, *Navanāṭyamañjarī*[3], a collection of six plays by B.G. Dhok, the *Parīkṣinnāṭakacakra*[4], a collection of twenty-seven plays by Ogeti Parikshit Sarma, the *Nāṭypañcāmṛta*[5], the *Catuṣpathīya*[6] and the *Rūparudrīya*[7], collections of five, four and eleven plays respectively by Abhiraja Rajendra Mishra, the *Camatkāra*[8], a collection of nine plays by Krishna Lal, the *Tripatrī*, a collection of three plays by Shiva Prasad Bharadwaj, the *Madhurāmla*[9], a collection of five plays by Vina Pani Patni, the *Ekāṅkanavaratnamañjūṣā*[10], a collection of nine one–act plays by Naval Kishore Kankar, the *Ekāṅkacamatkṛti*[11], a collection of eleven one-act plays by Ram Kishore Mishra, the *Nāṭyatrayī*[12], a collection of three plays by Ram Krishna Sharma and the *Navamālatī*[14], a collection of nine short plays by Nod Nath Mishra.

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Radio being a part of modern life a number of Radio plays have recently been produced and published. Attempts have also been successfully made to put up Sanskrit plays on Television.

A most significant development in modern Sanskrit drama has been the revival of the Sanskrit stage. There surely must have been one, fairly well-developed at that, at the time of Bharata who gives an elaborate description of it in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* which continued for quite a few centuries as testified by later works on Dramaturgy. In some period of history, however, its continuity got broken with the result that nothing of the traditional stage is available to the present period. When some of the more enterprising ones among the present-day Sanskritists tried to put on boards the old Sanskrit plays or for that matter the new ones, they had nothing to fall back upon by way of stage, except, of course, the description of it in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and other works on Dramaturgy. They had then two options: To recreate the stage after the description of it in old dramaturgical texts or to build it up anew after their own imagination keeping in view what actually was available to them by way of stage. They preferred to exercise the second option. As a matter of fact, they had to do so. Their resources being what they were or are, they could not hope to build the theatre halls, the Raṅgaśālās, described in old texts. Moreover, they had to take into account the requirements of the present age; the light and the sound effect and other technicalities. In any case, the stage does not go by language. On the same stage can be put up a play of Shakespeare, of Tagore, of Jayashankar Prasad, of Mohan Rakesh or of Dharmavir Bharati. Why not then a play of Bhāsa, of Kālidāsa, of Bhavabhūti, of Shrijiva Nyāyatīrtha, of Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgīśa, of J.B. Chaudhuri, of Y. Mahalinga Sastri, of V. Raghavan or for that matter of any other ancient or modern Sanskrit playwright? Even within the parameters of what is available, a modicum of individuality can be generated by creating the atmosphere well-suited to the play with matching

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costume, jewellery and setting. It's only distinctive feature would then stand its medium which would distinguish it from others while everything else would remain the same. The point can very well be illustrated with reference to the play the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka and its by far the most well-known Hindi version *Miṭṭī kī Gāḍī* by Dharma Vir Bharati. Both the plays, the Sanskrit original and its Hindi version, will have to have the same setting. Cārudatta in both will have to be shown as a typical Brāhmaṇa with *dhoti* and *uttarīya* and Vasantasenā in *sari* and traditional jewellery. It would not work to show Cārudatta in trousers and Vasantasenā in sleeveless blouse and jeans on the ground that the play is being produced on modren stage. Habib Tanvir, the well-known producer, who attempted this in some of his performances of the classical plays invited frowns and ridicule not only from the lovers of Sanskrit but also from others. To illustrate the point with one more example, the play *Anārkalī*[15] of V. Raghavan, though in Sanskrit, will have to have Prince Salim in Mughal-cut beard and the Chudidars. In no way can he be shown clean-shaven and in *dhoti*. Similarly, in any rendering of Shakespearean plays the characters will have to be shown in typical Victorian outfit with the whole setting reflecting the spirit of the age.

As the present-day Sanskritists have to depend upon their imagination for the production of the plays, it is not unoften that their innovative genius comes to the fore for depicting certain situations difficult of presentation on the stage ordinarily. They press into service, to serve their purpose, the modern aids with quite successful results. Thus in the play the *Madanadahana*[16] of Ramesh Kher which deals with the theme of the burning of Kāma by Śiva with the fire from his third eye, the arrival of the spring, as suggests the playwright through the stage direction, the *nāṭyanirdeśa*, can be depicted by hanging down the creepers kept at the top in such a way as to be out of the view of the audience. Similarly, suggests he, an artificial eye of cotton

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could be put in Śiva's forehead and an electric wire passed through his matted hair with a bulb concealed in it. At the appropriate moment the light is to be switched and the bulb lighted for a while to give the appearance of the fire coming out of the forehead. Kāma can be made to fall behind an artificial hill placed on the stage. There could be released a lot of smoke of the unguents symbolizing Kāma's burning. In the *Adhyātma*[17] the playwright Krishna Lal suggests the depiction of the scene of the gifting of the cows by Vājaśravasa by putting their shadow on the screen. To give the whole scene a more realistic touch he further suggests that the lowing of the cows could be played (possibly from behind the screen) through a cassette.

A rather noteworthy point about modern Sanskrit drama is the departure it has begun to show in themes. There are plays in Sanskrit now on social problems like the *Vidhiviparyāsa*[18] of Shrijiva Nyāyatīrtha—on the equality of the sexes, the *Parivartana*[19] of Kapil Dev Dwivedi and the *Āścarya*[20] of Krishna Lal on the problem of dowry, the *Snuṣāvijaya*[21] of Sundaresh Sharma and the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*[22] of Y. Mahalinga Sastri on the problem of the conflict between the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law, the *Apasara-mahimā*[23], again of Krishna Lal, on the relationship between the officers and the subordinates, the *Lālāvaidya*[24] and the *Mālābhaviṣya*[25] of Skand Shankar Khot on the quack physicians and the pseudo-astrologers, the *Markaṭamārdalika*[26] of Y. Mahalinga Sastri on the cheats assuming postures to deceive innocent people. There are political plays now like the *Kāśmīrasandhānasamudyama*[27] and the *Hyderābādavijaya*[28] of Nirpaje Bhim Bhatt on the problem of integration of Kashmir and Hyderabad respectively, and the *Bāṅglādeśodaya*[29] of Ram Krishna Sharma on the coming into being of Bangladesh. There are also plays in Sanskrit now on the prominent social and political personalities of India like Swami Vivekananda, Veer Savarkar, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi as also on the old heroes like Rana Pratap and Chatrapati Shivaji.

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PROSE

Prose in India goes back to an hoary past. A substantial part of Sanskrit literature, original and commentarial, is composed in it. In one period of time it touched such aesthetic heights as to be proclaimed as the touchstone, the *nikaṣa*, of the poets. Bāṇa, Subandhu, Daṇḍin and Soḍḍhala with their voluminous Kathās and Ākhyāyikās of long-winded descriptions and multitudes of extensive compounds with a jingle of alliteration and forceful expression became models for later writers, their only wish being to approximate to them in style. They became the byword for perfection in prose. To be called Abhinavabhaṭṭabāṇa was the greatest testimonial to their excellence in prose writing. So great was the impact of these writers that their prose marked by an abundance of compounds set the standard for it: *ojaḥ samāsabhūystvam etad gadyasya jīvitam.*

This type of prose continued to exercise its sway down the centuries till the onset of the last two when impact of western education brought about a change in its character. There came a new awakening with the contact with western literature even in the tradition-bound Pandit who broke loose of the traditional Kathās and Ākhyāyikās with their well-defined parameters. The most perceptible change came about in fiction. Kathā and Ākhyāyikā gave way to novel, given the Sanskrit name 'Navalikā' by modern Sanskritists on the basis of phonetic similarity in

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preference to the name Kādambarī prevalent in many of the regional languages, showing the hold the old work exercises on Indian psyche.

One of the most famous of the early Sanskrit novels was the *Śivarājavijaya* of Ambikādatta Vyāsa which had appeared serially in the *Saṁskṛtacandrikā* of Calcutta. The work gained unusual popularity and was a textbook in many institutions which probably was due to its style and the theme. In style it was an admixture of the ornate and the simple and in theme it dealt with a hero of not long past who had the strength and the quick wit to challenge the mighty Moghul ruler Aurangzeb, something that bouys up the spirit of the people. One little known fact is that it is based on the work called the *Mahārāṣṭrajīvanaprabhāta* of the Bengali novelist Ramesh Chandra Dutt. Whatever be the case, the fact remains that Bengal did exercise considerable infuence on Sanskrit novel in the last part of the 19th and the first part of the 20th centuries. The evidence for this is furnished by the large number of translations of Bengali novels in Sanskrit that made their appearance at that time. Interestingly, it is not only the Bengali Sanskritists who attempted this, even some of the South Indians did so. Sailatatacharya translated Bankim Chandra Chatterji's *Kṣetraramaṇī* in Sanskrit. A Bengali novel *Śaivalinī* was adapted to Sanskrit by A. Rajagopala Chakravarti. Among the Sanskrit translations of Bengali novels by Bengali Sanskritists could be mentioned: the Sanskrit renderings by Renu Devi of Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novels *Rādhā*, 1922; *Durgeśanandinī* 1923; *Rajanī*, 1928 and *Rādhā Rāṇī*, 1930. In 1918 Hari Charan Bhattacharya had translated the *Kapālakuṇḍalā*.

With exposure to these novels the Sanskrit writers got the motivation to break out of the translation syndrome and to try their hand at original composition. That was the second half of the 19th century. Coming to the 20th century the Sanskrit novel found its earliest representation in the works of Mudumba

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Srinivasacharya who wrote in addition to two of his Tamil-based Sanskrit novels the *Maṇimekhalā* and the *Pravālavallī*, the original novel *Kairaviṇī* in Sanskrit. Another South Indian Sanskrit novelist Paravastu R. K. Krishnamacharya wrote two novels *Vararuci* and *Candragupta* based on the two famous characters after whom they are named. These novels had appeared serially in the Sanskrit magazine *Sahṛdayā* between the years 1908 and 1909. The Gujarati writer Shankaralal Maheshwar was the more prolific among the early Sanskrit novelists. He had published four Sanskrit novels: the *Anasūyābhyudaya*, the *Bhagavatībhāgyodaya*, the *Candraprabhācarita* and the *Maheśvaraprāṇapriyā*.

That was the time when the epics and the Purāṇas were still holding their sway over the creative mind of the Sanskritist who drew on them for his themes. A novelist of the name Lakshaman Suri based all of his three novels on the epics. Two of these, the *Rāmāyaṇasaṅgraha* and the *Mahābhāratasaṅgraha* reproduce the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in the form of a novel while the third one, the *Bhīṣmavijaya* concerns itself with the incidents connected with the character Bhīṣma in the *Mahābhārata*.

As time passed, Sanskritists drew on their own imagination for themes which would not unoften concern the contemporary social matrix. Among the earliest of such writers was Kapishthala Krishnamacharya who composed his *Mandāravatī* in the typical Bāṇa-like high-flown prose style. The one to follow him was Medhavratacharya with his *Kumudinīcandra* which has run into more than one edition and in style stands midway between the ornate and the simple, earning thus for itself great popularity which is reinforced by its absorbingly interesting theme. Serially published in the magazine *Sahṛdayā* were the social novels like the *Pativratā*, the *Pāṇigrahaṇa* and the *Suśīlā* of R. Krishnamacharya which depict the condition of women in modern India. In the same strain are the *Candramauli* of

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Rajamma, the *Sulocanā* of Kuppuswami, the *Duḥkhinī Bālā* of Bhatta Rama Nath Shastri, the *Viyogīnī Bālā* of Bhatta Balabhadra Sharma and the *Subhadrā* of Balakunnan Nambudiri. Among other novels with original themes mention may be made of the *Vanamālā* of Valiya Tamburan, *Kusumakalikā* of Parameshwar Jha, the *Jayantikā* of Jaggu Vakulabhushana and the *Candraprabhā* of Vidhu Sekhar Bhatataharya. Abject proverty is the theme of Narayan Shastri Khiste's novels *Daridrāṇāṁ Hṛdayam* and the *Divyadṛṣṭi*.

Though going back to Bengali source occasionally even now as in the case of the *Ādarśaramaṇī* of Bhatta Mathura Nath Shastri which is based on the Bengali novel *Prāṇarakṣā* that had appeared serially in the Bengali monthly *Pravāsī*, the modern Sanskrit novel has charted an independent course for itself meandering on in different lanes and bylanes. It has got matured enough to stand on its own. No longer is it weighed down with the objective of approximating a model like the *Kādambarī* in style. It is no longer a jumble of unending chain of compounds or long-winded descriptions. It is embellished with dialogues, crisp and straight, as also palpable suspense. There are works in it like the *Sūryaprabhā kiṁ vā Vaibhavapiśācaḥ*[1] which describe what goes on in the rich mansions and the poor shanties of the exploding city of Calcutta or the works like the *Candramahīpati*[2] —both these are of Shrinivasa Shastri—which demonstrate as to how society can be transformed if those in power and position were to develop cultured and sensitive mentality and ungrudgingly share their wealth with their fellow beings which according to its author is the *Sarvābhyudaya* or works like the *Gopālabandhu*[3] which is a penetrating study of the psychology of a rustic village boy who longs for having a brother and who comes to believe in the words of his mother who just to console him tells him that he has one in Gopāla, she meaning the Lord and the poor boy taking him to be a man of that name and, coming across one, bestowing all his love and affection on him;

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the story finally coming to an end with the disclosure of the fact that it was Lord Gopāla who had assumed the form of an ordinary human being just to uphold the faith of the innocent boy.

It is very difficult to give an idea of the contents, however briefly, of each and every novel in Sanskrit of the 20th century within the parameters of a small write-up. It would be better just to recount the names of the novels together with the names of their author/s.

There is a sizeable number of Sanskrit novels at present which include the *Lāvaṇyamayī*[4] of Appasastri Rashiwadekar, *Kusumalakṣmī*[5] of A. R. Ratnaparakhi, *Dvā Suparṇā*[6] of Ramji Upadhyaya, the *Udayanacarita*,[7] the *Tapovanavāsinī*[8] and the *Vidhipauruṣa*[9] of Krishna Kumar, the *Śītalatṛṣṇā*[10], the *Pratipad*[11], the *Ṛtam*[12], the *Añjali*[13], the *Patākā*[14], the *Madhuyāna*[15], the *Śikhā*[16] and the *Śaśirekhā*[17] of Keshab Chandra Dash, the *Viyogavallarī*[18] and the *Bṛhatsaptapadī*[19] of Durga Datt Shastri, the *Sindhukanyā*[20] of Shrinath Hasurkar, the *Avināśī*[21] of Bisvanarayan Shastri and the *Sīmā*[22] of Ram Karan Sharma—the last three the winners of the Sahitya Akademi Award. The latest additions to the 20th century Sanskrit novel literature are the *Kālāya Tasmai Namaḥ*[23] of Ogeti Parikshit Sarma, the *Padminī*[24] of Mohanlal Sharma Pandey, the *Vyāmoha*,[25] the Sanskrit rendering of the Hindi novel of the same title by the author Shyam Vimal himself.

Even with all this activity in novel, there still remain certain types of it which have not attracted the attention of the Sanskritists. There is no detective novel in Sanskrit or what goes by the name of Tilasmi in Urdu.

Short story has been with India in the form of legend, tale or fable. It is a long way off from that to modern short story in style and structure. To put the focus on its new incarnation the modern Sanskritists have given a new name to it, the Kathānikā, which merely is the Sanskritisation of the Hindi name Kahānī.

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Every Sanskrit magazine carries in its issue some short story or the other which in form and content—except of course the medium, is very akin to any short story in any language. There are hundreds of these stories in Sanskrit magazines which have published their special short story numbers in many cases. If a compilation of these were to be attempted, it may well run into several volumes. In addition to individual stories, there have appeared of late collections of them, some of the more noteworthy of them being the *Kathāratnākara*[26] in two volumes by Bak Kanbe, the *Kiśorakathāvali*[27] and the *Kathārasānanda*[28] of Ram Kishore Mishra, the *Ikṣugandhā*[29] of Abhiraja Rajendra Mishra, the *Kathānakavalli*[30] of Kala Nath Shastri, the *Abhinava-saṁskṛtakathāḥ*[31] of Narayana Shastri Kankar, the *Kathākaumudī*[32] Vol. I and the *Śvetadūrvā*[33] of Prabhu Nath Dwivedi, the *Diśā Vidiśā*[34] and the *Ekadā*[35] of Keshab Chandra Dash, the *Kathāvallarī*[36] of S. B. Warnekar, the *Anāghrātaṁ Puṣpam*[37] of Prashasya Mitra Shastri, the *Nīravasvanaḥ*[38] of Banamali Biswal, the *Saṁskṛtakathāvīthikā*[39] edited by Gangadhar Bhatt and Pyare Mohan Sharma, the *Kathākalpaḥ*[40] of Shiv Sagar Tripathi, and the *Kathāmṛta*,[41] the *Kathāratnāvalī*,[42] the *Navakathāḥ*,[43] the *Śāradīya*[44] and the *Kathāpuṣpāvalī*[45] of Sharada Ramesh Gadge. There is a collection in Sanskrit translation by H. V. Nagarajan of five of Munshi Prem Chand's stories under the title *Vipañcikā*.[46] Of the collections of foreign short stories given the Sanskrit form mention may be made of the *Āfrīkakathāḥ*[47] of M.R. Bhat, the *Tolstoykathāsaptaka*[48] of Bhagirath Prasad Tripathi Vagish Shastri besides the earliest of such attempts the *Īsabnītikathāḥ*,[49] the Sanskrit rendering of Aesop's Fables by Balakrishna Godbole. Many years back Charu Deva Shastri, the father of the writer of these lines, had translated into Sanskrit a German short story under the title *Hāsavimukhī Rājadārikā* and a Russian story under the title *Aṇḍapramāṇakaṁ Dhānyam* both of which had appeared in the *Viśvasaṁskṛtam* of Hoshiarpur.

The independence movement in India had led to the appearance on the Indian horizon of leaders whose saga of

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sacrifice and suffering inspired a number of Sanskrit writers to compose works on their life and work. The father of the writer of these lines Charu Deva Shastri was the first one in the last century to publish the biography of Mahatma Gandhi in Sanskrit prose under the title *Śrīgāndhicartiam.*[50] Composed in impeccable style, it deals with the life story of the Mahatma upto the Dandi March. Another work on the same leader though much shorter, just twenty-five pages in print, is the *Mahātmacarita*[51] of Pandharinath Sharma Pathak which presents the briefest account ever of the life history of the leader in its entirety carrying it upto his assassination.

G. B. Palsule, the great admirer of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, popularly called Veer Savarkar, has composed three works on him in three different literary forms, the *Vināyakavīragāthā*[52] in prose, the *Dhanyo 'haṁ Dhanyo 'ham*[53], a play and the *Vaināyaka*[54] a Mahākāvya. Of the three, the first, the one in prose, gives in brief the account of the most eventful life of the doughty freedom fighter and the hero of the Hindu nationalist movement. Vivekananda being another favourite of Palsule, he has published his biography in prose under the title *Vivekānandacarita.*[55] Baladhanvi Jaggu Venkatacharya presents the life-sketches of the Ālvārs in his *Divyasūricaritāni.*[56] Important and remarkable incidents from the life of thirty-one characters, old and new, get a collective treatment under the title *Cārucaritacarya*[57] from Ramesh Chandra Shukla who has a fascination for the old type of high-flown style.

Though the far more colourful personality of Swami Vivekananda did attract far more notice of Sanskritists who composed works on him in all literary forms, it was inconceivable that his spiritual Master Ramakrishna Paramahamsa should have suffered neglect. There is a work on him in prose by P. Panchapagesa Sastri who published it as early as 1940.[58]

In keeping with the trend of having history books in Sanskrit, a majority of which are in verse, there appeared in the

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recent past some works in prose which deal with certain specific regions like the *Kaśmiretihāsa*[59] of Hanumat Prasad Shastri and *Prācīnakāmarūpaparicaya*[60] of Asoke Chatterji Sastri on Kashmir and old Assam respectively.

One of the latest works in the field of biographical literature in Sanskrit prose is the *Appāśāstricarita*[61] by Vasudeva Sastri Audumbarkar which describes in detail the life history of one of the most remarkable of the Sanskritists of Maharashtra who had the proud privilege of being the editor of two Sanskrit magazines the *Saṁskṛtacandrikā* and the *Sūnṛtavādinī* and translating into Sanskrit the well-known tale "The Aladin and the Wonderful Lamp" as also publishing essays on Astronomy and Mathematics.

A few good travelogues have also come up recently in Sanskrit prose. They are the *Yātrāvilāsa*[62] of Naval Kishore Kankar which gives a description of his journey from Jaipur to Gangotri through Hardwar, Rishikesh and Uttarakashi, the *Kaśmīraviharaṇa*[63] of Chuni Lal Sudan which describes his travels through Kashmir, the *Apaścimaḥ Paścime*[64] of Vishwasa which gives on account of his travels through America and the *Pāścātyasaṁskṛtam*[65] of Digambara Mahapatra which gives a record of his travels in Holland and Russia.

Besides the above, there are a few works in modern Sanskrit prose which deal with miscellaneous subjects like the *Svasthavṛtta*[66] of Vedananda Vedavagisha which deal with health and longevity, the *Vipanmitraṁ patram*[67] of Shankaralal Maheshwar which in the form of an imaginary long letter describes the qualities and the role of a friend, the *Vaidehīvivāha*[68] of K.S. Krishnamurti Sastri, a long narrative on the Rāmāyaṇic episode of the marriage of Sītā, the *Sāhityamañjari*[69] a compilation of literary essays by Batuk Nath Shastri Khiste and the *Atithidevo bhava*,[70] a treatise on guests and hospitality by M.P. Degvekar.

The Sanskrit prose in modern Sanskrit works, in spite of the hold of tradition on it in some cases, is unmistakably

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showing signs of qualitative change. With a few exceptions it is more easy and relaxed now. With all the inverted commas, single and double, dashes and dots it has started wearing a new look. The dialogues appear in it in lines, one succeeding the other without the names of the speakers after their initial appearance once. The movement of the narrative is more quick and direct. The vocabulary has a large dose of new coinages and words of foreign origin or their loan translations. The story, though getting smaller, is still longer than what goes by the name of mini story in western literature. By the very spirit of the Sanskrit literature the crime thrillers have dared not make their appearance in it.

It is time a thorough review of the modern Sanskrit prose literature is taken in hand, a task possible of accomplishment by a band of devoted scholars. That alone will give a complete idea of it which even by a conservative estimate may run into a couple of thousands of pages in print.

The modern Sanskrit prose has shown great promise to forge ahead. It is to be hoped that the present century will add more variety to it and strengthen it with new structures and innovations. For that it has sound foundations already, a galaxy of eminent writers having laid it. It has had a glorious past and there is no reason as to why it should not have a glorious future.

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CAMPŪS

The Campū form of Sanskrit writing starting with the *Nalacampū* of Trivikramabhaṭṭa has continued its march forward down to the modern period, a couple of the more noteworthy works of the period being the *Kumārasambhavacampū*[1] of King Sarfoji II, the *Śrīrāghavendragurusārvabhaumasaptarātrotsavacampū*[2] of R.S. Panchamukhi, the *Tribilvadalacampū*[3] of V.S. Ramaswami Sastri, the *Vidvaccaritapañcakam*[4] of Narayana Shastri Khiste the Patracampū[5] of Naresh Batra, the *Bhaiṣmīpariṇayacamū*[6] of Ratnakheta Deekshita and so on.

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MODERN CHRISTIAN LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

When the Christian missionaries descended on India in the last to last century they found Sanskrit still the medium of higher thought and culture. People of upper castes who mattered most used it widely. The missionaries of the time thought that if they were to make any impact on Indian society, they would have to learn the language of higher castes and render their writings in it to be accessible to them. Once the Brahmaṇas or others who had the upper hand in society were drawn to Christianity, it would be easier for them, the missionaries, to spread the message of Christ among the common people who would feel attracted towards it, having found their superiors taking to it. With this idea in view they took to the study of Sanskrit, wrote its grammars, compiled its dictionaries, prepared its text books. With all this equipment they took to the translation of the *Bible* into Sanskrit, *the Old and the New Testaments*, the *Sermon on the Mount*, and so on. They also composed many an original work in Sanskrit, in verse and prose, on Lord Christ. The result : A whole class of Christian literature in Sanskrit grew over a period of time. It would be worth its while to have a close look at it.

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The activity in the field of the translation of the *Bible* into Sanskrit began as early as 1808. The *New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* was translated into Sanskrit from the original Greek by the missionaries at Serampore under the superintendence of William Carey in three volumes, the third volume making its appearance in 1811, three years after the publication of the first. This was followed by the Sanskrit translation of the *Old and the New Testaments*, again from Serampore in 1821. In 1845 the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta published *the Book of the Prophet Isaiah* in Sanskrit. In 1860 appeared the *Bible for the Pandits* with the first three chapters of *Genesis* 'diffusively and unreservedly' commented in Sanskrit and English by J.R. Ballantyne from London. The translations started in the nineteenth century continued in the twentieth century as well. The Bible Society of India brought out the latest reprint of *the New Testament* in Sanskrit : *Prabhuṇā Yisukhristena Nirūpitasya Niyamasya Granthasaṁgrahaḥ* as late as in 1962. Attempts were made alongside translating the *Old and the New Testamaments*, certain portions thereof. The Calcutta Baptist Missionaries brought out from Calcutta in 1843 the translation from Hebrew into Sanskrit of the *Book of Genesis* and the part of *Exodus*. Two collections of the *Proverbs of Solomon* in Sanskrit appeared from the School Book Society's Press, Calcutta and The Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta in 1842 and 1846 respectively.

The Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta has been very active in bringing out Christian literature in Sanskrit translation. It brought out the collection of the *Gospels* of four Christian saints in a single volume : *Khṛṣṭacaritam* : *Arthato (?) Māthi-Mārka-Lūka-Yohanair Viracitaṁ Susaṁvāda-catuṣṭayam* in 1878. It also brought out separate volumes on the *Gospels* of Mathi, Mark and Luk. The one on Mathi under the title *Māthilikhitaḥ Susaṁvādaḥ* appeared in 1877 and the ones on Mark under the title *Mārkalikhitaḥ Susaṁvādaḥ* and *Satyadharmaśāstram* :

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Mārkalikhitaḥ Susaṁvādaḥ: Arthato (?) *Prabhor Yiṣukhṛstīya-caritra-darpaṇam* appeared in 1878 and 1884 respectively. The *Gospel of Luk* came out under the tittle *Lūkalikhitaḥ Susaṁvādaḥ* in 1878. *The Gospel of St. John* came out in Sanskrit under the title : *Yohana-likhitaḥ Susaṁvādaḥ* not from the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta but from the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore in 1876.

Of the portions of the *Bible* it is the *Sermon on the Mount* that has attracted good notice of the Sanskritists. There are at least three independent translations of it into Sanskrit, one by Lachmi Dhar Shastri published by him from Delhi in 1928, two, from the *Bible* Society of India, Bangalore, three by K.P. Urumese from Trichur, the last two published in 1974. The *Sermon* also appears in a succint form in every creative work on Christ in Sanskrit. A very interesting work in the field of translation is the *Khṛistayajñavidhiḥ*. The work is a translation in Sanskrit of the *Ordo Missae* in Latin by Ambrose Sureschandra Roy and was published from Calcutta in 1926.

Apart from translations there has been a lot of original composition on Christianity in Sanskrit both in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. About half a dozen smaller works like the *Īśvaroktaśāstradhārā* (The course of Divine Revelation) by John Muir, the *Parama-stava*, a hymn in verse on God, *Paulacarita*, a short life-seketch of apostle Paul in verse, the *Khṛṣtasaṅgīta*, the history of Jesus Christ in verse, the one in prose *Khṛṣṭadharmakaumudī* by J.R. Ballantyne, which is a comparison of Christianity with Hindu Philosophy and a critical review of *Khṛṣṭadharmakaumudīsamālocana* in prose by Brajalal Mukhopadhyaya.

The twentieth century too has seen many an original publication on Christ and Christianity, the latest and the biggest of which is the *Kristubhāgavata*, a Mahākāvya in Sanskrit in thirty three cantos with a thousand and six hundred stanzas on the life of Lord Christ by P.C. Devassia which won him in 1980

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the coveted Sahitya Akademi award in Sanskrit. The thirty three cantos of the Kāvya correspond to the number of the years of the Lord's life. Although in narratting the story of the Lord the author relies on the versions of the Gospels and some reputed biographies of Christ and is faithful to incidents as recorded there, yet he shows his freedom and imagination as a poet to introduce poetic elements which, however, do not dilute the authenticity of the narrative. The poem is simple and straighforwad, composed in the much-valued Vaidarbhī style.

The Mahākāvya, the greatest so far, on Lord Christ in Sanskrit has, as the author himself points out in the Preface, many allusions to and illustrations from the Hindu Purāṇas and Epics. This the author ascribes to his exposure to an environment dominated by Sanskrit learning which could not but appear even in a work on Christ. Another great influence on the author in this was His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Parecattil, the Archbishop of Ernakulam who, he says, believes that the Church in India must have its roots in the culture and the tradition of the land. A Sanskrit scholar, he has played an important role in the Indianization of the Church.

The stanzas in the Mahākāvya have a flow of their own which cannot but charm a reader. A stanza or two from canto XVII dealing with the *Sermon on the Mount* could well be reproduced here by way of specimen :

bhikṣā tvayā dakṣiṇahastadattā
na jñāyatāṁ vāmakareṇa te sā /
dānasya caivaṁ nibhṛtaṁ
kṛtasya pitā phalaṁ dāsyati guptadarśī // [1]

"When you give alms, do not let the left hand know what your right hand has done. For the alms-giving thus done in secret, your Father who sees in secret shall reward you."

yūyaṁ mā sañcinuta nidhim ātmārtham urvyāṁ hi yasmāt
kīṭādyāḥ tasmi dravyam vyanaśyanty atra muṣnanti caurāḥ/

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svarge tān sañcinuta vibhavān ye hi tair na hriyante
vittaṁ yasmin bhavati bhuvane tatra cittaṁ ca vaḥ syāt//

"Do not lay up for yourself treasures on earth, where moths and other insects consume them, and where thieves break in and steal them; but lay up those treasures in heaven where they are not consumed by them, for, where your treasure is, in that world will your heart also be."

Of the smaller Kāvyas on Lord Christ could be mentioned *Sreeyesusourabham* by Soma Varma Raja which has 67, 70, 78, and 86 stanzas in its first, second, third and fourth cantos respectively. The Kāvya closes with five hymns of which the first is a prayer, a string of seven stanzas called the *Bhajanasaptakam*, the second, a hymn to the Sacred Heart, the third, the praise of Christ, the fourth, the hymn to Christ and the fifth, the *Bhaktajijīviṣā*, an expression of the desire of the devotee to see the Master and to live upto his teachings. In 301 mellifluous verses the author sums up the whole story of the *Bible*. Though following the Biblical narrative faithfully, he takes reasonable licence in versification. The reactions of the multitude gathered at the foot of the Cross, Christ's enemies, his devotees, the sorrowful women and the good men and their addresses to the crucified are all presented in the present work with deftness. Both the genius and the originality of the author are reflected in this part and the words of the spectators on Calvary sink deep into the heart :

Kruśa paramaviśālo'py ugrarūpaṁ tvadīyaṁ
manasi kalayato bhīḥ pāpinaḥ kasya na syāt /
tvam asi kaṭhinapīḍābhogaparyāyavācī
nikhilajananiṣevyo divyasaṅgena jātaḥ //

"O wide Cross! who will not be frightened to see or think about you. You have become another word for grave pain. But now you are a thing of worship, for you have carried our Lord on you."

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In the lamentation of Mary, the Mother of Lord Christ, a note of intense sorrow is struck. The words therein betray in full the motherly pangs. It looks while writing about this the poet had at the back of his mind the description of the lamentation of Rati in the *Kumārasambhava* and that of Aja in the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa. Not only is the whole setting the same even the metre is so,

gatasaṁjñam avekṣya vihvalā Mariyā svāṅkagataṁ nijātmajam/
vilalāpa sabāṣpalocaṇā samaduḥkhān akhilāṅś ca kurvatī//[4]

"Mary saw the lifeless body of her son on her lap. She was overcome with grief. She cried shedding tears, making all present there equally sad."

The expression *vilalāpa sabāṣpalocanā* cannot but remind one of the *Raghuvaṁśa's vilalāpa sabāṣpagadgadam*[5] and *samaduḥkhān akhilāṅś ca kurvatī* of the *Kumārasambhava's vilalāpa vikīrṇamūrdhajā samaduḥkhām iva kurvatī sthalīm*. So do the lines *kṛpaṇo mama dairghyam āyusaḥ kaṭhinaḥ khalv iha dattavān vidhiḥ*[6] of *Kumārasambhava's na vidīrye kaṭhināḥ khalu striyaḥ*[7].

Kālidāsa's influence on the author is also noticeable in the stanza in the beginning of his work :

kva me nirviṣayā buddhiḥ kva śrīyeśumahākathā/
mohād bhavāmy ārurukṣur āmayāvī mahāgirim//[8]

"Where is the intellect devoid of the knowledge of the subject matter and where is the great magnificent story of Jesus. It is an attempt, like that of a sick man trying to climb a high moutain."

This clearly is inspired by the well-known *Raghuvaṁśa* verse:

kva sūryaprabhavo vaṁśaḥ kva cālpaviṣayā matiḥ/
titīrṣur dustaraṁ mohād uḍupenāsmi sāgaram//[9]

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"Where is the race sprung from the sun and where is my intellect of limited scope. It is under a delusion that I am desirous of crossing, by means of a raft, the ocean so difficult to cross."

A spirit of the divine and a sense of devotion pervade the whole of the *Sreeyesusourabham* which is indeed a happy blend of simplicity and profundity. It reflects the glorious and the heavenly personality of Lord Christ in a most impressive manner and amply reveals the poet in the author whose Khaṇḍakāvya— it is to this category that his work belongs according to rhetoricians— makes a very pleasant reading. There are Similes, Metaphors and Fancies here which do tickle the Sahṛdaya, the connoisseur and add further charm to the work.

The author is in the habit of twisting some of the foreign words to give them a different look, not necessarily Sanskritic, to make them fit into Sanskrit diction. Abraham he puts as Abraha, David as Dāvida, Gabriel as Gabriyet, Elizabeth as Yelīśvā, Mary as both Merī and Mariyā, Augustuṣ Caeser as Agastasīsara, Christ as Iso and Yesu, Herod as Heroda, Yudea as Yūdāya, Messiah as both Mihisa and Misiha, Nazareth as Nasratama, Jerusalem as Jasrela, Magdelene as Magdalanā and so on.

Only those writers can compose works in Sanskrit who have thorough knowledge of its literature. The writers of the works on Christ and Christianity, even though devout Christians, inheriting or adopting the Sanskrit tradition as they did, could not keep themselves away from it even while dealing with themes not part and parcel of it. By sheer habit sometimes they used old words to denote new ideas. The use of the world *vaidika* in the poem under reference in the sense of a Christian priest is a case in point. An extension of this word is Vaidikāśrama in the sense of a Christian Seminary :

Vaṭavātūradeśīyavaidikāśramacoditaḥ/
karomi nūtanākhyānam yesusaurabhasamjñitam//[10]

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"Impelled by the friends in the Vatavathur Seminary I compose this Kāvya, the *Sreeyesusourabham.*"

It was again the force of the Sanskrit tradition that weighed with the author to start his Kāvya on the life of Lord Christ with an invocation to goddess Sarasvatī :

yā tu saṅgītasāhityakalācaitanyarūpiṇī/
satām ādhārabhūtāṁ tāṁ vande vidyādhidevatām//[11]

"I salute the goddess of learning of the form of music, literature and art who is the support of all good-natured and wise people."

It is the influence of Sanskrit tradition again that makes the author refer to the celestial Gaṅgā in the conext of Holy Mary carrying Lord Christ :

talpaṁ gavadanībhadraṁ citpuṁso garbhadhāriṇī/
sā 'dhyuvāsāñjasā Merī haṁsivābhranadītaṭam//[12]

"Mary who was carrying the son of god in her womb was lying in the manger as the swan lies in the celestial Gaṅgā."

The description in the work of the regions becoming bright and gentle breeze blowing at the brith of Christ is apiece with similar descriptions which have become a type now in Sanskrit literature :

praseduḥ kṣaṇam evāśā marutaś ca sukhā vavuḥ/
babhūvur nirmalāś cāpaḥ kūpeṣv api saraḥsv api//[13]

Like the other poems on Christ's life, this poem too has the *Sermon on the Mount* in brief.

Another smaller original work in Sanskrit prose on the life of Lord Christ is the *Yeśucaritam* by J. Marcel who styles himeself as Marsalācārya. The work he divides in five Adhyāyas, in beautiful, chaste Sanskrit which has a classical ring about it. The entire life of the Lord is put here succintly in an easy and fluent sytle. Two small paragraphs from this will suffice to give an idea of its expression:

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sa yadā svasmai dattaṁ Yiśāyasya pustakam udaghāṭayat tadā tatredaṁ likhitam avartata. Iśvaro mayy avasthitaḥ ... viṣādavidīrṇāntaraṅgān sukhayituṁ baddhānāṁ muktim andhānāṁ darśanaṁ ca pradātum.....māṁ prajighāya saḥ.[14]

" When he opened the book of Yisāya given to him he found it written there. The Lord is in me. He has sent me to provide happiness to the sad and to give release to the captive and sight to the blind."

parantu bho śrotāraḥ yuṣmān idaṁ vaktum abhyutsahe ye yuṣmabhyaṁ druhyanti teṣām api hitam eva tanuta. yuṣmān śapanti ye tebhyo'py āśiṣam eva datta. ye yuṣmān apavadanti teṣām api hitaṁ prārthayadhvam. yas tava ekasmin kapole praharati tasmai kapolam anyam api pradarśaya ..... yo vā ko vā bhavatu tāvako yācakaḥ, dehi tasmai. mā abhivāñcha tatpratyādānam. kiñ ca yuṣmān prati yādṛśam ācāram abhilaṣatha, tādṛśo bhavatu yuṣmākam api itareṣv ācāraḥ.....

"But O you the listeners, I feel like telling—Even those who are hostile to you, you do good to them too. Those who curse you, them too you bless. Those who denounce you, you pray for their welfare too. To the one who slaps you on one cheek, you show him the other one. Whosoever may ask you for something, give that to him. Don't care for any return for it. Moreover, the kind of treatment you want for yourself meet the same to others."

The next work which is not an original composition in Sanksrit but very much appears like so is the *Mahātyāgī* of M.O.Avara. The work was originally composed in Malayalam but was translated from it into Sanskrit by K.P. Narayana Pisharoty. The work in verse meaning literally the Man of

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Sacrifice is a poetic reflection on the seven last words uttered by Jesus Christ from the Cross. The Malayalam original had attained great popularity and had for some three decades been the text book for examinations in the Universities of Madras, Travancore and Kerala. It was its success that had prompted the author to arrange for its Sanskrit translation. "He wanted to see the story of Christ portrayed in the great classical language of India."

The *Mahātyāgī* is a fine work of poetry in 163 stanzas. The thought in it is so serene, the language so imaginative and the versification so meticulously correct. The environments of the crucifixion of Christ have been so poetically treated here that those who read the work cannot but have their eyes moistened. The lines which portray the effect of the words "Forgive them, O Father, because they know not what they do" are the best in this work of which the following four lines bear reproduction :

kāruṇyādramate kṣamasva bho
aparādhaṁ kṛtam ebhir īdṛśam/
yad ime na viduḥ svakarma vā
na ca vā tvatkaruṇām api prabho//[16]

The work being a Kāvya, a poem, it affords the author ample scope for the flight of his imagination. The arms of Christ stretched on the Cross the poet takes as indicative of the readiness on the part of Christ to embrace or as wings to soar aloft to carry all misery of mankind on his shoulders:

nijapārśvayuge bhujadvayaṁ śubhadāyi pravisārayan bhavān/
kruśadāruṇi kiṁ nu vartate jagadāśleṣaṇabaddhakautukaḥ//
athavā naralokagāṁ vyathām akhilāṁ skandhatale tvam udvahan/
pravitatya patatrayor dvayaṁ dharaṇīto ḍayituṁ kim udyataḥ?[17]

The Sanskrit expression in the poem has a classical ring about it.

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mihiraḥ kiraṇair nijaiḥ śubhair
jagadandhatvam apākaroty asau/
dyutim asya mahātmanaḥ kathaṁ
punar īkṣeta divāndhakauśikaḥ//[18]

"While the sun with its powerful rays takes away the blindness of the earth, how can owl which cannot see during daytime see the light of the Great Soul?"

Like the poet of *Sreeyesusourabham* the poet of the *Mahātyāgī* too Sanskritizes many foreign words by just twisting them. The classic example of this is the word *kruśa* which can be formed from the Sanskrit root *kruś*, 'to cry', for the English cross. The same he does with the words paradise which he puts in Sanskrit as *parudīśa* and *pelican* which he puts in Sanskrit as *palikka*. The idea of the Lord he expresses by the words *īśa*, *īśitā*, *īśvara* and so on. The influence of classical Sanskrit Kāvyas is so penetrating on him that he adopts a non-Sanskrit word *iṅgāla* for charcoal used in one of them, the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* of Śrī Harṣa.

Since the approach of the Christian scholars in India, as pointed out at the very start of the present discusson, was to confront the non-Christian local people, particularly the educated ones among them, through their own medium, the medium for which they had special adoration, to enter into them, to bring them round to their view, they took to composing such works as approximated to the old Hindu Sanskrit works in nomenclature and style. Such works are the *Kristāyana*, the *Girigītā* and the *Kristunāmasahasram* modelled as they are, as can be seen from their names on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* respectively. There is reported to be a *Kriṣṭopaniṣad* also composed in the typical Upaniṣadic style.

From what has been said above, it should be clear that there has grown in Sanskrit a considerable corpus of Chrisitian literature both in original and in translation. The literature,

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though composed primarily to reach the Sanskrit-knowing intelligentsia to motivate it to Christianity, has a lot to commend itself even as work of art and consequently deserves wide notice not only in India but also beyond its shores.

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MODERN SIKH LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

The *Ādi Granth* has many Sanskrit verses and selections from Sanskrit works. Its thought-content has close relation with the religious and philosophical source-books in Sanskrit, with which the Gurus were no doubt well acquainted. During the period when Guru Gobind Singh prepared himself, he learnt Sanskrit and among the works comprised in his *Dasam Granth* are versions of the Sanskrit *Caṇḍī* or *Devīmāhātmya* and of the stories of the different *avatāras* of God as found in the *Purāṇas*. Towards the end of the 19th century, Sanskritists seem to have devoted some attention to the Sikh Gurus and their teachings and some Sikh writers versed in Sanskrit conceived of the idea of using the medium of Sanskrit and its forms of expression for presenting the life and teachings of the Gurus.

In 1891 and 1903, appeared from Amritsar a collection of Sanskrit verses (*Śrī Śloka-saṁskṛtī*) found in the *Ādi Granth*, with Panjabi translation and commentary. As early as the middle of the 19th century, Gangarama, a Sikh writer, wrote a work on the life of Nanak, called *Śrī Nānakacandrodaya*, with a gloss by Śivabrahmānanda (written in A.D. 1858), which was published from Bombay in 1882. With an extensive prose commentary, Rāmanārāyaṇa, another Sikh writer, composed an eulogy on Nanak in 478 verses entitled *Gurupadaprakāśamālā*, which

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again appeared from Bombay in 1885. In the category of hymns of praise on the Gurus was the *Nānakādigurustotra* by a third Sikh writer, Kamaladhara, (Bombay 1911). This comprised 12 verses with a commentary. On the tenth Guru himself, Nihal Singh composed the *Gurugovindasiṁhastuti* (published in the volume *Khālasāśataka,* Khadgavilas Press, Bankipur Patna, 1858). More substantial than all these are the two Sanskrit contributions on the teachings of Guru Nanak, one in the form of the *Gītā*, which was adopted by exponents and adherents of several Schools including Christianity, and another, in the form of *Sūtras* such as those of the different systems of Indian philosophy and Schools of religious thought. The former is *Śrīmad Gurunānakagītā* or *Nirākāramīmāṁsādarśana* in three chapters of 40, 40 and 25 Sūtras. Both the works are ascribed to Nanak and carry a *Bhāṣya* by Keśavānandasvāmin; they appeared from Moradabad in 1901 and 1903 with the Hindi notes and translation by Śaṅkarānanda Avadhūta and Svarūpa Sūri. Kavi Krishna Kaur gave a history of the Sikhs in his *Śryaṅkakāvya* in sixteen short cantos (Lahore 1935) and Śrīpāda Śāstrī Hasūrkar, an account of the Gurus in his *Sikhaguru-caritrāmṛta* included in his *Bhārata-nara-ratnamālā* (Indore 1933).

"The Sanskrit biography of Guru Govind Singh composed by Dr. Satya Vrat is one of the two Sanskrit works undertaken for the tri-centenary, the other being Pt. Shrutikant's translation of Sardar Harbans Singh's biography of the Guru. Dr. Satya Vrat has to his credit not only several pieces of research work in different branches of Sanskrit literature, but also original writings in Sanskrit, a long composition of his in this category being the *Bodhisattvacarita* on the *avadānas* of the Buddha. He combines with his equipment in grammar, a gift for sāhitya. Although the grammatical predilection shows itself here and there in some recondite forms, his verses are generally marked by simplicity and easy flow; ideas and expressions from Vedas, Upaniṣads, Gītā and especially Kālidāsa, which naturally come

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to the mind while composing, are imbedded in the lines. There are several examples of this in his poem (I, 4, 9; II. 4, 9, 15; III. 2, 9; IV. 19, 34, 64, 65, 76, 114).

The life of Guru Govind Singh forms a subject suitable for a *Kāvya*. A religious teacher and a man of action, the Guru rouses the imagination of those capable of spiritual fervour and patriotic sentiment. From his birth in Patna (1666) to his death (1708) at Nanded of the stab-wounds caused by the treacherous Pathans in his camp, the Guru's career is marked by events of varied interest. The preparatory period when the young Guru equipped himself for nearly twenty years on the literary, the spiritual and the martial sides, his military engagements and successes, his own literary work and patronage of writers, his organization of the Khalsa, the initiation with Amṛta and his exhortations, the fearless stand and sacrifice of his young sons, all these the writer has described in his Sahitya Akademi Award winning Kāvya *Śrīgurugovindasiṁhacaritam*.[1]

1. Excerpts from the foreword by Dr. V. Raghavan to the author's Sahitya Akademy Award winning prabandhakāvya *Śrīgurugovindasiṁhacaritam*

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CHILDREN'S LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

Till about the third quarter of the 20th century there was precious little of children's literature in Sanskrit, the then writers of Sanskrit being far too much preoccupied with Śāstric subjects or the high flown creative writings like Mahākāvyas, Khaṇḍkāvyas, novels, short or long stories and so on. It is only after that that they woke up to the need for it when they realized that the younger generation was drifting far too much to English and vernaculars which had far more sumptuous fare to offer to children to stimulate their interest in learning them. Some of the Sanskrit writers now are engaging themselves in producing works of interest for children in Sanskrit thus enriching that genré of it which was marked by paucity of works. A few of the more noteworthy attempts in this connection are *Vānarikā Muktamālikā Ca*[1], a collection of forty eight children's stories by Satya Deva Chaudhari, *Bālakathātaraṅgiṇī*[2] and *Bālakathāpuṣpahāra*[3], the two collections of twenty children's stories in each by Sharada Gadge, *Bāla Nāṭyāvaliḥ*[4], a collection of fourteen children's plays by Ramchandra (Harisharan) Ambika Datta Shandilya, *Gītabhārata*[5], a collection of ten songs by Manomohan Acharya, *Gītamohana*[6] by Manomohan Acharya, a collection of sixteen songs, *Sukāntakathāviṁśati*[7] by Sukant

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Kumara Senapati, a collection of twenty value-based stories, *Yo Madbhaktaḥ Sa Me Priyaḥ*[8] by Ravindra Kumar Panda a collection of ten children's plays with English translation by Nehal Pandya appended at the end, *Saṁskṛta-Hindī Bālagītā*[9], by Subhash Vedalankar, a collection of eighteen children's songs in Sanskrit with Hindi rendering and appropriate pictures, *Gītasaṁskṛta*[10], a collection of twenty eight children's songs with no indication of composer/s, *Kanīyān rājakumāraḥ*[11], the Sanskrit translation by Gopabandhu Mishra with line-drawings of the French book Le Petit Prince of Antoine De Saint-Exupery, *Bālakathāsaptati*[12] by Janardan Hegde, a collection of seventy children's stories, *Geyasaṁskṛtam*[13] : a collection of twenty eight songs with no indication of author/s.

A work that stands in a category in itself in the field of children's literature in Sanskrit is the Prahelikā-śataka[14], hundred riddles by Durga Parikh. Couched in verses in a variety of metres with their solutions underneath the respective verses the riddles are sure to appeal to the taste bud of the youngsters.

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MODERN SANSKRIT LITERATIURE LINGUISTIC AND STYLISTIC APPRAISAL

Language

With such a large corpus of modern Sanskrit literature written over the years, it was but natural that modernity in it should not have remained confined to themes, style and literary forms only but also should have stretched to language and style.

In the Symposium on Ancient and Modern Sanskrit at the Sixth World Sanskrit Conference at Philadelphia in 1984 an Indian linguist had questioned the very term Modern Sanskrit. According to him if it is Sanskrit, it is Sanskrit all right. What is modern about it? What follows now is an answer to his query or to the possible query of those who may be entertaining a similar doubt.

What is being written now by way of Sanskrit is in no way different from the Sanskrit of old if strict adherence to grammatical rules were to be the sole criterion of determining its character. That is what makes it Sanskrit in the strictest sense of the term. The way of nominal and verbal formations, the primary and secondary forms, the cases and the compounds are all the same. What, however, is not the same is the vocabulary

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and the mode of expression including idioms, proverbs and metaphors and style which impart a different look to it.

With exposure to the west the entire way of life of the educated upper and lower middle class in India has undergone a sea change. In dress, food and life-style it has come deeply under the western influence. What was left out by the western civilization was supplied by science and technology. On Indian roads no longer ply the bullock carts, the *śakaṭas*, or the chariots, the *rathas*, only. Bicycles, cars, buses, tempos, scooters, motor bikes and motor cycles are seen racing now even in the remotest parts. The country has now a network of railways which is one of the most extensive in the world. So has it a fleet of aeroplanes, from Fokker Friendship to Jumbo Jets, both for internal and external travel. Radios, transistors and television sets are a common enough sight in Indian households, even in the countryside in some parts. Gramaphones are getting obsolete. The cassetes and the stereo system are the in-things. Vaidyas and Auṣadhālayas are getting sidelined in preference to modern doctors, clinics and hospitals. Telephone, postal services and email now connect all parts of the world. Sofas, tables and chairs now decorate the drawing rooms. The standing kitchens now have the most modern gadgets. The food and drink habits of the people are fast undergoing change. Toasts, sandwitches, biscuits and fast food are common enough items for breakfast and tiffin. Tea and coffee among hot beverages are now national drinks, even the poorest of the poor and the lowliest of the lowly beginning their day with them. Cold drinks of the cola variety are the rage, especially among the urban populace. Of vegetables potatoes and tomatoes, both of non-Indian origin, are the most popular. Lunches and dinners are now served on dining tables in chinaware while drinks are poured in glass tumblers. A Sanskritist to be realist may have to describe some of these things or may have at least to refer to them in the context of his themes relevant to modern life. For words for them he may have to

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depend upon other languages. He may either have to adopt them as such which means that he may have them as loan words or approximate them in sound and sense to Sanskrit to make them look like Sanskritic or coin words for them which may carry in them their sense somehow, i.e., have them in loan translations. And this is precisely what he has done. The result : Modern Sanskrit has come to have a large corpus of new and hitherto non-existent words. For loan words the Sanskritist has to assign, in keeping with the genius of the language, the gender which has to be by and large arbitrary. To old Sanskrit stock of Indeclinables, particularly the exclamatory ones among them, he may add quite a few like *ahā, oh, wah* as current in vernaculars. Many of the idioms and proverbs too he may incorporate in the form of loan translation which he has done. Similarly, the way of expression in a foreign language like 'this is not far from truth' he has incorporated as such just in literal translation : *idaṁ satyān nātidūre'sti.* So has he the expression 'he fell from grace' : as *sa ādarāt pracyuto'bhavat.* Some of the new words in Hindi and other vernaculars like *sambhrānta* for well-to-do, *samāroha* for function, *pratiyogitā* for competition are now common enough occurrence in modern Sanskrit and have been accepted as part of the Sanskrit vocabulary though totally non-existent in older Sanskrit in the senses in which they are used now. The same is the case with a plethora of Sanskrit-based Hindi and other vernacular words to serve as equivalents of English technical terms. *Ārakṣana* for reservation, *adhīkṣaka* for superintendent, *pañjīkaraṇa* for registration, *svāgata-kakṣa* for reception hall are now freely used in Sanskrit in the necessary case formations.

All this cumulatively adds upto the rise of the phenomenon designated the modern Sanskrit. Any discerning critic cannot but notice the wide chasm between old Sanskrit which after a period came to have a stereotyped character with little inlets for fresh introductions and the modern one flooded with large inroads imparting to it a new look, leaving a new impression in its totality on the mind. Heralding the dawn of a new era, it

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stands out as an entity in itself, old yet new, stereotyped yet progressive, classical yet modern. It is this which is modern Sanskrit.

For full appreciation of this modern Sanskrit it is worthwhile to have reproductions from a cross-section of the modern Sanskrit writings, especially those which deal with modern themes for it is in them that there is greater opportunity for modern Sanskrit surfacing itself in that in attempting to depict the modern world as such, through a medium which as it is may be inadequate to do so, the modern Sanskrit writers have to reinforce their works with words and expressions from other media.

In vocabulary modern Sanskrit writers have adopted a three-fold approach : (1) They have either retained the foreign words, particularly those of English that have crept into modern Indian vernaculars and have acquired a tinge of familiarity or (2) they have made them as also in many cases words and expressions in vernaculars look Sanskrit to avoid in all probability their appearing as odd things out in Sanskrit compositions by Sanskritizing them keeping them as close as possible in sound and in certain cases even in sense to their foreign originals or (3) rendering them into Sanskrit by coining their Sanskrit equivalents, keeping them fairly close to them in sense and in an isolated case or two even in sound. In the first category could be mentioned words like bomb, revolver, plague, coat, pant, etc., e.g., *bombāsphoṭanāni*[1], *atra plega utpatsyate*[2], *Madanalālas taṁ rivhālvarasya golikānāṁ balīcakāra*[3], *koṭādikam apanīya nāgadante sthāpayati*[4], *paṇṭaṁ niṣkāsya*.[5] In the second category could be mentioned words like Tamasā for the river Thames in England : *Tamasākhyā taraṅgiṇī nagaram abhitaḥ pravahati pramodakāriṇi*[6], *svaphena* for *sābun* or soap: *sugandhi-svaphenena snātavyam*[7], *maruttara* for motor car: *bhramaṇāya cakṣūṁṣi camatkurvanto maruttarāḥ*.[8]

A few more imaginative of the modern Sanskrit writers have adopted some of the foreign words with a slight phonetic

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change connecting them fancifully with some Sanskrit root or the other, e.g., *tobha* for long range gun derived from √*tubh, tubha himsāyām: akasmād eva tobhaḥ*[9] *calitaḥ*; *hāla* for English hall : *ratnākara iva viśāle hāle*[10], hall being derived from √*hal, hala vilekhane*, the derivation being suggested by the writer himself *halyate = vilikhyate = bhidyate janasamudāyena yugapat sa hālaḥ, hala vilekhane = ghañ*; *vāṇijyāra* for bazar[10]; *haramanoyama* for harmonium *capalā candrakalā haramanoyam ādāya*[11]; *apasara* for officer; *apasare labdho vijayaḥ.*[12]

In certain cases the modern vernacular expressions have been Sanskritized as if they were to have been derived from the original ones *uddhama* for *ūdhamī, uddhama kim api kāryaṁ kuru; puñjavāda* for pūñjīvāda, *tasya pūjā puñjavādayuge pravṛttā; dvigala* for *dogalā, dvigalo na samāje sammānabhājanam; sambhālayiṣyati* for *samhālegī, kanyā uttamā vidyate gṛhaṁ sambhālayiṣyati; raṅgila* for *raṅgīlā*, rangilenānena *bahiḥkakṣāyāṁ dhvanimudrikāḥ pracālitāḥ; hasamukha* for *haṁsamukha, hasamukha uddhavaḥ prasthitaḥ; varān varān* for *baḍe baḍoṅ ko, varān varān api tat niḥsattvatāṁ nayati sma.*

In an odd case or two the pure Sanskrit word not much current in older literature but current in modern vernaculars is used, e.g., *mālī* for gardener : *pravṛddhāyāṁ latāyāṁ mālī tadāśrayaviṣaye cintito bhavaty eva.* In the third category which incidentally has many times more the number of words than the first two could be mentioned words like *nālāstra* for gun, *paraidhita* or parasite, *gāṇanika* for accountant, *jīvanāśvāsana* for life insurance, *arthapatraka* for budget, *paśukrīḍāpradarśana* for circus, *dūrasandeśavāhaka*[13] for telegraph peon.

The common word for watch is *ghaṭī* or *ghaṭikā.*[14] If English has words for its different types, so has modern Sanskrit. For wrist watch it has *maṇibandhaghaṭī*[15], for time piece *patalaghaṭikā*[16] and for wall clock *bhittighaṭikā.*[17]

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It will be interesting to note that a modern Sanskrit writer has given in Sanskrit words, all his coinages, for all the different types of bomb which he calls *vama* connecting it fancifully with √*vama, ṭuvama udgiraṇe*, in quick succession : explosive bomb, *visphoṭakavama*, poisonous bomb, *viṣodvāmaka vama*, incindiary bomb, *agnivama*, time bomb, *samayāpekṣivamā jagatīṁ sandehasindhau jughukṣituṁ viṣodvāmakā vamā, visphoṭakā vamā nagarabhasmakarmāṇo 'gnivamā śighravisphuṭanaśīlā samayāpekṣiṇaś ca vamāḥ pracuramātrayā nirmitāḥ.*[18]

So does he give words for different types of gases *narasaṁharaṇā viṣāktā aśrusāriṇaḥ kṣaviṇaḥ todotpādino visarpasampādinaś ca geṣaḥ.*[19] The poisonous gases, the tear gas, the nose-irritant gas, the lung-irritant gas and the blister gas. The word *geṣa* is also an attempt on his part apiece with *vama* to Sanskritize the foreign word by fancifully connecting it, on the basis of affinity of sound as also the contrived one of that of sense, with a Sanskrit root: *geṣa, geṣa anvicchāyām.*

A feature of the modern Sanskrit language that deserves special mention is the lack in it of the standard vocabulary of coinages which varies from work to work depending upon individual perception and effort. Thus for tea while one work uses *kaṣāyapāna* or *kaṣāyapeya*[20], the other uses *uṣṇajala*[21] while still another prefers *cāyapāna*[22] or the popular words *cāya*[23] or *cahā*[24]. For railway train while at one place a work uses the word *bāṣpānas*[25] at another place it employs the word *vahnivāhana*[26] while at still another place it goes in for the word *agniratha.*[27] Other works have other words like *gantrī*[28] or *lohaśakaṭa*[29] or *dhūmaśakaṭa*[30] or the feminine forms of the last two *lohaśakaṭī*[31] and *dhūmaśakaṭī*[32] or in an isolated case just *śakaṭa.*[33] A work, since it has to refer to a mail train, goes in for an altogether a different word *patrāgniratha.*[34] For necktie while one work uses the word *grīvābandhana*[35], the other goes in for the word *kaṇṭhabandha*[36]. For handkerchief while one work has the word *karakarpaṭa* and *karavāsas* at two different

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places the other work has the word *karapaṭa*[37], the difference being restricted, interestingly enough, to the second component of the word. The sweetmeat Rasagullā is designated as *rasagulma*[38], in one and *rasagolaka*[39] in another. The torch is called *vimardaprakāśikā*[40] in one and *vartī*[41] in another. The pocket is denoted by *guṭikā*[42] in one and *gupti*[43] in another and *goha*[44] in still another. The pistol is called *bhindipāla*[45] in one and *pistula*[46] in another.

A lock is called *nalikāyantra*[47] in one, *lohasūci*[48] in another, *viṣkambhaka*[49] in still another and *tāla*[50] in yet another. Petrol is called *bhūtaila* in one and *prataila* in another, indicating as it does an attempt, very ingenious indeed, of a modern writer to approximate the Sanskrit equivalent to the foreign original in both sound and sense.

In some of the cases cited above, an attempt is made to put foreign words in Sanskrit in their sense taking some element or the other which according to the modern writer is more prominent in the things denoted by the foreign words, be it *agni*, fire or *dhūma*, smoke or iron or steel, *loha* in railway train or the pungent taste *kaṣāya* or the hot warter, *uṣṇajala* in tea or pressing or pushing, *vimarda* in torch or security or safety *gupti* or *goha* in pocket.

Sometimes the proverbs used in modern works have a foreign or vernacular colouring. The English proverb "while the dogs bark the caravan goes on moving" is represented almost in literal translation in Sanskrit in a modern work *nākrośāt sārameyāṇāṁ vijahāti pathaṁ gajaḥ*[51] The Hindi idiom *lohe ke cane cabānā* is represented the same way in another work: *granthasya vikrayakāryam apyāyāsacaṇakacarvaṇam eva.*[52]

Another Hindi idiom *prāṇoṁ ke sāth khelanā* is represented in a modern Sanskrit work as *mahatāṁ sevanaṁ nāma prāṇaiḥ saha krīḍanam*. In the light of all the wide variation in terms noticeable at present some standardization is the need of the hour. For this it is necessary to compile a dictionary of all the

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varied terms for one and the same object as in use at present and then decide one from among them after a thorough discussion at well-attended seminars. This will bring about uniformity which is a desideratum in literature.

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28. ibid., 16. 38.

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29. *Sāvarakarā lohaśakaṭam āropitāḥ, Bhāratīyadeśabhaktacaritam*, p. 36.
30. *tato dhūmaśakaṭam āsthāya chikāgopattanaṁ prāptaḥ, chikāgo-dhūmaśakaṭasthānam āgatya*—ibid., pp. 74, 75.
31. *mahatā vegena dhāvantīṁ lohaśakaṭīṁ dṛṣṭvā, Vīravināyakagāthā*, p. 40.
32. *ahaṁ dhūmaśakaṭīpathikāvāse bhramann āsam—Candramahīpatiḥ*, p. 169.
33. *ātmānaṁ draṣṭum āgatāyāndrūsāya śakataśulkapradānāya daśarūpyakāṇi dadau—Bhāratīyadeśabhaktacaritam*, p. 36.
34. *Tilakayaśornavaḥ*, 41.77.
35. *nyāyādhīśānāṁ maṇḍalaṁ grīvābandhanena cañcaddaṇḍeno-panetreṇa maṇibandhaghaṭīṁ paśyat—Candramahīpatiḥ*, p. 192.
36. *kaṇṭhabandho 'pi dṛśyate—Camatkāraḥ*, p. 53.
37. *karapaṭena mukhaṁ upanahau ca proñchati—Camatkāraḥ*, p. 81.
38. *Candramahīpatiḥ*, p. 29.
39. *pañca rasagolakāni ca khāditvā—Camatakāraḥ*, p. 6.
40. *vimardaprakāśikāprakāśaś cākhilavastujātaṁ prākāśata; vimardaprakāśikām ādāya pūrṇām ārogyaśālāṁ paśyantī avartata—Candramahīpatiḥ*, pp. 77, 226.
41. *kaścid dūrasandesavāhakaḥ tasya skandhe jholakaṁ kare varīī—Camatkāraḥ*, p. 14.
42. *bhindipālam ekam niḥsārya kukṣiguṭikāyām saṁsthāpya—Candramahīpatiḥ*, p. 77.
43. *parīṣṭisampṛktena janena sarvadaiva svaguptikāyām tāphītināmadheyāni miṣṭānnāni prāyaśo gopanīyāni—Parīṣṭidarśanam*, p. 10.
44. *iti daśarūpyakāṇi Nalinyai dadāti, sā ca gṛhītvā gohe sthāpayati—Camatkāraḥ*, p. 11.
45. *bhittimañjūṣātaḥ pañcaguṭikaṁ bhindipālam ekam niḥsārya—Candramahīpatiḥ*, p. 77.
46. *Perisanagaryāṁ krantikārakaiḥ krītāni brāunin pistulāni Bhāratabhavanaṁ prāptāni; etāni pistulāni Bhārate preṣitāni.*
49. *laghur eva viṣkambhaka āsit tadagre—Candramahīpatiḥ*, p. 77.
50. (*sacivaḥ tālam udghāṭayati*) *Camatkāraḥ*, pp. 25, 26.
51. *Parīṣṭidarśanam*, p. 24.
52. Rishi Maharaj, *Madanadahanam, Kālidāsīyoparūpakāṇāṁ Samuccayaḥ*, p. 52.

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39

STYLE

Just as there is change in vocabulory in modern sanskrit literature in the same way is there change in style. Some of the illustrations would bear it out :

There is use of rather unusual type of proper names in the spirit of the vernaculars :

दीपं दीपयति मिली
मिटुः पृच्छति
लिटि! एनं नय।
टुकुः तावत्कालपर्यन्तं न प्रत्यागतः[2]।

With each sentence the feeling getting heightened the number of exclamatory signs increases:

गोपालबन्धो! ..... गोपालबन्धो!! ..... गोपालबन्धो !!![3]

So does it in the rising of the pitch in calling out to somebody

गोपालबन्धो!.....गोपालबन्धो!! .....गोपालबन्धो[4]!!!

Sometimes the exclamatory sign is preceded or succeeded by a particle like ओ reflecting the gradual rise in the intensity of the restlessness of the person calling out to reach the one called out :

गोपालबन्धो! ..... ओ गोपालबन्धो!! ..... गोपालबन्धो ओ[4]!!!

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In a further variation of the above style, if in the course of the conversation someone makes an observation and the other one just keeps mum, the latter's silence is indicated by dots in single inverted commas :

पायसं तूदरपूरं खादिष्यति किन्तु क्षीरानयने
व्याजं प्रकटयसि, सम्यग्वेद्मि त्वादृशान्।
'.....' राकेशो रोदिति।

'रमापते।' उवाच गुरुदेवः, 'सम्प्रति त्यजेमं विवादम्, राकेशानीतं क्षीरं गृहाण, उत्सवे विषादाय अवकाशं नैव देहि'।

'.....'
'कुबेरनाथ! त्वमेव गृहाण, पात्रे च पातय।'
'.....'
'लक्ष्मीदत्त! त्वं तु वयसा सर्वेषु ज्येष्ठोऽसि। इदं कार्यं त्वं तु विधेहि एव[8]।
'.....'

Sometimes the halting speech is represented by dots after practically every word or two :

(शनैः शनैः) वार्ता खलु.....इयम् .....विदेशं गत्वा किञ्चिद् अधिकं.....अध्ययनम् .....इच्छामि[9]

Or by the sign 3 which otherwise is used for prolation :

युवकः (ससम्भ्रममुत्थाय) आत्मघातं करोमि आऽऽम घाऽतम्'

The halting speech is also represented by incomplete sentence:

पा.-मम तावत् सन्निधिरपि दुष्टः? सीताऽपि दुष्टा? चित्र।.....[9]

Or by incoherent expression:

सुधीरः - नैव नैव किञ्चित् ..... तत् ..... एतत् ..... श्रीमन्तः।[9]

Or by dots occasionally after every syllable:

भोमम.....भवती.....स्वयम्.....[10]

The halting expression is sometimes carried to the extent of stammering represented by repeated use of a word to the accompaniment of dots to indicate hesitation as in:

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(1) भो (प्रकाशम्)—किं.....किं.....किं भवत्या नाम[11]

Or to indicate the inability of the speaker to express himself because of his losing control of himself :

सोच्छ्वासं वेदनामभिनीय।
वि.....वि.....विजयतां.....मे.....भाऽऽर.....तम्!!
(इति मूर्च्छति)[12]

Or to indicate surprise :

भो.—त ..... त ..... त ..... तारिका?[13]

The hesitation bordering on trepidation is indicated with the split of even a single syllable :

श श् श् श्रीमन् .....[14]

The dots are also used to indicate the reflective mood before the beginning of the next word after the earlier sentence :

हर हर महादेव ऽऽऽऽऽ
जाटां दी फतह ऽऽऽऽऽ[15]

The high pitch in a particular phenomenon like loud/ boisterous laughter represented by the repeated use of the expression हः is indicated by a chain of s signs

कुम्भीपाकः - हः हः हः हः हः ऽऽऽऽ
हः हः हः हः ऽऽऽऽ[16]

The sign is also used to indicate the high voltage of the pitch at the end of a slogan, जयकारा as it is called in Hindi.

In prolation the normal rule of Pāṇini of prolating the final vowel of the word denoting the name of the person called from a distance is not strictly followed, the prolation being observed even in the case of the verbs as in :

(1) नेपथ्ये (धर्मदासशब्दः) शृणोमि, शृणोमि ३ उच्यता ३ म्[17]।।
(2) नेपथ्ये (चित्राशब्दः) आगम्यताम् अम्ब ३ प्रातराशः ३ क्रियताम्[18]
(3) शृणोमि, शृणोमि ३ उच्यता ३ म्[19]।

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The vernacular words of address like री or अरी are sometimes used to address girls in place of the time-honoured हला

नहि री, तदपि किं सभ्यं परिधानम्[20]?

अरी, अत्र काऽपि नायाति[21]।

For men it is रे or अरे or ए

अरे किं सर्वे मृताः[22]

क्व मृतासीः रे[23]

ए भृशं जल्पसि[24]

In some odd cases even जी as it is or with short *i* also figures:

1. सत्स्वपि वैचारिकेषु मतभेदेषु गान्धिजीनां मम च अन्योन्यसम्बन्धाः स्नेहपूर्णा आसन्। नेताजिभिः सुभाषचन्द्रैः[25]।

2. पा.- श्रूयतां जी, श्रूयते न वा[26]।

3. नेताजिभिः सुभाषचन्द्रैः[27]

The exclamatory words are augmented with the addition of ओहो or ओह :

ओहो त्वं न जानासि किम्[28]?

ओहो महती विकृतिः[29], ओहो! त्वं न जानासि किम्[30]।

ओह न मया ज्ञातं सिंहस्त्वमसीति[31]।

ओहो ..... दुर्ललितो भवान्[32]।

ओहो, क्षणमास्ताम्।[33]

The conversation between the characters is represented many times by dash (—) after their initial introduction, the reader being left to himself to make out as to who is speaking to whom :

1. सा निरुत्तरा। पुनरपश्यत् ऋत्विक्।

— न वदसि किमभूत्तव?

- अहं ऋती।

— ऋती मातर्वं उत्तरय उपविश।

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- अहं ऋती - । भवतः पत्नी।
- ऋती मम पत्नी - इति तु कदापि नोक्तं त्वया।
- वक्तुं भवताऽपि अवसरः न दत्तः।
- त्वं मम पत्नी - इति अनुभवः अपि मयि नागतः।
- भवान् तु मम पतिः इत्यहमनुभवामि[34]।

2. उद्धवः नेत्रमुत्थाप्य मानां निरैक्षत
- शुभम् ..... कुशलम्.....।
- असमये आगमनस्य किमपि विशेषकारणमस्ति?
- अस्त्येव।
- किम्?
- त्वया तु अनुप्रेरितः अहम्।
- कस्मिन् विषये?
- उपवने विद्याध्ययनं प्रारब्धव्यं खलु?
- अनेन समयसद्यापः।
- जानामि।
- तर्हि.....।
- श्वः प्रारप्स्यते इति ज्ञापयितुम् आगतः।
- एतदर्थम् इयान् श्रमः?
- का हानिः?
- गृहे पित्रोः का अव्यवस्था .....
- नहि ते प्रसन्नाः। अयं समुचितावसर इति अहं प्रस्थितः[35]।

3. 'तारे त्वं किञ्जातीया?'
'आर्यास्मि'
'सामिषा वा निरामिषा?'
'सामिषा ऽऽसम् परमधुना निरामिषा'
'तदाहं ब्राह्मणस्तव गृहे कथं भोक्तुं क्षमः[36]?'

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भक्षितस्य शष्पस्याद्यः सारो दुग्धम्, पश्चाच्च मांसम्, तद्यदि पयो निपीयते चेन्मांसादने को दोषः?

दुग्धादाने हिंसा न भवति, मांसादने च हिंसेत्येव विशेषः।

- क्व व्यापृतासि तारे दिनेष्वेषु?
- पक्षेण शिरस आर्त्तिरासीत् परमा प्रभो!
- कश्चन चिकित्सकः सम्मन्त्रितो नहि किम्?
- अचिकित्स्या चिकित्सकैर्विलक्षणा शिरःपीडाऽऽसीत्[35]।

Or by single inverted commas:

4. वत्स राकेश! तुभ्यमिदं दुग्धं त्वदीयेन गोपालबन्धुना दत्तमासीत्?

आम् गुरुदेव! - सामोदं जगाद राकेशः।

वत्स! तवकोऽयं गोपालबन्धुः कुत्र वसति?

वने वसति।

गेहे आगच्छति?

'नहि'।

'कदाचिदपि नैव?'

'नहि कदाचिदपि नैव'।

'कीदृशानि वस्त्राणि परिदधाति?'

'पीतं दुकूलं तथा पीतमेव अधोवस्त्रम्'।

'शिरसि किं धारयति'

'मयूरपिच्छगुम्फितं मुकुटम्।'

'वर्णेन कीदृशोऽस्ति?'

'श्यामः'।

'वयसा कीदृशः प्रतिभाति?'

'अष्टादशवर्षदेशीयः।'

'किं कार्यं करोति?'

'गाश्चारयति वेणुं च वादयति[36]।'

5. ब्रूहि तर्हि, कोऽसौ महानुभाव इति राजा पुनरपृच्छत्।

'नाहं किमपि जाने तद्विषये।....'

'अपि स ते मित्रम्।'

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'नास्ति स मित्रममित्रं वा। कृपालुरेव स केवलं पुरुषविशेषः कश्चन'।
'इतः प्राक् त्वमासीश्चौरः... ।...पुनश्च तस्माद् वृद्धप्रवरादाहृत्य धनानि सञ्चेष्यसि राजकोषे।'
'क्षमस्व राजन्। हरणं यथा ऽपराधस्तथाऽऽहरणमपीति मे मतिर्भवति[38]।'

6. राजकुमारेण तथैवोत्तरितम्, नहि राजकुमारि सत्यमहमर्घ्यं समर्पयितु...।
किन्तु राजकुमार्या नैव श्रुतेयं वाक्।
विद्रुमरक्ताधरोष्ठेन सा विस्मितं विधाय ग्रीवां च वक्रीकृत्य उक्तवती वञ्चक!![39]

इयद् दूर चलितुं कथं पारयिष्यामि।
'अश्वो मे वर्तते।'
'आतपेन देहस्तपिष्यति।'
'अहं स्वतनुच्छायां करिष्यामि।'
'पथि पिपासया कण्ठः शोषमेष्यति।'
'अहं पानीयमन्विष्य आनेष्यामि।'
'देहं धूलिरावरिष्यति'
'अहं शिरोवेष्टनेन प्रोञ्छिष्यामि'।
'रात्रौ कुत्र शयिष्ये?'
'ममाङ्के शयिष्यसे।'
'वने सिंहहस्तिप्रभृतयो भवेयुः।'
'शस्त्राणि मे वर्तन्ते।'[40]

A telephone conversation is often marked by short sentences and the answers to the queries of the party at the other end. A few examples from some of the modern works would show as to how realistically it is represented in them:

1. उपचा.- अहं गान्धिस्मारकचिकित्सालयाद् ब्रवीमि।...सघनपरिचर्या-कक्षतः।... आम् श्रीमन्! डा. शंकरः सघनपरिचर्याकक्ष एव वर्तते। स किञ्चिदस्वस्थः

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सञ्जातोऽस्ति। भवता स्वल्पकालाय इहागम्यताम्। नहि श्रीमन्! तादृशी काचिद् वार्ता न। स वक्षोवेदनया किञ्चित्पीडितोऽस्ति।....आम्। (दूरभाषं निदधाति)[41]।

2. किं ब्रवीषि? अत्यस्वस्थोऽस्ति? कुत्रेदानीं सः? रुग्णालयं नीतोऽस्ति ....हं....हं गच्छ शीघ्रं रुग्णालयम्। वैद्याभिप्रायं मां निवेदय....हं....हं...प्रतीक्षेऽहमत्रैव। (ग्रहणीं यथास्थानं स्थापयित्वा)[42]।

3. दूरध्वनिनिनादः। (विनायकरायाः दूरध्वनेः ग्रहणीम् आदाय भाषन्ते।) हैलो, सावरकसदनम् इदम्। कोऽयं भाषते?...शान्तारामः? किं ब्रवीषि?...अं? ताडितः? बालः जनेन क्रूरं ताडितः? कदा? इतो विनिर्गतमात्रः? अहो धिक्। कथम् इदानीं सः...किं ब्रवीषि? अत्यस्वस्थोऽस्ति? कुत्रेदानीं सः?...रुग्णालयं नीतोऽस्ति?...हं... हं गच्छ शीघ्रं रुग्णालयम्। वैद्याभिप्रायं मां निवेदय...हं... प्रतीक्षेऽहमत्रैव। (ग्रहणीं यथास्थानं स्थापयित्वा) हा धिक् हा बाल! कस्ते आसीत् अपराधः केवलम् अयमेव यत्त्वं मम भ्राताऽसि। किं बान्धवानां दुःखोत्पादनाय एव मयि चैतन्यम् आहितम्? यो यो मम सहवासम् आगतः, स वधस्तम्भं वा आरूढः, कारागृहे वा क्षीणः, अन्दमाने वा जीर्णः, क्षोभस्य वा बलीभूतः – पुरा परकीयाणां शासकानाम्, इदानीं स्वजनानाम्। अयि भोः जगत्सूत्रधार! किम् इयमेव भूमिका त्वया मह्यं वितीर्णा? किं यद्वा अवशिष्यते अथापि अस्याः? (पुनरपि दूरध्वनि-नादः। विनायकरायाः ग्रहणीम् आदाय भाषन्ते)

सावरकर-सदनम् इदम्। ब्रूहि, शान्ताराम! किमिदम्? न भवान् शान्तारामः? कस्तर्हि...किं ब्रवीषि? हितचिन्तकः कोपीति? नाहम् अनामिकेन...तिष्ठ! अभिज्ञातोऽसि स्वरसंयोगात्।...भवतु, भवतु।...परमगुह्या काचित् वार्ताऽस्ति?...(तीव्रस्वरेण) किम्? ... नास्ति सन्देहलेशोऽपि?...अर्धहोरामात्रेणैव?...निश्चितम्? हैलो, हैलो! कथम्! निक्षिप्तैव ग्रहणी अधस्तात्! (गम्भीरतमो भूत्वा ग्रहणीं स्थाने स्थापयित्वा गतागतं करोति। ततः प्रविशति माई)[43]।

Some of the Sanskrit scholars rooted in Indian tradition are of the view, based on false pride of course, that all the languages of the world are derived from Sanskrit. They are at pains to connect words of those languages with Sanskrit through similarity of sound which prompts them to go in for their fanciful derivations from Sanskrit roots that may amuse more than prove anything. These scholars do not realize how true is the dictum that 'sound philology is not sound philology'. In the exercise to connect non-Sanskrit words with Sanskrit they are

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not un-often motivated by the sense or the meaning which gives them direction to search for the roots or stems which could yield that meaning. The writer of these lines would like to share one of his experiences in this connection with readers. He was attending a marriage ceremony in a hall and was occupying a back seat. He could not know the priest would notice his presence and to show off his learning, he while performing the ritual of joining hands (*pāṇi-grahaṇa*) of the bride and the bridegroom, pointed out that the spirit of this ritual is represented by the English word husband which he traced to the Sanskrit word *hastabandha*. In the same spirit a Sanskrit writer of the name of Madhusudan Shastri has connected the word Kahānī and Kissā with Sanskrit. In what way he has connected them can be seen from the following:

'कं शिरोम्बुनि सुखे च' इति कोशात् सुखवाचकः कशब्दः 'ओहाङ् गतौ' (ये गत्यर्थास्ते ज्ञानार्थाः) इत्यस्मात् ज्ञानार्थकात् हाधातोर्निष्ठाक्तप्रत्यये तस्य नत्वे 'क्तादल्पाख्यायाम्' इति सूत्रेण येन सुखेन हानं ज्ञानं तया इति विग्रहे अल्पाख्यायां ङीप् प्रत्यये कहानी इति प्रयोगः निष्पद्यते। या कहानी भवति तत्र अल्पमेवाख्यायते। नेयं ग्रन्थरूपा। एवमेव किस्साशब्दश्च।

'कस्' गतौ इत्यस्मात् भावे क्विपि 'कस्' इति निष्पन्नम्, स प्रत्यये बहुलं छन्दसि इत्यादेरित्वे स्त्रियां टापि किस्सा इति रूपं भिस्सा इतिवत् निष्पद्यते। 'भिस्सा स्त्री भक्तमन्धोऽन्नम्' इत्यमरः। एवं किस्साकहानी संवादः- जैनानां जातकम् इति सर्वे पर्यायाः"।

The conversation between the characters as in the case of the earlier ones is reproduced with inverted commas; the peculiarity of the conversation is that it is between two strangers travelling in a train, one male and the other female. The male has to catch the train when it is already on the move. Finding a ladies compartment in front of him he gets in to it. On being questioned as to why he did so he answers that he has to appear for the U.P.S.C. interview. There being no train after the one he has to catch he had to get into any compartment that he could

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latch himself up with the train already on the move.. The U.P.S.C. is the flashpoint to start a series of questions and answers which the author puts in inverted commas with the reader left to his common sense to figure out as to who is putting the question and who is answering it:

किं कथयामि विवशोऽस्मि। अन्तर्व्यूहस्य प्रवेशपत्रमागतम् तत्रैव गन्तुमिच्छामि। प्रयागस्य कृते अन्तिम एवासीत् शकटोऽयम्। सङ्कुलितो भूत्वा ऽवोचत् श्रीनिवासः।

'किं लोकसेवा आयोगेन समाहूतास्सन्ति भवन्तः'

'अथ किम्'

'अहमप्याहूताऽस्मि। तत्रैव गच्छामि। कस्माद्विश्वविद्यालयात् एम्. ए. इत्युपाधिं लब्धवन्तो भवन्तः - ईषद्विहस्य कथितं तया। 'काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयात्। भवत्या च कुतः?'

'लक्ष्मणपुरविश्वविद्यालयात्।'

'कस्यां श्रेण्याम्?'

'प्रथमश्रेण्यां द्वितीयं स्थानम्। भवता?'

'प्रथमश्रेण्यां प्रथमं स्थानम्। किञ्चिद्विहस्यावोचत् श्रीनिवासः।'

'इदानीं किं कुर्वन्ति भवन्तः?'

'अनुसन्धानं करोमि। पुनर्भवत्यः?'

'अहमपि।'

'वाराणसीनगरस्यैव निवासिनः सन्ति भवन्तः किम्?'

'एवम्'

'सम्भवतः वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य सरस्वतीभवनाख्ये पुस्तकालये भवन्तो विलोकिताः।'

इयान् वार्तालापोऽभूत् किन्तु किंनामधेया भवन्त इति न ज्ञातं मया।

जनाः श्रीनिवास इति कथयन्ति माम्। भवत्याः शुभनामधेयम्? विमला इति कथयन्ति माम्[15]।

Unlike ancient playwrights their modern counterparts like to start the Act or the Scene in their plays by giving detailed idea of the stage setting, as can be seen from the following:

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(1) प्रथमोऽङ्कः प्रथमं दृश्यम्

(स्थानम् - भगूरे सावरकरगृहम्। कालः एप्रिल 1898। अन्तर्गृहात् पूजापाठः श्रूयते। बहिः बालः विनायकः। (आयुः 15 वर्षाणि) कस्यचिद् पुस्तकस्य पृष्ठपरिवर्तने अन्तरान्तरा च वाचने मग्नः। अन्तर्गृहात् श्रूयते—

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु शक्तिरूपेण संस्थिता।
नमस्तस्यै नमस्तस्यै नमस्तस्यै नमो नमः।।

विनायक उत्थाय अन्तर्गृहस्य द्वारदेशं गत्वा चतुष्पञ्चान् निमेषान् सभक्तिभावं तिष्ठति। ततश्च या देवी इति श्लोकं गुञ्जन् पुनः स्वस्थानं समासाद्य पुस्तकपठनं प्रारभते। ततो बहिः आगच्छति समाप्तपूजः अण्णा इत्याख्यः विनायकस्य पिता। आयुः 47-48 वर्षाणि[46]।

द्वितीयोऽङ्कः प्रथमं दृश्यम्

कालः - खि 1909, स्थानम्- आङ्ग्लभूमौ समुद्रतीरस्थे ब्रायटनग्रामे पथिकाश्रमः। निजे प्रकोष्ठे निरञ्जनपालः वृत्तपत्रपठनपरः दृश्यते। पृष्ठभूमौ पाश्चात्यवाद्यध्वनिः। पञ्चषैः क्षणैः द्वारघण्टा ध्वनति। निरञ्जनो गत्वा द्वारमुद्घाटयति। अध्वगवेषाः विनायकसावरकराः प्रविशन्ति[47]।

तृतीयोऽङ्कः प्रथमं दृश्यम्

(मुम्बय्यां सावरकर-सदनम्। उपरितनकक्षः। सौधगामी सोपानः। कालः - 15 अगस्त, 1947, पार्श्वभूमौ विद्युद्दीपशोभा मंगलवाद्यध्वनिश्च। भगवद्ध्वजः तथा च राष्ट्रध्वज इति ध्वजद्वयम् उच्छ्रितं दृश्यते। ततः प्रविशति ससम्भ्रमं सावरकरपुत्रः विश्वासः। आयुः 18-20 वर्षाणि[48])।

चतुर्थोऽङ्कः। प्रथमं दृश्यम्।

(जवनिकायाः उत्क्षेपोत्तरं कांश्चित् क्षणान् रङ्गमञ्चे अन्धकारः। ततः शनैः शनैः प्रकाशः। आमुखदृश्यम् अग्रतः सरति।

मम प्रतीपम् उपस्थापितं सर्वमपि प्रमाणजातं कर्णाकर्णिरूपं वा किंवदन्तीरूपं वा तर्ककर्कशं वा निरवयवं प्रमाणान्तरेण असमर्थितम् अत एव अविश्वसनीयम् अग्राह्यं

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च इति विचार्य माननीयैः न्यायमूर्तिमहाशयैः मां निष्कलङ्कं विमोचयितुम् आज्ञा प्रदातव्या इति अहं सविनयं प्रार्थयामि। (उपविशति)।

(शनैः शनैः रङ्गमञ्चे अन्धकारः। ततः कैश्चित् क्षणैः अन्धकारे वृत्तपत्रविक्रेतुः घोषणा- 'गान्धीहत्यायाः अभियोगनिर्णयः। सावरकराणां निर्दोषमुक्तता। गान्धीहत्यायाः अभियोगनिर्णयः। सावरकरणां निर्दोषमुक्तता।)[48]

(2) प्रथमोऽङ्कः

(स्थानम् - महाकवेः भासस्य गृहम्। उपस्थानशाला। एकस्मिन् कोणे नटराजस्य मूर्तिः। भित्तौ चित्राणि, प्रमुखत एव च शारदायाः चित्रम्। एकस्मिन् कोणे वीणामृदङ्गौ अपरत्र चित्रफलकः, वर्तिकाश्च। सुष्ठु रचितानि हस्तलिखितपुस्तकानि। एकस्मिन् स्थाने भासस्य लेखनस्थानम्, पटलम्, अन्या च लेखनसामग्री। समग्रं वातावरणं समृद्धिं वैदग्ध्यं च द्योतयति[49]।

द्वितीयोऽङ्कः प्रथमं दृश्यम्

(स्थानम् : रथ्या। ततः प्रविशत एकतः देवरातः अन्यतः वसुमित्रः। शून्यमना वसुमित्रः देवरातम् अदृष्टैव अग्रतो गच्छति। ततः)[50]

तृतीयोऽङ्कः

(स्थानम् - राजप्रासादः। न्यायसभा सम्मिलिताऽस्ति। एकस्मिन् पटले पुस्तकराशिः। श्रेष्ठिकायस्थादिकं न्यायमण्डलं स्थानापन्नं विद्यते। अमात्यः, देवरातः वसुमित्रः, ज्ञाननिधिश्च इत्येतेऽपि स्थानापन्नाः सन्ति। तथैव केचन पौरा अपि। कानिचित् स्थानानि रिक्तानि सन्ति। वसुमित्रदेवरातौ मध्ये मध्ये किमपि कर्णान्तिकं भाषेते।[51]

Living in the present age it is but natural for the modern Sanskrit writers to come under vernacular influence. Many an expression in their works carries an unmistakable reflection of their Hindi base:

1. रात्रावपि लोकाः स्वपितुं न ददति (Cp. Hindi रात को भी लोग सोने नहीं देते)[52]
2. महाराजो दर्शनं वितरति (Cp. Hindi महाराज दर्शन देते हैं)[53]
3. परमहं तव दृष्ट्या दृष्टं जीवितम् आत्मनो नेच्छामि (Cp. Hindi तेरी नज़र से)[54]

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4. एभिरेव वस्त्रैः साम्प्रतं चलिष्यति (Cp. Hindi इन्हीं कपड़ों से अभी चल देगी)[56]
5. धा. - अहं पुनस्तव पितरं मानयिष्यामि (Cp. Hindi मैं तेरे पिता को मना लूँगा)[57]
6. भो. - साधु, साधु शीघ्रमिदानीं साक्षात्कारयोजनां कुरु (Cp. Hindi साक्षात्कार की योजना बनाओ)[58]
7. अद्य खलु पश्चिमायां दिशि सूर्य उदयति।[59]
   आज पश्चिम दिशा में सूर्य का उदय हुआ है।
8. यस्मिन्नेव पात्रे भोजनं तस्मिन्नेव छेदनम्।
   जिस पात्र में खाना उसी में छेद करना[60]
9. द्विदले कालिमा परिलक्ष्यते
   दाल में काला है[61]
10. सत्यमेवासि त्वं कन्यामाणिक्यम्
    सचमुच में तुम गुदड़ी के लाल हो[62]
11. कृपालसिंह? - भ्राष्ट्रे यातु तव ....
    भाड़ में जाय तुम्हारा[63]
12. दत्तोलूखलशिरसां महापुरुषाणां नास्ति भयं मुसलेभ्यः।
    जब ओखली में सिर दिया तो मूसल से क्या डरना।[64]
13. न कोऽप्यत्र क्षीरक्षालितः
    कोई भी यहां दूध का धुला नहीं है[65]
14. पञ्चाङ्गुलयोऽपि ते घृत एव वर्तन्ते
    तुम्हारी पांचों उंगलियां घी में हैं।[66]
15. भगवतो गृहे विलम्बोऽस्तु न तावदन्धकारम्
    भगवान् के घर में देर भले ही हो, अंधेर नहीं।[67]

Some of the modern writers in Sanskrit furbish their works with the graphic description of places and things. They draw a veritable word picture of them. A modern writer while describing a kitchen refers to all that goes with it in Sanskrit words. A character Mili in his novel *Añjali* enters a kitchen. She looks

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around and notices all that goes with it in a state of disarray. She arranges all the things. The writer has Sanskrit words for the kitchen items some of which are his coinages. It would have been better if he would have given their equivalents in Hindi or English to enable the reader to make out as to what he means by them:

मिली पाकशालां प्राविशत्। सर्वतो दृष्टिं निक्षिप्तवती। इतः कठोरं, पिठरे, घटः, दोलम्। ततश्च पचनी, गालनी, स्थाली, स्थालिका, तपा। तत्र दर्वी, चमसी, संदंशी। अन्यत्र वेल्लनं, पीठा, छुरी, नलं, काकलम्। एवं सर्वं किञ्चित् इतस्ततो विक्षिप्तम्। सा सज्जीकृतवती[68]।

In contrast to this the writer of these lines while mentioning the improvised Bazar at Tübingen, Germany (he was Visiting Professor there) where farmers bring their produce straight from the farms records all the different types of cheese, yoghurt and vegetables in Sanskrit words, the equivalents of which he gives in Hindi in the footnotes. The context is his going to the Institute. The Bazar is put up in the city square. The road to the Institute passes through it. He would buy some of the items he needed from this Bazar, they being very fresh, unlike the ones in the Departmental Stores.

ट्यूबिंगननगरेऽन्ययोरुपीयनगरवन्मध्येनगरमतिविशाले चत्वरे प्रतिबुधवासरं प्रतिशुक्रवासरं च हट्टः स्थापितो भवत्या प्रत्यूषादापराह्णं यत्र कृषका नानाविधान् शाकान् फलानि, पयो, दधि केवलं वा फलादिमिश्रितं वाऽऽमिक्षाश्च विविधाः मृद्व्यश्च कठिनाश्च, सद्यः साधिताश्च बहुकालपूर्वं साधिताश्च व्यञ्जनमिश्राश्चाव्यञ्जनमिश्राश्च विक्रयार्थं ..... प्रस्तुवन्ति। जनास्तद्धट्टमहमहमिकयाऽऽपतन्ति। पंक्तिशस्ते तत्र स्यूतकहस्ता गतागतं कुर्वाणा दृष्टिपथं प्रयान्ति। शाकादयस्तत्र तस्मिन्नेव महति प्रत्यूषे ततः पूर्वदिने वा क्षेत्रेभ्यः सञ्चिता भवन्ति नत्वापणसञ्चयवन्नानादिनपूर्वं सञ्चिता इति तत्क्रयणे जनानां भवति विशेषाग्रहः। भारतीयविद्यासंस्थानार्थं पन्थाश्चत्वरत एवासीत्। अहं हट्टाच्छाकान् [तत्र सर्वविधाः शाकाः - सर्षपशाकः, पालकशाकः, मूलकं, गृञ्जनं (गाजर), वृन्ताकः (बैंगन), कर्कटी (ककड़ी), अलाबुः (घिया), तुम्बी (लौकी), कूष्माण्डम् (कुँहड़ा), पुष्पगोजिह्वा (गोभी), कपिशाकः, पत्रगोजिह्वा(पत्ता गोभी), ग्रन्थिगोजिह्वा (गाँठ गोभी), कलायाः (मटर), आलुकम् (आलू), पलाण्डु (प्याज़),

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रागालुः (टमाटर) = सुलभा भवन्ति] क्रीत्वा संस्थाने मदर्थं निर्धारिते 'कबर्ड' इत्यत्र न्यास्थम्[60]।

It is this innovative spirit of the modern Sanskrit writers that has given a form and a character to modern Sanskrit literature which differentiates it from its older counterpart. It is a queer admixture of modernity and antiquity. While keeping themselves within the framework of Pāṇini, the modern Sanskrit writers are introducing new words and new styles in their writings, thus keeping themselves abreast of the developments in the modern period. Modern literature it is in the sense that it seeks to capture life in the modern period in an expression and style that go well with it, It is old in the sense that the word-structure in it does not deviate materially from the parameters set by the ancient masters.

(Footnotes)

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2. Dikshit Hari Narayan, *Gopālabandhuḥ*, Eastern Book Linkers, Delhi, 1988, p. 44
3. Ibid.
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7. Ibid., p.53
8. Ibid., p.59.
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10. Ibid., p.15
11. Ibid., p.82
12. Mishra, Rajendra, *Nāṭyapañcāmṛtam*, Akshayavat prakashan, Allahabad, 1977, p. 70
13. *Camatkāraḥ*., p.88
14. Ibid., p.95
15. Mishra, Rajendra, *Nāṭyapañcāmṛtam*, Akshayavat Prakashan, Allahabad, 1977, p. 55

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17 *Camatkāraḥ*., 66
18 Ibid., 67
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40 Pathak, Vaneshvar, *Raktadānam* Published by the author, Ranchi, 1980, p.20
41 Palsule, G.B., Sarada Gaurava Granthamala, N.28, Poona 1972, p.66
42 Ibid., p.21
43 Ibid., p.66
44 *Abhinavakathānikuñjaḥ*, 'Kahānī', by Madhusudan Shastri, p. 203
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49 Ibid., P.66
50 Ibid., *Bhāso hāsaḥ*, p.3
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क्रिस्तुसहस्रनाम

by

Chacko

क्रिस्तुं कन्यासुतं वंदे मृतं मृत्युंजयं परं।
रक्तीकृतासवं देहीकृतापूपमनश्वरं ॥1॥

क्षतपार्श्वं क्षततनुं घृतकंटकशीर्षकं।
क्षतपादं क्षतकरं धृतलोकाघगौरवं ॥2॥

समुत्कीर्णकरं कीलविदारितपादद्वयं।
शूलविच्छिन्नहृदयं त्रिलोकीशमनश्वरं ॥3॥

याजकं यजनद्रव्यं नित्यं यज्ञभुजं भजे।
पापघ्नं पापरहितं लोकपापवहं परं ॥4॥

स्थूलं सूक्ष्ममनादिं च स्रष्टारं स्वर्गदायिनं।
सर्वक्षमं सवहेतुं सर्वव्यापिनमक्षयं ॥5॥

सुग्रहं शांतचित्तानां दुर्ग्रहं विषयैषिणां।
शरणं पापिनामेकं तरणं पापवारिधेः ॥6॥

आसवीकृतकीलालं वाङ्मात्रकृतभक्षणं।
शमितांबुनिधिक्षोभं मृतोत्थापितमित्रकं ॥7॥

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मर्त्यपुत्रं देवपुत्रं नरमप्यनरं परं।
कन्यापुत्रं जगत्तातं जातमप्यजमीश्वरं ॥8॥

द्वितीयमप्यद्वितीयं त्रयमप्येकमेव च।
मृतमप्यमरं नित्यं जातमप्यखिलोत्भवं ॥9॥

अक्षिप्तवसनं वंदे स्थाणुबद्धकरद्वयं।
भटताडितसर्वांगं पूज्यमप्यतिधिक्कृतं ॥10॥

स्वर्गस्थं पितृपार्श्वस्थं हृदयस्थं जगत्पतिं।
अभिषिक्तमुनिप्रोक्तं अर्वाचीनं पुरातनं ॥11॥

तारासूचितजन्मानं ज्योतिषाराद्धमर्भकं।
गोष्ठजं पथिकं वंदे राजानं राजपूजितं ॥12॥

शिशुसूदनसंत्रातं देशांतरगतं शिशुं।
गोपालपूजितं दिव्यं वंदे विस्मितवैदिकं ॥
(विस्मायितमहाचार्यं गोपपूजितविग्रहं ॥13॥

वाचमाद्यतमामीशं स्थितां वंदे पुरातनीं।
प्रपंचकारणं साक्षादीश्वरं जीवसंश्रयं ॥14॥

प्रदीपं तिमिराज्ञातं लोकजातप्रदीपकं।
जगदागतमज्ञातं जगता जगतः प्रभुं ॥15॥

राजर्षिगोत्रजं धन्यं निर्द्धनं नित्ययाचकं।
दीनं दीनाश्रयं वंदे जगतामेकमीश्वरं ॥16॥

यतिस्रपितवर्ष्माणं परमात्मप्रशोभितं।
यतिसंस्कृतवर्त्मानं ऋषिलोकप्रतीक्षितं ॥17॥

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कपोतावतरज्ञातं दिव्यमेघं सनातनं।
शांतं शांतिमतामाद्यं प्रणमाम्यघसूदनं ॥18॥

आकृष्टमीनं कैवर्त्तशिष्यमेकं जगदगुरुं।
उपदिष्टजगद्धर्मं वंदे वंदारुवंदितं ॥19॥

शमवंतं क्षमावंतं तितिक्षावंतमीश्वरं।
दमवंतं दयावंतं आत्मवंतं जगद्गुरुं ॥20॥

घृतव्यजनमश्रांतं पूतग्राहिणमीश्वरं।
बुसदाहिनमक्षांतं प्रणमामि भयंकरं ॥21॥

समाधिस्थमतिश्रांतं क्षुदाविष्टमुपोषितं।
प्रणमामि नियंतारं पिशाचपरिशोधितं ॥22॥

मेघयानं तडित्पाणिं घोराकारं भयानकं।
पापिनामंतकं वंदे धर्मिणां जीवदायिनं ॥23॥

लवित्रपाणिगांगेयकिर्रीटं मेघवाहनं।
लवितारं मनुष्याणां नमामि मनुजात्मजं ॥24॥

विधवाकरुणं वंदे परमित्रं कृपाकरं।
वितातशरणं श्रेष्ठं पतितोत्क्षेपिणं प्रभुं ॥25॥

अंधानां दृष्टिदं वंदे सत्यसंधं सनातनं।
निगडध्वंसिनं देवं आर्त्तत्राणपरंपरं ॥26॥

सर्पघ्नीनीतनुजं वंदे सर्पारातिं महाबलं।
सर्पदमं जगन्नाथं सर्पवंचितपूर्वकं ॥27॥

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श्वेताश्ववाहनं रक्तसिक्तवाससमीश्वरं।
दिव्यवागभिधं वंदे राजराजं प्रभुप्रभुं ॥28॥

श्वेतांबरबलं घोरं ज्वलनोद्धारलोचनं।
द्विधारखड्गवदनं स्वनामांकितवाससं ॥29॥

सप्तर्क्षपाणिं लोकेशं तप्तपित्थलपादकं।
श्वेतांबरं श्वेतकेशं वंदे सूर्यमुखं परं ॥30॥

सप्तशृंगं हतप्रेक्ष्यं सप्ताक्षं मेषशावकं।
मुद्रास्फीटकमीशानं व्योमचापावृतासनं ॥31॥

गोवत्ससेवितं सिंहपूजितं गुह्यरवंदितं।
वृद्धवृंदस्तुतं वंदे नरवक्व(क्त्र?)मृगाचितं ॥32॥

स्वर्गसिंहासनं रत्नपीठं सप्तप्रदीपकं।
श्वेतरोमाणमीशानं वंदे कांचनमेघलं ॥33॥

समुद्रनादिनं राजवेश्याघातिनमीश्वरं।
क्रुद्धपापद्विषं वंदे वंद्यं द्राक्षापमर्हिनं(?)॥
(कुद्धं पापद्विषं वंदे वंद्यं द्राक्षाविमर्दिनं) ॥34॥

दशशासनमक्षीणं सासूयं प्रणमाम्यहं।
प्रतिमाद्विषमीशानं हव्यवाहनवाहनं ॥35॥

कन्यकानुगतं कृष्णाकांतं सन्यासिनं परं।
सुंदरीरमणं वंदे सुंदरं दमितेंद्रियं ॥36॥

धवलं पाटलं श्यामकेशं वासितगंडकं।
चामीकरकरं कन्यावरं वंदे परापरं ॥37॥

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पक्षवातहरं दीनत्राणलोलं ज्वरंदमं।
भूतद्विषं कुष्ठहरं वंदे दिव्यौषधं परं ॥38॥

दोषघ्नमनघं रक्तस्रावापहमनुत्तमं।
दुष्प्रधर्षं महावीर्यं वंदे दिव्यौषधं परं ॥39॥

प्रदीप्तवदनं वंदे तुषारधवलांबरं।
ऋषिसेवितमानंददायिनं भास्करप्रभं ॥40॥

वलाहकावृतं पूज्यं गिरीशं गिरिवासिनं।
शिष्योपास्थितमुत्कृष्टं पितृश्लाघितमात्मजं ॥41॥

श्वेतवाहं धनुष्पाणिं सेनान्यं दिग्जयोन्मुखं।
मारीदुर्भिक्षसहितं वंदे संग्रामतत्परं ॥42॥

लोहिताश्वानुचरितं कृष्णवाहोपसेवितं।
पीतवाहादृतं वंदे शास्तारं घोरमक्षयं ॥43॥

समुद्रच्छिदमच्छेद्यं परंतपमरिंदमं।
पालविता(?)रातिनिवहं घोरं वंदे जनार्दनं ॥44॥

अविकार्यमविच्छेद्यं नमामि परमेश्वरं।
अनादिमादिमं वंदे अनंतं शांतमंतिमं ॥45॥

स्वर्गांकुटधरं(?)वंदे सर्पं नरमधीश्वरं।
पुरंदहं पुरीकांतं जीवतोयप्रदायिनं ॥46॥

अमेयमनघं नित्यं अमोघमघनाशनं।
अग्राह्यममलं देवदेवं वंदे निरंतरं ॥47॥

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अमृतं शाश्वतं सत्यं अप्रमेयं स्वंयभुवं।
प्रभविष्णुं प्रभुं वंदे भूतभव्यभवत्प्रभुं ॥48॥

अक्षयं भुवनाध्यक्षं अक्षरं पुरुषोत्तमं।
अव्ययं प्रयतात्मानं प्रणमामि प्रतापनं ॥49॥

स्थिरं स्थविष्ठं स्थविरं समात्मानं क्षमायुतं।
ऊर्जितं सुषमावंतं वंदे तेजस्विनं प्रभुं ॥50॥

अदृश्यमप्यतिव्यक्तं अपरीक्ष्यमतींद्रियं।
प्राणदं वरदं वंदे देवं जीवदमादृतं ॥51॥

अनिरुद्धं दुराधर्षं सर्वशक्तिं महाबलं।
ओजस्विनं महावीर्यं वंदे दुर्धषणं विभुं ॥52॥

धातारं भुवनाधारं कर्त्तारं प्रणमाम्यहं।
भर्त्तारं प्राणदातारं पापहर्त्तारमीश्वरं ॥53॥

होतारं प्रयतं हव्यं हुताशं पापनाशनं।
हूयमानं हुतं वंदे हितं प्रहितमात्मजं ॥54॥

अद्भुतं मंत्रिणं सर्वशक्तिदेवं नमाम्यहं।
भविष्यल्लोकजनकं शमराजं जगत्पतिं ॥55॥

पावनं भावनं जीवसाधनं सर्वशोभनं।
कारणं शरणं पापशोषणं प्रणमाम्यहं ॥56॥

राजानं गिरिजाराजं खरवाहनमादृतं।
पौरवृंदस्तुतं वंदे पूज्यं राजर्षिगोत्रजं ॥57॥

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प्रोषितं राजसंवासात् मृते राज्ञि समागतं।
प्रचारितमहासत्यं प्रणमामि महागुरुं ॥58॥

विश्वंभरं विश्वसृजं विश्वयोनिमनश्वरं।
विश्वस्तमात्मजं वंदे विश्वोत्कर्षप्रचोदितं ॥59॥

यत्पापमकरोत्पूर्वं नराणामादिमो नरः।
परिहर्त्तुं तदुद्युक्तं देवपुत्रं नमाम्यहं ॥60॥

यातिष्ठदंबरे तन्वी वसाना सूर्यमण्डलं।
शशांकं पादुकीकृत्य तस्याः पुत्रं नमाम्यहं ॥61॥

यांतारमकुटां(?)तन्वीं प्रसवव्यथयाकुलां।
अभ्यद्रवन् महानागस्तस्याः पुत्रं नमाम्यहं ॥62॥

यं जातमात्रं सर्पोशाद् भ्रूणभक्षणकांक्षिणः।
सप्तोत्तमांगाद्रक्ताभादत्रायत महेश्वरः ॥63॥

तं देवपुत्रं लोकानां रक्षकं नागविद्विषं।
महाशक्तिं महावीर्यं प्रणमामि महाबलं ॥64॥

यस्य रक्तप्रभावेण निर्जितः शक्तिमान् फणी।
अंबरादपतद्भूमौ तं वंदे मेषशावकं ॥65॥

अयोदंडधरं लोकराजन्यायविशारदं।
कन्यकातनुजं पापान् दंडयंतं नमाम्यहं ॥66॥

शासनानि प्रदातुं यः पुरातनमहर्षये।
आविर्बभूव शैलाग्रे तं वंदे शैलशायिनं ॥67॥

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यस्य शापेन विफलो भूरुहश्शुष्कतां गतः।
तं वृक्षशोषणं देवं वंदे नैष्कर्म्यविद्विषं ॥68॥

वधस्तंभध्वजं मीनपताकं मेषपालकं।
दयाद्रर्हृदयं वंदे दीनबंधुं जगत्पतिं ॥69॥

कर्मसाक्षिणमक्षीणमक्षयं रक्तसाक्षिणं।
धर्मसाधनमानंदसाधनं प्रणमाम्यहं ॥70॥

अविनीतविनेतारं नतोन्नेतारमुत्तमं।
नित्यधर्मप्रणेतारं प्रणमामि विनायकं ॥71॥

प्रणमामि महावीर्यं जीवापूपं शिवंकरे।
यं जग्ध्वा मनुजा यांति जीवितं शाश्वतं दृढं ॥72॥

कर्त्तारमुपकर्त्तारं प्रतिकर्त्तारमुत्तमं।
भुवनानां विकर्त्तारं अविकार्यं नमाम्यहं ॥73॥

वेदज्ञं विदुषामाद्यं वेदमूलं सनातनं।
वैदिकं परमं वंदे भिषजं देहिदेहयोः ॥74॥

पानीयं परमं भक्ष्यमुत्तमं प्रणमाम्यहं।
यदभुक्त्वा नरा यांति नरकं शाश्वतं दृढं ॥75॥

पावनं पावकं पूतं वंदे रजतपावनं।
स्वर्णपावनमाचार्यपावनं लोकपावनं ॥76॥

तुषानलं तुषाराभं खलप्वं खलमर्दनं।
असहिष्णुं बलोपेतं वंदे कल्मषविद्विषं ॥77॥

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किंकरं परमं दिव्यं वंदे प्राचीप्रभाकरं।
भास्करं जगतामेकं दिव्यतत्वप्रभासकं ॥78॥

वंदे प्रस्रवणं नित्यं क्षाल्यमाणाघकर्दमं।
सर्वप्राप्यं सर्वयोगं सर्वलोकप्रतीक्षितं ॥79॥

देवदेवं द्युतं द्युत्यास्सत्येशात् सत्यदैवतं।
असृष्टं जातमेवैकं वंदे तातं समं सुतं ॥80॥

येन सृष्टं जगत्सर्वं दृश्यं वाऽदृश्यमीश्वरं।
अनंतराज्यं वंदेहमवतीर्णं नराकृतिं ॥81॥

दृश्यादृश्यविधातारं जगतामादिकारणं।
आगमिष्यंतमक्षोभ्यं वंदेहं नीतिपालकं ॥81॥

अक्षौहिणीपतिं वंदे यशोराजं यशस्विनं।
बलिनं जयिनं धीरं घोरयुद्धपराक्रमं ॥82॥

सत्याध्वानं दयामार्गं शांतानां मार्गदर्शिनं।
घमिंष्ठं मधुरं वंदे पापिनां न्यायदायिनं ॥83॥

वागुराभंजकं वंदे तरुभंजननिःस्वनं।
मरुत्कंपननिर्घोषं स्तनितायुधमीश्वरं ॥84॥

व्यंगुलोन्मितभूगोलं करसंभूतवारिधिं।
तुलोच्चितनगं वंदे करस्थाकाशमंडलं ॥85॥

दुर्बलानां बलं वंदे संतप्तानां सुखप्रदं।
स्वर्गदं दंभहीनानां शांतानां भूमिदायिनं ॥86॥

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तर्पकं नीतितृष्णानां कृपालुं करुणावतां।
प्रत्यक्षं शुचिचित्तानां वंदेहं परमेश्वरं ॥87॥

यात्रानमितशैलाग्रं यशोव्याप्तनभःस्थलं।
अचलध्वंसिनं भूमिमातारं प्रणमाम्यहं ॥88॥

रक्षारथं महादेवं शराभास्तिमितारुणं।
शूलप्रभाहतादित्यं वंदेहं सुपराक्रमं ॥89॥

च्यावितांभोनिधिं वंदे पर्वतद्रुहमुत्प्रभं।
ज्वलितास्रं महामर्षं भीषितार्कनिशाकरं ॥90॥

रथिनं वाहिनं वंदे चापिनं दीप्तपत्रिणं।
शूलिनं वलिनं वीर्यशालिनं तीक्ष्णशापिनं ॥91॥

अंभोनिधिपथं शुंभत्कलंबं दंभविद्विषं।
कुंभिनीमहितं शातकुंभमेखलमुत्कटं ॥92॥

दंडिनं खड्गिनं वंदे किरीटनमरूपिणं।
घृणिनं जयिनं पारं दुर्जयं जितकाशिनं ॥93॥

चतुश्शतांगविख्यातं जितलोकत्रयं विभुं।
नररूपिणमच्छाभं वंदे प्राचीनभास्करं ॥94॥

वंदे सागरवर्त्मानं सनातनदयं प्रभुं।
समुद्रदारिणं श्रेष्ठं नित्यमाश्रितवत्सलं ॥95॥

प्रकृतिज्ञं महावैद्यं सर्वरोगविनाशनं।
प्राणत्रायिणमीशानं वंदे कामप्रदायिनं ॥96॥

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व्योमविस्तारिणं वंदे शोभावाससमीश्वरं।
अंभोदस्यंदनं वायुपक्षचारिणमुत्प्रभं ॥97॥

समुद्रशासनं देवदेवं सागरशोषणं।
तोरणध्वंसिनं वंदे बालार्कं बालपंडितं ॥98॥

नरकध्वसिनं स्वर्गद्वारं रक्षाविशारदं।
अपराधसहं वंदे धर्मिणां परमां गतिं ॥99॥

शांताकारं भुजगमथनं स्वर्गवासं महाभं
पापार्तानां शरणमघनिर्मूलनं मेघयानं।
कृष्णाकांतं विमलहृदयं लोकनाथं महेशं
वंदे देवं युगममघविच्छित्तये क्रिस्तुमीशं ॥100॥

त्रातारमभयस्थानं अभयंकरमुत्तमं।
सहायं बलसम्युक्तं वंदे विद्यां क्षमां ॥101॥

दिनेशं शर्वरीनाथं सरिच्छोषणमीश्वरं।
मर्यादास्थापकं वंदे कालकारं जगत्प्रभुं ॥102॥

निर्झरध्वंसिनं वंदे वाहिनीभंजकं प्रभुं।
ग्रीष्मकारं मधुकरं काल्यकारं दिवाकरं ॥103॥

त्रातारं दीनपुत्राणां निपीडकविनायकं।
आसमुद्रमहाराज्यं वंदे भूपालपूजितं ॥104॥

सर्वराष्ट्रादृतं वंदे सर्वराष्ट्रप्रकीर्तितं।
नृपैराधितं देवं एकमद्भुतकारिणं ॥105॥

समुद्रश्यायकं वंदे जलनागशिरश्छदं।
महानाभानमीशानं चापचर्मासिभंजकं ॥106॥

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प्रेषकं प्रेषितं वंदे व्यतीतान्वेषकं शिवं।
हृद्विचायकमाचार्यं हृषीकेशमृषीश्वरंमु ॥107॥

न्यायाधिपं महानीतिं प्रणमामि महाक्षमं।
खड्गपाणिं महाशक्तिं घोरं पूरितकार्मुकं ॥108॥

दृश्यादृश्यविधातारं जगतामादिकारणं।
आगमिष्यंतमक्षोभ्यं वंदेहं नीतिपालकं ॥109॥

शांताय शांतहृदयाय शमप्रियाय
कांताय कांतचरिताय कमालयाय।
नित्याय नित्यविजयाय निरंतराय
मर्त्याय मर्त्यतनुजाय नमोस्तु नित्यं ॥110॥

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Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri

Born on 29th September 1930, **Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri** had his early education under his father, Prof. Charu Deva Shastri. He was consistently top rank holder up to Post-Graduation and won University Medals. After doing his Ph.D. at the Banaras Hindu University he joined the University of Delhi where during the forty years of his teaching career he held important positions of the Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Dean of the Faculty of Arts. He was also the Vice-Chancellor of Shri Jagannath Sanskrit University, Puri, Orissa. He is the first recipient of the Jnanpith Award in Sanskrit, 2009. He got the Padma Bhushan Award in 2010.

He has the distinction of having been Visiting Professor in five Universities on three Continents. Among his many foreign students the most prominent is Her Royal Highness Maha Chakri Sirindhorn, the Princess of Thailand. He has attended and chaired a number of national and international conferences and seminars and delivered more than a hundred lectures in Universities and institutions of higher learning in Europe, North America, Southeast Asia and the Far East.

Both a creative writer and a literary critic, Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri has to his credit three Sanskrit Mahākāvyas of about a thousand stanzas each, a Prabandhakāvya, a Patrakāvya (in two volumes), three Khaṇḍakāvyas, the first ever diary in Sanskrit *Dine Dine Yāti Madīyajīvitam* and the first ever autobiography in Sanskrit (in two volumes) *Bhavitavyānāṁ Dvārāṇi Bhavanti Sarvatra*. The well-acclaimed critical work *The Rāmāyaṇa-A Linguistic Study* which is the first ever linguistic appraisal of not only the Vālmīki-*Rāmāyaṇa* but of any extant Sanskrit work. *Kālidāsa Studies* in two volumes, two studies on Thailand *Sanskrit and Indian Culture in Thailand* and *Thaideśa ke Brāhmaṇa*, *Discovery of Sanskrit Treasures* (in seven volumes), *Sanskrit Studies—New Perspectives* and *Sanskrit Writings of European Scholars*, more than a century and a half of research articles and Forewords to a hundred and forty books are his contributions as a critic. He has enormous experience in translation work. He has translated A.A. Macdonell's *A Vedic Grammar for Students* in Hindi, *Śrīrāmacaritābdhiratnam* of Nityananda Shastri in English, the thousand Subhāṣitas, wise sayings, the *Subhāṣitasāhasrī* in Hindi and English, the *Cāṇakyanīti* in Hindi and English and the select poems in different languages of poet laureates of Europe in Sanskrit. He is the subject matter of twenty theses for the degrees of M. Phil. Ph.D. and D.Litt. in Indian Universities.

He is the recipient of one hundred and five Honours and Awards, national and international, including Padma Shri, Padma Bhushan, President of India Certificate of Honour, Thai Royal Decoration. "The Most Admirable Order of Direk Gunabhorn", the Honour "Autorita Academische Italiano Straniere", the Civil and Academic Authority for Foreigners from the Govt. of Italy, the Medallion of Honour from the Catholic University, Leuven, Belgium, the Golden Prize from GESMEO, the International Institute of Advanced Asian Studies, Torino, Italy and five Honorary Doctorates from Indian and foreign Universities. In the Citation for the Honorary Doctorate at the Silpakorn University, Bangkok, he was described as "a living legend in the field of Sanskrit."

VIJAYA BOOKS
Delhi 110032

ISBN : 978-93-81480-76-2
9 789381 480762

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